

Item #16

Diogo do Couto, “Narrative of the Shipwreck of the Great Ship São Thomé,” in *The Tragic History of the Sea, 1589-1622*, edited by C.R. Boxer (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 51-68.

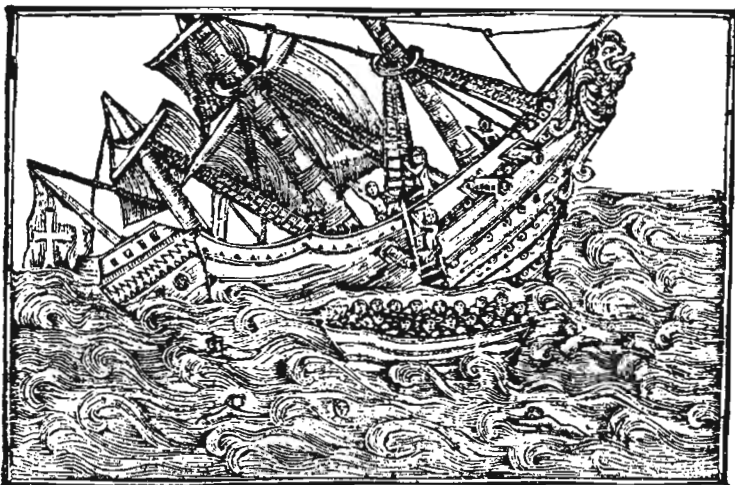
RELAÇÃO
DO
NAUFRÁGIO
DA
NAO S. THOMÉ

Na Terra dos Fumos, no anno de 1589.

E dos grandes trabalhos que passou

D. PAULO DE LIMA

Nas terras da Cafraria até sua morte.



ESCRITA POR DIOGO DO COUTO
Guarda mór da Torre do Tombo.

*A rogo da Senhora D. Anna de Lima irmãa do
dito D. Paulo de Lima no Anno de 1611.*

Tom. II.

V

NARRATIVE
OF THE
SHIPWRECK
OF THE
GREAT SHIP SÃO THOMÉ

In the Land of the Fumos, in the year 1589

And of the toil and tribulation undergone by

DOM PAULO DE LIMA

In the regions of Kaffraria until his death

WRITTEN BY DIOGO DO COUTO
Chief Custodian of the Torre do Tombo

*At the request of the Lady D. Anna de Lima sister of the said D. Paulo de
Lima in the year 1611*

SHIPWRECK OF THE GREAT SHIP SÃO THOMÉ

In the Land of the Fumos, in the year 1589

THE great ship *São Thomé*, captain Estevão da Veiga, left Cochin in January 1589, when Manuel de Sousa Coutinho was governor of the State of India.¹ The captain took his course outside the shoals,² and steering for the island of Diogo Rodrigues,³ which is in twenty degrees southern latitude, the south-east wind blew so hard that the seas ran very high and the ship drove before the wind. Owing to the flapping of the sails against the [fore]mast, she sprang a leak by the forechains, whereby the caulking oakum was squeezed out and she began to ship some water, but this was soon dealt with and very well repaired.

The wind moderating, they continued on their voyage as far as the latitude of the tip of the Island of São Lourenço,⁴ in latitude

¹ Manuel de Sousa Coutinho held this office from 4 May 1588 to 15 May 1591, after a long and distinguished career in the East. Accused of large-scale speculation and of favouring Hindu soothsayers, he was recalled by the home government in March 1591, but perished with three of his sons and everyone else on board the ship *Bom Jesus* when she foundered on the shoals of Garajaos at the end of February 1592.

² Presumably the shoals of Pedro dos Banhos and of the Garajaos, as explained in the *Roteiro de Portugal para a Índia* of Vicente Rodrigues, 14-15 of the 1615 Lisbon edition. Cf. also John Huighen van Linschoten *his discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (London, 1598), 316. 'Garajaos' were a species of seagull (*Lauris Dominicanus*). Cdt. Humberto Leitão argues that the relative positions of the shoals of Pedro (or Pero) dos Banhos and of Chagas in the sixteenth-century *roteiros* have become transposed on modern charts. Cf. his article: 'Identificação dos Baixos de Pero dos Banhos e das Chagas,' in *Studia. Revista semestral do Centro de Estudos Ultramarinos*, 1 (Lisboa, 1958), 118-22.

³ In lat. 19° 41' S, long. 63° 23' E, nowadays a dependency of Mauritius. Presumably named after a pilot of Affonso de Albuquerque, who was knighted after the conquest of Goa, receiving the royal confirmation of this honour in 1528 (Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portuguezes nos séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisboa, 1898, I, 270).

