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**THE IMAGE OF THE TURKS AND MUSLIMS IN
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY PORTUGUESE
CHRONICLES**

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DEDICATION

To my mother, who deserves much more than all the gratitude that I can offer, and to my father (in memoriam).

APPROVAL PAGE

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Thesis Date : January, 2015

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
 - i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
 - ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

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THE IMAGE OF THE TURKS AND MUSLIMS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY PORTUGUESE CHRONICLES

The Image of the Turks and Muslims in the 16th Century in Portuguese Chronicles, aims to show how the image of the Turks (Ottomans) appears in the Portuguese in the documentation above mentioned. Seeking to go through the pages that contains a variety of information about a wide range of topics, the image of the Turks in this chronicles soon begins to revealing the Portuguese *turcophobia*. The Turks were a kind of special category of Muslims, but different amongst their own larger group of Islamic believers, they had a different role and were part of an important chapter of the Portuguese history. Conversely, the Portuguese were also a special chapter of the Ottoman history. The Portuguese caused the mobilization of the Empire of the East, forced it to pay attention in the African and the Asian lands and peoples under the protection of the Sultan, which led the Ottomans to the Indian Ocean in order to protect the subjects of the Empire from the European invader.

Decadas da Ásia by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto are chronicles that aimed at registering the Portuguese experience in Asia. This work focuses its efforts on showing some stories contained in the chronicles that clarify the reasons for which the Portuguese made distinctive classifications like *Rumes*, *Turcos* (Turks) and *Mouros* (Moors), also differentiating the Persian Muslim of the Ottomans. We will see how the Portuguese, the Western most powerful maritime empire, saw the most powerful empire of the East, its subjects, its arms, the sultan and some personages between the Ottoman, were depicted. To conclude we will present a connection of all the subjects with the religion discourse and the imperialist practice.

We also tried to show some of the meanings of these negative images according to the sixteenth century Iberian Christian thought as well as its perfect contrast, the barbarian infidels of the East, reflected as an essential element for the construction of the Portuguese self-image. Many negative adjectives used to characterize the Turks,

and historical narratives in the chronicles aimed to despise the image of the Ottoman Empire. Not the same happens with *Rumes*, Arabs and Persians, despite all being part of the category of *Mouros* (Moors). The history has didactic and propagandistic intentions quite clear. A commissioned history has purposes defined by the person who sponsored it. The great interested in the history narrated in the *Décadas da Ásia* is obviously the king of Portugal. The great enemy of Portugal in the sixteenth century was surely the Ottoman Empire. The Muslims were not the biggest problem of the Portuguese affairs in India, the biggest problem were the Turks.

Key words: Portuguese, Turkophobia, Islamophobia, Representation, Sixteenth Century

KISA ÖZET

Fabio BALADEZ

Ocak 2015

XVI. YÜZYIL PORTEKİZ KRONİKLERİNDE TÜRK VE MÜSLÜMAN İMAJI

“João de Barros ve Diogo do Couto’nun Decadas da Asia adlı eserinden özel referanslar verilerek 16. yüzyılda Türklerin ve Müslümanların Portekiz Kroniklerindeki İmajı” adlı çalışma, Türklerin (Osmanlıların), yukarıda belirtilen Portekiz belgelerindeki imajlarının nasıl gösterildiğini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Çeşitli bilgiler içeren geniş konu başlıklarından oluşan belgeler araştırılırken, bu kroniklerdeki Türk imajının gitgide Portekiz Türkofobisi olarak açığa çıktığı görülmektedir. Türkler bir bakıma Müslümanların özel bir kategorisini oluşturmakta idi, ama diğer İslam inancına sahip geniş gruplar arasında da farklı idiler, onların farklı bir rolü vardı ve Portekiz tarihinde önemli bir yerleri bulunmakta idi. Diğer taraftan Portekiz de Osmanlı Tarihinde önemli bir yere sahipti. Portekiz, Doğu’nun İmparatorluğunu harekete geçirerek Sultanın koruması altında olan Afrika ve Asya ülkelerine ve buradaki halka dikkat çekilmesini sağladı ve böylelikle Osmanlılar, kendi tebaasını Avrupalı istilacılardan korumak için Hint Okyanusuna yönelmişlerdir.

João de Barros ve Diogo do Couto’nun Decadas da Asia kronikleri Portekizlilerin Asya’daki tecrübelerini kaydetmeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu çalışma, kroniklerdeki bazı hikâyeleri kullanarak Portekizlilerin Rumlar, Türkler ve Endülüs Emevileri gibi belirleyici sınıflandırmaları nasıl yaptıklarını aydınlatmak ve aynı zamanda Osmanlıların Acem Müslümanlardan farkını göstermek gibi konulara odaklanmaktadır. Batının en güçlü deniz imparatorluğu olan Portekiz’in, Doğu’nun en güçlü imparatorluğunu, tebaasını, silahlarını, sultanını ve Osmanlının önemli şahsiyetleri nasıl gördüğü bu çalışmada anlatılmaktadır. Sonuca varmak için dini söylev ve emperyalist uygulama arasındaki bütün bağlantıları ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Aynı zamanda burada önemli bir Portekiz özeleştirisi oluşumunu yansıtmak amacı ile 16. yüzyıl İberyalı Hıristiyan düşünce ve onun mükemmel karşıtı olan

Dođu'nun Barbar kâfirlerinin sahip olduđu bazı olumsuz imajların anlamları gösterilmeye çalışıldı. Türkleri karakterize etmek adına birçok olumsuz sıfat kullanılmıştır ve kroniklerdeki tarihi hikâyeler Türkleri aşağılamak amacıyla yazılmıştır. Rumlar, Araplar ve Acemler için aynısı geçerli değildir. Tarihin öğretici ve propaganda amaçlı yönü olduğu açıktır. Resmi tarihin onu himaye edenler tarafından belirlenmiş hedefleri vardır. Decadas da Asia da anlatılan tarih ile en çok ilgilenen elbette ki Portekiz kralı Dom Manuel'dir. Portekiz'in 16. yüzyıl daki en büyük düşmanı Osmanlı İmparatorluğudur. Müslümanlar Portekiz'in Hindistan'daki ilişkileri açısından büyük bir sorun değildi, en büyük sorun Türkler idi. Bu keyfiyet bu çalışma değerlendirilen belgelerde açıkça görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Portekiz, Türkofobi, İslamofobi, temsil etme, 16. Yy.

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The most excellent Jihad is that for the conquest of self.
(Profet Muhammad, Sahih Bukhari)

PREFACE

This work does not intend to introduce a kind of universal view on the Portuguese thought, for the simple reason that is not possible. Even the dominant elites had their differences. Basically, what is found here is the presentation of some very significant excerpts extracted from the proposed chronicles, the *Décadas da Ásia* by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto. The chronological aspect is intentionally ignored, since a history of a defined event is not the aim of this work. This is rather a discussion in the field of theory of History. We would like to discuss how the chronicles *Décadas da Ásia* was written in the sixteenth century, exhibit some of their features and how this 24 volumes¹ characterized its object, the people, the places, the events. One can also say that there is a concern with the ethnicity question, but without taking the commitment of examine this issue with the care it deserves and that anthropologists know very well how to approach. The ethnic question will present a version of the Portuguese islamophobia. Also we touch the classical question of Orientalism and the well known conflicts between Christianity and Islam, but likewise this is not a work on comparative religion. We prefer to present it as an initial work with humble intentions like expose the commentaries of the chroniclers, in a style of free interpretation and an attempt to accomplish a modest analysis of their discourse.

We can say that the selected chronicles used in this work is one of the most important about the Portuguese history in Asia. In addition we tried to analyze the Ottomans and the Islamic people as an “object” of the Portuguese chroniclers.

The economic interest is what is behind the long history that culminated in the imperialism itself. In the sixteenth century it was still possible maintaining medieval ideals such as the crusades. It seems that this medieval ideal still had great strength at a time when the global economy was born, but the ideological moment of the world was no longer the medieval, that was changing. Perhaps without realizing it, the

¹ A modern edition of the whole appeared in Lisbon in fourteen vols. In 1778-1788 the *Décadas da Ásia* (The Decades of Asia) by João de Barros, *dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente* (On the deeds of the Portuguese in the discovery and conquest of lands and seas of the East). The original version is composed by four volumes written by João de Barros and another twenty written by Diogo do Couto.

crusaders maintained the war against the infidel in the core of their speech, despite the economy had already conquered its place in history and in the men hearts. It is really difficult to believe that que question is purely economic and not sincerely religious as it is showed, but we can not know the hearts of each man and we can not underestimate any of them.

INTRODUCTION

a. General introduction to the theme, hypotheses and objectives

The transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century presents one of the richest phases of the human history. It is a period of "rebirth of Europe", that can be understood as the rebirth of an entire Western civilization. It was also the moment of the formation of the modern nations and, consequently a period of constituting or defining identities, the national identities and amongst the religious turbulence a religious identity. The sixteenth century also draws attention to the internal changes in the Catholic Church.

The Christianisation of the Iberian Peninsula was conducted by the *viri religiosi* (religious men). All the Europe was living a time of religious effervescence. Portugal is undergoing a rapid transformation where social roles and power relations were redefined. At this time, the monastic groups play an important role in the formation and definition of the Portuguese State.² It is a moment when this nobles had to legitimize their position national and internationally. The official chronicles played an important role on this task.

The Great Navigations³ was one of the greatest event in Modern Era. Unimaginable distances started to be overcome and the European men inaugurated a new practice of going "thro' Seas where sail was never spread before"⁴. The greatness was also in the costs of this venture and the long time required for the travels. It

² Sidnei Galli. *A Cruz, a Espada e a Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa*. São Paulo, Ed. Arte e Ciência, 1997, p.12

³ Also called the Portuguese Discoveries

⁴ Famous verses (Canto I, st. 1) of Luís de Camões, one of the greatest poet of the Portuguese language, lived in this glorious period in the history of his country and died with it. His life is obscure, with few historical records, and the little that is told or known about him, are often of dubious veracity, sometimes bordering the legend. However his work is known worldwide. The epic "Os Lusíadas" is part of the gallery of universal works, and its translation is found into several languages, being admired by the greatest writers of the world and the lovers of literature. An English version of "Os Lusíadas" can be read online in: <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/32528> , "The Lusiad; Or, The Discovery of India, an Epic Poem by Luís de Camões", 01-17-2005

involved huge resources, gains and losses, and of course consumed many lives. The Portuguese have the merit to put Europe and the East in touch as never been possible before.⁵ One more time the Portuguese will face their old Muslim enemy.

Very close to the borders of Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire was expanding quickly, spreading fear and concern in the West⁶, unifying peoples of the same faith through the Empire, known for centuries in Spain and Portugal. The last Muslims of Europe were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in the war of Reconquest.⁷

In Europe there was a fear of new waves of “barbarian invasions”. The coming of the Islamic “infidel” against the Christendom was being connected to this old fear, at least in the official discourse and consequently in the popular imagination. The Ottoman Empire was known in Europe, where in the fourteenth century they stated the conquests in Central Europe⁸. In Italy favorable opinions to a crusade against the Turks were spreading.⁹

We can roughly divide two sort of categories, the civilized and the barbarians, each one with its respective group of characteristics. The superior model to a new modern European civilization was the Greco-Roman classical civilization. It was

⁵ It is possible to find the history of the Portuguese Overseas Discoveries in many books, but I must mention two works that are undeniable references. Monumental and classical is Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães (1963), *The Discoveries and the Worldwide Economy*, 2 volumes. Lisbon: Arcadia Press; and for an updated version, which has a select bibliography and also more updated, see the two volumes of Disney, A. R., *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire-From Beginnings to 1807*, Cambridge University Press, New York, volume I and II, 2009.

⁶ There are two great and relatively new works on this theme in Turkish language: Kumrular, Özlem, *Türk Korkusu: Avrupa’da Türk Düşmanlığının Kökeni*, İstanbul, Doğan Kitap, 2008; and Kumrular, Özlem, *İslam Korkusu*, İstanbul, Doğan Kitap, 2012.

⁷ About this fascinating topic, we recommend reading of the chapters “*Gharb al-Andalus*” in Disney, A. R. *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire-From Beginnings to 1807*, Cambridge University Press, New York, I, 2009.

⁸ According to Dino Mujadžević this is one of the most studied topics in Ottoman historiography concerning this period. To illustrate, we can mention some fantastic military successes of the Ottomans such as the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, the conquest of Bosnia in 1463, the battle in Mohacs in 1526 and the first siege of Vienna in 1529. Dino Mujadžević, *The Other Ottoman Serhat in Europe: Ottoman Territorial Expansion in Bosnia and Croatia in First Half of 16th Century*, Ankara University Journal of the Center for South East European Studies (2146-054X) 1 (2012), 1, p. 101.

⁹ One of the most prominent defenders of this idea was Cardinal Bessarion, who devoted his life to organize a crusade to retake Constantinople from the Turks and defend the treasures of Greek culture that had fallen into the hands of the infidels. He proposed to attack instead of waiting for the attack of the enemy, making offensive war rather than defensive. See Soykut, p. 51.

necessary to invent European identity, besides national identities. Historiography and the chronicles reflect it using abundantly, and sometimes exaggeratedly, names of classical authors as a way of confer authority.¹⁰

The Turkish "barbarians" were a threat and the antithesis of that Classical ideal. The capture of Constantinople was an urgent warning with great symbolic power to nourish this fear of the evil and barbaric infidels. This terrible notice was being spreaded by local governors, kings and religious men¹¹. The quick Ottoman expansion towards Europe terrorized the Christians¹² who began to imagine that Christianity was threatened and the Europe would fall victim of the Turks. Actually, this "trauma" which Islam represented to the pre-modern Europeans is the result of centuries of "crusader ideology" spread in Christian Europe through medieval chronicles, religious treatises and penetrating layers of popular culture through deeds, folk songs, poems and stories of chivalry.

Still full of characteristics inherited from the medieval society, where (the biggest) part of the society works and other fights, a third group is responsible for construction and propagation (and monopolization) of the knowledge. Those men who wrote about the Ottomans were not few, however, we are going to use only a small part of the Portuguese documentation that mentions the Turkish Empire as a threat to Europe, in addition we will have the opportunity to compare with the way that the Portuguese describe themselves, sometimes directly, sometimes describing their supposed (perfect) opposite.

The Iberian countries were in a different position and situation in relation to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. They were not being threatened by the Turks yet and on the other hand, Portuguese and Muslims had centuries of history and

¹⁰ On the subject of historiography in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, and the relation to classical antiquity, see Albanese, Gabriella, "A redescoberta dos historiadores antigos no Humanismo e o nascimento da historiografia moderna", in: Francisco Murari Pires e Marlene Suano (orgs.) *Antigos e Modernos, Diálogos sobre a Escrita da História*. São Paulo, Alameda Casa Editorial, pp. 19-70.

¹¹ Özlem Kumrular. *İslam Korkusu*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012, p. 19.

¹² this is the main theme of the books *Türk Korkusu* and *İslam Korkusu* by Özlem Kumrular. See bibliography.

coexistence¹⁴. The Islamic presence in Iberian lands dates until 1492, the year of the Reconquering, when they were totally expelled from the Peninsula.

In Asia, the Portuguese alleged to be in that lands looking for trade spices and looking for Christians¹⁵. This adventure started a bloodshed and violent history in the East. The great enemy that the Portuguese had not faced in Europe, they faced later on the other side of the World. In charge to defend the Islamic World, the called *Turcos* (Turks) by the Portuguese, became the biggest threat to exploratory intentions of the Portuguese. In the Portuguese chronicles the Ottomans emerge under an innumerable quantity of bad adjectives. This adjectives make sense before the new modern ideology of the Western World. The “perfect opposites” had met.

The encounter between the West and the East, resulting from the Portuguese initiative in the Indian Ocean, opened important issues for Europe. While the Ottomans presented themselves as an unified block marching with the Islamic flag and integrated by this religious ideal, the West had very serious concerns to solve within their own territories, fragmented not only politically, but also divided between their Christian peoples. The Ottoman was a Muslim Empire; they talked about unification of the Muslims people under a religion and advanced on behalf of this unit that made them strong, while Europe feared the Islamic enemy advancing from the east and the south that was present in the land and waters surrounding Europe. Also the Europe internal disagreement was gaining terrain and strength its potential enemy. Protestantism was an internal enemy spreading disagreement, the Catholic Church had to face Christians and Muslims at the same time. The European inability to unify itself was very urgent and necessary as an internal reorganization.

Portugal was an autonomous country that was looking for a privileged place among the Catholic countries, dreaming with forming and perhaps leading a Christian unification. They had lived with historical rivalries inside the Iberian Peninsula,

¹⁴ The Iberian Peninsula, corresponding to the future territory of Portugal and Spain, was conquered by the Arabs between the years 711, with the victory of Berber Tarique ibn Ziyad in the Battle of Guadalete or Guadibeca, and in 713. The invaders called the new space al-Gharb al-Andalus. After six centuries, Muslims were expelled from Portuguese territory in 1249 under King Afonso III.

¹⁵ Subrahmanyam, S. *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p.129)

especially in relation to the Spanish kingdom. On this context, Portugal insisted on a Crusader discourse and struggled with the intention of self-claiming to be a representative of Christianity and be one of its major crusader agents.

In this context, what would it mean to dominate Mecca and Medina, and what was the meaning of it to the Portuguese? To what extent the results of these efforts reflected in the records of the Portuguese?

The Turks were going to emerge on the path of the Portuguese after the European explorators became a threat to Muslims in the Indian Ocean and interfered in the Red Sea trade route; this route by which they could enter and threaten the cities of Mecca and Medina if they were victorious to establish a pathway to conquer this sea or in conquering important cities of the Arabian peninsula. The conquest and the possible (or probable) destruction of these cities would not make the Christian world better nor save the Christian people from the Ottoman threat, but it would be a priceless symbol of the Portuguese victory over Islam and also over Christianity itself. The Ottomans were forced to turn their exploration towards the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Peninsula, where a number of factors were favorable and many others unfavorable to the Ottomans.

In an attempt to build the image of a common enemy between Portuguese and Christian Europe. The Portuguese chronicles tell us the military conquests of the Portuguese with great derogatory content of their biggest obstacle to their business in India, and hence give a bright and also messianic aspect to their ideological and religious convictions, presenting the Portuguese progress as something already previewed in the destiny of Portugal. Deconstructing the humanity aspect of the Turks and Muslims was done emphasizing negative characteristics of non-European peoples pointing out moral defects, cruelty, frequent use of violence, among many other things.

This moment of the history in which conflicts, battles, massacres and destruction take place, led the Portuguese empire to seek means to reduce their disadvantage. This disadvantage was numerical, because the Portuguese did not have a large number of people available and could not get it easily among the Christians; there was also the issue of not knowing the region, which led the Portuguese to make

great progresses in several areas of knowledge, from cartography, anthropology to medicine. Their economic and military alliances could keep them in this business, leading them to ever greater interaction with the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula, the Indian Ocean coast and continental Africa and Asia. This need may have served as motivation for the Portuguese. Besides they dedicate attention to their Ottoman rivals in the chronicles, they also left a rich ethnographic report about various ethnic groups of the region, even though at times seems laden with imagination.

Finally, even if this work doesn't aim to be a contribution to economic history, we would like to emphasize that it is the most important part of a moment lived by both empires. It is actually a socio-economic mark of reconfiguration of spaces of traffic, economic and people flows, transformation of the society and spread of both religions - Christianity and Islam. It is the landmark of the arrival of the West in non-Western lands. Since that time this two side of the Earth are like aliens to each other. The convulsion of the Mediterranean trade and the opening of the Atlantic route contributed to this planet be the size it really is, unknown until the sixteenth century. All these facts, somehow shaped the historical reality of the studied period and its implications for historical research of both states, Portuguese and Turkish-Ottoman, uniting two parties in one and allowing History to be the History of Mankind, not just belonging to one or another state.

Our goal was to write an academic work in a broader field of History, of course in a very humble way, as Henke Wesseling refers in his chapter on History of Overseas¹⁷ when he says that due to his object of study, the History of Overseas we shall dialogue with specialists from other areas such as linguistics, archeology, anthropology, in order to be a better listener of the cultures involved, i.e., to produce anything that fits this concept of History of Overseas which undergoes changes in its own definition of what it proposes to be, it is required special attention to the human sciences in general. In this case, we have some Portuguese chronicles as our object of

¹⁷ Wesseling (1992: 98-99)

study, where the aim is not to write only or specifically a history of Portugal nor of Ottoman or of Islamic.

The objective of this study, also could be said, is taking some further the discussion about the history of the Portuguese thought in the sixteenth century and show how they built an imaginary about themselves and “the other”, we can consider it well succeeded if this work reaches its most essential goal. Within an historical context where, this one, will be taken into account, but only as the table where the main dish will be served. Ethnography, linguistics and psychology are present ambitions, essential to a history that is intended to be cultural and that has the man as its epicenter, but that remains as an issue to be developed in the future.

