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DEAMBULATIONS OF THE
RHINOCEROS (GANDA) OF
MUZAFAR, KING OF CAM-
BAIA, FROM 1514 TO 1516

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Deambulations of the rhinoceros (ganda) of Muzafar, king of Cam- baia, from 1514 to 1516

When preparing the Biography of Valentin Ferdinand of Moravia, I found, at Ravenstein, the following note:

«A letter describing a rhinoceros, which Garcia de Noronha had brought from India in 1513, was written by Ferdinand to his «friends» at Nuremberg and is published by Count Angelo de Gubernatis (*Storia dei viaggiatori Italiani*, Livorno, 1875, p. 389) An engraving of this rhinoceros by Albert Dürer is to be found at the British Museum (Add. MSS. 5220, f. 19) (1).

Being ignorant of the meaning of this note, I tried to find an explanation for which I took advantage of the friendly help of some persons, among whom I may mention Dr. Armando Cortesão (of London), Dr. Luiz Silveira (of Hamburg) and Professor Rudolph Frederick Knapic.

(1) E. G. RAVENSTEIN — 25. Note 4, page 2.

To all I wish to render my deep appreciation.

The following stating dates, is the result of that which I could obtain on such an interesting matter.

The German subject Valentin Ferdinand of Moravia, wrote a letter from Lisbon in 1515, to one of his friends at Nuremberg (where Dürer was born), in which he refers to the arrival at Lisbon, on the 20th May of that year, of an asiatic rhinoceros, sent by the King of Cambata to King Manuel.

The original letter written by this distinguished writer, author, translator, draughtsman and a great admirer of the Portuguese Discoveries, was lost, but an Italian translation was saved and is today in keeping at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (2). This translation was published by Gubernatis (3). I have in my hands the fotocopies, the translation of which I owe to the kindness of Commander Cesar Ferreira (Doc. I).

This most interesting letter due to the information given, is not so important with regard to this study, as I thought. Although, it is interesting as it fixes the already mentioned date, as well as the fight with the elephant, to which I will refer later; also because it is a proof of a document of one who, in Lisbon saw this interesting animal.

(2) VALENTIM FERNANDES — 14.

(3) a) ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS — 19.

The Italian translation of Valentin Ferdinand's letter was copied by Gubernatis and cited by the following author:

b) GOMES DE BRITO — 4.

Various classics refer to this same animal and the exact quotations are cited by Dodgson (4). This fact greatly helped my researches.

(4) a) CAMPBELL DODGSON — 12. Pages 307 and 308.

Refers to the following classics:

b) *Comentários de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 8. Part. IV, Chap. XXIII.

c) FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA — 22. Liv. III, Chaps. CXXXIII and CXXXIV.

d) GASPAR CORREA — 9. Vol. II, pages 373 and 374.

e) JOÃO DE BARROS — 1. Liv. X, Chap. I.

f) PAOLO GIOVIO — 17. Pages 50 and 51.

Other references not given by Dodgson will be mentioned as required, except the following:

g) DAMIÃO DE GOES — 18. Part III, Chap. LXIV.



1—The «ganda» of Muzafar goes from Champanel to Surrate and Goa, 1514

1 — One of the highest hopes of the great Afonso de Albuquerque, which he included in his mighty political plan, was to build a fortress at Diu. This city belonged to the King of Cambaia and the necessary authority to the building depended on him.

Various letters from Afonso de Albuquerque to King Manuel ⁽⁵⁾ show the importance he gave to the fortification of the island.

The Kingdom of Cambaia or Guzurat, the map of which was drawn up or ordered to be drawn up in 1615 by João Batista Lavanha, to be included in the *IV Decade* of João de Barros ⁽⁶⁾, was limited by the sea and by other independent kingdoms.

⁽⁵⁾ In 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque was already thinking of building the fortress at Diu.

Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque — 5. Vol. I, page 420. Summary of the letter addressed to the King of Portugal dated 4th November, 1510.

⁽⁶⁾ JOÃO DE BARROS — 2. Liv. V, Chaps. I to III.

Muzafar (7) was the King of Cambaia from 1511, when Afonso de Albuquerque governed India. According to João de Barros, Muzafar was the fifth King of Cambaia, and according to Diogo do Couto (8) he was the fourth King. This King, of about 40 years of age in 1514, was married to a woman named Bilirane, of the neighbouring Kingdom of Reibutos or Reisbutos, but he had about another 500 women.

2 — Afonso de Albuquerque prepared the necessary negotiations with Muzafar, and appointed to him an Ambassade by sending Diogo Fernandes of Beja, as first Ambassador, and James Teixeira as second. They were accompanied by Francisco Pais as secretary, Duarte Vaz as interpreter, and various others. The Ambassador was provided with the necessary presents to the King and his Court. An order from Afonso de Albuquerque specifies the presents which were as follows (9):

- 1) — One gold dagger with rubies on the handle;
- 2) — A silver wash hand basin;
- 3) — A gold plated silver jar;
- 4) — A silver goblet;
- 5) — A silver jar, partly gold plated;
- 6) — A small silver candlestick;
- 7) — A silver vase.

(7) Muzafar II, according to Prof. Edgard Prestage, (whom I sincerely thank for his communication). Muzafar reigned from 1511 to 1526.

(8) DIOGO DO COUTO — 10. Dec. IV, Liv. I, Chap. VII.

(9) *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 5. II, page 132. *Payment order from Afonso de Albuquerque dated, Goa, 8th Nov. 1514.*

To the above Castanehda (10) added:

- 8) — A gold plated and enamelled necklace;
- 9) — A piece of Persian Green Brocade;
- 10) — Two Pieces of Chinese Brocade;
- 11) — Nine ell $\frac{1}{2}$ of black velvet.

To prepare the reception of the Ambassador, Pero Queimado and Gamatim (11), native interpreter, had already set off.

The Ambassador and their retinue left Goa in February 1514, and arrived at Surrate on the 18th March. On the 28th March they left for Champanel where they arrived on the 4th April. At this city they were informed that the King was at Mandoval (12), whereto they proceeded and arrived on the 16th April, 1514.

(10) FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA — 22. Liv. III, Chap. CXXXII.