⁴ Madagascar; so called because it was allegedly discovered on St Lawrence Day (10 August) 1506. Cf. Camões, *Lusiadas*, x, 137.

twenty-six degrees, and between ninety and one hundred leagues from land. Here the carrack began to ship water in a greater quantity than the first time, and by another and more dangerous place, which was at the stern, below the sleepers by the aftermost fashion-pieces, where it is more difficult to get at than in any other part. The officers dealt with this by clearing the cargo from that part of the ship, and found the water which was very violent, as it was expelling oakum from the seams and the lead plates which were nailed on top. All this was due to the caulking, for which reason many ships are lost, which is very carelessly done, and to which the officers pay little heed, as if so many lives and so many goods which are embarked in these great ships were not their responsibility.

Having found the leak, they saw that it was such a spout that if an officer put his hand in, the strength of the water forced it back. And as they could not get at it without cutting the fashion-pieces they did this against the advice of many; but having cut some they stopped again as that was the place in which the whole ship was held together, and they had no proper fastenings on board to repair it, for the most or all of these ships sail at the mercy of God, to save four *cruzados*.¹ With knives, large nails, and other things they stopped the leak as well as they could, plugging the space between the timbers and the riders with many little sacks of rice so as to make a sticky substance, placing a chest on the top to hold them down, so that the water could not push them out.²

This helped them to some extent, and the water began to be less in the pump, and so they pursued their course in fair weather to the latitude of thirty-two and a half degrees south, a hundred and fifty leagues from Alagoa Bay,³ and eighty from the nearest part of the land of Natal. In this latitude the wind veered to WSW, it being already the 11th of March. They therefore took in all sail

¹ A Portuguese coin whose value was fixed at 400 *reis* in 1517, but which was mainly used in the East as a money of account. As such, it was often loosely equated with the ducat, the crown, and the Spanish silver *peso* or rial-of-eight, and its value in English money estimated at about four shillings.

² This rendering is entirely conjectural as the original is so obscurely worded as to be incomprehensible.

³ Nowadays spelt Algoa Bay, Port Elizabeth being situated on its southern shore.

except the courses, and stood towards the north. With the labouring caused by the wind and sea, the leak sprang again in the same place so quickly that there were soon six spans of water in the hold. All the people were in great consternation and began to throw into the sea everything on the waist so that the hatches should be clear; they passed the whole of that night without rest and with the pump-handles in their hands. There were already another two spans of water in the hold which began to rise above the ballast and to cover the pipes and Blackwood¹ which floated about on top of the water from side to side, giving such blows on the ship's sides as made the whole ship tremble.

Since the water kept rising, the officers² fixed some yards above the fore and aft hatches, from which were suspended many kegs of six *almudes*³ which could easily be hauled up and down, and all on board were allotted to work these, without distinction of persons, beginning with D. Paulo de Lima,⁴ who was a passenger with his wife,⁵ as also Bernardim de Carvalho,⁶ the captain Estevão da Veiga,⁷ Gregorio Botelho, father-in-law of Guterre de Monroy,⁸ who was taking his daughter to her husband, and other gentlemen and Religious who were on board the ship. All worked day and night at the pumps and the pulleys of the kegs, without leaving them even to eat; for the padres went about the waist with biscuits, preserves, and water, consoling them all bodily as well as

¹ Probably the chests made at Cochin from *Dalbergia latifolia*. Cf. *Travels of Peter Mundy* (Hak. Soc. ed., III, I, 112 n.).

² Here and elsewhere the word 'officiaes' (officers) is used in the sense of caulkers, carpenters and other artificers.

³ A measure for selling wine, there being 26 *almudes* to a pipe.

⁴ Dom Paulo de Lima Pereira, illegitimate son of Dom António de Lima, was born in 1538, and had served in the East since 1558, his principal feat being the capture and sack of Johore Lama in 1587. His exploits are related at length in Couto's *Vida*, written in 1611 and first published in 1765, and also in I. A. Macgregor's article 'Johore Lama in the sixteenth century,' *Journal of the Malay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, xxviii, pt. 2 (May, 1955), 88-120.

⁵ Dona Brites (Beatrice) de Montaróio, daughter of a wealthy resident of Ormuz.

⁶ He had served in the relief of Colombo from the siege by Rajasinha I of Kandy in the previous year.

⁷ He had been captain of the *São Thomé* on the outward voyage in 1588.

⁸ One of a family of Spanish origin whose members (usually named Guterre) had served in the East from the time of Affonso de Albuquerque, when a Guterre de Monroy married the governor's niece and was the first captain of the city of Goa.

spiritually. Yet notwithstanding all this diligence, the water gained ever more rapidly, so that they resolved to seek the nearest land and run the ship ashore there. They therefore put about under the foresail and the spritsail, not daring to set the mainsail, since they could not let go of the pumps and pulleys; for any time that they did so would suffice to let them be submerged.