To conclude this parte of the introduction we can resume saying we would like to stimulate a reflection on the construction of the Ottoman and Muslim image in selected Portuguese works, from the late fifteenth century and through the sixteenth century, which is also the image of a belief, a people and a way of life, the issue is still relevant since Islam and many people, for religious or other reasons, suffer all kinds of prejudice and infamy from the media and also in the academic environment. We also would like to propose thinking on how the language was used in these historical records, often with great effort, attempts to justify acts that, for the sane minds of the twenty first century, are unacceptable.

b. Portuguese Chronicle Writing and Portuguese chroniclers in the fifteenth-sixteenth century

Vero testis temporum history, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis. (Cicero 1967: 9-36);

"Present is very short; the future, doubtful; the past, right". (SENECA 1995: 169).

The above quotations from of Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC-43 BC) and Lucius Aneu Seneca (4 BC-AD 65) represents the way of thinking history and time in the Classical Antiquity. These concepts lasted as assumptions on the making of history over several centuries and it can be recognized in the production of the chroniclers of the fourteenth, fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries and it is the case of the past with pedagogical aim and based on the events as a guarantee of truth.²² These features are present in the chronicles used in this work. Heirs of this conception of the Antiquity, the Portuguese chronicle can also be considered as a work of Christian moral education as well as it teaches language full with moral teachings of the Catholic Church. These chronicles do not teach only History but also teach how the divine time works within the Christian world.

The medieval chronicles are conducted by a guideline in which time is chronological and defined by the events. It is understood that at the same time that the chronicles aim to give lessons for posterity, they have both a memoirist and moralistic perspective. A good example is the Avis dynasty that has its legitimacy registered in chronicles wrote by Fernão Lopes²⁴. These orders aimed to record the history of the first Portuguese kings and thus fabricate the historical basis to justify the change of dynasty.²⁵

Décadas da Ásia is of another kind, but also governed by these characteristics. They seek to legitimize the actions of the Portuguese, glorifying their deeds, creating heroes and enemies; incite patriotism, religion, adventure on overseas; indoctrinate and harmonize the temporal plane with the divine, in other words, to help the construction of a powerful and modern Portuguese State.

²² Kátia Brasilino Michelan. O passado como exemplo nas crônicas medievais portuguesas - ANPUH – XXV SIMPÓSIO NACIONAL DE HISTÓRIA – Fortaleza, 2009, p 1

²⁴ Fernão Lopes (Lisbon, 1380-1390 - Lisbon, about 1460) was chief guard of Torre do Tombo, general notary of the kingdom and chronicler of all the kingdom of Portugal. Fernão Lopes is considered chronicler and historian. It resizes the genre by limiting traditional narratives panegíricas, making room for autonomy of historical narrative through a methodology that could reach a "naked truth". In this methodology Fernão Lopes orders the "stories" chronologically, seeking an explanatory hierarchy of events. While chronicler assumed a position of authority, of detachment and impartiality, attributes able to detect and control the subjectivism of speeches and thus reach the "naked truth".

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 2-7

We must never forget, when reading the work of João de Barros, that we have a Portuguese author of the sixteenth century, deeply imbued with the Renaissance spirit which, as is well known and in very general lines, intended to bring the spirit of Classical Antiquity²⁶, that in the general opinion of his time, they had lost over the previous centuries. Moreover, Barros appears as another author who feels within himself a conflict that has become almost a common topic among writers of the sixteenth century: the need to make known to the world the great things that the Portuguese had done on Oriental lands and prevent the risk of being left to the oblivion if there was no one who could register it.²⁷

The mission of this great Renaissance Portuguese history was spread worldwide the glorious deeds of the Portuguese who had started exactly after the conquest of North Africa and gradually expanding their conquests until the extremes of the world. Barros had to make a selection of facts to be narrated in the concern of choosing some and rejecting others with the evident intention of just showing what could magnify the "building" and left aside all that could tarnish its beauty.

The prologue of the third decade is, all of it, a defense of the value of history, especially the value of the national's history. An example of the classic style that Barros uses almost permanently, it's enough to read the first three pages of this prologue in which the most important authors of Classical Antiquity are quoted and paraphrased whenever Barros wanted to invoke their authority and transfer them, i.e. their authority, to his own text, but no way he flees his goal, which is to write the history of Portugal, only the concepts are borrowed from the Classics. There's a quote from Plato's Timaeus

²⁶ Besides the cited chapter of Gabriela Albanese, to examine better the subject we must say that the most important study of the classical roots of modern historiography is that of A. Momigliano, *Classical Foundation of Modern Historiography*, with a Foreword by R. Di Donato, Berkeley, 1990, whose scholar only left brief notes devoted to Humanism and the Renaissance; see also the same author's *The Place of Ancient Historiography in Modern Historiography*, in: *Settimo Contribution alla Storia degli Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mondo Antico*, Rome, 1984, pp. 13-36; a specific synthetic text on the classical heritage in humanistic-Renaissance historiography is offered by A. Buck, *L'eredità classica nelle neolatine del Rinascimento*, ed. italiana cure di A. Sottili, Brescia, Paideia, 1980 in the chapter *La storiografia*, pp. 161-177

²⁷ Torrão (2000: 138)

references to Cicero and Aristotle, who offer ideas that Barros wanted to recover in his work.²⁸

Barros does not censure the knowledge of the Antiquity, but criticize a disproportionate attention dedicated to Greek and Latin history that results in the lack of knowledge of the own national history, this national and didactic history should have a useful purpose for the nation, history must allow the reader to take a lesson from it. A scripture which does not have this useful lesson, besides being a waste of time, that is the most precious thing in life, barbarize the ingenuity, and fill meaning of understanding with the flurry of deeds and sayings that they bring. And what is most to be feared, scandalize the soul, conceived hatred and bad opinion whose defamed unto him, is the idea of Barros about history.

The readers of João de Barros has at their hands the concepts that the author defends about the method of History and also provides the necessary concepts for reading his work. His works intends to portray the truth as it is, compared to another one in which the so-called truth is presented smoothly and beautiful, without showing the faults of princes and not even mentioning that it is not a work that aims to convey an useful lesson to the readers, especially in the field of political action.

c. Life and Works of João de Barros

One of the authors of *Décadas da Índia* (Decades of India) is the Portuguese historian João de Barros was born around 1496. He was nicknamed “the Porguese Tito Livio” due to his important historiographical work, besides being the first to standardize the Portuguese language. Between 1525 and 1528 was the treasurer of the *Casa da Índia* (House of India). By suggestion of Dom Manuel I, he began to narrate stories of the Portuguese exploits in India, work received the name of *Décades*. The “*First Decade*” was completed in 1552; the *Second Decade* in 1553; the *Third Decade*

²⁸ Ibid., 146

in 1563; the *Fourth Decade* that remained unfinished was completed by João Batista Lavanha and published posthumously in 1615²⁹.

He wrote four *Decades* in which he narrated from the voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497 until the Ottoman siege of Diu in 1538. Although he had never been in India, he had access to documents and official letters of the *Casa da Índia*. In his aid, he had officials and slaves who were able to translate chronicles and geographical works from languages like Arabic and Persian. He wrote in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the outcome of events was already known.

To present one of our chroniclers in more details, it is worth mentioning that Barros is also known as the author of the first illustrated textbook ever published, which was the introductory textbook of Portuguese language grammar that includes the commandments of the Catholic Church. Both history and the national language have big importance and needed to have their bases structured. The intention of a publication like this is quite clear, it was destined to the children of the aristocracy and not only taught to read and write, but also intended to teach the basic precepts of Catholicism, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments and the main prayers. It was printed in 1536 and it is a typical work of the Renaissance. The grammar shows the effort of valuing the vernacular, giving it a normative formalization that elevate the richness of the classical languages: Greek and Latin.³⁰

In the last period of his life, he carried out a remarkable work on the overseas expansion of the Portuguese in three aspects: achievement, shipping and trade. In life, only the first three *Decades of Asia* (1552, 1553, and 1563) arose. The *Fourth Decade of Asia* was published later in 1615 as we mentioned above. Insufficient knowledge of the places and environments of the expansion and the hardness of the courtesan censorship prevented him from building a piece of “whole truth”. But the *Decades* contain remarkable descriptive and narrative steps.

²⁹ in Infopédia [em linha]. Porto: Porto Editora, 2003-2015. [consult. 2015-01-13 17:29:47]. Disponível na Internet: [http://www.infopedia.pt/\\$decadas-da-asia-\(1552-1553-1563-e-1615\)](http://www.infopedia.pt/$decadas-da-asia-(1552-1553-1563-e-1615))

³⁰ Özbaran (2009: 25)

Barros conceived a world history centered on Portuguese expansion, divided into four parts covering four continents: Europe, Asia, Africa and *Santa Cruz*³¹. From this grand plan just Asia remained, divided as already said in four *Décadas*. The author intended to justify the overseas expansion with spiritual arguments, presenting it as a religious crusade against the Moors. Adopted a serious style, replete of hyperbolic announcing the *Lusiads*, in long Latinized periods.³²

d. Diogo do Couto

Diogo do Couto studied Latin, rhetoric and philosophy. He left for India at the age of seventeen, shortly after the death of his patron, the Prince Dom Luis and returned after ten years. He was a close friend of the celebrated Portuguese poet Luís de Camões. Returned to the East and there received from the infant Felipe II the mission to carry on the *Décadas* of João de Barros. He wrote the *Décadas IV* to *XII*, but only published those that he managed to complete, which were the *IV*, the *V*, the *VII* and a summary of the *Décadas VIII* and *IX*. The *Décadas VI* was burned, the *Décadas VIII* and *IX* were stolen, the *XI* was lost and the *XII* only published posthumously.

Despite this tragic path, he left a total of twelve *Décadas*. Couto believed that History should say "truths" with no restrictions, he ends up suffering repression, revealing how the objectivity bother those whose ancestors were involved in the narrated facts. The historian criticized the current abuses in India, protesting against them frontwards. Beyond the *Décadas*, the congratulatory and memorial prayers delivered in ceremonies in the East, and the report the sinking of the ship São Tomé inserted in the Tragic-Maritime History, he wrote the famous *Diálogo do Soldado*

³¹ *Ilha de Vera Cruz* (Island of Vera Cruz or Land of Vera Cruz), *Terra da Cruz Verdadeira* (Land of the True Cross) or *Terra da Santa Cruz* (Land of the Holy Cross) was the first name given by Portuguese explorers to the New World, which currently corresponds to part of north-eastern Brazilian coast, the first piece of land of America seen by the Lusitanian, reported in the Letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha.

³² João de Barros. In Infopédia [On line]. Porto: Porto Press, 2003-2014. [Consult. 2014-03-31]. Available in www: <URL: [http://www.infopedia.pt/\\$joao-de-barros,2](http://www.infopedia.pt/$joao-de-barros,2)>

Prático (Dialogue of the Practical Soldier), containing a dense critique on functionalism of the “State of India”, laying bare the greed of wealth, the passion for luxury, the oppression of the poor, the lack of dignity and the disloyalty on the information to the king.³³

The *Décadas* are one of the main sources for studying the Turkish-Portuguese relations in the Indian Ocean. Couto went to India in 1559, where he stayed for fifty years. In the first ten years he served as a soldier. Part of the information he used was learnt from other soldiers in India and some of them from Gujarati, left by Süleyman Pasha, in 1538, after the defeat in capturing Diu. He started to write in 1562 and since that moment his chronicle work is based on his own experience.³⁴

e. Other sources

The richest archival material for studying the conflicts between Portuguese and Ottoman in the Sea of India and the Ottoman rule in Arabia lies in Lisbon and Istanbul, and largely not yet published.³⁷

Portuguese documents can be found at the National Archives of *Torre do Tombo*, in Portugal. They are found in great amount in scanned versions that can be downloaded free of charge. As a guide to the Portuguese archives, Özbaran mentions a work of 1932 (*Die Quellen zur Geschichte Zeitgenössischen Portugisisch-Asiens Nachbarlander*), and adds that the book is full of detailed indexes and provides abstracts of documents relating to the Portuguese in Asia³⁸. *The Chronological Body* organized contains more than 80,000 documents and privileges especially the sixteenth century.

³³ Diogo do Couto. In Infopédia [On line]. Porto: Porto Press, 2003-2014. [Consult. 2014-03-31]. Available in www: <URL: [http://www.infopedia.pt/\\$diogo-do-couto](http://www.infopedia.pt/$diogo-do-couto)>.

³⁴ Özbaran (2009: 25-27)

³⁷ Salih Özbaran, *A Review of Portuguese and Turkish Sources* (1985) in *The Ottoman response to the European expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman administration in the Arab lands during the sixteenth century*, The Isis Press, 1994, Istanbul, Turkey, p. 69

³⁸ Salih Özbaran. *A Review of Portuguese and Turkish Sources*, 70

Other Portuguese works of great value to the study of the Ottoman History are the *Cartas de Ormuz a D. João de Castro* (*Letters from Ormuz to Dom João de Castro*), 1545-1548, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* (*Collection of São Lourenço, the Portuguese Overseas Documentation*), *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (*History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*) by Fernão Lopes de Castaneda (1497-1538) and *Lendas da Índia* (*Legends of India*), by Gaspar Correia (1497-1548).

Rui de Pina, whose we are going to mention quickly in the beginning of this history of the Turks under the Portuguese chronicles, starts in the last quarter of the fifteenth century "the case of the Turks". He was an official chronicler of *Dom João II* and *Dom Manuel*. The chronicler was an employee of the court. Around 1490 the king *Dom João II*³⁹ gave him permission to write and note down the famous achievements of the Realm. The chronicle which is important to mention here is *Chronicle of Dom Afonso V*.⁴⁰

By Gaspar Correia, another Portuguese historian, author of *Lendas da Índia* (*Legends of India*), is also one of the most important works about Portuguese rule in the East. He was dubbed the Portuguese Polybius. Theresa M. Schedel White Castle classified as "the most important literary source for everything that happened in India in the early years of the sixteenth century"⁴¹.

Primor e Honra da Vida Soldadesca no Estado da Índia (*Excellence and Honor of the Soldiery Life in the State of India*) was written around 1578 by an author that remained anonymous and was edited by Friar Antonio Freire in 1630. A very interesting work in literary language that seeks to, with a philosophical spirit, where

³⁹ *Dom*, abbreviated as *D.*, is a portuguese word that means "Lord". We are going to use its abbreviation as we commonly do in Portuguese.

⁴⁰ He wroted lots of chroniclers, especially history of the kings of Portugal, some exemples are the *Ineditos de Historia Portugueza da Academia de Ciências* (Unpublished History of the Portuguese Academy of Sciences), chronicle of D. Alfonso IV, the *Crónica de D. Manuel* (Chronicle of D. Manuel), *Crónica de D. Sancho I* (Chronicle of D. Sancho I), *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques* (Chronicle of D. Afonso Henriques) and prepared the chronicle of the first seven kings of Portugal, between many others.

⁴¹ Despite the importance of the work, it was not used in this work, we only have to mention the historical importance as a document and a beautiful literary that should be not ignored. It was used indirectly through the book of Theresa M. Schedel Castelo Branco (2006), *Na Rota da Pimenta*, Lisboa: Editorial Presença.

the Ottomans and Muslims are often mentioned, criticize the state in which the Portuguese society is in India, and review the (theological) sense of that task-work. Nowadays, it is possible to find thoroughly updated and annotated versions, such as the version that is also composed of a brief historical study by Maria Laura and reviewed by Maria Augusta Lima Cruz. This work is focused on doctrinal controversies on the reality and on the State of India's duty to progress in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With the same concerns, the best known work is *Os dois Soldados Práticos* (The Two Practical Soldiers) by Diogo do Couto. With this edition, readers can find a text of great ideological value that depicts the life of the Portuguese and Eastern peoples whose times are still today virtually unknown and addresses especially reflections on the Christian virtues and their defects at a time when the Portuguese lived, in different parts of the East, their epic and astute journeys. Tells us what happened after a few decades of the Portuguese experience in Asia, and also contributes to the understanding of the gap between the Christian Portuguese and "the other" one.

Some travelers have also left records about lands under Ottoman rule that may be useful, Özbaran highlights the narratives of Antonio da Orta, Mestre Afonso, Gaspar de São Bernardino, Nicolão da Orta Rebelo and Manuel Godinho. These sources have also not been sufficiently explored here.⁴²

Francisco López de Gómara, in his *História Geral das Índias* (*General History of Indies*) of 1552, wrote "the greatest event since the creation of the world, after the incarnation and death of Him who created him", referring to the Iberian discoveries and the oceanic routes to the West and East Indies. Two centuries later, Adam Smith repeated these words, and wrote that "The discovery of America, and that of passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two Greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind". Merit of the Portuguese and also the Spaniards that turned previously scattered and isolated civilizations into part of a global context, which lamentably tarnished with much blood these chapters of the

⁴² Özbaran (2009: 28). In order to learn more about the sources in Ottoman and Arabic language, which makes no sense to mention here for not had been used, we recommend th reading of the pages 12 to 21 for Ottoman sources and the pages 28 to 30 for Arabian and Persian sources.

World History. Western Europeans barely knew the great Asian and North African civilizations. Italians and Jews were the only agents in the West that possessed a greater awareness on this subject. On the other hand, the Eastern societies knew very little or almost nothing about Europe, and were absolutely unaware of America's existence.⁴³

European sources must be confronted with native sources, for the obvious reason that they show the other side of the coin. Turkish, Arab and Iranian primary sources should be used together with the English language documentation, which is a rich material on the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century⁴⁴. Since it involves a range of provinces, peoples, kingdoms and different empires, this field of study naturally implies an equivalent amount of languages and different interests, and for this kind of work the historians who assume such a task have to demonstrate broad theoretical-methodological and interdisciplinary knowledge, besides mastering several languages.

Among the most important sources in Portuguese language, we have to mention the *Commentaries of Afonso de Albuquerque*, and the *Letters of Afonso de Albuquerque*, where you can meet with very great detail about the early years of the history of Portugal in Asia in the sixteenth century.

In addition to the Portuguese sources, there is a wide variety of European sources, such as Venetian and French that includes since consular documents until travel narratives to the lands of the Ottoman Empire and regions around the Indian Ocean.⁴⁵

Many authors state that the Portuguese had a particularly favorable condition to launch themselves into the sea, one of these advantages being their geographical position. Portugal have in front of it, a large ocean and a small territory with only Spain

⁴³ Charles R. Boxer. *O Império Marítimo Português, 1415-1825*. Edições 70, 2012, p. 19

⁴⁴ Salih Özbaran. *A Review of Portuguese and Turkish Sources (1985) in The Ottoman response to the European expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman administration in the Arab lands during the sixteenth century*, The Isis Press, 1994, Istanbul, Turkey, p. 68

⁴⁵ Giancarlo Casale. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, p.XVIII

as a neighbour. The great Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre believes that the eight centuries of struggle against the Moors, and the long Arab rule in the Iberian Peninsula had made the Iberians become familiar with the idea that the dark skinned Moors were socially superior people, the Moorish women were enviably beautiful and very sexually attractive, and mentions a text called “Enchanted Moura” (*Moura Encantada*) that seems to have been widespread among the folk. He wants to suggest that the Moors were tolerated and even came to be well-regarded on the Iberian Peninsula. According to Gilberto Freyre, Portuguese and Spaniards did not practice racial segregation owing to this contact with the Arab peoples in the peninsula. Boxer agrees with Freyre in the aspect that at that time, when Christians and Muslims were disputing the dominance of the Iberian Peninsula, were that not exactly times of intolerance and war. *El Cid Campeador*⁴⁶ a Spanish text and *Geraldo Sem Pavor*⁴⁷ shows that the Christians served both the Christian and Muslim rulers.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ See Ramón Menéndez Pidal. *Las Españas del Cid*, 1947; Ambrosio Huici Miranda. *História musulmana de Valencia y su región. Novedades y rectificaciones; Valncia, 1970, 3 volúmenes.*

⁴⁷ Armando de Sousa. *Geraldo sem Pavor. Um guerreiro de fronteira entre cristãos e muçulmanos, c. 1162-1176.* Portogo: Fronteira do Caos Editores, 2008.

