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The Naval and Colonial Papers of Dom Antonio de Ataide

THE present essay is designed to draw attention to the importance for Portuguese colonial and maritime history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the papers of Dom Antonio de Ataide which are now preserved in the Harvard College Library and elsewhere. By virtue of his successive posts of Captain-Major of the India Fleets (1611-12), Captain-General of the Portuguese Home Fleet (1618-21), and Governor of Portugal under the Spanish Crown (1631-33), Dom Antonio de Ataide had excellent opportunities to collect and collate information on those naval and colonial affairs in which he was interested. Of these opportunities he made full use, forming a remarkable assemblage of documents which passed by inheritance to his cousins of the Castel-Melhor family on his death in 1647. The celebrated Castel-Melhor collection of books and manuscripts was disposed of in 1878-79, when the greater part was sold at auction. Some of the most valuable documents were acquired by Fernando Palha, which accounts for their presence at Harvard. Others are scattered in various libraries in Portugal, England, and Brazil. They have never been described as a connected whole, despite their importance for students of the maritime and colonial history of the seventeenth century. About equally divided between Europe and America, in the present paper they will be dealt with according to their present locations, following a brief biographical sketch of their original owner.¹

Dom Antonio de Ataide, born 1567, was the second son of the second Conde de Castanheira, and grandson of the first Conde of the same

¹ The account of Dom Antonio de Ataide which follows is based on a perusal of the papers described hereafter and secondary sources such as Barbosa Machado, *Biblioteca lusitana*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 1930), I, 207-208, and my article, 'Um roteirista desconhecido do século XVII, D. Antonio de Ataide, capitão geral da armada de Portugal,' *Arquivo histórico da marinha*, I (1934), 189-200 (with the sources there quoted). It may be noted that Barbosa Machado, the standard Portuguese bibliographer, does not even mention the naval and colonial papers in his otherwise fairly full bio-bibliographical notice of Dom Antonio, which underlines the importance of drawing attention to these papers at the present time.

name and title, who was the life-long favorite of King João III of Portugal and that monarch's Vedor da Fazenda or Comptroller of the Exchequer for many years. Dom Antonio first saw active service in the Marquês de Santa Cruz' expedition to the Azores in 1582; and he subsequently served in various coast defence armadas afloat, and with the local militia ashore.

In 1611, he sailed for India as Captain-Major of the annual India fleet, which consisted in that year of the three carracks *N^a S^{ra} de Guadalupe*, *São Felipe*, and *N^a S^{ra} de Piedade*. They left Lisbon on the 20th March, and reached Goa on the 12th September, after an unusually prosperous voyage from the navigational viewpoint, although Dom Antonio had considerable trouble with mutinous subordinates or passengers, whom the government subsequently tried to arrest and bring to trial in India. The return voyage was uneventful, the squadron leaving Goa on the 16th January 1612, and reaching Lisbon on the 21st August. Dom Antonio proudly noted twenty years later that 'these were the first ships which made the round voyage without ever parting company.'

His doings for the next five years are not recorded, but in 1618 he was appointed by King Felipe IV (of Spain, III of Portugal) as Captain-General 'in perpetuity' of the Armada of the Crown of Portugal. In this capacity he commanded the annual fleet of defence which cruised off the coast during the summer and autumn of the years 1618-21, with the object of protecting shipping bound for Portuguese ports from the attacks of the Barbary corsairs and other enemies. This annual fleet was usually known as the Armada do Consulado, as it was fitted out from the proceeds of a tax known as the Consulado or Consulate. It was at Dom Antonio's suggestion that the Terço da Armada, or Regiment of the Navy, was raised in 1618, for the purpose of assuring a supply of soldiers to serve in these annual coast defence fleets. This unit lasted for some ninety years in its original form, and was thus the second oldest of its kind in Europe, being preceded only by its Spanish counterpart, the Tercio de la Infanteria de la Armada de Indias, or, as it was more commonly and conveniently known, the Tercio de Galeones.²

² For the Spanish Tercio de Galeones see José Veitia Linaje, *Noticia de la contratacion de las Indias Occidentales* (Seville, 1671), II, 27-51. For the Terço da Armada da Coroa de Portugal, renamed the Terço da Armada Real do Mar Oceano after 1640, see Gastão de Mello de Mattos, *Notícias do Terço da Armada Real (1618-1707)* (Lisbon,

He served as Captain-General of what may be termed the Portuguese Home Fleet until he was removed from his command on a charge of culpable negligence in connection with the loss of the homeward-bound East India carrack *N^a S^{ta} de Conceição* in October 1621. This richly-laden argosy had been attacked and burnt off Ericeira by seventeen sail of Algerine warships after a two-day fight, during which time Dom Antonio lay becalmed off Cape Espichel, only thirty-six miles away, and unaware of what was going on until it was too late. Ill-informed public opinion naturally selected him as the scapegoat for this unprecedented disaster, and he was duly imprisoned and tried for dereliction of duty. After a legal battle lasting two years, the highest court of appeal acquitted him without a stain on his honor, although he had to pay the costs of his defence. This acquittal was by no means popular with most people, although a few discerning individuals considered that the defence had proved its case. The contemporary chronicler, Manuel Severim de Faria, was one of those who agreed with the belated verdict, 'because it was proved that after he had received the warning which was sent him, he was becalmed and could not reach the carrack, whereas before he received it he was in the station assigned to him by his orders.' The scholarly Canon of Evora Cathedral concluded philosophically that 'this disaster should rather be attributed to the occult designs of God, and to the injustice with which wealth is often acquired in India, than to any fault of his own.'⁹

King Felipe IV evidently agreed with Severim de Faria's opinion, for two years later Dom Antonio was given the title of Conde de Castro-Daire, explicitly because of the trouble which he had under-

1932). Dutch and English regiments of marines were first raised during the war of 1665-67, and I presume that French marine units are likewise of later origin than their Iberian counterparts.

⁹ Manuel Severim de Faria, 'Historia portuguesa e de outras provincias do Occidente desde o anno de 1610 até o de 1640 . . . escrita em 31 Relações,' Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, Codex 241 (A. 6. 27), fol. 175. The best account of the loss of the *Conceição* is that by one of the survivors, João Carvalho Mascarenhas, *Memoravel relação da perda da naõ Conceição que os Turcos queymarão à vista da barra de Lisboa; varios successos das pessoas que nella cativãrão* (Lisbon, 1627), reprinted in the so-called third volume of Bernardo Gomes de Brito's *Historia tragico-maritima* (Lisbon, 1735-37²), of which there are several modern editions. There is also an interesting contemporary account of this disaster, containing some details not to be found elsewhere, in Nicholas van Wassenacr, *Historisch Verhael alder ghedenckweerdichste Geschiedenissē, die hier en da in Europa . . . van den Beginne des Jaers 1621 . . . voorgevallen syn* (Amsterdam, 1622-35), II, 40, V, 142-143.

gone during his trial. Nor did the King's munificence stop there, for in 1629 he was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the Emperor Ferdinand II of Austria. His secretary has left us an interesting account of the envoy's journey to Vienna and return through Lower Germany. Neither was this the limit of his promotion, for in August 1631 he was nominated as one of the two Governors of Portugal for the Iberian Crown — a post which he filled alone after the death of his colleague in March 1632 until April of the following year, when he retired. He was then appointed President of the Board of Conscience and Military Orders, and became about this time the fifth Conde de Castanheira through the death of his nephew. He was dismissed from his government post after the outbreak of the Portuguese Revolution in December 1640, presumably because the new monarch, Dom João IV, suspected him of Spanish sympathies in view of the honors which Felipe IV had heaped upon him, and also because his eldest son, Dom Jeronimo de Ataide, did not adhere to the national movement but remained in Madrid. Dom Antonio was imprisoned for a time during the summer of 1641, on suspicion of being implicated in the Archbishop of Braga's abortive and pro-Spanish plot. His innocence having been proved, he was released in the winter, and allowed to remain in peaceful retirement until his death in December 1647, when he was over eighty years old.⁴