(11) Gamapim:

a) GASPAR CORREIA — 9. Vol. II, page 368.

b) Aganapatu and Ganapatu:

FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA — 22. Liv. III, respectively Chaps. CXXVII and CXXXI.

(12) a) Madoval:

Commentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque — 8. Part. IV, Chap. XXII.

b) Madavá and Madaval:

FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA — 22. Liv. III, Chaps. CXXXII and CXXXIV respectively.

Some classics refer to this city as Mandou, but this must be an error as this city is in the Kingdom of Mandou and facing the Kingdom of Cambaia.

In Lavanha's map:

c) JOÃO DE BARROS — 2.

It must be Amadabad, wick is an important city, bigger and with more buildings than Champanel.

They remained there a very short time as their negotiations with Muzafar were not successful ⁽¹³⁾. The King repaid the accepted presents, among which there was a richly carved chair inlaid with Mother-of-Pearl, a beautiful thing, and other handsome ornaments, which were offered to the King of Portugal. To Afonso de Albuquerque he offered a *monstruous beast* which was still at Champanel.

The Ambassadors left Mandoval on the 26th April, proceeding direct to Surrate where they arrived on the 8th May.

The beast which in the Guzurat language is called *ganda* and in Portuguese «rinoceronte asiatico», travelled by land from Champanel to Surrate where it arrived on the 16th of May, 1514, and there was delivered to the Ambassadors.

Gaspar Correia, who had lived in India since 1512, affirms that the *ganda* which he certainly saw:

«was a tame animal, with rather low body, rather long; the skin and hooves like those of an elephant; a longish head like that of a pig's elongated; the eyes near the nose; and above the nose had a short but thick horn, sharpened at the end. It ate grass, straw and boiled rice» ⁽¹⁴⁾.

A chain tied to a leg served to tie and to lead the *animal*. Various difficulties compelled the Ambassadors and retinue to spend the winter at Surrate, against express orders from

⁽¹³⁾ The fortress, which Afonso de Albuquerque wanted to build at Diu, was constructed when Badur, son of Muzafar, reigned, i. e. in the year 1535 and when Nuno da Cunha governed India. Diu still belongs to Portugal.

⁽¹⁴⁾ GASPAR CORREIA — 9. Vol. II, pages 373 and 374.

Afonso de Albuquerque who had strongly recommended that they should not spend the winter at Cambaia, and later he reproved them for this.

In September, after the winter season, the Ambassadors, retinue, as well as the rhinoceros (*ganda*), sailed aboard 3 small vessels for Goa ⁽¹⁵⁾ where they arrived on the 15th September 1514 ⁽¹⁶⁾.

On the 25th September, Afonso de Albuquerque held a meeting of the Council to decide whether «they should declare war on the King of Cambaia, because he would not allow the construction of the fortress at Diu» ⁽¹⁷⁾.

⁽¹⁵⁾ FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA — 22. Liv. III, Chap. C.
⁽¹⁶⁾ *Comentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 8. Part. IV, Chap. XXIII.
⁽¹⁷⁾ *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 5. II, pages 32 to 48.

11—The «ganda» comes to Lisbon, 1515

3—A Portuguese fleet composed of five sailing vessels and Commanded by Comodore Cristovão de Brito, sailed from Lisbon to India on the 20th March 1514, (according to some, and on the 9th April, according to others).

The other Captains of the vessels were as follows:

João Serrão, (name of vessel unknown).

Manuel de Melo, aboard the *St.ª Maria da Luz*.

Francisco Pereira Coutinho, aboard the *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda*.

Luiz Dantas, aboard the *São Miguel*.

The name of the flagship, of Comodore Cristovão de Brito, is also unknown.

The first to arrive at Goa, was Luiz Dantas; the others shortly after, in September, 1514.

The *São Miguel*, commanded by Luiz Dantas, was lost shortly afterwards at Chaul Bar.

4—When Afonso de Albuquerque saw the *ganda*, he at once decided to send it to King Manuel, by one of the vessels of the returning fleet.

The names of only three vessels of this fleet are known: the *S. Pedro* ⁽¹⁸⁾, supposed to be commanded by Luiz Dantas ⁽¹⁹⁾, and the *St.ª Maria da Luz* and *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda* supposed to be commanded respectively by their previous Captains Manuel de Melo and Francisco Pereira Coutinho. It is however possible that other vessels may have belonged to this fleet, but their names are unknown. Some classics give the name of Cristovão de Brito as Comodore of the fleet that sailed to India, as well as of the returning fleet, but on the 29th November 1514, when the vessels were preparing for the return voyage, Cristovão de Brito was still writing from Chaul to King Manuel ⁽²⁰⁾; and from this fact I arrive at the conclusion that he remained in India. Who could then have been the Comodore of the fleet?

James Teixeira returned to Portugal on the *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda* commanded by Coutinho, with presents from Afonso de Albuquerque for the Queen, for the Infanta D. Isabel, and for the Prince D. João. He also brought letters for King Manuel ⁽²¹⁾.

The Governor sent the *ganda* to King Manuel, accompanied by the native Oçem (Doc. II). As James Teixeira was

⁽¹⁸⁾ *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 5. VI, page 196. Order from D. Garcia de Noronha to the Superintendent Alvaro Lopes, of Cochim, 24th Dec. 1514.