⁴⁸ Charles R. Boxer. *O Império Marítimo Português, 1415-1825.* Edições 70, 2012, p. 20

CHAPTER ONE

1. GENERAL HISTORICAL VIEW

Already in the first half of the fifteenth century, Muslim traders were able to travel from Morocco to the south of Asia, while Europe was experiencing a relative geographic isolation that had limits on the Sea of North and the Mediterranean and had a very limited knowledge about the world. Similarly, Chinese navigators of the Ming China were doing huge expeditions beyond Hormuz, Aden and Mombasa. The voyages of exploration came to change the European and the World History in a revolutionary way. Even after the voyage of Colombo, the European geographic knowledge was still based on old maps and old and medieval travel reports.⁴⁹

In Portugal there were some powerful families of Genovese traders, as well as other Italians (Florentines, Venetians, and Milanese). These families of traders were the responsible for the commercial relationships of Portugal with the Mediterranean world. Thanks to the commercial policies of D. Afonso V, in the second half of fifteenth century, Portugal expanded her trade throughout the Mediterranean. There was a growing of the competitiveness in the Mediterranean, intensifying the trade in the region and the competition for the dominance of the trade routes. Tropical products were commercialized in the Mediterranean ports and products of the Mediterranean ports were commercialized with the North Europe. Besides the increasing commercial development, Portugal was still living with economic difficulties due to the excesses of the Crown D. Afonso V, and maintained an economic policy towards Africa.⁵¹

The long distance routes connected Europe with Asia, Africa, America and the islands of the Atlantic, thereby reconfiguring the European and the worldwide economy. New opportunity to business expanded the European trade, which became increasingly complex as they involved an increasing number of agents operating in the

⁴⁹ Casale (2010: 5)

⁵¹ Moreno (209)

East and in the Atlantic. The spices trade in the first half of the sixteenth century boosted the economic activities in the continent, unifying autonomous and unknown economies in a wider and scattered system. The development of the “world-economies” or “worldwide system”, as referred by Braudel⁵³ and Wallerstein, happened from this long distance trading operated by the State.

1.1 Portugal until Vasco da Gama

After Vasco da Gama crossed the Cap of Good Hope, the eastern economy became directly connected to Europe. The discovery of the way through Cape of Good Hope, which was the great achievement of da Gama, started to lose importance along the sixteenth century and at its ending it became solely one of the many routes, competing with the revived routes by the red Sea and Persian Gulf. Nevertheless, with the rise of the English and the Dutch nations, its importance was assured until the opening of the Suez Canal. One of the great advantages of this route to the Europeans was to allow travels to be realized in distances that were not possible before, often without even stopping.⁵⁵

It was only after the 80s that Portugal decided to make the spice trade directly with the origin or as close to it as possible. Until then, they acquired the Asian spices through intermediaries like the Venetians who bought from Muslim traders of the Mamluk Empire of Egypt and Syria. The reason why Dom João II decided to end the Venetian-Mamluk monopoly was the prices charged by that traders. By being the holders of the monopoly of the merchandises of the East, the prices could be decided randomly by the vendors, and who wanted those goods should buy them by the determined price. There is no enough information about the practiced prices but

⁵³ Braudel, Fernand, *La dinámica del capitalismo*. Cidade do México: Fondo de Cultura, 1986, p. 86-100

⁵⁵ Scammel (520)

certainly the issue of the Venetian-Mamluk monopoly let the other nations outside of this large and lucrative business.

The instructions given to Pero de Covilhã and to Vasco da Gama in the period between 1487 and 1497 demonstrates that the king of Portugal was confident about the discovery of a new maritime route to India. By a new route, it would be possible to deviate at least partially the spice trade from the East to the Atlantic Ocean, just as the gold trading of Guinea had been deviated from Sahara to São Jorge da Mina.⁵⁶

1.2 Dom Manuel

They called him the fortunate king, and rightly so. Was a lucky man. Inherited a throne that was not destined, held a discovery that others had prepared, it earned unimaginable incomes: the wealth of India made him the richest king in Europe. Which the monarch duly appreciated. (*Castelo Branco, Na Rota da Pimenta, p. 29*)

The documents says about an avid of wealth Dom Manuel, king of Portugal, interested in trade and secondarily interested in the propagation of the Christian faith. The Ottoman sultan complained against the atrocities that the Portuguese were committing in India in the name of the Christian faith and in order to make commerce, the trade of Egypt and Arabia that were harmed as well. Moreover the Portuguese also assaulted and burned Ottoman vessels without any reason.

The Sultan argued that there was not any kind of persecution to Christians in Syria or in Egypt, anyone prevented the Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher, or prevented Christians from doing business in that region, but Dom Manuel ignored the Sultan and asked for money to the Pope, justifying its campaign in India in order to "cut off the head of the Mohammedan sect, whence so evil deeds the demon poured

⁵⁶ Boxer (2012: 50)

through the earth, and to finish than once and Mecca, located in Arabia, where lies the movement of Mohammed with the power of Lusitanian weapons". Dom Manuel explained that the Christian faith 600 years ago had spread among the people, but "because of the sins of men some sects and beliefs contrary to Christianity had appeared", clearly referring to Islam. These sects separated Christians by land, but Portugal could bring together Christians by sea, argued the king. Despite this religious concerns, the official documents always privilege the trade, after that arises the worry with religion.⁵⁸

1.3 Vasco da Gama

Vasco da Gama was a Portuguese navigator and explorer of the Age of Discovery. He stood out for being the commander of the first ships to sail from Europe to India in the longest ocean voyage hitherto held. Famous due his cruelty, with many events of violent in his biography he was criticized even by Portuguese chroniclers. For example, in Mozambique he made a slaughter because he judged he was not treated with all due care and ordered to bomb a town of Moors. In another episode, Vasco da Gama had in his fleet a Moorish pilot who once said had be seen a mainland, but it was only an island, and he had be beaten for this reason, because of this "lie". The island received the infamous name of "Isle of Scourged".

In another occasion, Vasco da Gama imprisoned two ships that came from Coromandel to Calicut. He then ordered to cut the hands of the crew, ears and noses, ordered to break the teeth of the men and tie their feet and hands back, and also stick a wood in their mouth so they could not close it. The mutilated crew was placed on a boat. "There were more than 800 Moors," said Gaspar Correia. All bodies dripping with blood oozing were stacked and covered with dry leaves alive oil to have them burned. Hands, ears, feet and noses were put on another boat. Included on the boat of the Moors a Brahmin emissary carrying a proposal of his king to the Portuguese, his

⁵⁸ Castelo Branco (2006: 30-33)

hands has cut off, and his ears and his nose, tied around his neck a note rejecting the proposal. He did not set fire to the boat with the cut parts of the bodies, launched that at sea to sail and be found (and cause horror).

Another priest who came to negotiate with Vasco da Gama, for his refusal to swear by the life of the Zamorin that he really was an envoy of the king, was punished by mistrust of the Captain-Mor, and placed his legs on the embers, not enduring the pain he said he was a spy. Vasco da Gama ordered then cut the upper and lower lips of the a Brahmin emissary, his teeth became permanently exposed they also cut off his ears and sewed in their place dogs ears, and thus was sent back to the city.

A cousin of Vasco da Gama seems that had the same satisfaction when performed cruelties. It is said that a Moorish were punished with numerous whippings, when he was apparently almost dead, his mouth was filled with feces and pork, which is a great religious offense for a Muslim.

Not all Major Captains were so cruel like Vasco da Gama, although almost all have committed acts of great cruelty, which they explained almost always as natural retaliation to affronts that would have been made against them, personally, or through of other persons, to the king, their master.⁵⁹

1.4 Afonso de Albuquerque

It is not necessary to narrate many other cases of cruelty committed by Vasco da Gama nor lengthen too much with Afonso de Albuquerque to avoid doing repetitions, but is important to show the their cruel behaviour because later, when we present the numerous accusations and slanders that the Portuguese made against the Ottomans, including cruelty and barbarism, it is important that we remember some of these examples of Portuguese conduct. Afonso de Albuquerque believed that his actions were justified by his mission in India, he believed he had the approval and

⁵⁹ Castelo Branco (2006: 45-47)

protection of God, because he acted against the Moors and in the name of his Catholic king.

In the first taken of Goa did not spared any Moor, leaving alive only the natives and the Brahmans. Were four days of hunting and killing, the Portuguese filled the mosques with Muslims and set fire. Those who did not die by the sword were burned alive. All the graves and Islamic buildings were destroyed. Afonso de Albuquerque killed around six thousand dead men, women and children. Afonso de Albuquerque was killing as many as he could and asked, "What greater service we can do to our Lord on behalf of our faith, but punishing these Moors and its dealings?"⁶⁰

1.5 The Indian Ocean and the “Estado da Índia”

What the Portuguese called *Estado da Índia* referred to their discoveries and conquests in the maritime areas from the Cape of Good Hope to the Persian Gulf, and from Japan to Timor. Often, *Índia* was the term to denote the Indian subcontinent or the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea.

Most of the Northern India was conquered by Muslim invaders, and their descendants formed and ruled the powerful principalities of Gujarat, Delhi and Bengal. These peoples were the Mongols or Mughals, the Turks of Central Asia. Except for the Confederation of Rajput, the political power in the Northern India was in the hands of Islamic peoples. In the Western half of the Indian Ocean, the presence of Arabic sailors and ships was very intense, while in its Eastern half the Muslim Indians from Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengala predominated. Even with this notable Islamic domination of that region, the Hindu peoples resisted passively to all the attempts of the conquerors on imposing their religion.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 66-67

⁶⁵ Boxer (2012: 56-60)

1.6 Some important events in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century

The “discoveries”, or the arrival of the Portuguese in lands where Europeans had never been before didn’t mean only the Discovery of faraway territories. This contact between the East and the West by means of the Portuguese and other Europeans was also “the discovery of a new social construction of which these travels, oceanic routes and this commercial exchange were all part of, i.e. the construction of the capitalist world-economy in which all of us live nowadays”.⁶⁶

Generally, the subjection of a state to a colonizing empire means its economic, political, cultural and spiritual ruin. In a short time the European presence was felt while by one side the Europeans were enriching, by the other side, populations were being destroyed, as well as their native states, their economies, institutions and way of life were simply devastated⁶⁷. The so-called European Age of Discoveries marks a big change, a turning point of Europe in its historical moment, which was going to affect all the world. New lands, big distances, and a need to be ready for everything that was new. Casale mentions about a total lack of knowledge of the West about the East what made the experience much more hazardous and valorous. In addition to a physical limitation, there was also an intellectual limitation in relation to the East in the first half of the fifteenth century:

... the relative isolation of Western Europe during the period directly preceding the earliest voyages of discovery. During the first half of the fifteenth century, a time when Muslim merchants could travel virtually unobstructed from Morocco to Southeast Asia, and navigators from Ming China could boast of enormous naval expeditions reaching as far west as Hormuz, Aden, and Mombasa, Western Europeans remained almost totally confined, both physically and intellectually, to a small slice of the world bounded by the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

⁶⁶ Wallerstein (2004: 3)

⁶⁷ Scammel, 513

He complements that the knowledge of the Portuguese until the discovery of a passage around the Cape of Good Hope was limited to a couple of medieval maps based on drafts of travelers and some translations from the ancient Greeks.⁶⁸

As Casale reminds, despite the state of isolation of the Iberian nations, there is a very ambitious Project in the ideological politics of these countries, which can be illustrated by the famous Treaty of Tordesillas⁶⁹ in 1494, which meant no less than dividing all the territory outside Europe into two parts, each one belonging by exclusively to Portugal and Spain. Besides the government of these lands, the control of navigation and the maritime commerce was also divided between these two nations.⁷⁰

The Portuguese arrived in Western India before the Ottomans, thus with no major problems were set up at various strategic points, militarily and economically, with the goal of dominating the ancient trade route of the Southeast Asia and India to the Mediterranean Sea through the Red Sea, Gulf of Persia and adjacent islands.⁷¹ The Portuguese reached the West of India and have managed to establish at various strategic points that allowed them to control the flow of trade from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Due to the discovery of the sea route to India in 1498, and the subsequent establishment of a government in Goa, several trading posts were founded in strategic points in the Indian Ocean, and had been made also some local alliances that allowed them to control access to spices and pharmaceutical drugs greatly valued in European markets. The *Estado da Índia* has become a common destination for religious, military, officials of the kingdom, physicists, pharmacists and many others. These events occurred in the Indian Ocean profoundly affected the economy of the Mediterranean, Ottoman and Arabic worlds.

Along the government of Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515) some key points for commercial and military establishment of the Portuguese were conquered. In 1510, the island of Goa, which became known as "Golden Goa", came to supplant

⁶⁸ Casale (2010: 5)

⁶⁹ This Treaty was sanctioned by the Pope Alexandre VI

⁷⁰ Casale (2010: 5)

⁷¹ Özbaran (2009: 35)

trade in Calicut. Goa became the main commercial port of Cambay and Camorim. The harbor was also of fundamental military importance that became a real headquarters and had the support of the Hindu population. With the capture of Hormuz in 1515, the Portuguese were able to control the Persian Gulf.

Afonso de Albuquerque was aware of the strategic importance of the island of Hormuz, but before he had being certain it could be attacked, he rather sacked some towns on the coast of Oman. In 1515 when the fort was taken, the sultan was murdered. The Portuguese rule in Hormuz lasted until 1622. This port was an important point that controlled the traffic between the Arabian Peninsula (Bahrain and Basra) and the Indian Ocean, and it was one of the two big Asian warehouses for collecting and distribution of luxury goods and spices that come from Indonesia. The other port of great importance was Malacca. The trade in these two cities was extended to Levant and Europe⁷³. Hormuz before the Portuguese was ruled by an ally of the Safavid Shah İsmail, the king of Persia. Although the Shah of Persia has claimed Hormuz for himself, he could not do anything:

...the Portuguese occupation of Hormuz constituted a serious challenge to the Levantine and Islamic establishments in and around the Arabian Peninsula. The commodities from India and further Easter were already beginning to go to Lisbon via Cape of Good Hope. Cairo, the Mamluk capital, was consequently experiencing financial difficulties.⁷⁵

In 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque took Goa and attacked Aden that has become the principal city of the Portuguese in India and that gave rise to the conflict with Muslims coming mainly from the Red Sea, or who used this trade route by sea. Troops of Indian mercenaries were used in taking this city.⁷⁶ The Portuguese soon noticed the importance of market towns such as Malabar, Ceylon and Sumatra, and ports such as Hormuz and Aden, dominated by Gujarati and Muslim traders. These sites would soon be targets of the Portuguese armies.

⁷³ Boxer (2012: 58-61)

⁷⁵ Özbaran (2009: 41)

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 40

The taking of Hormuz and Aden put an end to the control of the spice trade by Muslims and Venetians who worked together for centuries and without competing. With the use of force, the Portuguese began the famous monopoly of spices. All this was possible thanks to the destruction of the Egyptian-Gujarat armada in 1509. Alliances in East African coast allowed the construction of the forts of Sofala (1505) and Mozambique (1507), but still could not fully close the routes of spices of the Red Sea.⁷⁷

A license for navigation in Asia was created. Upon payment of a fee to acquire this right and taxes over the goods transported ships, Asian traders who worked freely received this expensive novelty. Ships without this Portuguese license which had not been paid customs duties were captured or sunk, especially if they were Muslim vessels.

The growing enmity between Sunni Turkey and Shiite Persia, and also the disunity of the small kingdoms left an open space for the arrival of the Portuguese. Without a unit of Islamic peoples in Asia, could not be provided an effective response to the Portuguese aggression and its expansion.

The scarcity of European men with which all this work was held in the East by the Portuguese is remarkable, even at the time of Albuquerque, the commercial navigation was performed by Asian sailors under the command of a few white or Eurasian officers. The number of white men was so insufficient that the viceroys barely managed to gather a thousand men, even for the most important expeditions.⁷⁹

When we read that Afonso de Albuquerque cut ears and plucked the eyes of the residents as he was conquering new lands, we were impressed with such cruelty, but the Portuguese left for a war with a lower number of soldiers, this cruelty might have been the only they thought way to impose themselves to potential enemies, the tactic was to inspire terror and psychologically undermine the Moors of Asia.⁸⁰ This

⁷⁷ Boxer (2012: 62)

⁷⁹ Id., 2010, pp. 63-67

⁸⁰ Theresa M. Schedel White Castle does not express any personal opinion on this issue, she writes with experience and beauty and conveys what she found in the documentation very sensibly and cautiously. For Portuguese-speaking readers, we recommend the excellent work

kind of cruelty is horrifying in any time in history, it is a method that men always used in times of war, and often against the civilian population since a war between soldiers usually is resolved with weapons and guns, killing without giving much time to suffering.

Large ships capable of carrying up to 2000 tons, had a crew of Asian black slaves or between 15-20 Portuguese soldiers.⁸¹ This information tells us some things that deserve to be highlighted. Firstly, is the adventure that launched the Portuguese, well equipped with huge cargo ships and also ships well equipped with the best weapons. The outnumbered Portuguese before any other kingdom in Asia shows that the force was in fact in its maritime power and, to some extent, the strategy that positioned themselves and defended themselves. The fact that used Asian slaves to work shows that slavery was necessary, without it would not have been possible that Portugal became an empire. The necessity of using Arabs and Asians in their business was also within a context in which these European were still explorers of seas and regions yet unknown among Europeans. Miscegenation became necessary and this necessity was also stronger than prejudice, wherever the Portuguese have gone, marrying local women was stimulated, which does not invalidate the Portuguese racism and the belief that they were part of a higher civilization.

The first meetings were held when one did not know anything, or almost nothing, about the African southeast and the peoples of the region, many of them were Muslims. Islamic peoples were already known by the Portuguese, but not those from Southeastern Africa. In India they met with native peoples with whom they had a relationship of rather distrust, but therein realized the great business that involved the Red Sea route.⁸²

The Hindu ruler of Cochin received the Portuguese on his lands and facilitated their establishment in Malacca and Macao. His old rival the Zamorin of Calicut had rejected them. In India the Portuguese found a weak and disorganized alliance among

⁸¹ In Boxer (op. cit., p. 69), we read that "in Portuguese ships which made sea trade in the Indian Ocean, the commander or chief was often the only white man on board, because even the pilot and the foreman, such as sailors were often guzarates Muslims."

⁸² Özbaran (2009: 45)

small local Muslim powers. And the Mamluks were a terrestrial military force, not maritime, besides they had been overwhelmed by the Ottomans.⁸³

Arriving in Asia, the Portuguese found an ancient and complex commercial network whose dynamics was given by land and sea, from Europe to China. It was a business of much higher value than anything else known in the West. Because of the limits imposed by distance and changes in seasonal winds, warehouses as Aden, Hormuz and Malacca were widely used. Both luxury goods from China, gold and ivory from Eastern Africa, as cotton textiles from India and spices from Indonesia passed through those ports. Other things that Europe needed could be received through the Middle East, while Arabia provided horses and silk and precious metals coming from Iran".⁸⁴

In a regulation of 1500, there were already orders for all the Muslim ships coming from India to be captured. The ships from the Red Sea should be pursued and the ships that tried to carry spices in Malabar, in the India coast, should be prevented. "The Portuguese were to act as a military power in order to shift the traditional trade route of the Levant in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope. In short, they would trade where possible and make war where necessary"⁸⁵. It was ordered to build a fort in the Red Sea to control the trade between India, the Levant and the Mediterranean, thwarting and preventing Muslims ships to sail to Calicut, Red Sea, Kilwa and Sofala, for example.

The Levantine trading of spices, made through the Red Sea, which was never entirely closed by the Portuguese, returned to have a notable increase from 1540, though the routes of the Persian Gulf and the Cape of Good Hope retained its importance.⁸⁶

The economy of the Mediterranean states started to suffer. The Portuguese fleet was free in the Indian Ocean, attacking and destroying any Muslim vessel. As a consequence of it, very little spice arrived in Cairo in 1518, and there is not even a

⁸³ Scammel (518)

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 520

⁸⁵ Özbaran (2009: 46)

⁸⁶ Boxer (2012: 71)

record of trade in Beirut in 1519, which means that European traders didn't managed to trade in the eastern Mediterranean that year.⁸⁷ The ships of the Muslims, especially Arabs and gujarats, dominated the trade in the Indian Ocean before the arriving of the Portuguese. The vessels were small or large, but all of them devoid of artillery; their hulls were not iron, were more fragile than the Portuguese vessels, which in addition to tougher possessed artillery.⁸⁸

Near the end of the Siege of Diu in 1546, two shotguns owned by the kingdom of Gujarat were found. Such kind of mechanic weaponry was an innovation at that time and in that region. Probably by Ottoman influence, Gujarati used artillery such as fire bombs, gunpowder and explosives in the second siege of Diu. The Portuguese were a military power especially at sea. On mainland, they made use of all types of explosive and flammable materials, and their shotguns were superior to those found in Asia. To defend against this type of attack from the westerners, Khoja Sofar ordered to copy or perhaps purchased metal armors from Europeans, which besides expensive were very heavy.⁸⁹ Therefore, being impossible to have protection for all, we can imagine the level of aggressiveness of the sieges and the battles in Asia after the arrival of the Portuguese. The sword was no longer the armament used nor the fights were hand-to-hand. Of course it didn't stop existing, but the novelty introduced was a type of technology that provided the ranged attack and the destruction of forts and walls, in addition to attack large armies and injure or kill several soldiers at once. Throughout the middle age, Europe perfected a set of basic weapons for the destruction of walls and tower buildings. The gunpowder was also a revolutionary element in the making of war.⁹⁰

The Portuguese artillery became known in the Indian peninsula with the arrival of Vasco da Gama to Calicut. This type of technology was continuously adopted by the mighty Vijayanagar Empire, with the aid of the Turks who helped to introduce and

⁸⁷ Özbaran (2009: 53)

⁸⁸ Boxer (2012: 60)

⁸⁹ Roger Lee de Jesus (2012: 49-50)

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2012: 51

spread the pyro ballistic technology brought from the Middle East. Among the Indians was common to find foreign experts on bombing and casting.⁹¹

The entry of the Portuguese in the Red Sea was also a threat to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Mamluk sultanate that ruled in Egypt, in Hijaz and in Syria was the first to react. In 1508, they managed to win the Portuguese but were defeated in the following year. The Arab world was on alert, the proximity of the Portuguese and their attacks in the Red Sea was a problem that needed to be faced.⁹²

In Egypt, Tuman Bey declared himself as a Sultan and, by refusing the Ottoman rule, he was captured and executed. In 1517, the Sheriff of Mecca sent the keys of the holy cities, a symbolic gesture that meant submission to the Ottoman sultan. Syria, Egypt and Hijaz acknowledged submission to the Ottoman Empire, as well as part of Yemen also passed into the hands of the Ottoman Empire.