While they were steering towards land, it being already the 14th March, the hold became waterlogged, and the pumps became blocked with the pepper which went into the hold so that they ceased to work and the men became discouraged; but those nobles, Religious, and honourable gentlemen continuing to labour with great heart and soul, they encouraged the others to work, persuading them not to lay down the baling gear, because this alone preserved them. The officers spent that day in clearing the pumps, fitting the pump-cisterns with tinplate so that they would not become choked again.¹ And forasmuch as it was necessary to throw overboard everything they could, this duty was entrusted to certain persons, who cast into the sea all the riches and luxury-goods with which the ship was so richly laden, which had all been gained with such sweat by some and with such care by others.

On the next day, which was the 15th of the month, the orlop-deck became covered with water, the wind was from the SW, and from time to time brought violent rain-storms, which caused them additional distress. In short, everything was against them, until the ship refused to answer the helm and broached-to, without sails, since they were all torn, while those on board could not do anything else but man the pumps, for this was their only hope of salvation if one existed. All this night they passed in great trouble and distress, for everything they could see represented death. For beneath them they saw a ship full of water, and above them the Heavens conspired against all, for the sky was shrouded with the deepest gloom and darkness. The air moaned on every side as if it was calling out 'death, death'; and as if the water which was entering beneath them was not sufficient, that which the Heavens poured on them from above seemed as if it would drown them in another deluge. Within the ship nothing was heard but sighs,

¹ Another conjectural translation of a very obscure passage.

groans, shrieks, moans, and prayers to God for mercy, as it seemed that He was wroth with all of them for the sins of some who were in the ship.

When next day dawned, and they all saw themselves without any hope, they tried to launch the ship's boat into the sea, for which purpose it was necessary to leave the bailing-kegs in order to open the ship. Between the decks it seemed as if the evil spirits were busy, so great was the noise made by the things which were floating about and bumping against each other, and crashing from side to side, so that those who went down below fancied that they beheld a likeness of the last judgment. The officers and other men hastened to get the boat ready, to which they affixed the washboards and whatever else seemed necessary for the voyage. This was all done with great difficulty, owing to the violent rolling of the ship which was lying in a cross sea, whose waves entered by the entry-port which had been cut open so that everything could be thrown from it into the sea, and this was the reason why the ship became so waterlogged.

At this time they were steering NW,¹ for the pilot² calculated that he was very close to land; and in fact they were really so near that at sunset on this day a sailor declared that he saw it, and shouted from the masthead 'land! land!' And as the pilot did not know whether there were any reefs in that locality, on which if the ship should strike they would all be lost, he thought he had better haul off and steer NE, so as to approach in the daytime and save all the people, who passed the whole of that night in the greatest depression of spirits and the greatest bodily toil that can be imagined.

At first light on the next day they could not see land, and they launched the boat into the sea with great difficulty, because while it was still on the tackles in mid-air, the men threw themselves into it like maniacs, without Dom Paulo de Lima, who had placed himself therein with a drawn sword, being able to stop them, for he

¹ NNW in the *Vida* (p. 149 of the 1903 edition).

² Gaspar Gonçalves, who had been pilot of the *Santiago*, wrecked on the Baixos da India in 1585. Cf. below, p. 67, n. 4. His behaviour on both occasions was severely criticized by Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages* (1598), 146-8, 166, and by Gomes de Solis, *Discursos* (1622), fol. 155.

wished to prevent the sailors going off in it and leaving him. But despite the vicious cuts and stabs which he mercilessly gave many of them, so many people crowded into it that it was in imminent danger of foundering on reaching the sea. With great difficulty Dom Paulo de Lima induced some of them to climb up out of it, by promising to save therein as many people as it could hold. The boat being finally lowered, it went round to the stern of the ship in order to take from the gallery the women who were there, with the Religious and the gentlemen; and as the ship was pitching so heavily that they were afraid she might swamp the boat, it was kept at a little distance. Orders were given that the women should be tied to pieces of muslin and thus lowered into the boat, which came closer to take them in, often after many a ducking, and with great trouble, grief and misery to all.

In the ship this work was directed by Bernardim de Carvalho, upon whom fell that duty as well as all other responsibilities; for Dom Paulo de Lima, being a good Christian and fearing God, thought that this disaster was caused by his sins; whereby he was so cast down that he did not seem to be the same man who in such great risks and perils as those in which he previously found himself had never lost a bit of his strength and courage, which now completely failed him.