It is apparent from a study of Dom Antonio's career in more detail than is possible here that he was a man of wide interests and considerable learning, the translator of a treatise of Seneca and the author of a number of poems. Amongst his friends were numbered Lope de Vega Carpio, 'prince of Castilian poets,' and the caustic chronicler of Portuguese India, Diogo do Couto. He was, of course, not without his critics. Apart from the storm of criticism aroused by the loss of the *N^o S^{ra} da Conceição* in 1621, a confidential report to the Conde-Duque de Olivares, Felipe IV's all-powerful minister, about the year 1634,

⁴ See, in addition to the references in note 1 above, Ernesto Soares, 'Pêrfis humorísticos da Restauração,' *Congresso do mundo português. Publicações* (Lisbon, 1940-42), VII, 423. Damião Ribeiro's account of Dom Antonio de Ataide's embassy to Austria and Germany in 1629 was printed by Johannes Albrecht as 'Embaixada de Alemanha' in *Congresso do mundo português. Publicações*, VI, 173-195. Dom Antonio's original papers relating to this embassy formed lot 66 in the Castel-Melhor sale of manuscripts in 1879. Ataide papers sold with the Castel-Melhor collection can be checked to some extent from the summary *Catalogo dos preciosos manuscritos da bibliotheca da casa dos Marquezes de Castello Melhor* (Lisbon, 1878).

alleges that Dom Antonio was an intelligent but dishonest minister of the Crown.⁵ I am not aware that this charge was ever substantiated, and in any event we are not here concerned with his literary interests or his financial integrity, but with his naval and colonial papers and their significance for the history of colonial expansion and maritime enterprise.

A

There are several papers by or relating to Dom Antonio de Ataíde in the British Museum, which were acquired before the Castel-Melhor sale of 1879. The most important are as follows.

1. MS Egerton 1133, foll. 131-134. Five autograph letters or notes by Dom Antonio de Ataíde, addressed to the Conde-Duque de Olivares in May-July 1626. The contents are of no particular interest, but these holograph letters are useful in identifying Dom Antonio's handwriting in the other codices which are described hereafter.

2. MS Egerton 1136, foll. 475-526. A collection of papers relating to the trial of Dom Antonio de Ataíde for the loss of the *Conceição* in 1621. They include original documents and transcripts of evidence given for the prosecution and for the defence. The original collector or rather compiler of these papers was evidently a member of the Council of Portugal which functioned as an advisory body to the Iberian Crown at Madrid.⁶

3. Additional MS 20,902. This is a folio volume of 156 leaves entitled 'Relação das Naos e Armadas da India com os successos dellas que se puderam saber, para noticia e instrucção dos curiozos, e amantes da Historia da India' (Narrative of the India Fleets and Carracks and

⁵ British Museum, Add. MS 15, 195, Vol. III, fol. 220. This interesting report of a Spanish spy at Lisbon on the character and reputation of the principal Portuguese *sodaligos* is not dated, but from the context was compiled about 1634 or 1635.

⁶ See Frederico Francisco de la Figanière, *Catalogo dos manuscritos portuguezes existentes no Museu Britannico* (Lisbon, 1853), pp. 220 and 255; Pascual de Gayangos y Arce, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum* (London, 1875-93), I, 641. Another set of transcripts relating to the trial is catalogued in lots 56 and 57 of the Castel-Melhor catalogue (1878). Two printed documents pertaining to the trial are very rare: the *Cargos que resultarão da devassa que os Governadores de Portugal mandarão tirar de Dom Antonio de Atayde* (Lisbon, 1622) and the *Sentenças dadas sobre a devassa que se tirou de Dom Antonio de Atayde* (Lisbon, 1624). Both appear in *Catalogo da . . . livraria . . . que pertenceu a . . . Amibal Fernandes Thomaz* (Lisbon, 1912), lot 357, and there are copies of the *Sentenças* in the Bibliotheca Publica at Evora and in the British Museum.

of what befell them, in so far as could be learnt, for the information and instruction of those who are interested in the History of India). It covers the period 1496-1653, but the greater part of it was evidently compiled under the superintendence of Dom Antonio de Ataide in 1631-34, judging by the handwriting of his amanuensis and his holograph comments and notes which are to be found in the text relating to the period 1626-32. Many other notes, although not in Ataide's hand, obviously originated with him, and he refers in them to the pilots' journals of the years 1593-1612 which will be described later. It is not clear who continued the 'Relação,' in a rather desultory fashion he it said, up to 1653.

This kind of compilation, which gives lists of the governors and viceroys of India, as well as the names of all vessels sailing thither, the dates of their departure from Lisbon, and the names of their captains (less often the dates of their return), is not uncommon in Portuguese archives. Several of them have been published, but this codex is exceptionally interesting in that it is the only one (to my knowledge) compiled and annotated by a one-time Captain-Major of the India Voyage. Dom Antonio's jottings are often piquant enough, particularly when dealing with matters which directly concerned him. In the recital of his own voyage in 1611-12, he notes: 'as may be seen from the journal of the voyage written by the same Captain-Major with the greatest exactitude, depicting therein all the sandbanks and shallows, and copying down many of the large Latin letters which were carved on stones at the island of Saint Helena.' This rather mysterious entry will be clarified when we deal with the journal of this voyage as preserved in the codex of the Arquivo Histórico Militar at Lisbon. And this is what he has to say, writing in the third person, about the loss of the *Conceição* in October 1621: 'When the carrack arrived within sight of the Berlengas in front of Ericeira, they met seventeen Turkish ships which they fought so bravely that these could not capture the carrack except when it caught fire. And it is a most noteworthy thing that on the Saturday the General Dom Antonio de Araide passed reconnoitering off the Berlengas with ten galleons and two pinnaces, for he had received orders to detach two galleons to be sent to India. On the Sunday he lay becalmed off Cape Espichel, and on the Monday the carrack was burnt, without the General having had any news of it, nor a caravel or a fishing-boat which advised him, although the Governors knew where the carrack was fighting, the

which Governors were the Bishop Dom Martim Affonso Mexia, the Count Dom Diogo de Castro, and Dom Nuno Alvarez de Portugal, fidalgo of His Majesty's household.' Apart from such intimate personal touches, his marginal notes supply many details about other early seventeenth-century Portuguese voyages which are not recorded elsewhere.⁷

4. Additional MS 28,487. A small folio volume of 109 leaves, entitled 'Summario de todas as cousas que socederão a Dom Paulo de Lima Pereira do dia que entrou na India te sua perdiçam e morte.' It is a biography of Dom Paulo de Lima Pereira, elder brother of Dona Ana de Lima, the wife of Dom Antonio de Araide, at whose request it was written, and to whom it was dedicated by Diogo de Couto, the official chronicler of Portuguese India, at Goa on the 10th December 1611. This codex presents some small but interesting variations from the published version, entitled *Vida de Dom Paulo de Lima* (Lisbon, 1765), which have been described elsewhere. It is of maritime interest in that it contains the moving account of the shipwreck of the carrack *São Thomé* off the coast of Natal in 1589, which as a separate account was included in the *Historia tragico-maritima*.⁸

⁷ Another recension of this codex formed lot 13 of the Castel-Melhor catalogue of 1878. For similar lists of Portuguese Indiamen and their voyages see Manuel Xavier, *Compendio universal de todos os visos-reys, governadores, capitães-geraes, capitães mores, capitães de naos, galleões, urcas e caravelas, que partirão de Lisboa para a India oriental* (Nova Goa, 1917), which, with the additions made by a continuator after 1661, covers the years 1497-1667; an anonymous *Relação de capitães mores e naos que vierão do reyno a este estado da India desde seu descobrimento*, covering the period 1497-1731, printed by Ernesto de Vasconcellos (Coimbra, 1925); Simão Ferreira Paes, *As famosas armadas portuguesas, 1496-1650*, covering the same period as Add. MS 20,902, and published at Rio de Janeiro in 1937. The fullest list is as yet unpublished, being the 'Noticia chronologica . . . das armadas que os reys de Portugal tem mandado aquelle estado . . .' by Francisco Luis Ameno, covering the years 1496-1762 (Bibliotheca Publica, Evora, Cod. CXV / 1-21). It is also unique in that it gives the dates of the return voyages as well as those of the departures from Lisbon and arrivals at Goa. The Conde de Tovar, *Catálogo dos manuscritos portugueses . . . existentes no Museu Britânico* (Lisbon, 1932), pp. 84-86, gives a description of Add. MS 20,902, but he did not realize that Dom Antonio de Araide was the principal compiler and annotator. A close scrutiny of the annotations in comparison with the other codices of the same original provenance has enabled me to establish this identity beyond dispute. This codex was bought at Lord Stuart de Ruthesay's sale in 1855.