Under these circumstances, Selim I marched against the Mamluks in the name of liberating the Arabs from them and protecting the Islamic world. Between 1516 and 1517, Syria and Egypt pass from the hands of the Mamluks into the hands of the Ottomans. The conquest of Egypt and Syria was the result of a campaign against the Safavid Iran. A very interesting questions are raised by Salih Özbaran:

What then had brought the Ottomans to the shores of the Indian Ocean? Did Ottoman policy-makers have a master plan, particularly from the economic point of view, towards the South? Can we acknowledge the positive views of Halil İnalcık and Cengiz Orhonlu the central government was aware of political and commercial developments in that wider world? Or should we accept the negative opinion of Mustafa Akdağ the notion in this respect that the Ottomans lacked imagination?⁹³

The annexation of the Arab provinces, especially Mecca and Medina, marks the beginning of a new era, when the Empire becomes indeed a caliphate and when the sultans began to consider themselves protectors of the entire Islamic world. One result was the rise of the religious law to a key position within the public administration of the Ottoman state. From an economic standpoint, the Ottoman state now controlled

⁹¹ Roger Lee de Jesus (2012: 53)

⁹² İnalcık (1988: 33)

⁹³ Özbaran (2009: 61)

the richest commercial centers of the world. The revenues for the state doubled and the treasury of the Palace became so full that gave support to the plans for worldwide conquest of Süleyman I.⁹⁴

Egypt was political, strategic and economically one of the most important and valuable achievements for the Ottoman Empire. The route of Hijaz to Damascus was of special importance because it was a pilgrimage route and a passage for caravans. These caravans were composed of believers and goods, therefore it had the double meaning of being important to the religion as well as to the economy. With the acquisition of these important places, the Ottoman sultan became the *Server of the Two Noble Sanctuaries*, Mecca and Medina (*Khadim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn*). Taking Egypt for themselves, the duty of guarding the entrance to the Red Sea became responsibility of the Sultan, who was the great Gazi, as well as Hijaz, which was eventually turned into a major military base, from where the operations departed to Yemen and Abyssinia.⁹⁵ The Ottomans also defended several Islamic kingdoms from the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, besides defending the holy cities in Hijaz. The Portuguese were about to block the passage of the Red Sea, which would interrupt the flow of trade among the Indian Ocean, the eastern Mediterranean and the Ottoman lands.

When the Ottomans took control of Egypt, the Portuguese had long been established and their fortifications built in many strategic points in the Indian Ocean and in the African coast. The Portuguese led to an emergency situation not only in the Islamic world, but also throughout the Mediterranean world, causing terror in the Islamic world.

Ottoman fighters, gunners and arquebusiers and also firearms were now in demand in all over the Muslim countries for defense against the Portuguese. The Portuguese intolerance in religious matters also alarmed the Muslim peoples; they thus asked the Ottoman sultan for his help.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ İnalçık (1988: 34)

⁹⁵ Özbaran (2009: 62)

⁹⁶ Ibid., 2009: 75

The Safavid Iran did not have a naval force and could not do anything against the Portuguese monopoly. By this reason, and due to the upcoming Portuguese presence, they tried to establish political relations and to negotiate fighting the common enemy: the Ottomans. The war of the Ottomans against the Safavids aimed at expanding control over key routes such as the Silk Road from Tabriz to Erzurum, the route between Tokat and Bursa, and the spice route between Basra and Baghdad. Basra was then incorporated as an Ottoman province. With this province, the Ottomans were at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, having access to both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.⁹⁷

1.7 The first mention of the Ottoman threat in a Portuguese chronicle

In the late fifteenth century a biographical work about *Afonso V* by the Portuguese historian Ruy de Pina is the first we have to consider. He was the first author to write about the "Ottoman threat." This author, ignored by the ottoman researchers, has as a characteristic being attentive to the "process of Ottoman expansion and the Portuguese position in the Western Europe, stressing its impact on the organization of a new episode of the relationship between Islam and Christianity and the Christian kingdoms among themselves".⁹⁹

Within a broader context and thanks to the first overseas achievements, Portugal intended to affirm its position within the peninsula, and also in a Roman cultural context, and especially to obtain the sympathy of the pope to its ideas. This would attract great privileges, prestige, power, legitimacy and also investments to continue the Portuguese maritime expansion. The construction of the Portuguese official ideology was based on the idea of crusade, brought back to from a medieval European context, Portugal being the responsible for the renewal of this idea.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 2009: 94-98

⁹⁹ Sousa, I.C. 568

Portugal having rejoiced of successful military conquests in Morocco, the reputation of its military skills and endeavor of crusader character, highlighting the religious militancy of the Portuguese kings, is exposed publicly as a lesson and an example to be followed. Did not lay aside talking about "the forefront of the kingdom of Portugal in the propagation and defense of the faith, qualifying again her position in the constellation of international relations of the Western Christendom".¹⁰⁰

When the Turks arrived in Europe, the exhortations to a crusade started. For Europe of the late fifteenth century, the crusade still had a medieval character and especially a religious motivation. In 1453, the fall of Constantinople took place, in the same year the Pope Nicolaus V issued a papal bule calling Christians to start a war against the Ottomans, in this letter he called Fatih Sultan Mehmed as son of Satan, of the pain and death, thirsty of Christian's blood and souls¹⁰¹.

As a result of the Reform, Europe was further divided, but the crusade against the Turks was not seen by the representatives of the Catholic Church as a mean for reunification. The political unification of Europe was impossible at this time when many countries still preserved their feudal structure.¹⁰²

The taking of Constantinople brought the problem of the Ottoman threat to the center of the discussions in Europe as one of major concern and of general interest. In the Chapter entitled "How the Grand Turk took the city of Constantinople, and Pope published crusade against him, and El Rei Dom Afonso took it", we can note how the issue of the entry of the Ottomans in Europe reverberated or, at least how it was used in the Portuguese speech. Desirous of prominence within a European world where international relations were largely intermediated by the Pope, Portugal strategically took advantage of the appearance of the Ottomans in the east of Europe to put this issue on the agenda of the Portuguese internal and external politics.

The news of the fall of Constantinople "is communicated to the Portuguese monarch by means of the Pope and Dom Afonso V is convened to mobilize support

¹⁰⁰ Sousa, I.C., 568

¹⁰¹ Kumrular, *Islam Korkusu*, 22.

¹⁰² Soykut, 49

for a project of a crusade that would be able to recover the Christian territories and cities conquered by the Ottomans." According to the chronicle, the Portuguese king accepted the call of the Pope and, to fight this enemy, gathered a force of twelve thousand men, ships and weapons.

The traditional format of the medieval crusader armies was the terrestrial aristocratic cavalry, but at that moment in the history of Portugal there was another nobility with the eyes focused on the sea, knowers of the gains that the maritime expansion and the territorial conquest (such as the African land's conquest) could provide. At that moment, Portugal understood that the enlargement of the maritime horizons was a new way to perform a true crusade.¹⁰⁴

Charles Boxer suggested to consider at the same time the economic, political and religious reasons to understand the Portuguese overseas expansion. The main reasons highlighted by him are the crusades, which were sanctioned by several papal bulls, the gold of Guinea that naturally attracted the Portuguese, the myth of Prester John, and the big business of the eastern spices. In the fifteenth century, Portugal managed to gather all the technological, material and internal conditions such as a peaceful kingdom without civil wars, and could focus on a major overseas venture. At first, they found no rivals because the scenery was not so mild in France, in England, and in the rest of the Iberian and Italian peninsulas.¹⁰⁵

Boxer defining in a few words the Portuguese maritime empire, says that this empire was "a military and maritime company molded in an ecclesiastical form." In the preface to his excellent work "The Portuguese Maritime Empire," Boxer writes something very interesting about it and that that worths presenting here:

The lust for richness and the fervor for God have never been in conflict, nor were unconscious: for some, as was the case of the Infant D. Henrique, the religion was more important than the trading, although he didn't want to stop earning gold, trading slaves and he didn't disregard the wealth that was considered a blessing from God.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Sousa, I.C., 596-570

¹⁰⁵ Diogo Ramada Couto, *in* Boxer, (2011: VIII)

¹⁰⁶ Boxer (2012: 13)

In any case, to make war it is necessary to have material resources. What can be said about the Portuguese intentions in these overseas ventures must be seen separately according to the personal history of each individual, since each person has a level of spirituality, a different view with God and role on religion. What we can find are written words, usually quite committed to a religious discourse, but they often leave a sense of contradiction and even a discomfort on the reader. The episodes that contradict the maxim "love one another as you love yourself,"¹⁰⁷ is cleverly circumvented with hate-filled speeches and limited by ideological concepts belonging to each epoch. The religious intent, the fervor of the soldiers of God seems often deviated by the possibilities of gaining wealth.

“The Portuguese certainly introduced a new kind of armed trading and a novel assertion of sovereignty over the waters of the Indian Ocean. Yet these two centuries have been characterized as ‘an age of partnership’ between Europeans and Asians or as “an age of contained conflict” in India and in Indian Ocean. Scholarship on this period of Southeast Asia’s history has disabused us of any simplistic notions of economic and societal decline. Overall, Ashin Dasgupta has claimed, after the first “violent overture” the Portuguese in the sixteenth century “settled within the structure and were, in a way, swallowed by it”.¹⁰⁸

Thanks to Arabs and Jews who brought maps and astrolabes to the little kingdom of Portugal, the sea was the only direction to where they could expand, which stimulated the development of the shipbuilding. Although considered heavy, they "were marvels of handling and were armed with the best artillery produced in Europe,"

¹⁰⁷ Famous words of Jesus given when one of the scribes came and heard him arguing, and recognizing that He had answered them well, asked Him, "What commandment is the foremost of all?" Jesus answered, "The foremost is, 'Hear, O Israel! The Lord our God is one Lord; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.' "The second is this, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' There is no other commandment greater than these." (NAS, Mark 12:28-31)

In Jesus' teachings, our relationship with our fellow men, women and children is inseparable from our relationship with God. Love of God and love of our neighbors are two aspects of the same calling:

"A new command I give you: Love one another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another. By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another." (NIV, John 13:34-35)

¹⁰⁸ Sugata Bose, 9

and were able to take all this to the Indian Ocean and transport large quantities of goods.¹⁰⁹

Boxer comments sarcastically on the plans of the Portuguese:

[The plans] Were deliberate, well planned and boldly executed: a high technical intelligence at the service of God and of profit. The result was a wild and practical assault, as the world had never witnessed, to the gorgeous and rich oriental empires - which does not seem, however, to have disturbed the conscience of any Portuguese captain, in as much as these Orientals were pagans, blacks, Moors, Turks, who had, as one of those captains wrote, "the evil of all evil men".

We cannot state what were the motivations of all the Portuguese, possibly there was one or another with a religious ideal above the other reasons, but in any case the material issue always seemed to be the greatest attraction, despite the religious had a very important role in the ideological formation of the sixteenth century's men. One of the prizes that all the Christians waited for was to have access to the wealth at the end of a crusade, being officially a crusade or solely an expedition to the land of "infidels".

In the 1480s, the Portuguese did not exactly have a knowledge about the Ottomans, they just used the Ottoman Empire as a political-ideological mean to achieve their interests and consolidate its position in the Iberian Peninsula and along the Papacy than actually carry out the idea of a real confrontation.

"The Ottoman expansion is naturally transformed by these texts in an imminent danger of a new kind of barbaric, cruel and unfaithful invasion, also suggesting that the Church and the major Western Christian nations were almost disbanded before this menace, rendered as they were to their political and economic problems, and to this critical pre-reformation environment."¹¹¹

The most convincing and well known reason to make a crusade actually was the expectation to find opportunities of wealth, and is also well known by the crusader

¹⁰⁹ Boxer (2012: 13)

¹¹¹ Sousa, 579

discourse the desire to liberate Jerusalem from the infidels and extend the boundaries of Christendom.¹¹²

The Portuguese imperialist vision struggled to create monopolies for importing gold, slaves, spices, horses, tapestry, textile, leather, utensils of brass and ivory. The Portuguese were successful in their overseas expansion and Boxer attributes this success to the "tenacity and determination of the invaders", to the superiority of the Portuguese ships, to the advantage of situations of war and rivalry between the different potencies and to "a certain disregard of the Asian rulers for the wars at sea".¹¹³

The discourse of the religious military is the invigorating ideology needed by the old idea of crusade, which gains greater amplitude and a strategic dimension, especially in the context of the great maritime expeditions. This story begins and remain connected to the conquests in the Northern Africa. From such a strong union among the clergy and the military power it is possible to understand the heavy burden of elements of religiousness in the narrative of the chroniclers.

1.8 Islam

The first contacts between the people living in the west of the Iberian Peninsula and the Islam occurred during the Arab-Muslim expansion that reached Europe at the dawn of the eighth century (year 711). Since then, the Christian resistance kept some territory in the peninsular north and a sustained effort to recapture the Iberian land. In the early centuries, the coexistence among the different faiths did not generate serious conflicts. For a long time, the Moors were allied with the Portuguese against other Moors or other Christian groups. Over the centuries, the Moors developed a brilliant civilization in the Iberian peninsula called Al-Andalus. "Moor" was a word already used by the Romans to refer to people who lived in the North Africa. People who migrated to Europe were not necessarily Arabs, but Muslims. Speakers of Arabic were only a minority in Al-Andalus. The use of the word "Moor" increased to the extent that the distinction between Muslims and

¹¹² Scammel, 513

¹¹³ Diogo Ramada Couto, *in* Boxer, X

Christians has sharpened from the thirteenth century on, when the faith began to be a more significant part of the identity of each group, and thereafter to ostracize Muslims, firstly from the army and the politics.¹¹⁴

From the twelfth century to the fifteenth century, on both sides of the Mediterranean there were many struggles and need for self-assertion and self-legitimation, where both empires, the Ottoman and the Portuguese, have endeavored to be the representatives of their respective civilizations and religions, Islam and Christianity. These two great religions should not be placed in the heart of the matter, because they do not determine the action of each of the actors in the game. This is clear in many episodes, where one can easily point out a contradiction between what is implied in the religious discourse and what is being staged. Muslims and Christians were not all the time in conflict with each other; to understand the conflicts behind the religious discourse, it is usual to call upon the political and economic history.

An example might be the mosque of Santa Maria la Blanca de Toledo, in the thirteenth century, where Christians, Muslims and Jews celebrated their rites. By the fifteenth century, in the Iberian Peninsula, we find moments of tolerance and the so-called "Iberian cohabitation", but in this same century things began to change in the peninsula and both intolerance and hate between believers of different faiths became more intense.

(...) Muslims also showed their horror and contempt for Christians. Meanwhile, one of the ways to relativize the hatred and cruelties grown in Portugal would be to pay attention to the fact that the medieval Europe itself have served, regarding such behaviors, as a cruel and tough school.¹¹⁵

It means, the religious intolerance did not have a unique direction because the orthodox Muslim would not accept that Christians had attributed entities that were associated with God; nor their Trinity or the Virgin Mary, or their saints.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Farinha (2005: 152)

¹¹⁵ Diogo Ramada Couto, *in* Boxer, VIII

¹¹⁶ Boxer, 21

The coexistence and symbiosis were possible and even more common, although the question be put as a dispute between two teams. There are many cases of individuals that changed sides. By conversion or by slavery, it was possible to "become a Turk", with boundaries defined by a certain ideological and social structure.¹¹⁷

Islam is not present in the Portuguese concerns after their arriving in Asia, it rather began in the Iberian Peninsula. In the East, in many places where the Portuguese have been, the challenge of bringing the Christian religion was much greater, because the East was highly Islamized mainly by the Arabian Peninsula's peoples. Around Malacca and Sumatra, the Portuguese found Gentiles converted to what they call "the sect of Mafamede" (Muhammad) and refer to it, among other names, as "infernal pest".¹¹⁸

In the second Decade of Asia, Book X, the Chapter VI is titled "On the foundation of the sect of Hamed and the difference between the Moors of Persia and the surroundings of Arabia: and where the principle of things of Sheikh Ismail has born". "Hamed" is how they refer to the prophet Muhammad in the title of this chapter, where is intended, "for better understanding", to talk about the birth of the Muhammed's "sect" until the end of his life, according to Latin writers that the chronicler does not mention¹¹⁹. The word "sect" is always used, it means Islam does not receive the status of a religion in the Portuguese chronicles it is seen as a dreaminess of the prophet Muhammad. The success of this "sect" is primarily due to the rudimentary peoples' thought that it has reached. Often, the Islamic "sect" is accompanied by adjectives such as "diabolical". The Portuguese author begins his explanation expounding on what he understood as being the "foundation of the sect", also speaks of the Persians, who are not called "Moors" nor "Arabians" throughout the work, except in this passage that tries to define "the difference between these Moors". There is a distance between Moors, Arabians and Persians, in which even the religion they have in common does not make them equal. The Persians were never enemies of the Portuguese and received the privilege of not being offended or discredited in the

¹¹⁷ Kafadar, 20

¹¹⁸ Decade II, Book VI, Chapter I, p. 15

¹¹⁹ Decade II, Book X, Chapter V, p. 448

chronicles; on the contrary, their bravery is told with the same enthusiasm that the Portuguese narrate their own feats, with the difference that any kind of divine favor was not attributed to the Persians. They are not in the narrative time of the Renaissance and are not part of the grand narrative of the Christian history.

In this version, the story of Islam is told from the "persecution of Muhammad" and uses the date of the year 666, quite a significant number in the Christian theology, since this is known as the "Year of the Beast"¹²⁰ (as well as 1666). It is said that the Prophet Muhammad received religious education "on the two doctrines, the Gentile and the Hebrew".¹²¹

"At this time it happened that, fleeing Sergio, who had been indoctrinated into the Arian heresy, went to those regions of Syria to the house of Abdimoneple, master of Muhammad, for being a noteworthy and a wealthy man by dealing with trading, with his arrival, beyond the doctrines that Mohammed had created, and with the variation of peoples with whom he communicated, by reason of the places where he went with his goods, was also instructed in the doctrine of Arius by that man Sergio"¹²²

The author of the first Decades argues that the Prophet Muhammad was a man with a serious disease that made him believe to be able to communicate with the angel Gabriel. The author is even sorry for the condition in which he found himself: "was uncontrolled and very sad". This is the way he sustains the argument that will emerge below, narrating that Muhammad was taken with a pain caused by epilepsy that caused

"All those disease assaults and things that occur in the patient was uncontrolled and very sad: which to console himself he believed the Angel Gabriel to be the one who was snatching him on those assaults, while declaring to him things from God that he, Muhammed, would do good

¹²⁰ "The name of the Anti-Christ, Sao Joao says it, was composed on the basis of *senaries* (six), while the name of Jesus was derived from *octaries* (eight). Indeed, Viegas argues, the *senary* (six) will never reach the *septenary* (seven) that identifies with the resting of the Lord, *requievit enim die septimo*, after the work of the previous six days, while the *octonary*, once the *septenary* resting is consummated, is a symbol of glory and bliss. Therefore three sixes are attributed, 666, to designate the malice and the drudgery of the Antichrist, and three eights, 888, to signal the absolute happiness of Jesus, the Messiah". Martins, Fausto A Simbologia Numérica nos *Commentarii exegetici in Apocalypsim* do Padre Brás Viegas, S. J., Revista Via Spiritus, n.6, 1999, pages 65-90 (page 82)

¹²¹ Decada II, Book X, Chapter VI, p. 448

¹²² Decada II, Book X, Chapter VI, P. 449

on denouncing to people on what they should believe about the Law of Moses and of Christ, and once the Angel was a spirit and he was a mortal man, could not suffer his radiance and infringed himself the way he saw"¹²³

The contempt for Islam is manifested in every opportunity, always slandering also some of the most important figures in Islamic history. Khadijah, the first wife of Prophet Muhammad, is described as an old woman who had become enamored of him because of his juvenile age; their relationship is called as a fable and it is claimed that she did not love him as a husband, but revered him as a prophet. The way in which Islam spread, according to the chronicler, was through his wife Khadijah who told to the neighbors and friends this great secret of the holiness of the Prophet Muhammad. The chronicle narrates that she died and left to the Prophet great wealth and credibility "among that rustic people". Only a rustic people like that could believe in such things that the prophet and his wife had told. Thanks to his wealth and reputation of holy man, Buba, "chief man of that region of Arabia, gave him his daughter Aisha as wife. Muhammed was at that time a man on his forties". With the favor of his father in law and of two relatives of Abubakr (Buba), Omer (Homar) and Osman (Othoman), "Muhammed grew in such authority and opportunity that gathered a large number of Arabs, and in the name of religion conquered many lands of neighboring with the help of Ali, his cousin, son of Abu Talib (Sabutaleb), his uncle".¹²⁴

Therefore, the history of the Persian people begins with the naming of Ali as a Caliph. This fact legitimates Ali as the holder of that right, but the Islamic History told by the Portuguese chronicles is a history of insanity, ambition, corruption and infidelity.