In this manner were embarked: the wife of the said Dom Paulo; Dona Mariana, wife of Guterre de Monroy; and Dona Joanna de Mendoça, widow of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, who was going to the kingdom to enter a convent, being disenchanted with the world, although still young and able to enjoy it, a very virtuous lady, who gave to all an admirable example during the whole of this journey, as we shall have occasion to relate. She had with her a daughter less than two years old, whom she held in her arms, with her eyes raised to Heaven imploring God for mercy; and in order to lower her into the boat, it was necessary to take the child from her and hand it to her nurse. After these, there embarked the Fathers, and Bernardim de Carvalho, and last of all the master and the boatswain, who were busy getting some kegs of biscuit and water that they threw into the boat, which was now quite full and accordingly put off.

Dona Joanna de Mendoça, seeing that her daughter was left in the ship in the arms of her nurse who held her up to view with great weeping and wailing, displayed such grief and spoke so heartrendingly that she moved them all to come closer to the ship and beg the child of the nurse. They told her to tie it to a piece of muslin and lower it into the boat, which she refused to do, saying that unless they took her in also she would not give up the child. Nor could they persuade her otherwise, however much her mistress besought her with tears and entreaties which might have moved a tiger had the child been in its clutches.

Because this caused some delay, and the girl was hard-hearted, and the ship was rolling most terribly, they were forced to put off the boat that it might not be swamped, which they did with great pity for the wretched mother, whose eyes were fixed upon her child with that tenderness which all are wont to show when they look upon those they dearly love. And seeing that she was forced to leave her, though she would much rather have remained clasping her in her arms than have abandoned her to those cruel waves which seemed ready to engulf her, she turned her back upon the ship, and lifting her eyes to Heaven offered to God her tender child in sacrifice, like another Isaac, begging God's mercy for herself, because her child was innocent and she knew that He would have her in safe keeping. This spectacle did not fail to cause deep sorrow in all who were in that condition, in which each one had sore need of another's pity, if there were any hearts free to feel for ills other than their own.¹

The boat having put off a little, they remained waiting in the offing for Friar Nicolau do Rozario, of the Order of Preachers, who refused to embark in the boat without first confessing all those who remained in the ship; for he did not wish that so many people who were deprived of all corporal consolations should also lack those of the soul. He thus confessed and consoled all with great charity, weeping with them over their sad condition, and

¹ Fr João dos Santos, O.P., *Ethiopia Oriental* (Evora, 1609), II, 63, states that the wretched mother 'repeatedly begged those in the skiff to go and fetch her child, which none of them wished to do, but on the contrary they rebuked her for her importunities', and this callous behaviour is more in keeping with what subsequently happened.

absolving them generally and individually. And since it was not possible for the boat to approach and take him off by force, for he was resolved to remain in the ship for the consolation of those people, Dom Paulo de Lima spoke to him so efficaciously, and was so warmly seconded by all those who were in the boat, that he was finally persuaded to throw himself into the sea and swim out to the boat, wherein he was very warmly received by all on account of his great virtue and the example which he gave throughout the voyage, for which he was much loved and respected by all.¹ And after he was taken in, they steered for the land.

Those in the ship, seeing the departure of the boat, and having no further hope but in God and their own efforts, made some rafts as best they could, which were already alongside the ship when the boat put off. But as God Our Lord had chosen those people to perish in that place, all the rafts foundered, as did two *manchuas*² which were [being towed?] at the stern of the ship. It is certain that this must have been a punishment from God, for all the people in this ship might very easily have been saved if those in the boat had not cared only for themselves alone. For they could well first have prepared some large rafts, on which all might have taken refuge, with water and provisions, and been guided by the boat to land, which was so near that it was sighted next day. There would have been ample time for this, as the ship remained afloat for twenty-four hours without pumping, during which time as many rafts as necessary could have been prepared, for there were yards, masts, and spars, and more than sufficient timber.

For the loss of the ship *Santiago* on the Baixo da India (as re-

¹ Fr Nicolau do Rozario was a native of Pedrogão in the diocese of Coimbra and entered the Dominican Order in 1575. Having survived the loss of the *São Thomé* and the subsequent hardships of the journey to Sofala, he worked as a missionary among the Kaffirs of Zambesia until he was martyred near Sena in 1592. Cf. João dos Santos, O.P., *Ethiopia Oriental* (1609), I, bk. 2, ch. XVIII, and II, bk. 2, ch. IX; George Cardoso, *Agiologio Lusitano* (Lisboa, 1652), I, 473-4, 478.