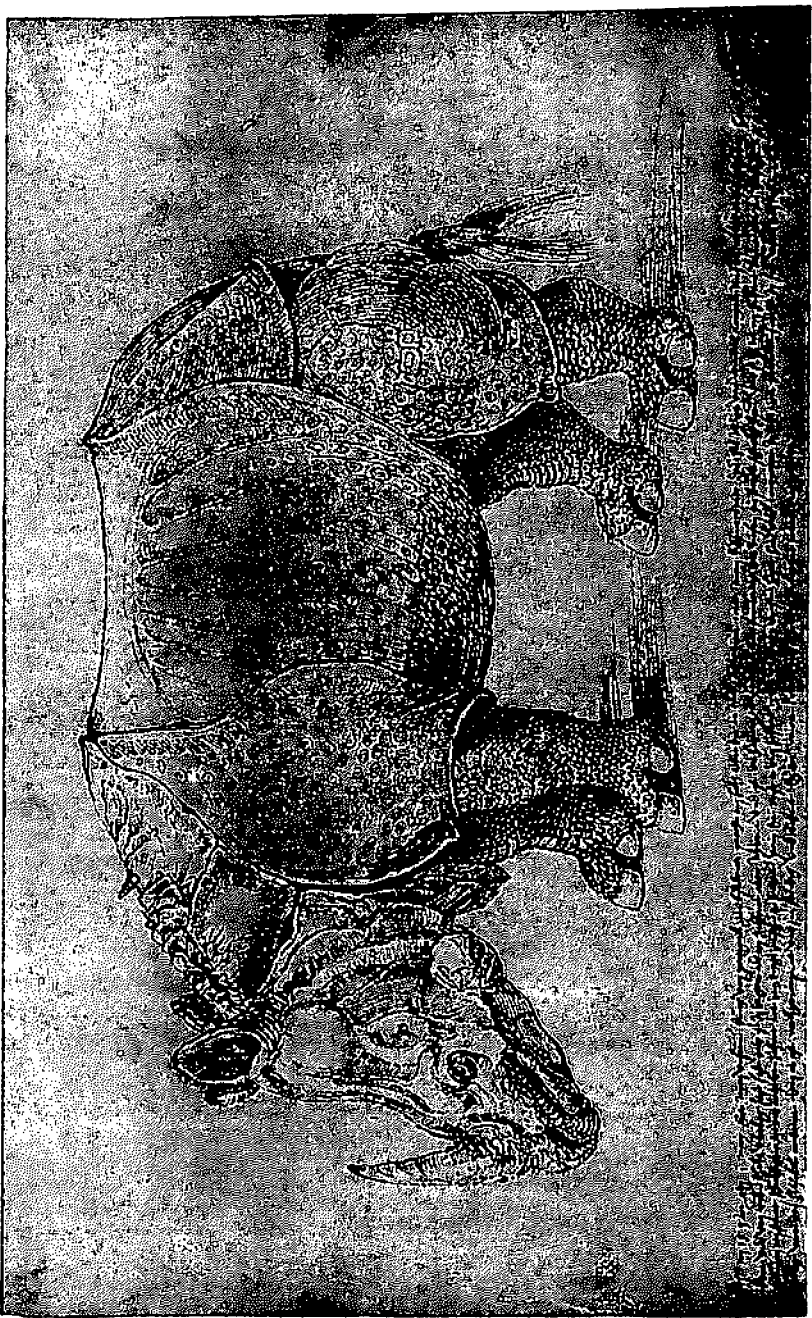
⁽¹⁹⁾ GASPAR CORREIA — 9. Vol. II, Chap. XLVI.

⁽²⁰⁾ *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 5. III, pages 99 to 101.

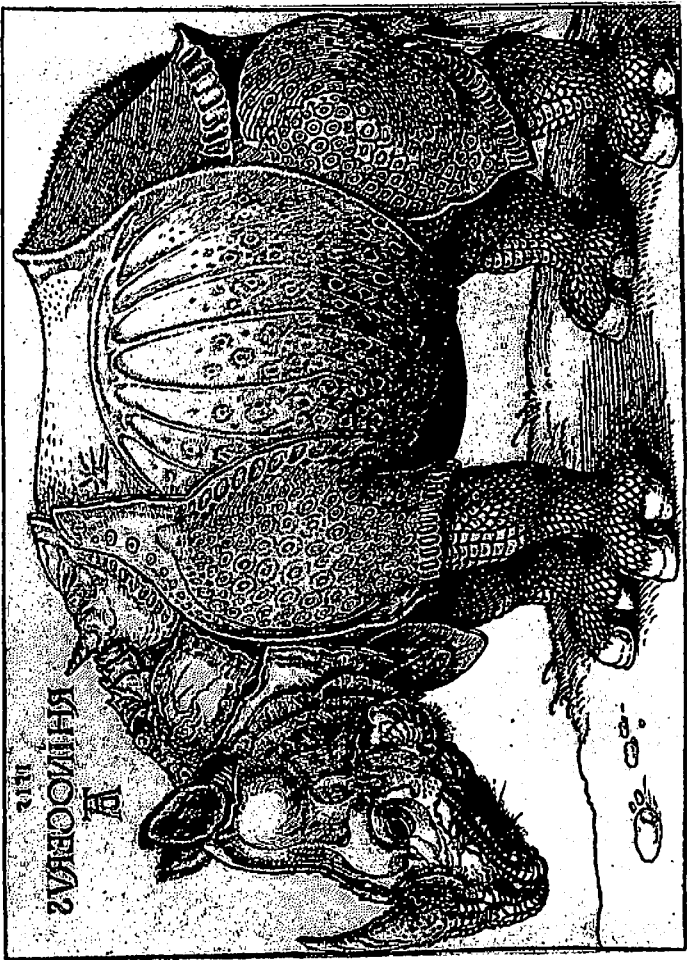
⁽²¹⁾ *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 5. I, respectively:

a) Page 356, Letter from A. de Albuquerque to the Queen, written from Galé Grande, on the 5th Dec. 1514.

b) Page 359, Letter from A. de Albuquerque to the King Manuel, written from Cochim, on the 10th Dec. 1514.



— 2 —



— 3 —

one of the Ambassadors who received the animal at Surrate and travelled with him to Goa, it is to be supposed that he also accompanied him to Lisbon.

The fleet sailed from Cochim at the beginning of January 1515 ⁽²²⁾.

5 — The return trip from India, according to Gaspar Ferreira Reimão, ⁽²²⁾, was made up to 1527 between the island of St. Lourenço (Madagascar) and the Continent. Then, for 70 years, the route was outside the island. In 1597 the route again returned to be through the channel, and later on the journey outside the island was known as the *Old Line*.

In 1515, the return vessels could have called at the following ports: Moçambique, then round the Cape of Good Hope to the island of Santa Helena, then proceed to Terceira island and thence to The Tagus; i. e. they could get supplies at three ports of call, on the long and dangerous voyage of one hundred and twenty days.

The vessels always returned full of people, with goods, with provisions easily perishable, and with a complete water supply which was not always pure.