⁸ *Historia tragico-maritima*, II, 153-213. For the differences between this codex and the other manuscript and printed versions see my articles, 'Admiral João Pereira Corte-Real and the Construction of Portuguese East-Indiamen in the Early Seven-

In addition to the foregoing manuscripts in the British Museum, there is in my possession a manuscript collection of Portuguese Roteiros (Rutters or Sailing Directions) compiled by Dom Antonio de Ataide. It originally formed lot 264 of the 1878 Castel-Melhor catalogue, and has been described in more detail elsewhere. All that need be said here is that the volume was compiled in 1631 or 1632, after a careful comparison of the numerous logbooks and Roteiros to which Dom Antonio de Ataide had access in his official capacity. It therefore represents the cream of Portuguese nautical experience at that time.⁹

B

In the library of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences there is a codex of 536 pages in a seventeenth-century sheepskin binding, entitled 'Viagens de Portugal para Goa e de Goa para o Reino' (Voyages from Portugal to Goa and from Goa to the Kingdom). This volume is identical with lot 266 of the Castel-Melhor catalogue, and comprises copies of six pilots' journals and logbooks for various voyages to and from India in the years 1593 to 1603. As this codex was edited by the late Quirino da Fonseca — unfortunately in a manner which is by no means above reproach — and published by the Academy in 1938, I need only mention here that it was originally compiled by Dom Antonio de Ataide, probably for use on his own India voyage in 1611-12. He gives a brief summary of the principal points or dates concerned with each voyage, but his marginal annotations are relatively few and far between.¹⁰

In the Arquivo Historico Militar at Lisbon is a companion codex to the above, comprising another six pilots' journals of India voyages in the years 1608-12. It is identical with lot 267 of the Castel-Melhor catalogue. This codex, which is still unpublished, is even more interesting than the foregoing, since it includes Dom Antonio's holograph

teenth Century,' *Mariner's Mirror*, XXVI (1940), 391, and 'João Pereira Corte-Real (1580-1642) Capitão-Mor das naus da carreira da Índia and Almirante da Armada Real,' *Congresso do mundo português. Publicações*, VI, 454-456.

⁹ For a detailed description of this 1631 codex see my article in the *Arquivo histórico da marinha*, I, 189-200 (especially pp. 198-200). See also Abel Fontoura da Costa, *A marinharia dos descobrimentos* (Lisbon, 1933), pp. 469-470, and my article, 'Portuguese Roteiros, 1500-1700,' *Mariner's Mirror*, XX (1934), 181-183.

¹⁰ *Diários de navegação da carreira da Índia nos anos de 1595, 1596, 1597, 1600 e 1603*, ed. Quirino da Fonseca (Lisbon, 1938), and reviewed by José Fraxão de Vasconcelos, *Petrus Nonius*, II (1939), 314-325; my article in the *Mariner's Mirror*, XXVI, 316-319.

journal in the *Guadalupe*, 1611-12, and is profusely annotated by him throughout, often in a most pungent and critical manner. Comparison with the manuscript collection of Roteiros in my possession establishes that this latter Lisbon codex was compiled by Dom Antonio after due comparison and collation of these pilots' journals for the years 1595-1612, and (in all probability) of others which are included in the Castel-Melhor catalogue (see lots 257, 263, and 265) but whose present whereabouts are unknown. It is a thousand pities that this magnificent collection was so carelessly dispersed, for judging by these three codices Dom Antonio de Ataíde's vast collection of Roteiros was something *sui generis*. Let us hope that the Arquivo Historico Militar codex, which is the most valuable and detailed of the three, will be published and made available for students of maritime history as soon as possible.¹¹

Examples of the pilots' observations and of Dom Antonio's technical annotations have been given elsewhere, but I may mention here a curious entry from his holograph journal dated 4th July 1611: 'Oje me deu Antonio Correia hũa carta de dona Anna que acabou de me aperfeiçoar o gosto do dia. Deus me deixe tornar a vela.' (Today Antonio Correia gave me a letter from Dona Ana which crowned the pleasure of this day for me. God grant that I may see her again.) Antonio Correia was in the flagship *Guadalupe*, and Dona Ana de Lima was the Captain-Major's wife. Evidently she had given Correia some letters which he was to hand to her husband at intervals during the voyage. I suppose that this practice was a fairly common one, but this is the only instance of it which I have come across. Another interesting feature of Dom Antonio's holograph journal is that he copied down the inscriptions left by Dutch and English sailors on stones at Saint Helena, which the Portuguese found when they called at this island on the homeward voyage in 1612.¹²

¹¹ See José Frazão de Vasconcelos, 'Diário de navegação da nau São Francisco de Goa para Lisboa em 1600-1601,' *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, VIII (1944), 237-295.

¹² I have not seen this codex since 1936, and most of the notes which I took from it became war casualties in 1941; but, if my memory serves me rightly, it was easy to identify the Dutch and English ships concerned, since Dom Antonio, although he knew neither language, had copied the inscriptions very carefully. For the orders which he was given on the outward and homeward voyages see *Documentos remetidos da Índia ou livros das monções*, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato (Lisbon, 1884), II, 86-87.

REGIMENTO
DOS ESCRIVAENS
DAS NAOS DA CAR-
REIRA DA INDIA.



IMPRESSO EM LISBOA, ANNO 1611.

PLATE IIa

TITLE-PAGE OF *Regimento*, LISBON, 1611, INSERTED IN
HARVARD EMS PORT 4794, VOL. II

De lancamiento a proa quatro codos: *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 De lancamiento a popa dos codos: *quatro palmas e duas faveas*
 De risel tres codos y en tercio a popa, y el tercio *de palmas e faveas*
 de los risel se ha de dar a proa.
 De yugo cinco codos y un quarto. *dois palmas e 1/2 favea*
 Ha de llevar veynete y siete orengas de cuenta, en
 la maestra.
 De assilla muerta medio codo, repartido en tres *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 partes y iguales: las dos de muerta en medio en la pri-
 mera orenga y la otra tercia parte, repartida en tantas
 partes y iguales, quantas fueren las orengas de cuenta
 que llevar de desde la segunda orenga de en medio, a
 popa y proa.
 De soba medio codo, repartida en partes y iguales *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 en las orengas que hubiere desde la segunda a proa,
 y la mitad desta joba repartida en las orengas que lle-
 vare desde la testa a popa.
 De acrosadura en la cubierta medio codo a proa, y *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 un codo a popa. *dois palmas e 1/2 favea*
 De acrosadura en las cinzas un codo a proa, y codo *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 y medio a popa. *dois palmas e 1/2 favea*
 Las aleras han de ser redondas como el pie de ge-
 nol.
 Ha de llevar un callillo pequeño a proa, y media
 celda baxa en popa.
 El contracodaste de la parte del capazo un quarto *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 de codo de ancho, y disimuyendo a morir en la le-
 nera.
 3. *Partidario de onças e dedos de manga.* *Trinta e sete tocos*
nao palmas e 1/2 favea *ladas.*
 DE plan cinco codos y medio. *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 De punta cinco codos en lo mas ancho, y me- *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 dio codo mayorriba la cubierta.
 De quilla treynta y dos codos. *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 De esloria treynta y nueve codos. *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*
 De *nao palmas e 1/2 favea*