"Muhammad died at age of sixty-three, ordered in his will that Ali his cousin stay as the successor of the State, and superior of all those who have received his sect, and this with the name Caliph, and so his son in law and his daughter to enshroud his body because no one else was worthy of it".¹²⁵

¹²³ Decade II, Book X, Chapter VI, P. 450

¹²⁴ Decade II, Book X, Chapter VI, pp. 450-451

¹²⁵ Decade II, Book X, Chapter VI, p. 451

Ebu Bakr (Bubac), the father in law of Muhammad, rose against Ali because of the succession of the State and the religion, saying that everything Muhammad had achieved was thanks to his favor. Ali, who had no strength to fight Ebu Bakr, was then obliged to accept what he said. Ebu Bakr (Bubac) was a very powerful man, and had Omer (Homar) and Osman (Othoman) as his allies, who supported his attitude, though contrary to the will of Muhammad, because their relatives who participated in the wars and conquests throughout the life of the Prophet also hoped to succeed in the Caliphate and wanted Ebu Bakr as caliph, for being a relative. Ali belonged to another lineage and was younger, "could last longer in the Caliphate", while Ebu Bakr (Bubac), who was very old, would soon leave the throne vacant.

“and not without the suspicion that he died with the help of their successors, especially Omar. More by the force than by election also lived in the Caliphate for ten and a half years, and was killed by one of his slaves, when he was praying in the mosque; and there was the suspicion it was ordered by Ali (...)"¹²⁶

What we see in this Portuguese version about the origin of Islam and the history of the Prophet Muhammad is the incessant accusation - which also pursues the Turks and the Moors, of having a false religion.

The Ottomans were like Moors and it also mean, they were like Arabs as depicted in the chronicles. They were each one a part of the same Islamic and barbarian world, but with a dominant role, not as a rude people who was swayed up by created lies, rather acting as creators and supporters of lies and slander. Often, there is no distinction between the Moors and the Turks, since the Ottomans were a mixed state, where identity was given mainly by the condition of being a Muslim or not. Once we talk about Muslims, Arabs or Moors in this context, and considering the Portuguese sources, almost every time we are talking about the same group of persons, usually under the tutelage, guardianship and power of the Ottoman Sultan. In contrast to all these peoples, and especially to the Ottomans, there are the Persians, and to a lesser

¹²⁶ Decade II, Book X, Chapter VI, p. 452

extent the Chinese, but especially the Persians are used as examples of a legitimate Islamic people far superior to the Ottomans in all aspects.

Islam became synonymous with military threat to the West, and even nowadays, this idea loaded with the same spirit and is used for political and strategic purposes. As a consequence of the rapid Ottoman advancement in the Eastern Europe from the mid-fifteenth century, what usually came to their minds when Europeans thought in Islam were the Ottoman Turks. The image of Islam and of the Turk increasingly became the image of the "other", hence the idea of being European began to be defined; with the support of a negative image, to be European was its antithesis. With the fall of Constantinople, the Europeans began to see the Turk as the anti-European and against all that Europe represented. Similarly, Islam has become the opposite of Christianity.¹²⁷

The victory of the Seljuks over the Byzantines at the Battle of Malazgirt (Manzikert) in 1071 represents the entry of the Muslim Turks in the world of the Eastern Roman Empire. The following year, 1072, the Normans conquered Palermo and finally found themselves rid of the Muslims in Sicily.

For centuries, from the very beginnings of interactions between the Muslims and Christians, the Turks represented for the European the "other" par excellence. To the Protestant, it represent the evilness of the Catholic; to the Catholic, the heresy of the Protestant; the man of the Renaissance identified the Turk with the Persians as enemies of the Greek civilization, and of the European civilization per se; to the Church in Rome, they were the archenemy of Christendom to wage wars at all costs; and to Venice, an indelible "infidel" commercial partner, with whom amicable relations were of vital importance for its very existence.¹²⁸

Maybe except the clergy or a few individuals, we can believe the Portuguese had commercial interests that was above any religious motivation, though they made use of a crusader discourse to justify their numerous attacks on Islamic and native peoples of the regions where they came to. Once built the image of the enemy, the

¹²⁷ Soykut, 1

¹²⁸ Ibid., 5

heretic, the "other", the infidel, which threatens civilization, religion and the holy life of Christians, the argument was ready and it was enough to do the inevitable. The diplomatic means would be preferable, as it would save resources, time and armed forces, in addition to saving many lives of those who ventured into the East. However, the agreements between the Portuguese crown and the local kingdoms that could not compete in military strength with the Portuguese army and its mercenaries were always very advantageous for Portugal. The Portuguese hostility to the Turks and Muslims in general did not find their motivations in religion, it mattered little to the Portuguese what was and which were the beliefs of the peoples of Asia; the dispute had territorial and economic motivation. The conflict between the Portuguese and the Ottomans occurred because the Portuguese began to threaten people and Islamic lands.

By using an Italian example to amplify this issue that does not belong only to Portugal, rather is a matter in Europe, let us see how thinks the Monsignor Marcello Marchesi, pontiff, diplomat and advisor of the Emperor Rudolf II during the Long War in Hungary. According to Marchesi, the human is corrupt by nature and religion is the one who teaches the virtues for the human being. All types of addictions such pomp, luxury, greed, among many others, are the fruit of its nature, but a pure religion, caste and reasonable, i.e., Christianity, is able to change this condition. Be apprehended from these sayings of a man of religion that whatever is out of a religion with these characteristics is unable to contain such virtues. By extension, we understand that many of the vices among the Turks and other Muslims derive from their licentious, irrational and dirty education because of this "sect", the Islam, which Marchesi does not even recognize as a religion, "because it is nothing more than a heresy of Christianity to worship of the devil", he says.¹²⁹

The expression "becoming Turk", not only means to convert to Islam, but also means to lack erudition and aptitude for the sciences, an ignorance that is imposed by a supreme authority, creating fear and oppression. These are despicable characteristics

¹²⁹ Soykut, 30-31

arising from Islam, according to this author, and by extension, all of this refers to the Ottomans, because being a Turk meant being a Muslim.¹³⁰

1.9 Crusades and Jihad

The Conquest of Constantinople did not mean an ordinary achievement, rather it made Mehmed II the most prestigious Muslim ruler, the greater after the first four caliphs, and this event also served as a great incentive for the holy war to show up as a great source of power and influence. Within the concept of holy war and in the position of the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmed II was the man who fought on behalf of all Muslims and all that was done in this direction could be considered as an act in God's name:

These tribulations are in the God's sake. The sword of Islam is in our hands. If we had chosen to endure these tribulations, we would not be worthy to be called gazis. We would be ashamed to stand in God's presence on the Day of Resurrection.

In a letter to the Mamluk sultan about the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II wrote:

It's your responsibility to keep the pilgrimage routes open for the Muslims; we have the duty of providing gazis.¹³¹

Selim first changed the status of the Ottoman Empire. We can then speak of an Ottoman caliphate, that much more threatening than a gazi state at the borders should also be a protector of the holy cities of Mecca, Medina and the pilgrimage routes. Selim had also led to the Palace in Istanbul the relics of the Prophet. The historian Halil İnalcık believes that Selim did not claim for himself the office of caliph, and that the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil did not surrender to the Ottoman sultan. When Süleyman I became the "Supreme Caliph," using the title "Caliph of the Muslims", he

¹³⁰ Soykut, 36-37

¹³¹ İnalcık (1988: 56)

showed that he was the top ruler of the Islamic world, he extended the concept of gazi and included the entire Muslim world under his sovereignty. The gazi Sultan became the primarily responsible for those whom he should protect, the Muslims of all the Islamic world. In fact, the Muslims at this time were the only ones who could protect the Islamic world from the attacks of the Christian West¹³². In addition to supporting different about the Ottoman intentions opinion, Casale considers that the taking of Egypt by the Ottoman served as a pretext for Selim to proclaim himself as Caliph and Protector of the Holy Cities, a title that did not seem possible since the thirteenth century and was used thanks to a radical redefinition of sovereignty and legitimacy in the Islamic world.¹³³

"Would not be that much if we invest in entering the Red Sea and take the City of Judah, a very close port by which we could reach Mecca, and then Medina to steal the body of its prophet, and keep it under our rule at the same way he had kept the City of Jerusalem, which was the home of all our beliefs, whose pilgrimage was one of the higher profits that the Sultan had."¹³⁴

The men of Vasco da Gama who claimed to be in India in search of Christians and spices seemed to have been charmed with the wealth that they found in the East. The works for religion began at least 40 years after the arrival of the first Portuguese, ie it did not took only their weapons and greed, they also took the Bible and its word through their missionaries. Religious intolerance was a remarkable feature of this meeting of Christians with other beliefs.

The most hardworking Portuguese missionaries tried to study the sacred books and the beliefs of those who they wished to convert, but both Buddhists, Muslims and Hindus were rejected and considered as inventions of the devil.

Lists with the names of Hindu families were prepared and on alternate Sundays they were forced to go to church to hear the Christian propaganda, so that people would not escape this obligation, laws were created and fines were applied. Non-Christians

¹³² İnalçık (1988: 57)

¹³³ Casale (2010: 7)

¹³⁴ Decade III, Book I, Chater III, p. 26

were officially and legally discriminated, while the converts were favored, including the right reserved to them to good wages and public positions.

In 1540, the Portuguese began with massive destruction of Hindu temples. First Hindu temples, then Buddhist temples and mosques were destroyed. The practice of Hinduism was prohibited by severe and oppressive laws. Soon the Portuguese extended their actions against Buddhists, Muslims and their temples. Laws that favored the converted were also created, resulting in a clear inequality between people.

Again we use Boxer to summarize in three basic ideas, the ideological direction of the Church, which are the same as defined by the Council of Trent.

1. All religions except the Roman Catholic Apostolic Orthodox faith, defined by the Council of Trent were intrinsically wrong and harmful in themselves;
2. The Portuguese crown had the the ineluctable right of spreading the Roman Catholic faith and the secular power of the State could be used to sustain the spiritual power of the Church
3. The conversion could not be done by force, "because no one comes to Christ by faith unless it is driven by the Heavenly Father with vonlunteer love and grace."¹³⁶

Without much effort we realize the contradiction between the item "3" and the measures adopted.

The kings of Portugal have always sought in the conquest of the East, when unite both powers, the spiritual and the temporal, so that no one could ever be exercised without the other.¹³⁷

And Boxer complemented with the following observation:

¹³⁶ Boxer (2010: 77-79)

¹³⁷ Written by Frei Paulo da Trindade in *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, 1638; cited by Boxer (2010: 227)

The two swords of the civil and the ecclesiastical power walked ever so united in the conquest of the East that we rarely find one being used without the other, because the weapons only conquered through the right that the preaching of the gospel gave to them, and the preaching only served to something when it was accompanied and protected by weapons.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Boxer (2010: 227)

CHAPTER TWO

2. IMAGES

2.1 The Portuguese as seen by themselves

Deeds they shall do so digne memorious glory,
song shall not süit nor Hist'ory hold story.

(Luiz Vaz de Camões; Canto X; 71, 7-8)

The purpose of this chapter is to present, mainly based on Portuguese documentation of the sixteenth century, the image that the Portuguese built on themselves. In order to begin, it is a commonplace in the texts the division or differentiation between "our people", "these people" or "those people". What the Portuguese are should always be very evident and well defined, and this definition is constructed based on the "other" and at the same time as the antithesis of the "other", both what they really are as what is ideally desirable for them to be (Portuguese). The Portuguese created characters loaded with negative characteristics to be attributed to other ethnic groups, at the same time that they placed themselves in the same context, at the same stage, sharing the same space, as if they were something completely different from the other groups, their perfect opposites. This Manichaeian dichotomy that divides everything into good and bad, good and evil, moral and immoral, sacred and profane and so on, is clearly a legacy of the Middle Ages, and within certain ideologies that support them, it persists to nowadays. It is not a Western characteristic, but a negative consequence of the struggle of all the nations to build a super-nationality for themselves, or merely their own identity.

Throughout the pages of João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, we find many extremely interesting excerpts of fantastic episodes, and we are driven by the narrative

of the Portuguese adventure in Asia through a very good literary language. The role that Portugal assigned to itself on the question of Christianity threatened by barbarians and Asian infidels, on one hand demonized the enemy, on the other hand justified why Portugal and its noble people should take a battle on behalf of the West, of Christendom and of God. Many of the qualities that the Portuguese have assigned themselves goes beyond the physical world, in truth, the most exciting moments are loaded with spirituality and devotional delicacy, with a merely literary beauty. Let's consider one of these interesting narratives, I propose we start by the lamentable scenario encountered by the Portuguese in Dabul.

2.1.1 Miracle in Dabul

The Portuguese Captains received news about the destruction of Dabul, and arriving there they found homeless people with no provender, being a locust plague that struck the region that year the cause of the food shortage¹³⁹.

The cause of this disaster, explained the Moors, was the arrival of the Portuguese, who brought the evil and suffering with them. Before such blasphemy and defamation it only remains for the chronicler to discourse about the event and prove the injustice of such a story. Not only the Portuguese brought evil to those places, but also they were going to be the cause of the total elimination of the local people.¹⁴⁰

Investigating the site, the Portuguese noticed that there was a route to the Strait of Mecca, and they found a type of pickles "much appreciated by the Moors" which was transported through that place in order to be commercialized at the destination and in other localities along that path.

¹³⁹ Decade II, Book III, Chapter IV, p. 276

¹⁴⁰ Decade II, Book III, Chapter IV, p. 277

In Dabul, appeals to the supernatural had previously been made, "all sorts of supplication had been tried, but nothing had changed." It seems then that God did not hear these people, or something remained missing to connect them to the Almighty.

"The solution to this problem was given when they decided to gather all the Portuguese who were there for a procession, the priests and people of the land also joined the litanies, they carried a stone as a relic and a cross and thus made their supplication to God"¹⁴¹

In a meadow of wheat grains, a quarter of a league distant from the place where the procession started, they encountered a crowd of plague locusts, which were "excommunicated" through an admonition made by God. Within three hours, all the locusts had fled towards the sea, or "The Land of the Moorish infidels", leaving the Land of the Christians. The chronicler called this process "exorcism", and this procession was so powerful that if the locusts tried to get back into the group, it seemed that they received brickbats, so great were the blows they received. The performance of the Portuguese, inside this crusader literature, is closely monitored by God. God is always watching His soldiers, thus events like this find a place in these chronicles which are both didactic and doctrinaire.

"By reaching its destination, the procession gathered all the people assembled in a high place where one could watch the locusts fleeing towards the sea. This not being enough, a thunderstorm of three hours began in that part of the sea and put an end to that plague. All locusts were killed and in the morning the next day everyone could appreciate this miraculous event in large stacks of dead locusts. This phenomenon was so impressive, the people of the land were so amazed that started to say our people [the Portuguese] were holy men, due to the virtue of that work they did, God performed such a miracle."¹⁴²

2.1.2 The Christian Fortitude

The "Christian fortitude", which was the Portuguese, or the faith that they carried within himself, even when in the midst of a war, had to resist to the fear of

¹⁴¹ Decade II, Book III, Chapter IV, p. 278

¹⁴² Decade II, Book III, Chapter IV, p. 280

death, literally means offering their life to their own Christians ideals. Diogo de Mesquita is described probably with the intention of serving as an example, and to be remembered in the future as an example of Christian knight, perhaps a hero made for an official and didactic literature. He was taken by force after having been captured while sailing with the Armada that was going to Dio. The crew was taken captive and they were brought to the King of Cambaia, which "with great treats and promises", tried to persuade Diogo de Mesquita and his comrades to "make themselves like Moors", the King was not being successful in remove Diogo de Mesquita or the others who were with him from their "Christian fortitude". Thus began the threats and the torments that did not made them change their minds. The king ordered Diogo de Mesquita to be put inside a large compartment with barley, "whom with a constancy of a martyr", as larger and longer the torment was, the more he shows "the pleasure in which the [torment] passed through the honor of God, and his Holy Faith". Astonished, Sultan Badur by seeing such a liveliness ordered him to be removed from the compartment and sent them all to a rough prison, "from where they left afterwards with great honor"¹⁴³

And here is how the Portuguese placed themselves in their historiographical construction. They are self-canonized owing to their miraculous feats, witnessed by people who were silenced by the death. They were any sort of threat and suffering-proof martyrs, always experiencing difficult situations, yet able to solve a problem, bravely and with the help of God, that certainly is on their side, because they were His soldiers. They also lamented these efforts by the Moors being made against the Christians, adding that they would be admired if they had employed such force against the Turks, that's what indeed would be a valid genus of glory.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Decade IV, Book II, Chapter XI, pp. 190-191

¹⁴⁴ Decade V, Book I, Chapter II, pp. 32-33

2.1.3 The Portuguese Lions

The Portuguese superiority is not an example only for the peoples of the East, it was also exhibited to the peoples of Europe. They wrote about the "things of India and other Eastern Provinces" because the Portuguese "discovered" and conquered "new and unknown" lands by the men of Europe, and this pioneering is fairly celebrated, deserves all the praises of the author. Not even the Greeks or the ancient Romans left any writing on such lands and peoples. Or rather, Portugal not only has taken the lead, but also gave a huge and significant step towards the development of European knowledge.¹⁴⁵

It is true that the Portuguese have always been with a lower number of men in relation to their enemies in Asia. However, they were constantly engaged in battles in which many of them came up victorious. Let us verify one narrative of a battle between the Portuguese and Moors.

A Portuguese called Inofre de Abreu, seeing that his brother was in danger, "without any fear attacked the Moors", came in front of his brother who was already severely wounded, "and therein did wonders".

Couto explains us that the number was very unequal, and some Turks had come to succor the Moors, which has raised the numerical disadvantage of the Portuguese¹⁴⁶, these Turks who "wished to show themselves in a good manner to the king of Zeila" also did "astonishing things" and had no fear of the weapons of the Portuguese, that were tearing apart the enemies and even making them retreat. Here the situation is told in a slightly different way than usual, because this time the Turks were fighting well. Usually they are described as unskilful and disoriented fighters. Favorable qualification of the enemies only increases the merits of the Portuguese.

¹⁴⁵ Decade IV, Book V, Chapter I, p. 535

¹⁴⁶ It is a fact (and often repeated by the chronicler) that the number of men was insufficient, such as the number of vessels was also not very large. Boxer uses two sources (Garcia de Rezende and Damiao de Gois) who claim that Portugal had only 300 ships in 1536, a large number for a small country, but small for a vast and dispersed empire like the Portuguese. (Boxer 68)

Francisco de Abreu was shot and fell down; his brother seeing what happened returned to rescue him, "hitting the enemies with great fury" he managed to kill a few. When he finally went to lift his brother, the wounded was shot again by a rifle, and fell dead upon him, "both committing this day things worthy of great praise".¹⁴⁷

This episode tells us about courage, one man who confronted a group of enemies, ignoring the fact of being outnumbered and the possibility of lost his life in the heroic act. All the Portuguese in every combat situation are described in this manner, doing wonders, it is not necessary to have a loved one, a sibling or other family member in danger, they become blind to danger, and only to mention in passing this act is quite trivial. The quality of the text deserves to be highlighted, the narrative is often exciting and the reader is captivated and involved in the adventure. There are a wide number of examples of persons, suggested by the author, who should be immortalized, having their stories recorded to a future remembrance and a tribute in the present, and regrets that so many have died anonymously. It is possible that these anonymous heroes or persons whose names are unknown, occupy the space designated to the heroes so much needed in a nationalist historical narrative. The number of Portuguese is always lower, but they constantly cause great damage to the enemy or even win the battles, fighting with honor and rarely losing consciousness of themselves and their mission, definitely it says about heroic characteristics.