The routes, although well known by our Navigators, were sometimes risky. This was due not only to the storms, but also

(22) a) On the 20th Dec. 1514, A. de Albuquerque writes still from Cochim to King Manuel:

Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque — 5. I. page 367.

b) And on the 28th Dec. 1514, Jorge de Melo also writes from Cananor to the King:

Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque — 5. IV, pages 16 and following.

From where I conclude that the fleet have not leaved the beginning of Jan. 1515.

(22) GASPAS FERREIRA REIMÃO — 16.

because vessels frequently grounded on banks and rocks, which were not known or on the charts in these times. Also because pilots employed very primitive methods and instruments which were not exact. The average tonnage of the vessels was 200, which shows their smallness for such perilous voyages.

The *História trágico-marítima*, contains some of the most horrible return voyages from India. Its reading is the best stimulant for tired nerves.

One may well imagine what life should be aboard the *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda* in company with the *ganda*; also the life of this poor animal without its main nourishment: grass, although it had straw, perhaps in bad condition, and boiled rice, but certainly in small quantities⁽²⁴⁾.

Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the *ganda* arrived at Lisbon alive and in good health.

6 — Luiz Falcão⁽²⁵⁾, registers the arrival at Lisbon of the *St.ª Maria da Luz*, on the 14th May, 1515, but only mentions that the *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda* arrived in the same month. He does not refer to the *S. Pedro*, or any of the others.

As in Valentin Ferdinand's letter (Doc. I) he states that the *rhinoceros* sent by the King of Cambaia arrived in Lisbon on the 20th May, 1515, we must take this as the date when the *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda* arrived at Lisbon, bringing aboard the precious *ganda* of Muzafar. I make this conclusion, because Valentin Ferdinandi is always very exact in his statements.

⁽²⁴⁾ Nourishments mentioned by Gaspar Correia. (N.º 2).

⁽²⁵⁾ LUIZ DE FIGUEIREDO FALCÃO — 13.

III — The «ganda» at Lisbon, 1515

7 — The Asiatic rhinoceros, a very big and ferocious animal, is rare in Zoos, where its presence always causes great fear to visitors⁽²⁶⁾.

Our *ganda* must have landed on the day of the vessel's arrival, that is, on the 20th May, 1515. The wonder and amazement of the Lisbon populace, may well be imagined, as well as that of the people of other Countries when they knew that such a rare animal was landed in Lisbon. This was the first Indian rhinoceros landed in European soil since 60 years before Christ, and others in the era of Pliny the elder⁽²⁷⁾.

The rhinoceros is the greatest enemy of the elephant and cannot be kept under the same roof. The elephants had their stables at Paço dos Estaos, Rossio, but it is probable that King Manuel ordered the *rhinoceros* to be kept at some outside building of the «Palacio da Ribeira» or at the neighbouring «Casa da India», and not at Paço dos Estaos with the elephants.

⁽²⁶⁾ The rhinoceros of the London and Hamburg Zoos are ferocious and have their horns cut.

⁽²⁷⁾ Pliny asserts that there was a rhinoceros in Rome in the era of Pompey the Magnus, and that he also saw various others.

CAIUS PLINII SECUNDI — 24. Liv. VIII, Chaps. XIX and XX.

The ancient «Paço da Ribeira» with its well ornamented saloons, its terraces and gardens, built by King Manuel, was where now are the Ministry of the Interior and Part of the Ministry of Justice, i. e. facing «Rua do Ouro» and «Rua do Arsenal». Adjoining the «Paço da Ribeira», there was the «Casa da Mina» erected many years before the Palace and later increased by King Manuel with the «Casa da India» (Indian House). In front of this building there was a court-yard surrounded by high walls and battlements, with iron barred windows. In this court-yard there was a narrow passage connecting the two sides of the building where on one side were the King's rooms, and on the other the queen's. From this passage hung on either side rich «Arras» tapestries ⁽²⁸⁾.

A—Fight between the «ganda» and an elephant (3rd June, 1515)

8—The deadly hatred between the rhinoceros and the elephant is well known. King Manuel wishing to verify this fact in practice ordered that a fight be held between the two animals.

Valentin Ferdinand, who *was present at the fight*, describes it in his *letter* of 1515, addressed to one of his friends at Nuremberg (Doc. I). Damião de Gois ⁽²⁹⁾ also describes the various phases of this fight with more detail than Ferdinand but his

⁽²⁸⁾ JULIO DE CASTILHO—6. Page 271.

⁽²⁹⁾ DAMIÃO DE GOES—18. Part IV, Chap. XVIII.

dates are not correct. Julio de Castilho ⁽³⁰⁾, when describing the «Paço da Ribeira», gives an interesting account of the fight, but follows Damião de Gois narrowly.

A short account of the fight is as follows:

The place chosen was the court-yard between «Casa da India» and «Paço da Ribeira».

On the 3rd June 1515, a Sunday of the Blessed Trinity ⁽³¹⁾, the Royal family, with Court and guests, gathered in the court-yard. The native Oçem had led the *rhinoceros* by a chain and placed it behind the tapestries hanging from the passage where it remained well hidden.

Then, from a stable at «Paço dos Estaos», Rossio, was brought the youngest of the elephants kept there. It crossed the streets between great crowds, led by its Indian «Cornaca». The crowds of those eras are admirably described by Julio Dantas ⁽³²⁾, the greatest actual master of the Portuguese language.

The elephant entered the arena, and the King ordered that the tapestries be drawn. The *rhinoceros* appeared furious and ready for the attack, and rushed forward so violently, that it broke loose from the chain. The elephant was standing with its

⁽³⁰⁾ a) JULIO DE CASTILHO—6. Pages 270 to 274.

Regarding this fight, the following may also be seen:

b) GOMES DE BRITO—4.

This Author also used Valentin Ferdinand's *letter* (Doc. I) as well as Julio de Castilho's description of «Paço da Ribeira».

⁽³¹⁾ VALENTIM FERNANDES (Doc. I) fixes the 1515 day of the Blessed Trinity, the 3rd June.

DAMIÃO DE GOES—18. Part IV, Chap. XVIII, mentions the month of February, 1517, which is not correct.