² 'Manchuas or small vessels of recreation, used by the Portugals here [Macao] as also at Goa, pretty handsome things resembling little frigates; many curiously carved, gilded and painted, with little beak-heads' (I have modernized the spelling in this quotation from Peter Mundy, *Travels*, III, pt. I, p. 205). Cf. also *Hobson-Jobson* (ed. 1903), 549-50; Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, II, 19-20.

lated above in the tenth Decade)¹ occurred in much more difficult circumstances, yet many rafts were made, some of which reached land without help from the skiff or the boat, the passage lasting eight days. But the persons in this ship who could have commanded some respect, and who might have been able to arrange this, were firstly Dom Paulo de Lima, who had lost his hitherto unvanquished courage at seeing himself with his wife in such straits, and secondly Bernardim de Carvalho, a very honourable gentleman and a very good knight, but of so mild a disposition that seeing great disorder among all the sea-officers he overlooked many things of which he strongly disapproved, that all might not be lost. For these seamen, on an occasion like this, respect nothing, nor were they afterwards punished for the excesses which they had committed in these voyages.²

To return to the boat. As soon as it set out, the officers found it so overburdened, being so heavily laden that it was nearly under water, that they insisted that some persons should be thrown into the sea to save the rest. To this those gentlemen consented, leaving the selection of them to the officers, who at once threw six people into the sea.³ These were lifted into the air and thrown overboard, where they were swallowed by the cruel waves and never reappeared. This pitiful sacrifice so horrified those who witnessed it that they were in a maze, not realizing what they saw, or regarding it as something seen in a dream. And even after these six persons had been thrown overboard, there were still one hundred and four people left in the boat.

Continuing on their course, they could not make any progress,

¹ This is one of several proofs that Couto took this narrative straight from his own (since lost) *Decada XI*. The loss of the *Santiago* on the *baixos da Índia* in the Mozambique Channel in 1585 created a great sensation at the time. For the principal accounts of this disaster including that in Couto's *Decada X*, bk. 7, ch. III, see my essay 'An introduction to the *História Trágico-Marítima*,' 18-21. For the nomenclature and location of the *baixos da Índia* (also known as the *baixos da Judia*) whence the actual English terminology 'Bassas da India,' cf. A. Fontoura da Costa, *A Marinharia dos Descobrimentos* (2nd ed., Lisboa, 1939), 322 n. (436), and his edition of the 1612 *Roteiro* of Gaspar Ferreira Reimão, (Lisboa, 1939), 22-3.

² Cf. Introduction, p. 11, and next note but one below.

³ Fr João dos Santos, O.P., *Ethiopia Oriental* (1609), pt. 2, fol. 63v, says this was done to 'many' by Captain Estevão da Veiga's order.

for the current drove them from the land out to sea, the men being unable to row, from exhaustion after their labours, and the boat being unmanageable from its weight. At midnight they found themselves out at sea a good distance from the ship, and taking to their oars they rowed towards it. They saw many lights in it, which were burning candles, for those in the ship passed the whole night in processions and litanies, commending themselves to God Our Lord with such loud cries and clamours that they could be heard in the boat.

When day dawned the boat drew near to the ship, and they spoke with those on board, encouraging them to make rafts, and offering to wait and accompany them. Those in the ship replied with loud cries and wails, begging for mercy in voices so heartfelt and pitiful as to inspire fear and terror, for the half-light of early dawn made the scene more awful and appalling. When it was broad daylight, several persons tried to reach the ship to get some matchlocks and provisions, for which purpose three or four sailors swam out to her. On climbing aboard, they found the deck already under water, and all the people as if out of their minds with fear of the death which they expected. Withal they had placed on the top-gallant-poop a beautiful altar-picture of Our Lady, round which were gathered all the slave-women, who with dishevelled hair were piteously wailing and begging that Lady for mercy.

The nurse of Dona Joanna was standing in front of them all with the baby in her arms, which she never put down, the child's tender age not allowing her to realize her danger; and even had she done so, in her innocence it would have troubled her little, for there is nothing which makes death seem so terrible as doubt of salvation. The sailors threw into the sea some kegs of water and biscuit, and one of wine, that were taken into the boat, which tried to approach the ship, to be lightened of still more persons, as it was not fit for navigation. The sailors returned without bringing Dona Joanna's baby, for most of these men are inhuman and cruel by nature.¹

¹ Criticism which repeatedly occurs in these accounts. Cf. pp. 11, 84, 196, 225, etc.