The Turks attacked over again "with great impetus", Dom Cristóvão faced his enemies, but since the Moors were increasing their number, "a very cruel battle" was fought. Dom Cristóvão and all his fellows "like hungry lions were getting into the enemies without fearing the death, causing them such a damage, which did not seemed damage being done by so few, and so weary men, but [seemed it had been done] by many, and very well rested [ones]".¹⁴⁸

Despite the "great impetus" with which the Turks attacked, Dom Cristóvão and the other Portuguese bravely (or having no other option) confronted the enemy, not as common men, but as "hungry lions" and fearlessly, therefore managed to cause "such

¹⁴⁷ Decade V, Book VIII, Chapter XIV, p. 284

¹⁴⁸ Decade V, Book VIII, Chapter XIV, p. 285

damage", so much that they didn't seem to be in a small number of tired people but an army of well-disposed men. This kind of excerpt beyond intended to enhance the Portuguese people and raise their morale, also intended to encourage those who preferred not to venture into the lands overseas because of fearing the death or other misfortune, since the amount of people willing to go to these trips was much below the number of people needed, generally people were driven by ambition or felt forced by poverty to take that risk.

Very frequently we find narratives of small battles which some of them even seem to have the proportion of a street fight, however, if such a confrontation deserved space in the Portuguese memoirs, probably there is a lesson that one can draw from it. These small struggles highlight a situation where the Portuguese appear to be in disadvantage, for example when it is celebrated the victory of about 12 Portuguese 30 Turks, but without telling us in what conditions were each group, without mention if the Turks were victims of an ambush or if the great fighting skills of the Portuguese who lead their the victory, the text also do not talk about the weapons which each soldier, if they really were soldiers or poorly armed locals who was carrying them, which is important to highlight is the outnumbered Portuguese.¹⁴⁹

2.1.4 Dom Cristóvão, a big treatise could be written only about him

Dom Cristóvão da Gama, "who on that day deserved so much", and about whom "may well be possible to write a big treatise only about him", brought down many enemies in battle against the "Turks". The fortune, "envious of his glory and his value" made him take another shot of shotgun in his right arm, he "that in that day had won so much honor, and had wrought such great wonders" became all broken and disqualified to use the sword. Then Manoel da Cunha came for the rescue, facing the

¹⁴⁹ Decade IV, Book XI, Chapter IV, p. 431

enemies who already felt victorious, and "for his great value and effort", his soldiers fought like desperate when they saw their chief Captain assaulted and injured.¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile, "the Turks were walking around the offices, looting everything," and a group of them entered the tents "where all the wounded were in, who were unable to flee, and with brutal cruelty began to cut them". Outraged with that brutality, one of the injured rose and managed to fire a few barrels of gunpowder that had in that tent, and caused the explosion of all the tents with everyone inside, and nobody left alive.

D. Cristovão scaped and walked all night long and only at dawn, they found a source of water where they could stop to give water to the horses and to rest a while. There were also some injured, "but still not satisfied with so many evils, the fortune ordered the Turks to go and meet with them, guided by a slave girl who had seen them there". The Portuguese were tied up and taken to the king of Zeila who was pleased to see such a prey. He said, "Mafamede had commanded like this" for the victory and triumph of the Muslims.

D. Cristóvão was left standing, he was humiliated with slaps in the face. The king ordered to hit him with the sandals of his slaves, "vileness never seen in another barbaric", ordered to braid his beards, wanted them to be burnt with small wax candles, and ordered that to the whole army were brought to a greater reproach as possible.

"D. Cristovão suffered everything with great courage and patience, and with his heart fixed on God, by whose love and service he suffered that martyrdom."

After all this humiliation, the king "with his own hands cut off his head". Couto tells us that the attitude of the king was driven by a "great fear" that he felt before such resistance to all that he had done¹⁵¹. This is an example of faith and courage that a book that gathers virtues want to pass on, at everyone, for Christians or non-Christians, an episode like this shows the way of faith.

¹⁵⁰ Decade V, Book VIII, Chapter XIV, p. 286

¹⁵¹ Decade V, Book VIII, Chapter XIV, pp. 189-190

2.1.5 On how to deal with a Portuguese noble

Emir Sultan Ali in a letter to Bishop Antônio de Noronha told him his intention to control Hormuz. About such intentions, Dom Antônio replied the Pasha giving him condolences for this idea, and advised the Turks to treat their negotiation honestly, because the Portuguese "were men who did not give up what they begin, and who avenged well the insults they received" and that until the State of India be completely lost, the Turks could not take that island before killing all the Portuguese. "This letter has shaken very much the Pasha", then he, "on the advice of a few", ordered to visit Dom Antão, and had also sent a beautiful horse as a gift. D. Antão de Noronha received it very well, but did not accept the horse, "because in the war was not lawful to accept gifts from enemies".¹⁵²

Coge Acem Cemal, "a very prudent man, of great advice and very well known by the Janissary" excused D. Antão de Noronha to talk again with the Pasha, because he believed that his departure could be very beneficial.¹⁵³

Amidst the discussions about that important war being planned, Coge Acem was "very surprised" at the inadequate manner in which they handled the issue so far. What Couto means is that the Turks who were there trying to negotiate did not know the "nature of the Portuguese", so the men sent to perform the job were not able to negotiate with them, because those Portuguese "were all so robust in nature, and of so determined temper, and so desirous and solicitous to avenge their affronts, that "they would not leave that island while alive". The Portuguese had to try to negotiate, since they were in great danger and willing to start a battle only if there was no other solution. Coge Acem added to the captain that "it astonished him and the Janissary" the vassals of the Grand Lord "go to visit the Captain of Hormuz with a horse as a gift,

¹⁵² Decade VII, Book VIII, Chapter X, p. 143

¹⁵³ Decade VII, Book VII, Chapter XI, p. 145

which was something to be given to soldiers", and that he saw another way to solve that situation.¹⁵⁴

The Pasha then wanted to know what his idea was. The suggestion was to send as a gift all Portuguese prisoners, two or three pieces of artillery they had taken in another battle, which was valuable in this negotiation and would make no lack for the Turks. The Pasha was optimistic about this suggestion and believed that with this best offer things could end well.

After the Pasha and the Janissaries hear those words, they found that was a reasonable proposal and agreed, understood it as a good advice, and understood that the captain spoke as "a wise man". In addition to having the support of all, he was chosen to negotiate directly with the Portuguese, and took with him all the captives and delivered the artillery to the Portuguese.¹⁵⁵

2.1.6 The Heroic Portuguese against the powerful barbarians¹⁵⁶

It is surprising for those who read the books of Ottoman history, which have been written in the West or not, when they suddenly encounter a description of so disorganized troops, which seems to cast themselves to death without using their heads. Mostly, the Turks are praised for their strength and equipment capacity, but fully depreciated for their skills and especially for their intelligence.

Couto tells us that the Turks fought with desperation, they threw themselves to death, but does not say it was done bravely and with confidence, nor says they were fearless and brave. It also does not describe their skills and throughout the work of *Decades of Asia* there is no narrative on the battle describing any technique or moral quality of the Turks. They “were getting into the fire as barbarians, without order or

¹⁵⁴ Decade VII, Book VII, Chapter XI, p. 146

¹⁵⁵ Decade VII, Book VII, Chapter XI, p. 147

¹⁵⁶ It's a chapter that belongs to the history of the siege of Diu that we are going to see more in the next chapter, but due to the relevance with this chapter it was placed here.

consideration”, but “everything occurred very different with the Portuguese, who fought with great confidence, self-assurance and order”.¹⁵⁷ After reading a description like that, we wonder which Turks the Portuguese are speaking of, if they are the same Turks admired for the discipline, and of whom Europe feared for a long time, the same Turks whose army is praised even by Europeans.

The defense of the Fortress of Diu is a remarkable fact. We read in the chronicles that the Portuguese were very few but they were divided into different positions. Those who wielded their shotguns did not even have assistants to help them to reload their weapons, "and even though they made so great and admirable things", and demonstrating such ability to resolve this sort of problem they "made the enemies suspicious". In a short time, they "had so many killed and burned" that the living fought over the falling "eventually finishing to kill them".¹⁵⁸ The only possible beauty in a war would be the acts of compassion. The horrors of this kind of scene are to be expected when men decide to solve a problem by killing another man. But what we must look at here is the fact that the Turks ended up killing their comrades who lay wounded, i.e., such is the Turkish bestiality in this description that they advance without thinking, their life has no value, and if it has, they are too stupid to be aware of that, so they progress like an animal and demonstrate their brutality killing their own comrades.

When the Portuguese looked at the state of the fortress, they were chocked. The attack must have been really quite violent; the power of the Ottoman cannons was huge and there was no castle standing. Despite all the destruction, the Portuguese celebrate their bravery in defending this fortress that was all in ruins, but not without regretting the scene of destruction. Mighty armies are also mentioned, it might be possible to distinguish the difference between the participants of the siege, though the Portuguese mostly speak only about the Turks.

¹⁵⁷ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter XIII, p. 399

¹⁵⁸ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter XIII, p. 400

“...It was a spectacle to be very amazed of, seeing that destruction and the little and mistreated people, who defended those ruins against so big and powerful armies, and so many, and so fearful bombards ruinous to everything”¹⁵⁹

As well as the power of the enemies increases the merits of the Portuguese, the own conditions of the Portuguese, their armies and their limited resources, the distance travelled and the difficulties in the sea or in distant lands are always remembered. The lack of men and resources, a reason that would weaken the Portuguese in their endeavors, takes another proportion in the chronicle. This element strengthens them: a small number of men to a so vast land and to so vast oceans, who boast of having conquered the East, that different from America, was not populated by "naked blacks, with toasted sticks and weak and light arches, no order of any militia or with gross people and no government". In the East, the Portuguese had to face "very powerful emperors, as the Sultans of Egypt" and the "ferocious Turks", "that were never tamed" by the emperors of Europe. It ends an indirect comment on the Spaniards saying that their Armada never achieved victories like those of the Portuguese in the East, with the "Armada of the Kings and the Christian Lords".¹⁶⁰ In addition to attacking their rivals and brothers of faith (the Spaniards), the terminology chosen to define the Turks is "untamed beast". While the Portuguese faced great danger in the East, in a wild world, very dangerous and well-armed, the Spaniards fought against the indigenous with sticks and stones, and Couto belittles the Spaniards because they did not have real reasons to write a history of such glory like the Portuguese had.

The chronicler continues saying that the enemies of the Portuguese are not "naked, weak people and without order", "but with very strong nations", and very experienced and skilled in warfare, capable of doing politics, and their examples include the "Persians, Mughal, Decanis and Abyssinians", "not naked, but armed with melee weapons, and beautiful horses". The Ottomans are not mentioned after these praises - we should notice this detail. In the previous paragraph, where the stronger nations against whom the Portuguese fight, the enemies, are described in another "category", are strong but brutal enemies and wild as untamed beasts. In this paragraph

¹⁵⁹ Decade V, Book V, Chapter VI, p. 460

¹⁶⁰ Decade V, Book V, Chapter VI, p. 460

in which proceeds the same subject, but referring to another category of enemy, who are "skilled in war" and "capable of doing politics", maybe the Ottomans may be in the following reference: the enemies of the Portuguese do not fight "with toasted sticks or with weak arches, but with ballistic weapons and cannons". By that time, the Portuguese already knew, and by the worst way, the power of the Ottomans and of the ballistic cannons and also mention another unusual methods for Europeans, which is the use of "horrendous lions" and "royal eagles".¹⁶¹

2.1.7 Missionaries, Sailors and Vagabonds

In 1505 Portugal suffered so much by the lack of men, whole crews sometimes were completely inexperienced in the work required on the sea. Let us see a brief account of Castenheda about the "rustic sailors of João Homem," who did not even know the most basic technical terms, and so got confused even in a simple maneuver to the right or left - the problem seems could be solved with onions hanging in the right side and garlic in the left side of the boat.

Now - he said to the pilot - tells them to turn the rudder in the direction of the onions or the garlicks and they quickly will understand.¹⁶²

Just as slavery was the solution to the lack of manpower in the Portuguese colonies and the native women were the solution to the lack of white women, to circumvent the shortage of sailors, anyone could be on board. Martim Afonso de Sousa left a description of how these men seemed to him.

Do not let anyone tell them that when they come on board they are already sailors. This is the biggest lie in the world, for they are bums who have never traveled on the sea; and someone to become a sailor one must have served for many years as a grumete. And I assure you that those

¹⁶¹ Decade V, Book V, Chapter VII, p. 461

¹⁶² Boxer (2010: 211)

are who desert here and join the Muslims¹⁶³ (...) because they have no sense of duty, and therefore if a penny of their salary lacks they will go away.¹⁶⁴

Curiously, both in Spain and in Portugal, the two nations that were pioneers in overseas expansion and owe their greatness to the sea, the seafaring profession had a bad reputation, the soldier was much higher than the sailor in the social hierarchy. Diogo do Couto said that the vast majority of the sailors were "cruel and inhuman by their very nature."¹⁶⁵

The Portuguese soldiers had not a great incentive to lead a very regimented life. Those men so filled with of military qualities were actually wild men transformed by the conditions and hostile environment. The trade done in the East always required guards and weapons. If on the one hand the Asians disliked the Portuguese because they were aggressive invaders, on the other hand, the Portuguese did not like Asians because they were "savages" and infidels.

Working for the Portuguese Crown was not easy. The so-called soldiers "were liable to do military service until dying, marry, deserting or become incapacitated by bodily injury or disease." Since the early works in Africa, the soldiers received their payments late, sometimes very late. When arrive they did not have an accommodation and had to wait be called for a job, otherwise not many options remaining and often earned their living dishonestly, or starved to death, or become panhandlers in the streets or at the doors of churches and convents.

Another important information that brings Boxer is the "notorious indiscipline of Portuguese soldiers," which is one more information that we find in a historian, and that contradicts, as we shall see, an often repeated characteristic attributed to the Ottomans in a tone of mockery.

¹⁶³ About the conduct and the loyalty of the Portuguese in Asia, an important source of study is the anonymous book "Primor e Honra da Vida Soldadesca no Estado da Índia" (Excellence and Honor of the soldiery Life in the State of India).

¹⁶⁴ Boxer (2010: 212)

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 213

The military service has become so unpopular in Portugal that the State with a reputation for bad payer (even in wartime was paid only half salaries), had to appeal to the compulsory recruitment of beggars, vagabonds and enrolled ones that were forcibly enlisted in military service, such service could last a lifetime.¹⁶⁶

A contemporary, Francisco Rodrigues da Silveira, who had also participated in both wins as well as in defeats, explains that the defeats happened almost always the same way. The Portuguese, disembarking from their ships in a hostile beach seldom waited to conveniently form the line of soldiers and then move in close formation; on the contrary, each soldier ran impetuously forward, alone, like they were doing a race with their buddies. If the enemy, which was usually stopped some distance away, did not flee with this onslaught, then the first soldiers to reach the enemies arrived breathless and exhausted, without any condition to fight, unsupported by their slower comrades who came dragging on ago. Those who rushed ahead, then had no choice but to turn his back coming back as quickly as they could, often laying out the weapons while fleeing. The enemy, more lightly equipped, faster, easily caught unarmed fugitives and beheaded them. At other times, as in the assault of Calicut in 1509, the Portuguese took successfully the coastal town, but after that the soldiers scattered through the streets and houses, looking for plunder, disposing their own weapons to pick up heavy and bulky objects. That gave the enemy an opportunity to regroup and come back with strength killing the looters, who staggered under the weight of looted objects.¹⁶⁷

2.2 Islam and Muslims as seen by the Portuguese

Doubtless, “the Moors” are the main group with which the Portuguese established all sorts of relations, especially of hostility. They, the Moors, composed a big group, of an unimaginable proportion, by the simple reason that the Portuguese used to call “Moors” all the Muslims, starting from the North Africa to the remote borders of the Ottoman Empire. Wherever they encountered Muslims among the Arabs, South-Africans and Asians, were going to call them all as “Moors”¹⁶⁸. The History of João de Barros and Diogo do Couto exposes somewhat about the Asian

¹⁶⁶ Boxer (2010: 302)

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 287-290

¹⁶⁸ Boxer (2010: 60)

peoples such as the Chinese or Hindus, but it is all virtually permeated by “Moors”. There is no final definition for what the Portuguese call “Moors” in the Portuguese documentation reviewed.¹⁶⁹

The Portuguese Discoveries has always been done with great difficulties, one of them was the amount of people and knowledge available in order to realize what intended. When the Portuguese overseas expansion advanced towards the North of Africa and the East, the Portuguese encountered a wide geographic area and a range of cultures, products, values, beliefs, habits, etc. that forced them to deal with different situations and learn in a deeper way the characteristics of each culture and community. In Morocco, for example, the Portuguese learned how to distinguish between the “*alarves*”¹⁷⁰ and the barbarians. Although they were all Islamized, the “*alarves*” were those who spoke Arabic and had this cultural identity, the “barbarians” were those who spoke barbarian dialects and languages and their behavior, words and Arabic expressions were connected to religion and its practice.

Regarding culture, East was fairly well known in Europe, because the pilgrimage of the Muslims that lived in the African and Iberian West towards Mecca, and Christians to Jerusalem, have never stopped completely. This knowledge was what could be offered by some travel narratives that became known by European courts. It is clear that a good dose of imagination and a certain standard exist in this kind of narratives, nevertheless the lack of knowledge about East was not null. The crusades of the eleventh century had kept Europeans and easterners in constant contact. During that time not only war happened, the armed conflicts were followed by periods in which the very need for subsistence forced to trade, to product exchanges and even to commercial complicity. Among Muslims there were so many conflicts as among the Christians with their brothers in religion, and not only conflicts between Christians and Muslims by their differences. Likewise the conflicts, also the acquaintanceship

¹⁶⁹ The Arab expansion increased rapidly in Asia, Africa and Europe. This expansion led the Arab culture and the Islamic religion for many people, depending on the circumstances, which they were generically designated by Moors. The arrival of the Portuguese to the East required a more specific nomenclature to describe the population of Arabia or familiarized with the Arab culture: Arab, *Álarves*, Arabs, Bedouins, Macaris and even names as Ben-Jebra tribes [Banu-Djabr] are found.

¹⁷⁰ This word derives from the plural of al-'Arab

happened, by the obvious reason that surviving comes before the theological disagreements. The religious conflicts usually happened due to material reasons. Throughout the Middle-East there were, as nowadays, a significant number of Christians in the midst of a majority of Muslims believers.¹⁷¹

Dom Manuel, in 1499, after the return of Vasco da Gama, adopts a title that not only reveals his “Manueline” plan of conquest but also the geographic knowledge acquired until that moment. Dom Manuel considered himself as the “Lord of conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India”. In the very first contact with the African Coast, the Portuguese heard the black people referring to others not converted as “kaffirs” (cafres), i.e., *kâfir*, that means infidel, non-believer, from where the Portuguese learned this word. Thus the Portuguese started to call that place as “land of the Kaffirs”, or “Kaffraria”. These inhabitants of rudimentary life were known as undeveloped, rudimentary and savage people.

2.2.1 Arabs, Moors and Turks: they are all the same thing

Turks and Rumis have a large presence in *Décadas da Ásia* (Decades of Asia). Frequently, they are treated as the same people or as part of a larger group that if not identified as “Turks”, “Arabians” or “Rumis” are generically called “Moors”, meaning Muslims. Except the “Rumis”, about whom there is no other opinion other than that they were Christians in their essence, made Muslims by pressure of the Ottomans, they were like “prisoners” of the Ottomans in the Portuguese Christian imagination, all the others such as Turks, Arabs, African and Asian natives have character problems and are considered inferior to the Portuguese.

“...followed his defeat by Camaram Island, and the news that the Rumi were left there reached Adem, and because the Moors always tell no truth, part of their Navy could be still there”¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Farinha (2005: 153-154)

¹⁷² Decade III, Book I, Chapter II, p. 21

No matter how they are nominated, whether Moors or Turks, are always depicted in a similar way, laden with adjectives that reduce their moral quality, the explanation of why things are as they are, as in the excerpt above where we read “the Moors always tell lies”. The context is the moment in which the Portuguese and the Rumis reach mutual agreement about the domain of the Camaram Island, but what matters for us here is solely to highlight that the word “Rumi” is employed to represent a group of Turks and Moors, and that in general one cannot make deals with people that usually deceive. “Always” means that this is an innate characteristic of this religious-ethnic group, they invariably are like that and inspire suspicion even among them.