⁽³²⁾ JULIO DANTAS—11.

back to the *ganda*, but, as soon as he perceived the enemy, turned round, and lifting its trunk, uttered a tremendous cry, then seeing with its bright eyes the strong horn of the *rhinoceros*, advancing for the attack, got such a fright, that it fled in the direction of one of the barred windows. The «Cornaca» was thrown, and wrenching off, with its trunk, the iron bars which were as thick as an arm, the elephant succeeded in getting its head through the window, then with mighty strength the bars gave way and broke and it got its whole body through, and finding itself free, started on a mad career until it reached the stables at Rossio.

Thus ended this interesting festival which enlivened the 1515 life of Lisbon.

B — The «Rhinocerus 1515» by Albert Dürer

9 — In 1515, the German colony at Lisbon was large, and mainly composed of merchants. Between others, there was still the celebrated Valentin Ferdinand, who rendered Portugal very high services, but the well known Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, had by this time disappeared. Many Portuguese knowing the German language were acquainted not only with the German Colony at Lisbon, but with many friends living in Germany, and also with our factory at Antwerp. They maintained both a business and cultural correspondence and had naturally a perfect knowledge of all important events of the pompous Lisbon life. Our Capital, at the time of King Manuel, was a bright focus of pageantry and ostentation which was maintained by our relations overseas and was created and kept up by our daring navigators.

10 — *Ganda's* arrival at Lisbon, the fight with the elephant, and the wonder caused by this very rare animal, must have been very important events in 1515. Due to these facts, a Portuguese artist cleverly drew a sketch, at sight, of the animal.

Perhaps this, or another Portuguese, had it sent with a letter, to a friend in Germany or Antwerp, and the two precious documents reached the hands of the clever artist Albert Dürer, at Nuremberg, when his talent was already in full bloom.

Dürer copied the letter himself on the original sketch and this is kept since 1830 at the British Museum (Sloane 5:218).

The transcription of the letter is as follows:

«It im 153 [1513] jor adi i may hat man *unserm* *king van portigall* gen lisabona procht ein solch lebendig tir aus India das nent man Rhynocerate das hab ich dir van wonders wegen mißen abkunterfet schicken hat ein farb wy ein/krot und van dickn shaln überleg fast fest und ist in dr gros als ein helfant aber nydrer und ist des helfantz tott feint es hat forn ausff der nasen ein starck scharbft horn und so dz tir an helfant kumt mit im zw fechten so hat es for albeg sein/horn an den steckin scharbft queweszt und lawft dem helfant mit dem Kopff zwischn dy fordern pein danreist er den helfant awff wo er am dünnstn nawt hat und erwiinot in also der helfant fürcht in ser übell den Rhynocerate dan er erwürgt in/albeg wo erden helfant ankumt dan er

and in my opinion, is the original Portuguese sketch sent from Lisbon.

This personal opinion, — of one unacquainted with art — to which facts led me, is confirmed by the Director of the «Museu de Arte Antiga», Dr. José de Figueiredo, and when known, will certainly raise discussion between the critics of Dürer's great work.

11 — Dürer, based on the original Portuguese sketch, made a much improved one, which he signed A. D. This served him for his celebrated woodcut «*Rhinoceros 1515*» published that year. He wrote a legend⁽²⁴⁾, based on the letter sent from Lisbon and which he had copied on the original Portuguese sketch.

Dürer was German, so in his writings refers to King Manuel so: «*there was brought from India to the Powerful King of Portugal*», quite different from the Portuguese letter.

Eight editions are known of the famous Dürer's woodcut.

(24) Professor Knapic kindly translated this legend which is as follows:
«On the 1st May, 1513, A. D., there was brought from India to the Powerful King of Portugal, Manuel, at Lisbon, a live animal called rhinoceros. Hereon it is drawn. It has the colour of a spotted tortoiseshell, it is very massive, and is covered with scales. It is as big as an elephant, but shorter and quite able to defend itself. On the nose it has a sharpened and strong horn, which it sharpens as soon as it soos some stones. This clumsy beast is a deadly enemy of the elephant who dreads him tremendously. When it gets near the elephant, it attacks it on the chest charging with the horn between the elephant's front legs. This cannot defend itself and the rhinoceros tears it to pieces and kills it. It is also stated that rhinoceros is quick, gay and crafty».

The British Museum⁽²⁵⁾ possesses a copy of the 1st ed., a copy of the 3rd, a copy of the 7th, and two of the 8th eds.

The copy of the 1st ed. (1515) is beautiful and is in a perfect condition (1895-1-22-714).

The «*Rhinocerus 1515*», by Dürer, immortalised the *ganda* of Muzafar.



(25) CAMPBELL DODGSON — 12. Page 307.

IV—The «ganda» proceeds to Rome, 1515-1516

¹² — D. Manuel, the ninth son of Infante D. Fernando, was one of the very rare men, who although born to an obscure life, the Goddess Fortune married, and she so mighty never deserted him.

Successor to the great King D. João II, he took all advantages of the internal, external and colonial politic, started by his brother-in-law, with the utmost strength of will and energy. With the Portuguese colonial expansion, due to our early navigations, riches unequalled came to Lisbon. They were the greatest incitement of the excessive pride of the ungrateful D. Manuel. This developed to the maximum his love for luxuries and the marvellous pageantry of his Court.

He then wished to show this luxury to another Court stated to be the most pompous in Europe: the Roman Court of Pope Leo X.

On the 12th March, 1514, there entered Rome the celebrated ambassade of Tristão da Cunha. The Holy City was surprised to see such riches and pageantry, and the presents were recognised as unequalled. Amongst them, there were an Indian elephant and an Indian ounce. These animals marvelled and impressed all citizens and visitors of the great city.

The practical mission of the pompous ambassade, with it's

At this city was Francis I (Valois), King of France, who went to see the *beast*, which João do Pina landed at one of the islands in the Bay.

Damião de Gois describes the arrival of the vessel at Marseilles, as well as the visit of Francis I to see the *ganda* which had been landed by Captain Pina. According to Gois, Captain Pina then offered to the King of France a «handsome horse», and whom in appreciation gave him 5:000 Escudos ⁽³⁷⁾.