PLATE IIb

HARVARD EMS PORT 4794, VOL. II, FOL. 28R, BEARING ANNO-
TATIONS BY DOM ANTONIO DE ATAIDE

Harvard University - Houghton Library / Harvard University. Harvard Library bulletin. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library. Volume V, Number 1 (Winter 1951)

C

In the Harvard College Library are three seventeenth-century codices which indubitably belonged to Dom Antonio de Ataide. They passed from the Castel-Melhor collection to that of Fernando Palha in 1879, and thence to Harvard in 1928. There is a brief description of them in the catalogue of the Palha library, where it is stated that they were compiled by Dom Antonio de Ataide and comprise a total of 162 documents and printed pieces. The majority relate to the years 1618-33, thus covering Dom Antonio's service as Captain-General of the Portuguese Home Fleet and as Governor of Portugal, but they include a few transcripts of earlier documents. These three codices afford a wealth of material for the study of seventeenth-century shipping and sailors.¹³

Volume I opens with a series of papers giving copious statistical and technical information concerning gun-founding, and naval guns and ammunition for ships ranging from 250 to 2,000 tons. They include a list of the guns in the Spanish squadron of galleons which left Cadiz in 1629, and details of the train of artillery formed at Brussels in 1630.

The next items are very detailed lists of the materials supplied or purchased for the construction and fitting-out of two East Indiamen in 1623-24, the *São Bartholomeu* and the *Santa Helena*, which left Lisbon for Goa on the 6th April 1625. The prices and specifications of the timber, rigging, sails, etc., are given in itemized lists. These are followed by a full list of the pay and allowances for the officers and seamen of an average East India carrack (18 officers, 60 sailors, 60 gromets, 4 cabin boys, and 26 gunners), as also itemized lists of the provisions, medical supplies, firewood, etc., necessary for such a voyage. The estimates include particulars of the seamen's 'liberdades' or allowances of duty-free goods which they were allowed to import, based on a sliding scale according to rank. This list is undated, but would appear to be of about 1633.¹⁴

¹³ *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Fernando Palha*, comp. José Antonio Maniz (Lisbon, 1896), Pt. III, No. 2943. The codices formed lot 37 in the Castel-Melhor catalogue of 1878.

¹⁴ The details given in these papers of Dom Antonio de Ataide about the 'liberdades da India,' as they were commonly called, are much more extensive than the summary given in tabular form by Luiz de Figueiredo Falcão in 1612 in his *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda e real patrimonio dos reinos de Portugal, India, e ilhas adjacentes* (Lisbon, 1859), pp. 198-199. It may be added that J. Lucio de Azevedo

Very detailed lists of various armadas are given in the following pages, including an imperfect copy of the printed list (Lisbon: Antonio Alvarez, 9 May 1588, 40 pages) of the Invincible Armada of Medina Sidonia against England.¹⁶ Other lists include the armada of Don Fadrique de Toledo for the recovery of Bahia in 1624; and Luso-Portuguese naval expeditions to Pernambuco in 1631. The lists are not confined to ships' names but give full details of the men, munitions, and supplies which they carried.

Next comes a deed of sale of a galleon at San Sebastian in Guipuzcoa (8th June 1628). This is followed by a printed proposal for equipping a squadron of six sail for Cartagena and Alicante in 1630. Next there is a series of printed and manuscript contracts concerning Masibradi and his fleet, dating from the years 1631-33. Then come the instructions and powers for the Marquês de Castel-Rodrigo for fitting out an India fleet in 1628, with marginal annotations in the holograph of Dom Antonio de Ataide (see Plate Ia). A detailed estimate for equipping a galleon of 550 tons for the India voyage and return, dated 18th January 1633, follows. Then come tables for fitting masts to ships and carracks of 800 to 1,000 tons according to their size. Then follow other similar estimates, including one of the cost of fitting out a galleon of 600 tons for service in the home fleet for six months, provided with 126 sailors, 200 soldiers, and 20 guns. Next come estimates for fitting out two four-deck carracks for the India voyage, each provided with 24 guns (of only 10 and 11 pounds calibre), 200 sailors, and 300 soldiers. These estimates include itemized lists of sets of sails and sail plans for India carracks. The last document in this codex is a very detailed estimate for careening and refitting the Spanish flagship *N^a S^{ra} de la Concepción*

is mistaken in his assertion (*Épocas de Portugal económico*, Lisbon, 1929, pp. 108-109) that these 'liberdades' were finally abolished by King Dom João IV in 1648. They were, it is true, withdrawn in 1647, in return for a higher regular pay-scale for officers and crews; but their removal proved so unpopular, as had previous attempts in the same direction, that the old system had to be restored two years later, and it persisted for a long time after. See Simão Ferreira Paes, *Recopilação*, pp. 143-144 and 147-148. The Dutch and English East India Companies likewise found that licensed (and unlicensed) 'private trade' proved a perennial source of smuggling, but, as with the Portuguese Crown, it was something that their employees neither would nor could relinquish owing to the (in most cases) purely nominal salaries which were paid them.

¹⁶ A perfect copy of this first edition of the Armada list appears in Volume II; see below. The copy in Volume I lacks both the first and last leaves, the first being supplied in manuscript.

in 1629, which, as Dom Antonio has commented in one margin, 'es notable.'¹⁶

Volume II begins with a perfect copy (one of two known) of the order of battle of Medina Sidonia's Armada printed by Antonio Alvarez, Lisbon, 9 May 1588 (see Plate Ib).¹⁷ This volume also contains a number of printed instructions for masters and pursers of ships engaged in the East and West India trades. The most interesting, and at the same time the fullest, of these is a Portuguese one of 1611, containing 24 pages. The title-page reads: 'Regimento dos escriptaens das naos da carreira da India. [crowned shield bearing the Portuguese arms] Impresso em Lisboa, Anno. 1611.' (see plate IIa); the work is thus obviously a relic of Dom Antonio de Ataide's voyage to Goa in that year. Its importance may be judged by a translation of the 'Tavoada deste Libro,' or table of contents, which reads as follows:

1. The purser's standing orders or regulations (Regimento).
2. The goods which the master of this carrack received here in the India House in accordance with the first paragraph of these regulations.
3. The victuals and supplies which the carrack's steward received here in accordance with the second paragraph of the regulations.
4. The arms and artillery which the master and the master-at-arms received here in the magazine, in accordance with paragraph 3.
5. Record of the day on which this carrack leaves here for India, and the day on which it leaves India for the Kingdom. As also of the day on which it enters any port, and of the day on which it leaves it.
6. The muster-roll of the seamen and of the men-at-arms who go in this carrack, as per paragraph 4.
7. Record of those who blaspheme in the ship, as per paragraph 5.
8. The pepper and spices which the master receives in India, paragraph 6.

¹⁶ See Figueiredo Falcão, *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda*, pp. 205-208, and the seventeenth-century shipbuilding treatises reproduced by Eugénio Estanislau de Barros, *Traçado e construção das naus portuguesas dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon, 1933), and Christiano José de Senna Barcellos, 'Construções de naus em Lisboa e Goa para a carreira da India no começo do seculo XVII,' *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 17th Ser., No. 1, 1898-99) — especially pp. 57-61 of the latter, where Dom António de Ataide, Conde de Castro-Daire, gives his opinion on the problem of three- and four-deck carracks. See also *Mariner's Mirror*, XXVI, 388-406, and Helio Viana, *Estudos de história colonial* (São Paulo, 1948), pp. 292-299. On Masibradi and his fleet see Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de Aragon* (Madrid, 1895-1903), IV, 438.

¹⁷ See above for another, imperfect copy in Volume I. The only other perfect copy traced is that of Lord Burghley in the British Museum. The compiler of the Palha catalogue very properly drew attention (Pt. III, No. 2943) to this important piece.