2.2.2 Soons of the devil

The way the Moor offers his life is insane, different from the Portuguese who is a martyr, because the Moor offered himself to the devil, and they confronted the Portuguese for this damned reason. Even aware that they would certainly encounter the death, they believe that would find salvation on it.

“Once the Moors were offered to the devil, they ran into our guns, as if the salvation of the Island was in their deaths”¹⁷³

When the Portuguese despises his own life on behalf of a patriotic or a Christian ideal, he performs an act of nobility; when the Moor was the one who offer his own life, was considered an act inspired by devil, insanity or result of their ignorance. This nobility missing to the Moors is what causes the expression of their evil nature. The Moors are always Muslims, the Portuguese supposed that the Islamic religion does not put bans or moral standards for their faithful, thus whatever the region they came from, it is expected from their practice and the common lifestyle of the Moors that they be

¹⁷³ Decade IV, Livro IV, Capítulo XIII, p. 442

thieves and pirates, because those who follow "the law of Mafamede" are part of the "caste" system, in which there are some considered even less than others.

"It was called Reynel because it was founded therein by Reyneis Gentiles, that have already been lords of the whole Kingdom of Cambay, and then it was inhabited by Moors Naitias, great thieves, and buccaneers, which is the lowest caste of those who follow the law of Mafamede;"¹⁷⁴

The land of the Moors is sterile by nature, and after the death of the Prophet "Mahamed", Mecca also started to be considered by the Portuguese as the "house of abomination". Although sterile, the Moors inhabited this city for having near them a port "convenient for his followers that have inhabited all those parts of the entry and exit of that Red Sea". Being this port the path through which a large spice trade passes, the Strait was the place where the trade ships stopped off¹⁷⁵. And the Turks identified themselves with the barbarian religion of "Mafamede", and for this reason it reached the Minor Asia, establishing border with the Christian Kingdoms and thereafter starting to persecute Christians.

"Those who remained in that parts of Syria also for some time became lords of all that Province of Minor Asia, for which they gave the name of Turkey: therein received the false sect of Mafamede, because they found it according to their barbarities. And because the Fortune has favored them, in a few years became lords of the great Empire that nowadays they have, and being the biggest persecutors that the Roman Church has ever had."¹⁷⁶

The Portuguese identified the Turks with the ones described in the Biblical story, in the book of Daniel, which says that a Fifth Kingdom would arise and overwhelm the Holy Land, and the chronicler makes use of this biblical passage in order to tell that this Fifth Kingdom was the Ottoman Empire. The first was the kingdom of Babylon, the second kingdom of the Persians, the Third the Greek, the Fourth the Romans, and now the kingdom of the Turks were identified as the Fifth

¹⁷⁴ Decade IV, Book VI, Chapter VIII e IX, p. 90

¹⁷⁵ Decade III, Book III, Chapter I, p. 23

¹⁷⁶ Decade IV, Book VIII, Chapter XIV, p. 396

kingdom that oppresses the Holy Land, confirming the interpretation of the dream of Nabucodonosor by Prophet Daniel¹⁷⁷. The chronicler also mentions Ezequiel:

And it seems that also was already prophesied from Ezekiel in the chapter twenty-fourth which says that Gog and Magog would give great works to the Faithful, because the Theologians understand innumerable people of Seithia.¹⁷⁸

When Don Manuel wrote to the Pope in 1505, explaining the reasons for his not very actions based on Christian love, he said that the purpose was to end the "damned Muslim sect", even though the methods were not adequate in the eyes of the Church, the argument of the Portuguese king defended the reason for a holy war.¹⁷⁹

2.2.3 Violence as profession and in the name of God

The violence since the early days of the arrival of the Portuguese to the East was not a novelty brought by them; the Portuguese were not who inaugurated the cruelty in that lands, specially because the East had already experienced some horrors

¹⁷⁷ 2:37

You, O King, king of kings, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power, and the strength, and the glory,

2:38

Wherever the children of men are living; into whose hands he has given the beasts of the field and the birds of heaven, and has made you ruler over them all, you are the head of gold.

2:39

And after you another kingdom, lower than you, will come to power; and a third kingdom, of brass, ruling over all the earth.

2:40

And the fourth kingdom will be strong as iron: because, as all things are broken and overcome by iron, so it will have the power of crushing and smashing down all the earth.

<http://www.o-bible.com/cgi-bin/ob.cgi?version=bbe&book=dan&chapter=2>

8:20

The sheep which you saw with two horns, they are the kings of Media and Persia.

8:21

And the he-goat is the king of Greece: and the great horn between his eyes is the first king.

<http://www.o-bible.com/cgi-bin/ob.cgi?version=bbe&book=dan&chapter=8>

¹⁷⁸ Decade IV, Book VIII, Chapter XIV, p. 396

¹⁷⁹ Castelo Branco (2006: 14)

with the passage of the Mongols¹⁸⁰, that frequently used a brutal style in their conquests.

Killing Moors assumed the character of fulfilling a duty and in any description of the battles, the killed Moors were celebrated and this is reported as a commendable feat, regardless of achieving the victory at the end of the battle or not. This aggression, even when made in pacific terms or at least without bloodshed, had as a consequence the total transformation of the regional way of life; the commercial and missionary interests were above everything, some villages had to be completely destroyed in order to achieve certain goals.

Afonso de Albuquerque arriving to the Village of Rumis in order to help a group of Portuguese that were in conflict with locals, a not rare situation, could help their compatriots and, when the victory over Muslims was achieved, the victories were considered "very honored", "death of many Moors" is what gave value to these picturesque narratives. Killing a "Moor" was a moral and religious obligation, and also a military merit. It is not only about slaughtering the enemy in battle, but reducing the number of plagues in the world, that according to the Christian discourse of the sixteenth century, were the "infidel" Muslims. In order to conclude, by finding themselves with no provender, the Portuguese decide to abandon the Village and set fire to the mosque that have been used as a shelter for them while they remained in that land.¹⁸¹

2.2.4 Beings who are not humans

These same holy men who fought on behalf of the Holy Church, even able to evoke miraculous forces with the power of their faith and strong morals, when reach a village of black people they describe its population as inhuman and likewise their

¹⁸⁰ Scammel, 514

¹⁸¹ Decade II, Book III, Chapter II, p. 245

dwelling place. The children and the cattle they found along the way were captured and taken by the Portuguese. Without saying with which intention they captured those black children, seeing the effort made by their parents to save their children, the narrative says that "up to eighty of them, with people who came to offer themselves to death to save the children". When Lourenço de Brito, who was the Captain, saw what was happening, he said to those who brought the children: "You guys let these other calves [children], because those cows [desperate mothers] don't come mooing, but roaring behind them". The Christians had to discuss a concept of humanity regarding the black people, because during the Renaissance there was no consensus on the humanity of the blacks or something to guarantee any right to their slaves, the humanity of blacks and Indians was a subject discussed by religious, they saw before situations in which the Christian religion was seen increasingly within this "wild" world, and blacks were not even considered as human beings. This is a recurring theme and abundant in Brazilian historiography of the colonial and imperial periods, so there is nothing to surprise a Brazilian historian in that kind of language directed to those people. The environment where they lived was also narrated with contempt, "Even after some of ours began to jettison the children and some valueless things brought from the village, the Blacks were already so enraged that, running over everything, bumped into the body of our people". This thinking dehumanizes the natives, especially the blacks, to the extent that simply they could not understand why the parents were risking their own lives to save their children.¹⁸²

The colonization depended on the slave workforce, to the extent that both slavery and colonization, although they have taken various forms, are still practiced in the world. I will not prolong the exemplifications on how the slaves were treated, because there is an extensive bibliography about it, and this is not the proper place and moment to discuss this topic in depth, once the intention is simply to present a general picture about the Portuguese experience in Asia. We will try to apprehend somewhat of the Lusitanian thinking and exemplify or illustrate situations aiming the intent of this work to be clearly achieved and for us to learn certain details of the Portuguese

¹⁸² Decade II, Book II, Chapter IX, p. 339

Christian humanism through the official discourse and compare with what was practiced and seek examples that give us elements to form a general idea of the relationship between the Portuguese and the “other”.

It is said that in Malacca, the "miserable people" slept in the tallest trees to protect themselves from tigers that "jump very high," and “Already happened (...), a tiger jump into a backyard well fenced with high wood, and took a wooden trunk with three slaves trapped on it, with whom jumped from path to path over the fences”¹⁸³. Here the focus is on the ambient, the fact that three slaves trapped on the trunk had been taken is a mere illustration of the environment, although it is not possible to state that would be the same thing if a tiger invaded a backyard and broke a window, because generally a slave had more value than a window, better saying, a slave could be replaced but by a higher cost. The issue of "race" is still controversial in the West and produces large bibliography that intends to erase the deep marks left in history, is a cursed legacy of ideas that contributed to sustain the colonial system and European slavery.

2.3 The Turks as seen by the Portuguese

”(...) this story of ours, where we simply and without ornament neither artifice of words report the great and rare victories achieved in these places; how it will be seen in this [story] of a so potent and sovereign Armada of Rums and Janissaries from the most well chosen of the Empire of the Grand Turk.”¹⁸⁴

The works of João de Barros and Diogo do Couto do not discuss specifically the relationship with the Ottomans, instead they are a small part of the Portuguese history in the East. Rich and extensive work, the *Decades of Asia* brings narratives of

¹⁸³ Decade II, Book VI, Chapter VIII, p. 21

¹⁸⁴ Decade V, Book V, Chapter VII, p. 461

different stories, peoples and places. We can not say that the *Decades* contain errors because our scientific criteria and our methodology is not part of this world where what one hears is, what is rumor, what is not understood, what surprises or what is the result of several emotions of awe, hatred, horror, are permeated by a Renaissance ideology and a Christian spirit shaped by the interests of the Nation-States, giving a body of history.

2.3.1 The appearance of the “real Turks”

The Portuguese described the Turks as white men wearing their hair as the women in silk cauls, wearing knitting socks and short robes, among other brutalities that the author prefers to skip to not make us bored.¹⁸⁵ The real Turks (not the "fake" ones), are those who born in the Province of Turkistan.¹⁸⁶ These real Turks follow the "law of Mafamede" and their first language were the “Turkman”, but they also know Persian due to their proximity to the people who originally speaks this language. They are white skinned and have small eyes, similar to the Tartars and to the "Chijs" men. About the Turkish nobility, he says the aristocrats treat each other very well, wear noble silks and brocades of fine wools. The common people wear cotton, quilted and felt. Wear long beards and have their heads shaved. The noble men treat each other with much diligence, use silver tableware, carry their luggage on camels and use very good tents to warm themselves. In peacetime, they are peaceful and friendly to foreigners and in their business. "The women of this nation are beautiful and appear everywhere". Their weapons are used for defense and for attack, usually decorated in a very refined way and especially the nobles have helmets adorned with gold and plumes.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Decade V, Book VI, Chapter I, p. 9

¹⁸⁶ Decade V, Book VI, Chapter I, p. 2

¹⁸⁷ Decade IV, Book VI, Chapter II, page 13

The Ottomans were always divided into categories by the Portuguese. In the *Decades of Asia* there is a characterization of the "non-Turk". As it can be noted, the "original Turk", although Muslim, received a considerable number of compliments. They are elegant, refined and polite, because what is intended therein is not to praise the Turks, but to say that the original Turks are not those who are in Europe nor in the West Anatolia, but those who are far away and do not even have contact with Europeans and are easterners from Central Asia. In other words, the Ottomans are disqualified once "the original Turks" as well as the Rums are complimented. A way to understand these praises is looking for those who are outside of that ethnic group highlighted by the observation of the Portuguese. We also read that in times of peace they are peaceful, while the Ottomans are belligerent and aggressive, and the real Turks are friendly to foreigners.

Among the Moors, the sovereign was called "King" or Sultan "that we have corrupted into Soldan", which was the title used by the Sultan of Cairo, the head of the kingdom of Egypt, who was subdued by the "Ottoman dynasty of the Turks". In addition to subjugating a kingdom with the same belief of them, the Turks also appropriated titles like Sultan. I.e., as seen by the Portuguese in that passage where he explains the origin of the word "Sultan", this title was stolen from the Mamluks to whom it belonged by right. Thus he also accuses the Turks having no authenticity in their titles and traditions. The Turkish sultan is the "cruellest King of the Turks" who made "atrocious wars against the Christians" and "caused a lot of damage, fought and took many cities and kingdoms".

“...And at last, the bold Purple Beard Captain¹⁸⁹, enemy of Christ, with a large fleet threatening, circled our boundaries, and occupied a kingdom in Africa, and ordered them to settle in this place against Italy, especially against our City of Rome, and then strengthened, and added his armies and forces to more easily commit us. But as soon as the Pope Paul III began to govern the Church, this enemy who were puffy from so many victories, turned back, and aggrandized

¹⁸⁹ known as Barbarossa ("Red Beard") to Europeans, and Barbaros Hayrettin (Khair ad Din) Pasha in Turkish, *Hızır Reis*

with so many triumphs, turned his back, and superb with so many expropriations, learned to fear."¹⁹⁰

Europeans considered the African territory rightfully theirs, as well as the Mediterranean, and if the "enemies of Christ" intruded in the affairs of the Portuguese, they were considered daring enemies of all the Christendom, i.e., of whole Europe.

2.3.2 The Satan of Apocalypse in the Holy Land and in Constantinople

Barros also mentions the prophecy of São João¹⁹¹ about the Apocalypse which says that Satan shall be loosed out of his prison to deceive the inhabitants of the land of Gog and Magog, "which are the provinces that we have shown above, from where these people initially came to conquer Turkestan, then Asia Minor, the Holy Land and the great Empire of Constantinople, until they reached the monarchy in which they are today" and satisfied with the knowledge that the Portuguese had on these people and on these Provinces, they believed that the prophecy was fulfilled and could now be better understood.

Since some theologians also understand by them the Anti-Christ and his minions, as it has to come from the North's directions according to what is prophesied, it may well be those Provinces above.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Decade V, Book I, Chapter II, p. 18

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(20:7) And when the thousand years are ended, Satan will be let loose out of his prison,
(20:8) And will go out to put in error the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to get them together to the war, the number of whom is like the sands of the sea.
(20:9) And they went up over the face of the earth, and made a circle about the tents of the saints, and the well loved town: and fire came down out of heaven for their destruction.
(20:10) And the Evil One who put them in error was sent down into the sea of ever-burning fire, where the beast and the false prophet are, and their punishment will go on day and night for ever and ever.

<http://www.o-bible.com/cgi-bin/ob.cgi?version=bbe&book=rev&chapter=20>

¹⁹² Decade IV, Book VII, Chapter IV, p. 397

2.3.3 The Opposite of Praise

Not always the Portuguese are depreciating the Ottomans. We encounter very often the recognition of the military power of the Ottomans, being undeniable the quality and the strength of an Empire that collected many victories over a vast territory and was feared throughout Europe. The quality and the power is not omitted; frequently the Portuguese intend only to diminish the Ottoman merits. In battles where the Ottomans emerged victorious, however, they are highlighted especially by their warlike resources, huge armies and fury, but never by the skills of their armies or Generals. Actually, aggrandizing the enemy turn the victories of the Portuguese even more commendable, heroic and worth recording.

According to what is said, wrote the chronicler, the village of Baçora had been founded by the Turks a couple of years before and they were very afraid of the Portuguese Armadas¹⁹³. With this type of comment, the chronicler shows that the erstwhile praised Ottomans - vassals of a powerful Realm capable of making Europe tremble like a leaf, so feared and respected by their military force, feared much more than are feared in front of an enemy like the Portuguese.

2.3.4 Loyalty above all

The issue of loyalty is central to understand the medieval society nobility, where the political games tried to give less opportunity to betrayals and coups. The medieval heritage of small states based on close ties between lords and serfs is still alive in the Renaissance discourse and was an essential part of the chivalric society. The nobility possessed their own codes, and the loyal conduct of the knight was one of the factors that legitimized their status.

¹⁹³ Decade IV, Book III, Chapter XIII, p. 333

Being a common subject, the issue of loyalty is always brought to the table, and the lack of loyalty is an indicator of a very serious lack of character. We can easily deduce that the Portuguese spoke about the lack of loyalty of the Ottomans. The excerpt below explains why the king of Aden was pleased with the alliance and why the Portuguese are preferable to the Ottomans:

"What is wanted now is the King to see if he prefers the subjugation of those known as people with no law, no truth, betrayer and cruel in all their works, or the friendship of the Portuguese with the loyalty which with they treated their friends and the vassals of your King, and Lord."¹⁹⁴

These people with no law, no truth, treacherous and cruel "in all their works" were the Ottoman people, in contrast with the Portuguese who were able to offer their friendship and loyalty. It means also that the King of Aden submitted to all the demands made by the Portuguese, and accepted to become a vassal of the king of Portugal probably because he had no other choice.

"From this, the king became very pleased, seeing that everybody desired the friendship of the Portuguese hating the Turks, of whom they were scandalized not so much by the war they made but by the lack of truth from them and by the wickedness they committed"¹⁹⁵

This hatred against the Turks referred above was part of the requirements of the Portugueses. The ruler who accepts to become a vassal of the king of Portugal was prohibited from helping Turks and Rums, receiveing their vessels in the ports, providing products and helping in any manner, i.e., the sovereign lost his sovereignty.

2.3.5 The Turks wants to conquer India

Rums and Turks were the only ones in the East that had enough power to confront the Portuguese. Every victory and effort were celebrated by the Portuguese. The king of Portugal congratulates the governor of India for fighting against the Rums,

¹⁹⁴ Decade IV, Book IV, Chapter XI, p. 429

¹⁹⁵ Decade IV, Book IV, Chapter XI, p. 431

who are “bad people” and “our enemies”, complementing that the Turks didn’t intend anything other but capturing the city of Aden; already with these plans in mind they have made themselves strong and also believed the Ottomans had a plan for conquering India. Heitor da Silveira said that what the Governor of India most desired was to see the Turks capturing any place in that region in order to have a chance of attacking and expel them, and that was more correct to capture the city of Aden from the hand of the Turks than from the hands of the Arabs.¹⁹⁶

In the Decade IV of the chronicles, did not rest any doubt about who were the worst enemies of the Portuguese. In that first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans were the only force capable of preventing the imperialist plans of the Portuguese; it is with hatred and repulse that they wrote about the Turks, much more than the mere contempt showed when the subject is other peoples. The Ottomans were worse enemy than the Moors and Arabs and it means that the Ottomans are not only religious enemies, but also military and political, showing the Portuguese motivation is political and economic, with a crusade against the infidel in the background.

Let us examine some episodes where the Portuguese narrate events, said about some more familiar characters and let their interpretation on them. These narratives refer particularly to the character of the Turks, showing that there are discord and betrayal among them, that they are not loyal to their master, the Sultan, and that they try to take personal advantage committing abuses with the power delegated to them. Some moments are interestingly narrated in detail that no one can imagine how they would have become known to the Portuguese.

¹⁹⁶ Decade IV, Book IV, Chapter XI, p. 428

2.3.6 Turkish Pirates and the path to Melinde

A surprise attack made in the middle of the dark night in Malindi once again shows the Ottomans as easy targets and unprepared, easily surprised by the intelligence and competence of the experienced Portuguese captains. The Portuguese had placed two falcons¹⁹⁷ on the sand, positioned slightly away from the galleys at a distance and in a safe position to bombard the vessels anchored in this city. In the darkness, the shots hit the Turks and caused them harm, but they could not figure out where the shots came from, or how to defend them, nor how to counter-attack their aggressors. They weighed anchor and went to Mombasa, "which was the end point of their defeat". In Mombasa, they intended to build forts, and from there depart with their fleets to destroy Malindi and expel the Portuguese of the coast. However, they were not successful. Before leaving the strait of Malindi, one knew of the coming of the Ottomans, because spies had informed the Portuguese, thus there was enough time for calling reinforcements "before the Turks arrived and did some damage".¹⁹⁸

On the way to Malindi, they took the port of Brava, "City inhabited by Moorish friends or better to say feigned or constrained, as they all usually are in these areas". In that place, they obtained more accurate information about the coming of the Turks. Along the journey, they went to Malindi, "tyrannizing all the Kings who were in the path, and asking thick amounts of money to each one according to their possessions".¹⁹⁹

An accusation that is much needed is that the Ottomans were pirates and cruel, because the fame of piracy and cruelty of the Portuguese was great and it was not a bad idea to remove some of this qualification and pass to the enemy. And goes on to say that once again they made victims wherever they passed by, threatening kings of

¹⁹⁷ In the Aurélio dictionary, electronic version 5.0.4.0; entry for "*falcão* (falcon)": 3.Ant. Long piece of artillery, which fired iron projectiles of five to ten pounds of weight.