As those in the boat could not get near enough to the ship to send away more people, they drew off, and let the officers have their way. These threw overboard some more persons, including Diogo Fernandes, a good man but a very timid one, who had just relinquished the post of Factor of Ceylon; a soldier named Diogo de Seixas; Diogo Duarte, a merchant; and Diogo Lopes Bayão, who was for many years in the Balagate,¹ where the Idalxà² gave him an income of three thousand *cruzados*, since he was a clever and scheming man who exported horses from Goa to that place, and who kept him informed of everything. He was even suspected of being doubtful in the faith, for which reason he was sent to Portugal (of which we gave a lengthy account in our tenth Decade),³ for it was he who contrived the plot to lure Çufucão⁴ to the mainland, whom the Idalxà wished to have in his power in order to kill him, because the kingdom was rightly his; and on this occasion [the Adil Shah] succeeded through the machinations of this Diogo Lopes, and commanded his eyes to be put out. This Diogo Lopes, when he was seized to be thrown overboard, handed to Friar Nicolau a little bag of jewels, said to be worth ten or twelve thousand *cruzados*, asking him, if he were saved, to deliver it to his agents at Goa if he went thither, or to his heirs at home if God should bring him to Portugal. Several slaves were thrown overboard with these men, all of whom were at once swallowed by those cruel waves. This abominable cruelty was done by the hands of the sea-officers, which God permitted that

¹ Balaghaut (*bbālāghāt* in Maratha-Konkani), the country 'above the passes', i.e. beyond the Western Ghats, here applied to the kingdom of Bijapur.

² Adil Shah. The title by which the Portuguese distinguished the Sultans of the Muslim dynasty of Bijapur, 1490-1686. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, 431-2; Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, II, 462-3. A seventeenth-century Englishman wrote this title as 'Idle Shaw'!

³ *Decada X*, bk. 4. ch. x. The Inquisitors' dispatch of 9.xii.1588, announcing the remission of Diogo Lopes Baião as a prisoner in the *São Thomé*, is printed in A. Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa. Correspondencia dos Inquisidores da Índia, 1569-1630* (Coimbra, 1930), 122.

⁴ Çufucão may be a corruption of either Yusuf-Khan, or (perhaps more likely) of the title *Sufu-Khan*. For a similar story of this otherwise unidentified claimant to the throne of Bijapur occupied by Sultan Ibrahim II, 1580-1627, see Pyard de Laval, *Voyage*, Hak. Soc. ed., II, 137-8. Cf. also P. Pissurlencar (ed.), *Regimentos das fortalezas da Índia* (Bastorá, 1951), 108-9.

they should pay for very shortly, since all or most of them died very miserably on shore in the bush.

The boat now began to row towards the land, and when they were some distance from the ship at ten o'clock in the morning, they saw it give a great lurch, and then founder immediately afterwards, disappearing under the water in sight of all as quick as a flash of lightning. They were left astounded, like men in a dream, at thus seeing a great ship, in which they had so recently been voyaging, so heavily laden with riches and merchandise almost beyond computation, now devoured by the waves and sunk under the water, heaping up riches in the depths of the sea from all those things which belonged to those in her and to others in India, acquired by such means as God knows, for which reason He often permits as little enjoyment of them as He did of these.

Although this sight was a very terrible one for them all, it was even more painful and fearful for the wretched Dona Joanna de Mendoça, for she saw that her beloved baby daughter and tender darling would be the prey of some sea-monster that might perhaps devour her while she was still alive; but as she had already offered everything in sacrifice to God, she spoke with Him in her heart about her sorrows, nor could He have failed to help her with some spiritual consolation, as could be gathered from the exemplary patience, virtue, and resignation which she showed on this occasion.

A sail was set in the boat, and with the wind from the east they steered for the nearest land on the course they had set, which they sighted on the evening of the 20th March.¹ They approached it with great rejoicing (if such could be in hearts which had just lately suffered such sorrows), and as it was nightfall they took in the sail, that they might not run ashore on a place where they would all be drowned, since God had brought them thus far.

Certainly the loss of this ship and the death of the people that had remained in her is a matter to be deeply pondered over, for in many ways it was very clearly a judgment of God. If that evening when the sailor said he saw land it had been sighted in the morn-

¹ Apparently somewhere near Santa Lucia Bay in Lower Zululand (Amatongaland). Cf. sketch-map, fig. 2.