The Italian Giovio ⁽³⁸⁾ confirms that the *ganda* went to Provence, but does not fix Marseilles as a landing place. (Doc. IV).

The Frenchman Ruffi ⁽³⁹⁾ confirms that the vessel was at Marseilles, and confirms the visit of Francis I to see the *beast* which had been landed at one of the islands ⁽⁴⁰⁾. He fixes the date as January 1516 (Doc. V).

15 — Later, about the end of January or beginning of February, 1516, João de Pina, having the *ganda* aboard, sailed for Rome, but a storm caught the vessel in the Gulf of Genoa and it was lost with all aboard ⁽⁴¹⁾.

Giovio, who published his book before Damião de Gois, fixes the loss of the *ganda* at the perilous coast (a little northwards of Porto Venere) at the entrance of Spezia ⁽⁴²⁾.

(37) DAMIÃO DE GOES — 18. Part IV, Chap. XVIII.

(38) PAOLO GIOVIO — 17. Pag. 50.

(39) ANTOINE DE RUFFI — 26. Page 198.

(40) The islands in the Bay of Marseilles are three: Chateau d'If (Castelo Dito), Pomèges (Cagastracia) and Ratoneau (Lila).

The *ganda* must have landed at one of the larger islands, Pomèges or Ratoneau.

(41) DAMIÃO DE GOES — 18. Part IV, Chap. XVIII.

(42) PAOLO GIOVIO — 17. Page 50. See Doc. IV.

Góis finishes by stating that the corpse of the *ganda* was washed ashore and after being stuffed was sent to Pope Leo X ⁽⁴³⁾.

Giovio also states that the *animal* came to Rome «da sua vera effigie e grandeza» (Doc. IV). He states that this happened in the month of February but he is mistaken with regard to the year, which was 1516 and not 1515 as he writes.

In a letter written by King Manuel to Miguel da Silva, his Ambassador at Rome, dated Lisbon 11th, August, 1516, confirms the loss of the vessel, as well as the loss of the *ganda* and everything aboard (Doc. VI) ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

And so, in this sad manner, ended the deambulations of the *ganda* of Muzafar, King of Cambaia.

DOCUMENTS

⁽⁴³⁾ DAMIÃO DE GOES — 18. Part IV, Chap. XVIII.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ It is clearly shown by documents, that the statement made by Caverel that he saw the *ganda* at Lisbon in the year 1528, is quite impossible. Although it is possible that he saw another Indian rhinoceros. He describes it with the horn cut, but I could not find anywhere else, news of this other rhinoceros which he describes very clearly and precisely.

a) PHILIPPE DE CAVEREL — 7. Quoted by:

b) *Boletim de Bibliografia Portuguesa* — 3. Page 162.

Doc. I

Letter written from Lisbon, 1515, by the German Valentin (Ferdinand) of Moravia, to a merchant at Nuremberg ⁽¹⁾

(Supposed to be written after the 3rd June, to the end of July, 1515)

Dear Brother,

On the 20th of the present month of May, 1515, arrived at Lisbon, the noblest city of the whole Luzitania, and at present an excellent emporium, an animal called by the Greeks, *rinoceros*, and by indians, *ganda*. The beast was sent by the most powerful King of the city of Combaia ⁽²⁾, India, as a present to the most serene D. Manuel, King of Portugal. It is stated by Pliny ⁽³⁾, that at the time of Pompey the Magnus, a similar beast was shown in their games, to the Romans, along with other animals.

He describes the rhinoceros as follows: It has a horn on the nose, is an enemy to the elephant and, before attacking, sharpens the

(1) Translation of the Italian manuscript:

VALETIM FERNANDES — 14.

The manuscript is not signed by Valentin, nor dated, but I suppose has been written from Lisbon and as above.

(2) Combaia.

(3) CAIUS PLINII SECUNDI — 24. Liv. VIII, Chaps. XIX and XX.

horn on a stone, then strikes it on the chest, as this is the weakest part of the elephant. He also states that it is as big as an elephant, but the legs are shorter and the colour is similar to that of the box-tree. This description is similar to that of Strabao at the end of his *Book*, and which is as follows:

«Artemidoro states that he saw at Alexandria very strong panthers and rhinoceros, which the elephant very little exceeds in length, or height. The colour of the rhinoceros I saw, was not similar to the box-tree, but to the elephant. It has the bulk of a bull, and the shape was similar to a wild boar, chiefly the head, but with the exception of the nose which is curved by a horn, and harder than bone. It uses this horn as a weapon, like the wild boar uses the teeth. It has also two folds from back to chest, like snakes round the body, one at the neck, and the other at the back. I state these details, as I saw them, but Artemidoro adds that this beast fights the elephant on account of pasture. It attacks the elephant charging him at the chest, and with the horn tears it to pieces, but the elephant may defend itself with the trunk or teeth and then the rhinoceros may be thrown down» (4).

(4) The German original by Valentin Ferdinand should include the above paragraph in Latin — which translation I owe to the kindness of Professor José Augusto d'Oliveira — as it is on the Italian manuscript at Florence, but Gubernatis did not copy it. It is a reproduction of Strabao's:

STRABONIS — 27. Liv. XVI, Fols. 139 v. and 140 r.

Valentin Ferdinand used the 1502 ed. or a contemporary one.

It must be noted that more modern editions have little differences. The latin paragraph is as follows:

«Fert etiam pardales fortissimas et rhinoceros qui (ut Artemidorus ait) longitudine parum ab elephantis exceduntur: quod Alexandriae vidisse se (a) affirmat se fere etiam quantum ad altitudinem: eius autem quem nos vidimus color nos (b) buxo, sed Elephantis similis erat: magnitudo vero tauri: forma apro proxima: praesertim quantum ad rictum praeter nasum qui cornu quoddam est recurvum: omni osse durius: eo pro armis utuntur quemadmodum aper dentibus: habet etiam duo cingula tanquam draconum volumina: a dorso usque

Strabao's description of the rhinoceros is in accordance with the animal I saw here, chiefly with regard to the hatred between the two beasts. On the day of the Blessed Trinity (5), when an elephant was led to a courtyard, near the King's Palace, and later the rhinoceros was led to the same place, I saw, the elephant uneasy and furious turning to one side and the other, then uttering a tremendous cry, run to one of the barred windows and with the trunk and teeth wrenched the iron bars (as thick as an arm), and fled away.