9. Regulation concerning the slaves and goods of passengers who come from India to the Kingdom.
10. Muster-roll of the passengers who come from India to the Kingdom.
11. Concerning those who fall ill aboard this ship, on the making of their wills, with all the necessary declarations.
12. The inventories and declarations of those who die at sea.
13. The method of disposal of the goods of those who die at sea.
14. Concerning the seamen in this carrack who leave or change places with others, according to the regulation.
15. If some sailors or gromets die and more are necessary to take their place [in India].
16. The declaration you will make concerning the method of lading this carrack with pepper and spices.
17. The alms vowed at sea in connection with the Hospital of All Saints.¹⁸
18. The records you will keep of what concerns the goods and service of our Lord the King.
19. The declarations made to the captain of this carrack and to everyone else aboard it, that they must register their baggage for clearance through this house.
20. Action to be taken regarding seamen of this carrack who are found at sea to be others than those who were signed on at this house.
21. Description of the muster-roll which is to be given to the scrivener of the central registry [in Goa], and how the said muster is to be carried out.

The text of these preliminary instructions is followed by that of others with separate chapter headings, dealing with a heterogeneous lot of items, amongst which may be mentioned the following: the method of lading the carrack in India with its cargo of spices and the baggage of the passengers and crew, together with the precautions to be taken to avoid overloading, the allotment of cabins, berths, and shipboard space in general; prohibition of New Christians (crypto-Jews) going to India without special leave; senior officers forbidden to take aboard more water for their own use than is allowed to other persons; watch to be kept aboard the carracks whilst in harbor at Goa or Cochin; precautions against the outbreak of fire on board; warnings against leaving the ships' boats at the island of Saint Helena on the

¹⁸ This rather cryptic entry alludes to the custom of passengers and seamen in Portuguese ships vowing to give alms or other benefaction to their favorite shrine or saint if they reached their destination in safety, such promises being particularly common in time of storm or tempest. This paragraph of the text enjoined the purser, on such occasions, to remind devout penitents of the great Hospital of All Saints at Lisbon, where their thank-offerings would be much appreciated and put to good practical use in relief of the sick.

homeward voyage — and so forth and so on. Although this particular *Regimento* is dated 1611, some of the official documents reprinted therein date from the fifteen-seventies, and the regulations as they stand clearly embody the experience of the preceding century. Taken in conjunction with the pilots' journals previously described, and the accounts of travelers such as Linschoten and Pyrard de Laval, they give us a wonderful picture of life on board a Portuguese East Indiaman in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Another item of interest in this volume is a 42-page printed Ordinance, in Spanish, dated Madrid 16th June 1618, which lays down in great detail the rules and regulations to be observed for building ships of various categories for the Spanish navy. This decree supersedes a previous one of similar tenor dated 6th July 1613, a manuscript copy of which is attached. The printed Ordinance is copiously annotated throughout by Dom Antonio de Ataide, who has entered in the margins the Portuguese (and Indo-Portuguese) measurements corresponding to the Spanish measurements as given in the text (see Plate IIb). As there are scores of these calculations involved, Dom Antonio must have gone to considerable trouble to annotate this copy so fully. Leaves 67-110 of this volume contain Portuguese Regulations (in manuscript) dated 1578, on the construction of ships, carracks, and galleons, so this section of the papers presents a fairly complete picture of Iberian ship-building methods in the years 1578-1618.¹⁹

This volume also contains (leaves 111-121) manuscript copies of the 1515 'Regimento' concerning the *liberdades* of the seamen on board the Portuguese East Indiamen and of the pepper contract of 1570.²⁰ 'The *Regimento das Caixas de Liberdades*' of 1515 laid down that all persons returning to Portugal from India were allowed to import spices (otherwise a Crown monopoly) and certain other goods duty-free, up to a total value which varied in accordance with the rank and social station of the individual concerned, as follows:

Governor, Captain-Major, and Bishop of Goa	400 milreis each
Captains of Armadas, Captains of Fortresses, Comptrollers of the Exchequer, Vicar-General, Captain-Major of the Sea	300 milreis each

¹⁹ See the sources quoted in note 16 above, to which may be added from the Spanish side those listed by Veitia Linaje, *Noticia de la contratacion de las Indias*, II, 167-189. The 'cedula' of 16 June 1618 is mentioned on p. 169.

²⁰ For the pepper contract see *Arquivo portuguez oriental*, Fasc. V (Nova Goa, 1865), pp. 715-726.

Captains, Judges, Chief-Justice, Secretary of State, and fidalgos in the King's service	250 milreis each
'All my other servants'	200 milreis each
All men-at-arms	120 milreis each
All sailors	120 milreis each
All gromets	80 milreis each

All chests for importing such *liberdades* were to be made to a standard measurement of 'seis palmos de vara em comprido e tres dalto e dous e meio de largo.' They were allotted on the following basis:

Captains of Fortresses and of Voyages	4 chests each
Gentlemen of the Royal Household	2 to 3 each a/c category
Men-at-arms who served over 2 years	1 chest each
Masters, pilots, and pursers of Indiamen	1 chest each
Bombardiers	1 chest each
Every two sailors	1 chest between them
Every three gromets	1 chest between them

There were a few other recognized perquisites for the officers and crews of Indiamen, but it was these '*caixas de liberdades*' which formed the most dearly prized privileges.

The Spanish documents in the codex include (leaves 147-151) an interesting manuscript '*cedula*' of 1628 on the establishment of a gun-foundry. Among printed documents in leaves 134-146 are a number of Portuguese *Regimentos* dealing with such matters as the avoidance of overlading homeward-bound East Indiamen (18th February 1604), and a prohibition 'against bringing back from India male slaves who are not old enough to help work the ship, and against bringing any female slaves on penalty of their being confiscated' (23rd March 1618).²¹

Leaves 157-159 contain a brief manuscript narrative of the voyage from Surat to Europe of some Portuguese prisoners aboard an English East Indiaman. These men had been captured in the rout of Dom Francisco Coutinho at Sualhi ('Swalley Hole') near Surat on 27th October 1630. Their observations on the pay and conditions of employment of their captors are interesting.²²

²¹ See *Arquivo portuguez oriental*, Fasc. VI (Nova Goa, 1875), pp. 789, 1130, and 1153; C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770* (The Hague, 1948), p. 229.

²² For the English side of Dom Francisco Coutinho's defeat see Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1630-1633* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 65-70; *The Travels of*

Leaves 166-202 comprise a mass of papers, in manuscript, relating to the loss of the *Conceição* off Ericeira in October 1621, and the subsequent accusations made against Dom Antonio de Ataide.²³ The remaining papers (all manuscript) in this volume contain particulars of different armadas fitted out in Spain and Portugal at various dates between 1580 and 1620.²⁴ The documents transcribed on leaves 210-348 are invaluable for anyone who wishes to make a detailed study of Portuguese and Spanish naval administration and supply problems during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Volume III of this remarkable collection begins with a copy of Dom Antonio de Ataide's patent as Captain-General of the Armada of the Crown of Portugal in 1618. The rest of this volume consists of a series of letters, reports and orders, daily states, etc., relating to the three successive armadas which Dom Antonio de Ataide commanded in the years 1618-20. From these papers it is possible to follow the movements of the ships and the doings on board almost daily. It is also interesting to note (as Dom Antonio himself does on the margin of fol. 56v) how his administrative orders and arrangements improved as he gained in experience during his months at sea. These papers show, amongst other things, that Dom Antonio took a great interest in the selection and training of naval gunners. It was in this branch of the sea service that the Portuguese and Spaniards were noticeably weaker than their Dutch and English opponents, and the Portuguese commander's efforts to improve the quality and quantity of his gunners are worthy of close study. The extent to which Portugal and Spain depended on naval stores and supplies from Northern Europe, and to what extent they could obtain such supplies in the Iberian peninsula itself are problems which also appear in this codex and in the preceding ones. Volume III itself is concluded (leaves 157-162) with transcripts of various documents concerning English naval preparations in 1620, including correspondence between the Spanish ambassador in London, Conde de

Peter Mundy, ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple (Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series; Cambridge, etc., 1907-36), II, 350-353. The fullest Portuguese version is that given by Antonio Bocarro and Pedro Barreto de Rezende, 'Livro do estado da India oriental, 1635' (British Museum, MS Sloane 197, foll. 183-184), where, however, the English are wrongly described as 'Holandezes,' as they are in Fernão de Queiroz' brief mention of this action on p. 312 of his *Vida do Irmão Pedro de Basto* (Lisbon, 1689).