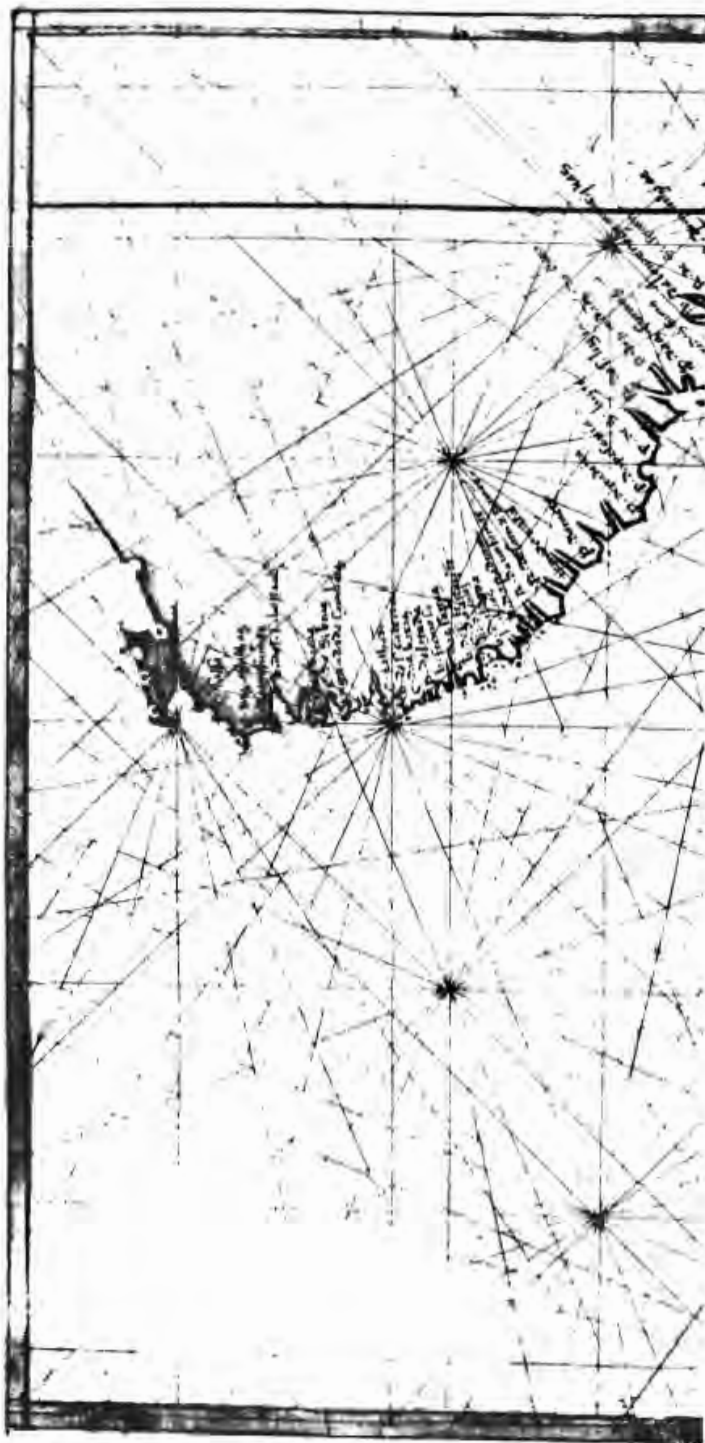
ing, or if the pilot had not changed course during the night, then all those people most certainly would not have perished; for they were only eight leagues from land at the most, and the ship remained afloat more than long enough to have allowed the first boatload of people to be landed ashore and the boat to return for the remainder. They could even have done still better by remaining in the ship until she ran ashore, for even if she had struck two leagues from land, this would have been close enough to have saved all the people in the boat, or even on rafts without the boat, which everyone would have made with a glad heart in sight of land, and thus they could all have been saved. But sin blinded their eyes, so that they could not realize this, and those were lost who were destined to be so.

The next day in the morning they came very close to the shore, and anchored where the waves broke, for all the bottom was clear there. Several sailors were sent ashore to see if they could see any villages.¹ From the top of some sandhills they saw fires, and going in search of them they found some straw huts inhabited by Kaffirs. These fled at the sight of the sailors, but then realizing that they were Portuguese, from the dealings they had with them in the ivory trade which they carry on there every year, they soon returned to them very familiarly and went with them to the beach, but without understanding each other for none of them spoke our language. The wind was then blowing from the west, wherefore they all agreed to go along the coast to the river of Lourenço Marques. Re-embarking the sailors,² they began their voyage, but the wind increased and the seas ran so high that they were forced to run ashore on that beach, in order to avoid having to do so later on another one which might be more dangerous.

Running the boat ashore, they all landed with some biscuit which they had with them, and they prepared their matchlocks

¹ Two sailors, one of whom was called António Gomes Cacho, according to João dos Santos, O.P., *Ethiopia Oriental*, pt. II, bk. 3, ch. III, who gives a fuller account of this incident. Cf. below, p. 91, n. 2.