(5) As I above mentioned the city of Combaia (7), for your information I want to tell you where that city is, and also the actual division of India.

India is divided in two parts., that is, India and Arabia. Modernists state that Lower India comprises all sea, coasts and rivers of Ethiopia, Asiatic Arabia up to the Persian Gulf, the islands at the Gulf of Arabia, i. e. from the Red Sea to the city of Combaia including the noble emporium of Aden, Xehar (8) where incense grows, and the island of Zocatara (9) where the aloes secutrinus (10) is done and grows.

ad uterum circumeuntia: alterum jubam versus: alterum ad lumbum. Nos haec de eo dicimus quia nobis visus est Artemidorus ulterius addit: quod id animal de pastu cum elephante pugnet: eum rictu subiens ac uterum rescindens: nisi ab elephantis prosboscide vel dentibus anticipetur» (c).

(a) Later editions have no «sc».

(b) It must read «non» instead of «nos» as on later editions.

(c) Later ed. have «praeventatur» instead of «anticipetur».

(5) 3rd June, 1515.

(6) From this point onwards, the letter does not refer to the rhinoceros. It refers to the voyages of Marco Polo, and Nicolau Veneto or Conti, which Valentin Ferdinand very well knew.

(7) Cambaia.

(8) Xaer (to the East of Aden).

(9) Sokotra

(10) Linen called «aloes Secutrinus»:

MARCO PAULO — 23. Fol. 87 r.

• On the north is the Kingdom of Thellambar ⁽³²⁾, with similar natives. There are diamonds here.

To the West are the 12,000 islands which are all called Dihaly ⁽³³⁾. The royal Mahal ⁽³⁴⁾ and dominions belong to the Sarracenes, who have 30 to 60 (?) ⁽³⁵⁾. Poor people are naked, live on fish and take their shells to the city of Banchele ⁽³⁶⁾ where these are employed as coin. They also make ropes ⁽³⁷⁾ which are used in the native vessels.

Beyond the Ganges, India is called by the natives Macim, and still beyond Cyn, which means the last country. Marco Polo calls it Mangi limiting with the true Chersoneso ⁽³⁸⁾, where the city of Malaca is, and beyond that is the port of Zaiton ⁽³⁹⁾. There lie the royal cities of Pego ⁽⁴⁰⁾ and Tarnasari ⁽⁴¹⁾, on the opposite side of these cities is the island, called by the Venetian Marco Polo Java Minor and today is named Samotra ⁽⁴²⁾. This island grows the long pepper, camphor tree, and there is gold and silver.

To all the rest of the unknown lands, is called Syn or Kyn, and also by Syn is the island Sinay known ⁽⁴³⁾, where Bandan

⁽³²⁾ Valentin Ferdinand in the *Introducao* to:

MARCO PAULO—23. Fols. Avj r., used the word Telline.

⁽³³⁾ Dive islands or Maldive, described by the author's letter:

VALENTIM FERNANDES—15.

⁽³⁴⁾ The King of the Dive islands lived at Mahal.

⁽³⁵⁾ In the Florenee manuscript is the word «caxe» which I could not translate or understand the meaning.

⁽³⁶⁾ Bengal.

⁽³⁷⁾ Ropes are made from the palm tree fiber, of which there are plenty in the Dive islands.

⁽³⁸⁾ Chersoneso aureo.

⁽³⁹⁾ Today Chang-Cheu.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Pegu.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Tarnasari.

⁽⁴²⁾ Sumatra.

⁽⁴³⁾ Could not identify this island. Valentin Ferdinand may refer to one of the Molucas islands. They had been discovered in 1511 but were yet little known in Portugal.

is ⁽⁴⁴⁾. This island grows the clove, and the white parrots are found here. They are like doves, have a tuft on the head and pronounce very well the human words ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

When the Portuguese were sailing along the maritime coasts, they perceived that at the Cape of Good Hope, men were short. They lived on very big lagoons, like the Venetians, and they were wicked and violent. They tried to deceive the Portuguese. Calling them, they offered a sheep and uttered cries as the bleat of the sheep, but in truth brought a dog on the shoulders.

The Portuguese understanding that the natives tried to deceive them, barked like a dog, the natives laughed and throwing the dog to the ground fled away.

It is stated that the above mentioned people speak in a strange way, turning the eyes and mouth round, whistling in a strange manner and making such sounds and gestures that they frighten. The natives again tried to deceive the Portuguese, calling them to go ashore, but as they had given a red cap to one of the natives, who had been aboard, this in recognition told them that they should not land as they would be eaten. He tried to make them understand that the people was abominable, and that they were canibals.

It is also stated that climate is very bad. The Portuguese suffered from tumours which they had to cut with knives, putrid blood came out and thus they were cured.

They sailed turning Zaffala ⁽⁴⁶⁾, where there is a gold mine, and is at two day's journey from where they built a fortress with mortar and stone ⁽⁴⁷⁾.

The natives laughed and sneered at the fortress, believing that they would be able to throw it down with their shoulders.

When the Portuguese completed the building of the fortress,

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Banda island belongs to the Molucas group.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ These birds are the cockatoos.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Sofala.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ This fortress was started in 1503.

armed it with stones, many fusils and guns, the natives came in great numbers hand in hand and pushing one another. They surrounded the fortress and tried to throw it down with their shoulders, but the Portuguese with the above mentioned material wounded a great number of them. They were very much surprised and from then onwards remained in peace, obeying to every order given them.

The Portuguese are now bringing from that Country great quantities of gold, similar to the tiber gold ⁽⁴⁶⁾ that comes from Barbaria.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Dust gold.

Doc. II

**Afonso de Albuquerque's order regarding
the native Oçem**

(Goa, 20th October, 1514)

To Francisco Corvivel, Administrator of Goa, and to the assistants of the aforesaid Administration.

The Captain General orders that the following be given to the native Oçem, *who is taking the ganda to Portugal*, a pardau ⁽⁴⁹⁾ and a vestment of clothes, of those you have in your possession, and these I grant him in the name of the King, our Master. In view of the above stated this will be taken into your account.