²³ Cf. British Museum, MS Egerton 1136, foll. 475-510, described above, p. 28.

²⁴ Some of the leaves in these later documents are badly corroded in places by ink acid.

Gondomar, and Sir John Digby. In concluding this brief survey of the contents of these three codices, it should be emphasized that they provide valuable source material not only for the history of the Portuguese navy in the first four decades of the seventeenth century, but for that of the Spanish armadas as well.

D

In the Manuscripts Section of the National Library at Rio de Janeiro are two folio volumes designated Pernambuco, I-1-2, Nos. 44 and 45, respectively. Both of them contain a large number of papers annotated by Dom Antonio de Ataíde, and were presumably arranged by him in their present form, although the binder has sometimes separated documents which should be together. These two volumes are identical with lots 227 and 49 in the Castel-Melhor catalogue of 1878.²⁵

Volume I begins with a very curious and detailed statistical survey of Brazil as it was about 1630, arranged in tabular form, so as to facilitate reference and consultation. It is valuable for the particulars which it gives concerning the sugar production of the different captaincies, and estimates of how many ships or galleons could be built annually in each of the harbors where sufficient wood was available.²⁶

This volume also contains some interesting printed *Memorials* on the State of Maranhão in 1624-30, this colony being at that time and for long afterwards administered separately from the rest of Brazil. These are amongst the greatest Luso-Brazilian bibliographical rarities, and their value as such is further enhanced by the fact that they are profusely annotated by Dom Antonio de Ataíde. In connection with Bento Maciel Parente's *Memorial* of 1630, he has added in the margins the figures for the population of the colony and notes on the state of the defences. In Estácio da Silveira's curious and tendentious *Relação sumaria* of 1624, Dom Antonio frequently takes the memorialist to task for his over-optimistic assertions. Silveira's statement that the local Indians 'are very robust and live for many years' is flatly contradicted by the laconic marginal note, 'they are frail and die quickly.' The

²⁵ Some of the documents have been utilized by Helio Viana in his *Estudos de história colonial*, but the author of this interesting work was unaware that Dom Antonio de Ataíde was the compiler and annotator of these papers.

²⁶ This survey may have some connection with the manuscript 'Memoria de como se pueden fabricar en el Brasil 68 galeones de 1,000 toneladas cada hum,' Madrid, 15 April 1630 (Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Cod. 51-V-28, foll. 154-155v).

author's assertion that the voyage from Lisbon to the Maranhão averaged about twenty days is corrected in the margin to 'between thirty-five and forty.' To Silveira's claim that the hinterland was very rich in gold and silver mines, Dom Antonio retorts, 'nothing is known of this.' On fol. 39 the author's observation that the Maranhão produces the best quality of sugar-cane in Brazil is stigmatized as a wanton exaggeration. Dom Antonio also queries Silveira's estimates of the length of the Amazon and the width of its mouth; and he contemptuously dismisses the memorialist's assertion that the country was full of half-breeds descended from the French predecessors of the Portuguese.²⁷

Leaves 44-48 contain interesting information of the cost of building the ship *N^a S^a da Guia* at Oporto in June-October 1624, and of her voyage to Paraíba in the following year. Various proposals to finance the upkeep of coast defence fleets and convoys from the proceeds of a tax on Brazilian sugar exports are discussed in these reports at considerable length. This volume also includes a number of papers on the search for mines of precious metals in Brazil (1606-17), and details of the efforts made to raise money, men, and ships for the war against the Dutch in Pernambuco (1630-32).²⁸

The companion volume to the above is scarcely less interesting. It begins with the correspondence of the Spanish naval commander-in-chief, Don Fadrique de Toledo y Osorio, with the authorities at Lisbon and Madrid on the financial difficulties which were crippling the Spanish navy. The crews had not been paid for some years in several instances, and Don Fadrique protests that he cannot accept responsibility for what the starving and ill-clothed soldiers and sailors may do. Most of the letters bear the great Spanish admiral's autograph signature. Connected with this correspondence is the interrogation of two Dutch prisoners captured when Pater's flagship was sunk by Oquendo off Pernambuco in 1631. It is dated 28th December 1631, and bears the autograph signatures of the two Hollanders, one being the master gunner and the other a barber-surgeon.

²⁷ For Bento Maciel Parente (whose autograph signature is on the *Memorials* which he initiated) and his checkered career in the Maranhão see João Francisco Lisboa, *Obras completas*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1901); Barão de Studart's edition of Manuel Severim de Faria, *Historia portuguesa e de outras provincias do occidente . . . de 1610 até . . . 1640* (Fortaleza-Ceará, 1903); Vianna, *Estudos*, pp. 252-291.

²⁸ Several of the documents relating to Pernambuco in this codex were printed by Vianna, *Estudos*, pp. 201-299. Some of them duplicate or complement those in Volume I of the Palha codices at Harvard.

On leaves 72-74 is a very interesting report by the commander of the Terço da Armada de Portugal (Portuguese Navy Regiment) on his unit, explaining its organization, discipline, and pay. Dom Antonio practically rewrote this report in his annotations (12th June 1631), and makes repeated references to the regimental standing orders of March 1621, which have never (to my knowledge) been found hitherto. He evidently retained a lasting interest in this corps which he had raised in 1618.²⁰

Other matters covered in this volume, either in whole or in part, include such varied topics as the following: list of the sums raised from the New Christians or converted Jews in 1630-31, for the purpose of financing overseas wars; the Crown lawsuit against João Pereira Corte-Real, admiral of the fleet and governor of the Cape Verde Islands in 1628-32 (this suit was brought at the instance of the Crown contractor, André da Fonseca); the preparations for the voyage of Joseph Pinto Pereira to India in 1632; bottomry in connection with ships of the Carreira da Índia in 1609-23; allegations of undue Jewish influence in the Portuguese East India Company formed by the Crown in 1628-32. A list of the ships which brought corn into Lisbon during the year 1631 (leaves 154-155) shows to what an extent Portugal depended on foreign shipping for the importation of essential foodstuffs, even from the Azores. Not one of these 145 vessels was Portuguese; they were all French, German, or Spanish.

The foregoing summary is purely selective and does not exhaust the variety of maritime and colonial subjects which are covered in these two codices, but enough has been mentioned to indicate their scope.

E

On the occasion of my visit to Rio de Janeiro in 1949, I had the good fortune to examine some of the manuscripts in the valuable library of Sir Henry Lynch. One of these turned out to be a codex concerned with the East India trade in the seventeenth century, and Sir Henry was so generous as to present this very important manuscript to the Library of London University, King's College, where it is now catalogued under the designation of Codex-Lynch. It is identical

²⁰ Gasão de Mellos de Mattos, *Notícias do Terço da Armada Real (1618-1707)*, p. 10, states that he was unable to find out how this regiment was originally organized. This report annotated by Dom Antonio de Ataíde would seem to supply the answer.

with lot 242 of the Castel-Melhor catalogue, and consists of 250 numbered folio leaves. Like the other codices described in this article it is freely annotated throughout by Dom Antonio de Ataide.