² Actually, the occupants of the boat abandoned the two sailors, but these were well treated by the Kaffirs and caught up with the boat later, having meantime picked up a lot of ambergris in their walk along the shore (João dos Santos, O.P., op. et loc. cit.).



and arms for use in any emergency. They passed that night among some sandhills where they lit their fires, keeping very good watch. This was on the 22nd March, and the next day they set fire to the boat to get out the nails, which are much esteemed among the Kaffirs, in order to use them as trade-goods.¹ They made wallets of dimity for the journey, and several water-bags from some skins (which had been thrown into the boat by chance) so as to carry water for the road.

They then made a muster of those present, who were found to total ninety-eight persons, including women, of whom we will name those that we have knowledge of: The captain Estevão da Veiga, Dom Paulo de Lima, Dona Beatris his wife, Gregorio Botelho and his daughter Dona Mariana wife of Guterre de Monroy, Dona Joanna de Mendocça widow of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, Bernardim de Carvalho, Manuel Cabral da Veiga, Christovão Rabello Rodovalho, Nicolau da Silva, Diogo Lopes Leitão, a brother of the wife of Dom Paulo de Lima, Francisco Dorta, Factor of the ship, Antonio Caldeira son of Manuel Caldeira, shipping-contractor,² Friar Nicolau do Rozario of the Order of Preachers, Friar António, a Capuchin lay-brother,³ Marcos Carneiro the ship's master, Gaspar Fernandes the pilot,⁴ Diogo do Couto who had been wrecked in the ship *Santiago* on the Baixo da India,⁵ and some other sailors and grumets.

The arms were found to consist of five matchlocks, as many swords, a keg of gunpowder, and some lunts. From the oars of the

¹ Santos (op. et loc. cit.) says the boat was run ashore and burnt at Inhaca island, for fear lest some of the castaways should try to steal a march on the others by sailing the boat to Sofala. Couto's version is obviously the correct one, since it took the castaways about a fortnight to march along the shore to Inhaca island.

² *Contador das Naos (HTM), contractador das Naos (Vida)*; the latter being the correct reading. For Manuel Caldeira's contract to supply five carracks annually for the *carreira da India* in 1583-7, see Diogo do Couto, *Decada X*, bk. 4, ch. v; and bk. 10, ch. vi.

³ In all probability Fr António da Magdalena, O.F.M., to whom we owe the earliest European account of the famous Khmer city of Angkor. See B. P. Groslier and C. R. Boxer, *L'Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI^e siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Paris, 1958), 32-3, 49-51, 66-7, 82-4.

⁴ A slip of Couto's pen for Gaspar Gonçalves, for whom see above, p. 58, n. 2.

⁵ As indicated previously, this young sailor has been wrongly confused with the old chronicler of the same name by Theal, Welch, and other modern writers.

boat they made lance-hafts, with carpenters' gimlets for heads. The biscuit was divided among them all, in two or three handfuls each, the water-skins were filled, and this was their provision for the journey which they resolved to undertake.

On the 23rd March they started on their way, the Capuchin Friar António going in front with a crucifix held high. From the sails of the boat they had made two hammocks slung on some oars, in which the women might travel, and which were supposed to be carried by the sailors and grummetts, to whom Dom Paulo de Lima promised a large sum of money. The wives of Dom Paulo and Guterre de Montroy wore white doublets, long breeches reaching to the ground,¹ and red caps; but Dona Joanna de Mendoça was dressed in the habit of St Francis, for as she was going home to become a nun in a convent of the Poor Clares, she wished to put on her habit so that if she died on the journey she might die in it, and thus fulfill her desires in part. And afterwards she accomplished this, for as there was no convent of the Poor Clares in India which she could enter, she retired to Our Lady of the Cape, in her habit which she never again took off, and built a little house or cell into which she withdrew, to be near the Capuchin friars who there lead holy lives, and herself no less so.² There she still lives in such retirement, abstinence, and prayer, that in no cloister could she do more, and her life and example are a consolation to this city of Goa.

¹ The baggy, zouave-like, and mosquito-proof trousers, fastened at the ankles, which were a noticeable feature of Indo-Portuguese dress. See the somewhat stilted engravings in Linschoten's *Itinerarie*, and the more lively and colourful representations by Japanese artists in the *Namban-byōbu* ("Southern Barbarian folding-screens") of the *Keichō* period, 1596-1614.

² The Franciscan hermitage of Nossa Senhora do Cabo is now embodied in the official residence of the Governor-General of Portuguese India in this picturesque spot. The first convent of the Poor Clares in Portuguese Asia was that at Macao which was founded in 1633 and still exists.

³ *Decada IX*, chs. XXI-XXII.

The account goes on to describe the group's attempts to make their way to Portuguese controlled territory by land . . .