Written at Goa on the 20th October, 1514, by Fernão Moniz.

AFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE ⁽⁵⁰⁾.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Old Indian coin.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* — 5. VI, page 147.

Doc. III

Charter from King D. Manuel ordering Ruy Leite deliver to João de Pina 2 silver barrels, 2 silver tankards, 2 silver washing basins, etc.

(Done at Lisbon, on the 9th October, 1515)

We, the King, order to you Ruy Leite, Treasurer, that you deliver to João de Pina, knight of our house, 2 silver barrels, 2 silver tankards and 2 silver washing basins, also 2 silver jars, and half a dozen goblets, which we told you to have repaired and goldplated to be sent to the Holy Father; these pieces, with the respective boxes and cloths, to go well wrapped and packed. Also a big wooden ark, where all the boxes will be packed, and this to be covered with a thick cloth so that moisture will not enter into the boxes. In view of the above mentioned, with your approval registered by your assistant the weight of the silver, and cost of the other necessary things, we order that everything will be taken into your account.

Written at Lisbon, on the 9th October, 1515, by Diogo Vaz.

THE KING.

We also order you to deliver him, the gilded iron chain, and the green velvet collar with gilded roses ad carnations and trimmed with fringe which we ordered you to be made for the ganda.

THE KING. THE BARON [*de Alvitto*].

This silver, which The King sends to Rome to be delivered, by the Treasurer, to João de Pina ⁽⁸¹⁾.

⁽⁸¹⁾ *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* — Corpo Cronológico, 1st Part, pack 19, doc. 2.

Doc. IV

Extract from Paolo Giovio, 1555 ⁽⁸²⁾

«Et io [*Giovio*] gli lessi quel fiero animale chi si chiama *Rbino*, nemico capitale dell'Helefante, il qual essendo mandato à Roma, accio che combatesse seco, da Emanouello Re di Portogallo, essendo già stato veduto in Provenza dove scese in terra, s'affogo in mare per un'aspra fortuna, negli scogli puoco sopra porto Venere, ne fu possibile mai, che quella bestia si salvasse per essere incatenata, anchorche nuotasse mirabilmente, per l'asprezza de gli altissimi scogli, che fa tutta quella costa. Però *ne venne à Roma la sua vera effigie, & grandezza*, et ciò fu del mese di Febraro l'anno MDXV ⁽⁸³⁾ con informazioni della natura sua la quale secondo Plinio, & si come narrano i Portughesi...»

⁽⁸²⁾ PAOLO GIOVIO — 17. Pages 50 and 51.

Information due to the R. P. Schurhammer's kindness.

⁽⁸³⁾ It is 1516 and not 1515.

Extract from Antoine de Ruffi, 1642 ⁽⁸⁴⁾

«Francisco I, with his wife Queen Claude, visited Marsseilles in 1516, on his return from Saint Baume. He had gone there to thank God for the victory he had won at Marignan over the Swisses. He heard Mass at the Cathedral and, after the «disné», he sailed on a schooner, followed by others, and by many brigantines, to the islands of Marsseilles, to see a rhinoceros that the King of Portugal was sending to the Pope, Leo X.

Two days after, he left Marsseilles» ⁽⁸⁵⁾.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ ANTOINE DE RUFFI — 26. Page 198.

Information and transcription due to M. Charles de la Roncière's kindness.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ The King was still at Marsseilles on the 26th Jan., 1516.

Letter from the King D. Manuel to D. Miguel da Silva

(11th August, 1516)

Dom Miguel

We, the King, send you our greetings.

We were very sorry to bear about the total loss of the vessel we sent to Rome, and was taking aboard an Indian rhinoceros as well as other presents for the Holy Father.

Please tell His Holiness that we were informed of this loss, only a few days ago. Please tell Him how sorry we were, as the animal was sent to us because it was very rare and never seen in these Countries before. It could neither be found in the books and in view of all this, when brought to us we appreciated it more than the amount of one hundred thousand dobras ⁽⁸⁶⁾ and when we decided to send it, to His Holiness, we appreciated it more than the amount of two hundred thousand dobras. We thought that His Holiness would accept with pleasure what we were sending with such good will, and love, and had never been sent to His Sanctity before, nor had yet been seen.

Although, fortune decided otherwise, and we hope that His Holiness believes that the presents were intended for Him. They were so new and from such far away countries that He would be

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Portuguese old coin.

pleased to see them. Now we very humbly ask His Sanctity to accept at least our love, and the great pleasure we had to send Him everything, also the very good will we shall always feel for all things appertaining to His service.

Knowing His Sanctity will receive you as we have requested Him, hope He will hear our sorrow for not being able to send Him, such great novelties.

.....
Written at Lisbon on the 11th August, 1516, by André Pires.

THE KING ⁽⁸⁷⁾.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* — Corpo Cronológico, 1st Part pack 20, doc. 84.

LEGENDS OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 — MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF GUZURAT (CAMBAIA). By João Batista Lavanha. (*Decada Quarta da Asia*, by João de Barros. Lisbon, 1615).
- 2 — THE MUZAFAR'S «RHINOCEROS».
Portuguese original drawing (270mm × 420mm), sent from Lisbon in 1515 with a letter from a portuguese.
The note, copy from this letter, is written by Albert Dürer himself. (London, British Museum)
- 3 — THE «RHINOCERUS 1515».
Albert Dürer's woodcut, 1st edition (212mm × 297mm), inverted for comparison with the portuguese original drawing (2).
- 4 — «THE RHINOCERUS 1515».
Albert Dürer's woodcut, 1st edition (212mm × 297mm). (London, British Museum)
- 5 — THE ISLANDS OF MARSEILLES
The Muzafar's «rhinoceros» was landed at Pomègues (*Cagastracia*) or at Ratoneau (*Lila*), who went Francis I to see him. (*Arte de Navegar*, by Manuel Pimentel. Lisbon, 1762).
- 6 — PORTO VENERE.
The João de Pina's vessel, with the Muzafar's «rhinoceros» was lost at the rocks a little northwards of this port. (*Le Petit Atlas Maritime*, by S. Bettin. Versailles, 1774, vol. IV).

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