This codex is of particular interest in that it is a collection of papers (many of them original and others in contemporary and certified transcripts) relating to the little-known Portuguese East India Company which was incorporated by a Royal Alvara of the 27th August 1628. The Company was founded by the Crown in avowed imitation of the Dutch East India Company, but the measure of state control and interference in its constitution was so great that no private merchant could be induced to invest any capital in this new venture. Apart from the Crown, which contributed 900,000 cruzados in money, ships, and artillery, the Portuguese municipalities subscribed some 300,000 cruzados, but only one Indo-Portuguese City (Chaul) followed their example. The Company had perforce to be liquidated in 1633, but these papers prove that it did function for over three years — a fact of which most historians seem to be quite unaware.

The papers collected by Dom Antonio in this volume consist of memoranda about the Company and its affairs; original letters from its representatives at Goa, with Dom Antonio's marginal remarks thereon; fitting-out and repair of the Company's ships, both at Lisbon and at Goa; purchase of pepper, indigo, and other Asiatic exports; detailed price lists and balance sheets covering the Company's transactions in 1629-33. Apart from their great importance in this hitherto unexplored field of Portuguese colonial history, these papers also provide an interesting comparison with the published Dutch and English sources for the India trade in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century.²⁰

²⁰ The prices paid for labor in the dockyard at Goa, and for pepper, indigo, saltpeter, etc., and the observations on the cost of living and commodity prices in the letters of the representatives in Goa may be compared with the material available in printed sources such as Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1624-1629 and 1630-1633* (Oxford, 1909 and 1910); W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb, a Study in Indian Economic History* (London, 1923); Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, *The East India Trade in the XVIIth Century, in Its Political and Economic Aspects* (London, 1923); Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, *Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1926); *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia . . . 1631-34*, ed. H. T. Colenbrander (The Hague, 1898). It need hardly be said that none of the writers or editors of these works knew of the Portuguese material bearing on their subject in the Codex-Lynch. A copy of King Felipe's circular letter of 1 March 1629, announcing the incorporation of the Company and soliciting capital investments from Portuguese and colonial municipalities, is printed in George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa* (Cape Town, 1898-1903), IV, 206-210.

From the naval historian's point of view, the most interesting features of this codex are: (a) the details given on the construction, cost, and armament of Portuguese East India carracks, which supplement those given in the Palha Codices at Harvard, although these latter are a good deal fuller and cover a longer period; (b) the full report of a judicial inquiry into alleged miscarriages in connection with the outward-bound India Fleet of 1629; (c) proposals to build bigger and better ships at Goa.

The perennial argument between the advocates of three-deck carracks as opposed to the unwieldy four-deckers which were so popular with the officers and seamen of the *Carreira da Índia*, is represented by a paper on leaves 9-11. Dom Antonio was a protagonist of the smaller and handier type of ship, as was his colleague the Admiral João Pereira Corte-Real.³¹

One of the most valuable papers from a technical point of view is a detailed inventory of the ships and naval stores which were handed over to the administrators of the new Company by the Crown dockyard officials at Lisbon, dated April 1633 (leaves 169-196). This is complete almost down to the last nail, and as the estimated value of each ship, gun, mast, sail, and so forth is listed, the inventory gives a useful idea of the prices of such things at that time. The valuation was done by a board of experts including the master-shipwrights, Manoel Gomes Galego and Valentim Themudo; Antonio Dias, master-caulker; Balthazar Gonçalvez, the master-superintendent of the dockyard; and a number of pilots and masters of East India ships. It may be added that this codex affords a means of comparing European prices of naval stores with those prevailing at Goa. Several of the ships operated by the Company in 1629-32 were extensively refitted and repaired at Goa. The cost of such repairs is given in considerable detail in the accounts submitted annually by the Company's representatives in the Indo-Portuguese capital, and may be compared with the prices for

³¹ See *Mariner's Mirror*, XXVI, 388-406. Dom Antonio de Ataíde adds something to João Pereira Corte-Real's arguments which are summarized in this article. He states that in the four-deckers the pilot could not see the mainsail and the tiller simultaneously, with the result that orders to shorten sail, etc., were passed by word of mouth and were often garbled or too slow in transmission, whereas in three-deckers the pilot could give the necessary orders directly.

similar items at Lisbon, given in the various estimates transcribed in the three volumes of the Palha codices at Harvard.³²

The letters of the Company's representatives at Goa to their board of directors at Lisbon are very full and frank. They naturally have a great deal to say on shipping matters, and I have space for only a few instances here. Writing home in January 1631, they state that the cost of repainting, caulking, and careening the carracks at Goa is double what it was a few years previously because 'there are no longer here the contractors who used to repair and refit ships in the old days, whose prices were reasonable because they tendered in competition with each other. Nowadays it is clean contrary, because they all went bankrupt and have no capital, so that there are only two men left and these two have an understanding between themselves and submit their tenders jointly.'

Nevertheless, despite the vastly increased cost of shipbuilding and ships' stores, the Company's Goa agents strongly advocated the building of carracks in India, when asked for their opinion on this point by the Lisbon authorities. They suggested that one carrack should be built annually at Goa, 'since we have here so expert a master-shipwright as is Diogo Luiz, and a ship made here lasts for many years,' but they demanded thirty or forty thousand cruzados in cash to enable them to make a start. The plans sent out from Lisbon envisaged the construction of a four-deck carrack, and the dockyard officials at Goa were unanimous in preferring this type to the three-deck variety so persistently advocated by João Pereira Corte-Real and Dom Antonio de Ataide. The death of Balthazar Gonçalves, who had been sent out to supervise the building of the new carrack, was considered locally to be of little moment, 'because the acting master-shipwright is Diogo Luiz, pupil of Valentim Themudo, who is regarded as one of the greatest living shipwrights, and who is in no way inferior to his master Valentim Themudo, as he clearly proved in his building of the unlucky carrack *São João [Baptista]*, which, if God had permitted it to reach Portugal and been seen for what it was, everyone would agree with

³² Dom Antonio de Ataide states elsewhere in this codex (fol. 11) that the cost of a typical four-deck carrack was 130,000 cruzados, whereas a three-deck galleon could be built for only 74,000 cruzados. A carrack was manned with 200 sailors and 300 or 400 soldiers, whereas a galleon's complement was 120 sailors and a maximum of 130 soldiers. See also Frazão de Vasconcelos, 'A fabrica das naus da carreira da India no século XVII,' *Anais do Club Militar Naval*, LIX (1928); Vianna, *Estudos*, 292-299.

what we say, apart from which he is a very good and true man and of an upright conscience.'³³

From a letter written about a year later at Goa, it is apparent that the idea of building a four-decker carrack for the Company was abandoned. The Viceroy, Conde de Linhares, had organized a new shipyard, 'near the wharf of Saint Catherine next to the galleys' yard, where he has laid down the keels of two powerful galleons. It is only in this place that carracks can be built at Goa, for the yard at Pangim where they used to build them is now unserviceable owing to the inroads of the sea, and the passage being silted up.' The Goa agents went on to say that all official interest was concentrated on the building of these two galleons, and they saw no chance of being able to start the construction of their own carrack until these were launched. In any event, they concluded, the Viceroy's personal support must be enlisted, 'because otherwise there is no chance of our being able to build even the smallest pinnacc.'³⁴

One of the most interesting series of the papers which are bound together in this codex comprises the report of a judicial court of inquiry which was held at Goa in 1630 to investigate allegations of inefficiency and corruption in connection with the fitting-out of the two carracks, *Santo Ignacio de Loyola* and *Bom Jesus do Monte Calvario*, which were sent out to India by the Company in that year. Briefly, the

³³For the shipwreck of the *São João Baptista* on her maiden voyage in 1622 see Francisco Vaz de Almada, *Tratado do successo que teve a nao São João Baptista, e jornada que fez a gente que della escapou, desde trinta e tres graos no Cabo de Boa Esperança, onde fez naufragio, até Zofala, vindo sempre marchando por terra* (Lisbon, 1625), which was reprinted in the third volume annexed to Gomes de Brito's *Historia tragico-maritima*; and again, with an English translation, by Theal in *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, VIII, 1-137.

³⁴The two galleons laid down by the Conde de Linhares in 1630, the *Bom Jesus* and the *São Boaventura*, were seen six years later by the celebrated Cornish traveler, Peter Mundy: 'Att our hocking here was launched a New Galleon off 14 Foote by the Keele, as they say, beeing First blessed, Christned, and named *el buen Jesus* by the Archbishoppe thatt came over in the Carracke as aforementioned. Shee was launched in a Device wherin shee was built, called a Cradle, which is a world of rymbor Made uppe and fastned on either side to keepe her uprightt, and soe with Cables, Capstanes and a Multitude of people, the[y] Forcéd her into the Water, the way beeing first very well rymbred and tallowed. There was another on the stockes. They are very long a Doing and issue att e[x]cessive rates' (*Travels of Peter Mundy*, III, 59). For Diogo Luiz and his certified list of galleons and carracks at Goa in 1636 see my article, 'O General do Mar, Antonio Telles, e o seu combate naval contra os Holandeses na barra de Goa em 4 de Janeiro de 1638,' *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 37 (Nova Goa, 1938), pp. 55-58.

allegations were that (a) pilots, gunners, and other such persons had bought their respective posts, instead of being awarded them on the basis of merit and experience; (b) the ships' rigging and tackle were deficient and rotten; (c) the provisions and wine provided were inadequate for the length of the voyage and were poor in quality.

The second-in-command or Admiral, Christovão Borges Corte-Real, declared on oath that 'when he was in Lisbon engaged in signing on men in the warehouse for the voyage, he saw Dom Jorge Mascarenhas take out a nominal roll and put down in it the names of such persons as he wished. And he saw that a sailor of many voyages whom he knew by sight but whose name he did not know, was left out, and this man said in a loud voice "I am left out because I have no money to buy my place, and others who have money but no experience go instead." And the said Dom Jorge gave orders in a loud voice that this man was to be arrested but nobody laid a finger on him.' Dom Jorge Mascarenhas was the Crown-appointed president of the Company's board of five directors at Lisbon, and he and his family were favorite targets for the accusations of witnesses in this case. It was alleged by various individuals that Dom Jorge had taken bribes, and his sons likewise; his wife was accused of having sent barrels of wine aboard to be carried duty-free to India by the ships' officers who had got their places through her husband's influence.²⁵

Another witness, who had come out in the flagship, deposed that the provisions were so few and rotten that everyone would have died of starvation if the voyage had not been an exceptionally quick one. The rigging and tackle were even worse and no spare sets of sails were carried. When the Captain-Major, Dom Jorge de Almeida, asked the Master for some canvas to make sails, the latter replied that he had none, 'to which the Captain-Major retorted that he had better find some quickly or else he would make it from his beard, to which the Master answered that the Junta had not given him any, and this was said in the presence of the deponent and of Dom Rodrigo de Costa.' Other witnesses deposed that some of the sailors had never had their hand on a tiller previously, and the master-gunner stated that only five of his men knew their business, for the remainder were cobblers and tailors from Lisbon. One of the witnesses warned the court that they should

²⁵ Several witnesses alleged that the Master of the *Bom Jesus do Monte Calvaria* had secured his place by a bribe paid to the wife of Dom Jorge Mascarenhas through the intermediary of the Jesuit Padre Antonio Rodriguez.

not believe the evidence given by the seamen, 'because they are bound to give false evidence since they depend on the favor of Dom Jorge and of the Company to enable them to make other voyages, as can be seen by the Master, Jeronimo de Gouvea, who after complaining to the deponent in Lisbon that the carrack only carried insufficient, rotten, and disintegrating tackle, was heard by the deponent subsequently to say on board to somebody (he doesn't remember to whom) that he had given Dom Jorge a certificate certifying that the carrack was well fitted with tackle.'

Despite this insinuation, most of the sailors who gave evidence frankly admitted that the provisions and ships' stores left much to be desired, although a few of them claimed that it was only their quantity and not their quality which was faulty. Virtually all the witnesses agreed that the ships would never have reached Goa under normal conditions; but although they left Lisbon exceptionally late in the season (19th April) they had unprecedently favorable weather the whole way and arrived unusually early (September). Many witnesses pointed out that conditions on board ship had been much better when things had been managed by the Crown. One deponent instanced the voyage of Dom Jorge de Meneses in *N^a S^{ra} do Rosario* in 1628, which lasted over seventeen months, yet the carrack reached Goa with plenty of provisions and wine aboard. The correspondence of the Company's Goa agents contains interesting details about the liberdades of the seamen, and is full of complaints of their behavior, 'so arrogant and disorderly that there is no bridling them.'

The Viceroy, Conde de Linhares, in his covering letter when forwarding the proceedings of the court to the Crown, stated that some of the evidence was clearly prejudiced and exaggerated, and that not all of the charges had been proved. He added that nevertheless it disclosed a sufficiently serious and unsatisfactory state of affairs, which reflected little credit on headquarters at Lisbon. He concluded by saying that there was no fear of similar miscarriages on the return voyage, since he had taken care thoroughly to refit, repair, and provision the two carracks, in which he had been well supported by the Goa agents of the Company, for whose zeal and integrity he could vouch.²⁰

²⁰ Despite the Viceroy's boast, the *Santo Ignacio de Loyola* was forced to call at Luanda in Angola on her return voyage, owing to shortage of food and water. She finally reached the Tagus on the last day of March 1632, but stranded off Ociras on

The sensational nature of the charges against Dom Jorge Mascarenhas as president of the Company so embarrassed the Governors of Portugal (one of whom was Dom Antonio de Ataide) when they received this report, that instead of sending it to Madrid through the 'usual channel' of the Council of Portugal, they sent it direct to King Felipe IV by the hand of the Marquês de Villa-Hermosa. The lethargic Castilian monarch evidently adopted his usual policy of masterly inactivity, since Dom Jorge Mascarenhas remained as head of the Company until its dissolution, and was later appointed first Viceroy of Brazil with the title of Marquês de Montalvão in 1640.⁸⁷

Lack of space precludes the giving of any more extracts from the various codices compiled or annotated by Dom Antonio de Ataide in the years 1611 to 1633, and now scattered throughout three continents after their disposal at the Castel-Melhor sale. Sufficient has been said to indicate their interest and scope, and it is to be hoped that some naval historian, at Harvard or elsewhere, may eventually make a study of them in earnest. It would be best to begin at Harvard, which has the most extensive collection so far located, but reference to the Castel-Melhor catalogue discloses several other interesting items (lots 20, 33, 44, 234, and 243, for example) which it would be worth while trying to trace.

It would obviously be absurd to claim that Dom Antonio de Ataide was a great naval commander, or that he made any outstanding contribution to the development of nautical science. But it may, I think, be fairly argued that he was a most competent seaman, and that he took an exceptionally keen and intelligent interest in all maritime affairs which came within his purview. As a Portuguese naval administrator he may perhaps be compared with his Castilian contemporary, Don Diego Brochero, who did so much to reorganize and improve the Spanish sea service. His nearest English counterpart is probably Sir

her way up the river next day, no lives being lost, but much of the cargo damaged by sea water before it could be unloaded. The *Bom Jesus de Monte Calvario* had reached Lisbon safely on the 21st October 1631.

⁸⁷ Dom Jorge de Mascarenhas, Conde de Castello-Novo and later Marquês de Montalvão, had a singularly checkered career, being in his time a prisoner of the Moors, Governor of Mazagão in Morocco, Viceroy of Brazil 1640-41, deposed and sent a prisoner to Portugal, released and made President of the Overseas Council and Comptroller of the Exchequer, then arrested again and thrown into prison, where he died in 1647.

William Monson, and his papers may be regarded as a Portuguese equivalent of the *Naval Tracts*. The colonial, maritime, and naval documents which he so assiduously amassed, and diligently annotated, are now scattered far and wide. Their thorough collation, comparison, and, where necessary, publication, will show students of seventeenth-century maritime history how much they owe to the professional zeal and collector's forethought of this industrious and honorable man.³⁸

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