¹⁹⁸ Decade XI, Chapter V, p. 28

¹⁹⁹ Decade VI, Chapter V, p. 30

smaller villages that were unable to defend themselves against the exploitation of the Ottomans.

2.4.1 Suleyman Pasha: Greed

King Bahadur, the King of Cambay asked for help from the Grand Turk. To win his friendship and favor, sent a rich present and money to pay the people the Turk Sultan could send. Suleyman Pasha, at this moment was serving in the function of governor of Cairo and wrote immediately to the Grand Turk. It was his "greedy of seeing so rich present sent by a powerful Prince, and from such distant lands". Suleyman commanded to be sent all the wealth to Cairo.²⁰⁰

All this wealth was held in Cairo under the rule of Suleyman Pasha, and a message was brought to the Sultan explaining how Bahadur the King of Cambay was killed. He wrote the Suleyman Pasha telling him to transport this wealth by land. "This whole farm, which the Turk said was rightfully his, and that he could capture it by justice"; Suleyman went to Constantinople, the Sultan did not want the treasure were opened without the presence of Suleyman, "by reason of the seal he also had placed". "When the Turk saw such great wealth in gold, precious stones, pearls, currency and many pieces of various uses of that Prince of the East, whose works were of more value than the material they were made of, he himself marveled" and realized how superior were the lands from which that came, so that their own pieces seemed poor compared to those, "and he got a great desire to conquer India", soon arranging an Armada to be sent aiming to conquer India.²⁰¹

And this way it was explained the reason why the Sultan decided to "disrupt the business of the Portuguese" in India. Without anything else to think about but all the wealth that could obtain in that land, he sent an armada to India, and the reason

²⁰⁰ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter I, pp. 600-601

²⁰¹ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter I, pp. 601-603

that he was responding a calling for help from a (Muslim) king disappeared after he saw such treasures. The message is clear: the Portuguese believed they had the right to do business in India, a territory that the Ottomans had no relation with, and the key that explains this intervention is the greed of the Turks. The seal that guaranteed the treasure was not violated was a common practice among sovereigns; here the chronicler draws attention to the question that this treasure was not violated only because there was a seal, so the seal was needed to protect the integrity of the items which was sent and to protect against dishonesty. The intention of the chronicler seemed to be accusing the Turks of dishonest, but we know the putting of this seal was a practice to show exactly the contrary, reliability.

2.4.2 Suleyman Pasha: Castrated, ugly and bad

So the Turk determined to conquer India and to "take the Portuguese out of there (if possible)", sent Suleyman Pasha as the captain of this Armada and instructed him to perform this task. As he was a "man [of] greatly ambitious and greedy of the riches of India", after seeing such beautiful sample, he tried all ways that he could in order to accomplish this feat, but his efforts were not enough.

To ridicule the Sultan, supposedly there is a feminine intervention, let's see what happens. The chronicler tells us that the mother of Suleyman Sultan hated Suleyman Pasha "secretly" and wished him to be left outside the business of Cairo, aiming to favor Mustafa, who was her stepson.²⁰²

Even if the Sultan had at his disposal "men of great experience in war, and more suitable for this undertaking than Suleyman Pasha", elected him instead of the others because in addition to believe in his loyalty, "was secure that he would not rise as the others did", was also a man who cost less to the treasury of the Empire, and being very rich, everything acquired would remain to Mustafa, his son. Suleyman Pasha proposed

²⁰² Decade IV, Book X, Chapter II, p. 605

to do this Armada with his own money, wanting from the Sultan only the crew and the artillery. What the text suggests is that the Ottoman court did not excel at merit but by the favor and looked to their own interests, and the decision about who would be responsible for this work was strongly influenced by the mood of a woman. In the Portuguese society, the wife of a king could not (openly) meddle in the affairs of State, at least is not known if it has occurred. Moreover, Suleyman Pasha is described as an ambitious man who makes use of stratagems to reach the wealth of Cambay.

It is highlighted from the Sultan and Suleyman Pasha their ambition above all:

".. Everyone supported sending Suleyman Pasha to India with no other reason but their own appetite and interests;"

Suleyman Pasha was described as unworthy to be considered a man.

"This man Suleyman was an eunuch ... the features of his person corresponded to the ugliness of his customs" and... "was too much fat, and because of the fat had such a big jowls falling over his breast and the belly was very advanced to the front. Seemed wider than long, and as he was a man of over eighty years, had the eyebrows and the eyelashes too white, which made his aspect even more shapeless and terrible. With much meat was so disabled that from where he sat four men could not lift him. Whatever he lacked in strength of body had much in malice and cruelty, natural condition of neutered cowards..."²⁰³

Among the hated ones, others are even more hated. Suleyman Pasha was certainly a figure that has captured a deep hatred of the Portuguese, for the simple reason that he crossed the path of the Portuguese and could cause great harm to the business in the State of India. Since his physiognomy, his ability to the function to his character, there were many adjectives and qualifications of the worst possible to characterize him. The ugliness, as it appears as undesirable, is also associated with evil, and all this because he attacked what is presented as "the good" and "the beautiful".

²⁰³ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter II, pp. 605-606

2.4.3 Brutality, cruelty and betrayal

About how this expedition was organized, we read some reports of the brutality with which the Ottomans recruited their men. Suleyman Pasha was sent to Cairo to build 24 new warships to add to the fleet. Suleyman,

“...to whose greed and ambition would satisfy with the pretext of being a good server, he made very serious extortions and cruelties to the residents of Cairo, as to other parts, among which was the farm with the death of its people...”²⁰⁴

One of the parts of this story illustrates as an example of the dishonesty of Suleyman Pasha the existence of a "Great Lord of the Arab nation", "named Mir Daud", who was the King of the Province of Thebaida. He was one of the most important and powerful man who were in Egypt. Suleyman Pasha was asking him five thousand men to row the galleys, but Mir Daud said he had no men who could serve in the sea, because they had no preparation nor custom for this, then this man with his own money bought and offered a thousand black slaves to Suleyman Pasha, believing that he would be grateful, but Suleyman ordered Mir Daud to be hanged, considering that the service provided by the Turks was worth what Suleyman asked him, not what this Mir Daud had offered. For similar reasons, for not being serviced as requested, he ordered killing "other three leading men" and left "Uçaraf Paxá" in his place as governor of Cairo, in order for him to kill "Abedeliuab", another very rich Moor.²⁰⁵

The solution that Suleyman found was to bring mercenaries from Cairo to serve as men at arms. He took a large number of them to be put in the boat by force. These men were neither prisoners nor soldiers, were employed as rowers against their will and suffered much in this occupation for not presenting the appropriate fitness. Four hundred of these men were severely punished, two hundred were decapitated for mutinying against this situation, revolted because they were deceived, but in any way,

²⁰⁴ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter II, p. 607

²⁰⁵ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter II, pp. 607-609

this brutal measure solved the problem of lack of paddlers because before such a cruelty the others took the oars even against their will.²⁰⁶

Suleyman Pasha arrived in Judah to meet with the king. Before his coming, his reputation as a cruel and treacherous was already known there, "the little faith of the Turks, mainly of Suleyman, whose cruelty and tyranny was well known" left the town on alert, which handled to protect itself.²⁰⁷

By leaving Judah they head to Camaram, whose king did not suspect of Suleyman Pasha as the king of Judah did, because did not know much about him and allowed to give homes for patients very willingly. Arriving at the port of Aden, the king sent refreshments and groceries. Suleyman sent some "tough and brave soldiers" with concealed weapons in the beds among the patients, pretending they were also sick with the evil intention of putting the maximum possible of people to rise up against the city. For each patient, sent two healthy people. In this way and with the crew going to the town to buy groceries, they managed to infiltrate into the houses of the patients without the guards of the town realize it. Five hundred of the best men stayed inside waiting for the signal of Suleyman in order to leave the homes of the patients and go to the houses of the king, surround and plunder them.²⁰⁸

With those people within the city, Suleyman ordered someone to tell the king that he could not leave, and called him to his galley to let him know a few things he intended to deal with the king. The king was afraid to go to meet Suleyman Pasha, but eventually went because the Turk had arrived with a very powerful Armada and the king knew he had no choice. When everyone arrived, Suleyman Pasha had the king hanged and the other three who accompanied him, made the sign for those who were within the city, which rose and started killing the people who were inside the walls. Those who were outside came to help and started looting everything they found. The Pasha who was "greedy and cruel" ordered that all the spoils of war were brought to him to be distributed later, under penalty of death for those who did not do that way.

²⁰⁶ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter III, p. 612

²⁰⁷ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter III, p. 612

²⁰⁸ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter III, pp. 614

All the soldiers left the treasures at his feet and left the city. The Pasha took all the gold, silver and jewelry for himself and had everything delivered to his treasurer and commanded to share the things of little value among the Moors, which left everyone very indignant.²⁰⁹

This is one more narrative that illustrates and reinforces what has already been said with great frequency by the Portuguese. The personality of the Turks is summarized in figures as Suleyman Pasha. He is not just an isolated figure among the Turks, he is the only Turk mentioned in this episode, is the highest among the Turks and oppresses his employees, even violates the right of war and the rights of his men when forbidding them to loot the city. He also acts on his own and for the benefit of himself, there is no order from the Sultan, there is only "the spirit of the Turks" and the opportunity for it to arise, moreover, Couto tells us he steals all the loot. To increase the cruelty and injustice of Suleyman Pasha, the victims are who had welcomed him so generously offering him food, drink and bed to the sick men.

Whether for fear of the firepower with which the Turks arrived in Camaram or not, the king of this place was described in a friendly way, and had the misfortune of crossing with a person so cruel, an ambitious and unscrupulous "Turk". Ended hanged without any explanation of the events, left this criminal impression against a people who were oppressed by the power of an unjust and crude man even with his own crew, which were not Turkish men, but "Moorish" , taken aboard by the fear to lose their lives. Suleyman Pasha did not put any beyond the material criteria and was driven from his first to his last acts by a character similar to his physical image, an ugly man with a horrible character. This is another portrait of a Turk as seen by the Portuguese, but it is also a portrait of all the Turks who are in power, it is enough to simply connect the softer parts to parts like the one mentioned above to conclude that his character is innate and intrinsic to Turkish people.

²⁰⁹ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter III, pp. 614-615

2.5 Matter of justice: punishment comes from heaven

After hanging the king of Camaram, Suleyman Pasha sent five hundred Janissary soldiers into the city, which was full of wealth, "and as these men are cruel and arrogant," as soon as arrived they began harassing the residents, "using appalling inhumanity". The Turks who were in the fleet heard the revolt that was happening in the city and were there to respond: "[they] helped to ravage and steal everything, filling themselves with wealth".

The port of Aden was frequented by merchants from the East. As the general of the Armada, Suleyman Pasha, "was full of greed, eighty years old and eunuch", by knowing the great wealth of the City, "suffering of ambition" and wishing that others did not possess them, landed with his guard. Suleyman Pasha went to the city's entrance and stopped each person who passed that door carrying something of value, taking from them everything that was gold, silver, pearls, gemstones and money. In this way, all the city's wealth ended in his hands, making him even more hated by all of the Armada.²¹⁰

“At nightfall, at ten o'clock they all saw a comet passing very fast through the air, like a shooting, which came from the City's area until stopping on the Armada of the Turks, where it ended in flames”.

Couto narrates this weird case wherein everybody is amazed to see the "comet". He explains that it was not an accident, rather it had a meaning and a message that was coming from the skies. It is narrated that the Portuguese had understood it as a sign from God, the "Rumes" had understood it as a very bad omen, "and the Pasha who was a coward by nature was afraid and suspicious". As it is frequent in the Renaissance writings, an explanation that is intended to be "irrefutable" is always sought in the antiquity, in its authors and in the authority of their works. Thus, "similar to this one

²¹⁰ Decade V, Book II, Chapter VI, pp. 255-256

was also seen upon the Armada of the Lacedaemonians, when they were defeated at sea and lost the Empire of Greece".²¹¹

The example is especially significant by inferring that the Lacedaemonians, at that time very powerful and feared, were defeated at sea and lost the prestigious Greek empire. This example also illustrates the loss of a battle at sea and consequently the defeat of a powerful, feared and prestigious empire, which has a strong meaning for Portugal that at that time had its greatest glories thanks to the maritime activities, the source of their wealth. For the Portuguese history, the events at sea were the most significant, as was the encounter with another powerful empire like the Ottoman. The Ottomans tried to expel the Portuguese from the East especially through battles at sea. As well as the comet's passage upon the Lacedaemonians fleet has a mystical meaning, the comet's passage upon the Ottomans is also of the same nature.

And "back to our history", the Gentiles of the city were greatly scandalized by the "cruelties and inhumanities of the Turks". Many were positioned at the sides, and others were beneath the fortress walls of the Portuguese. After that, the Pasha sent a captain to Chachaya with two thousand men "to calm those people" because it would be better expelling the few people left in the city, which were all frightened and suspicious with the Turks. Those who had remained passed to the opposite side, leaving the city virtually deserted".²¹²

The strategy here is to show the injustice by depicting the Ottomans as a military force fighting against civilians. They massacred and plundered the people of Aden. Portugal enters into history beside the civilians, to protect the people. Thus, the representation of the Turkish injustice and the Divine justice becomes complete with the punishment that comes from the sky. In defense of Aden, the position of the Turks is ratified by divine manifestation that intervened in this World before such excessive cruelty.

²¹¹ Decade V, Book III, Chapter VII, p. 266

²¹² Decade V, Book III, Chapter VII, p. 266

2.6 Mustafa Pasha

In the following excerpt, which tells about Mustafa (Pasha) is made a very serious accusation. According to Couto, Mustafa Pasha acted on your own, with falsehood serves his master, he uses the power entrusted to him for his own benefit and to make wealth. Deceives the Sultan and also deceives the king of Cambay. He takes advantage of the situation of enmity between Ottomans and Portuguese, but is not moved by any commitment to his job, also proves unfaithful to his lord and unscrupulous when dealing with an ally.

Mustafa Pasha knowing that would be required explanations about the death of the the Turk Haidarin by the Turk, he was in a hurry to go to India. With it there were rumors that he intended to do what until then his uncle had not done, occupy the fortress of Camaram, "but his heart had no intention to go to to serve the Turk ", but to save himself and to make fortune in the name of the Sultan and of the King of Cambay, who was in a war with the Portuguese. He also learned, through Khoja Sofar, that that was a fragile kingdom. To deceive the King of Cambay, Mustafa pretended to be with the intention of doing trade.

King Bahadur and "Raez Soleimão" already knew each other for some time. "Soleimão" had brought many gifts and brought hope to the King Bahadur saying that they would expel the Portuguese from India. Reaching Diu, Khoja Sofar knew through King Bahadur that Suleyman Pasha who was dead, that the whole apparatus of him were lost and take off his hope of Portuguese from India was lost. But in this case in which his master was murdered by treason, "which were presumed to be ordered by the Turk, due to the hate he had for him by proclaimed himself Sultan of Cairo, and that he wanted to disguise the way he had in sending an Armada through Haidairin ". However for vengeance of his uncle who killed Mustafa Haidairin and to submit the whole army to his command, Your Highness (King Badu) was able to take advantage of this right."²¹³

²¹³ Decade IV, Book I, Chapter VIII, pp. 48-50

Corruption has always existed and probably will always exist, anywhere and anytime, in every nation, but the concern of the Portuguese when tell us these moments of dishonesty, is put the question as a biological characteristic of the Turks, who naturally were treacherous and unreliable. The tone of the narrative makes us think that the captains of the Ottoman armada acted on their own, like pirates with the flag and Ottoman State's patronage, essentially following their ambition and without any ethical concern.

While the going of Mustafa Reis to India with the support of the Sultan Bahadur was discussed, Mustafa wanted to try to take Aden. Besieged the City with ten ships, and armed with seven hundred Rumes, Arabians and Abexijs²¹⁴. The siege of five months resulted unsuccessful, it was monsoon and and Mustafa lifted the siege because the Portuguese armada used to arrive at this time of the year due to these winds. Went to India, "where he collected the best of the soldiers and the best artillery pieces and lots of ammunition".²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Decade IV, Book I, Chapter VIII, p. 50

²¹⁵ Decade IV, Book I, Chapter VIII, p. 51

CHAPTER THREE

3. EVENTS AND THE PORTUGUESE INTERPRETATION

3.1 Diu

"Shalt see of Diu th' inexpugnable wall,
two sieges braving, while thy sons defend;
there shall their val'orous worth be shown to all
with feats of arms that every feat transcend:
Envy shalt see in Mars majesticall
of Lusian fierceness none shall dare offend
There shall they sight the Moor with voice supreme
before high Heaven false Mahound blaspheme."
Luíz Vaz de Camões (Canto II; 50)

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese conquests developed at high speed in that region of the Indian Ocean. In 1518, a fort was erected in Colombo, the Portuguese involvement in Sri Lanka increased progressively and this evolution of conquests allowed them to take control most of the coastal areas within a short time.

About 1530, they followed towards the north of Malabar and this movement symbolized that Goa had been formally turned into the capital of the Portuguese India. In 1534, Baçaim was captured. Another point of great importance, probably the most important, was the port of Diu, conquered in 1535.

Diu was an important commercial warehouse at the time of the Portuguese's arrival on the Coast of India. This way, from 1513 on, Afonso de Albuquerque tried to establish a factory (trading post), though unsuccessfully. Some attempts of conquest

were undertaken in 1521 by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, and in 1523 and 1531 by D. Nuno da Cunha, being unsuccessful too.

In 1534, Martim Afonso de Sousa started a negotiation with the Sultan Bahadur Shah, obtaining it in exchange for the Portuguese military help rendered against the Grand-Mughal of Delhi that had expelled him of his domains. In 1538, with the reinforcement of a Turkish armada that departed from Egypt, the Gujarati forces under the command of Khoja Sofar, Lord of Cambaya, raised the siege of Diu that was defended by Portuguese troops under the command of António da Silveira. These forces were dispersed with the aid of Martim Afonso de Sousa.

With its repaired and reinforced structure, the city was severely punished in a new siege imposed by a new army of Gujarati, under the command of the same Khoja Sofar, in the summer of 1546. During five months, its defenders resisted under the command of D. João Mascarenhas, receiving some reinforcements and supplies through the sea until 11th November, when a naval reinforcement under the command of D. João de Castro, posteriorly rewarded with the position of fourth Viceroy of India, won the victory in the Portuguese's favor.

The goal of the Portuguese conquests becomes clear if we follow the position of those locations on a map. They knew the enormous commerce of the Sea of Gujarat and for some time dominated it. Other forts were built surrounding the whole Indian Ocean and some else in the East of Africa.²¹⁶

The Portuguese paved a way that enabled them to settle and maintain their hegemony in the region. The following years consolidated them and the benefits of this position overcame the supra-regional scope. This settlement and the consolidation in the South of India enabled them to cope with reasonable tranquility the threat Ottoman in Diu.²¹⁷

D. Manuel had ordered to build a fortress in that city of Diu and when Melique Az refused to give a place for it, it was decided to take it by the force of weapons (as

²¹⁶ Pearson, N. M. *The New Cambridge History of India*, p. 31

²¹⁷ Pelúcia (2007: 194)

usually). Gujarat would be decisive for the success of the State of India and it was necessary to build a fortress in that place, especially to avoid that city of Diu to welcome the Turks, Arabs and Rum that used to go that parts.²¹⁸

Melik Ayaz, until his death in 1522, was the biggest adversary of the Portuguese in Gujarat. Melik Ayaz, the governor of Diu, knew that the settlement of the Portuguese there would have disastrous consequences for the realm of Gujarat and for this reason always refused the proposals of the Portuguese. Melik Ayaz managed to resist the Portuguese because had both military power and influence in the court.²¹⁹

In the first siege of Diu (1538) the Ottomans failed. The first major confrontation with the Portuguese counted on a large contingent of Rum. Such was the ferocity of the fighting that it left a huge number of deaths and the Island of Beth had its name changed to “Isle of the dead”.

3.2 The Isle of the Dead

This episode deserves to be told because is one of the most impressive parts of this narrative. The “Isle of the Dead” also won a special chapter in the Decades. The chapter's title is *“On how the Governor Nuno da Cunha attacked the Isle of Beth and entered into it; and the astonishing case therein succeeded, the reason why was gave the name it has nowadays, the Isle of the Dead”*.

Surto, the governor of that and other islands around, received a message from the Turkish Captain in which he demanded the island to be left for the Turks. The governor of that island responded with surprise to the message; he did not understand what kind of interests could have the Turks in a small island. In the documentation analyzed, there is no explanation about the reason why the Turks would be interested in it. They were going to the fortress of Diu with a huge and potent armada, and the

²¹⁸ Decade III, Book IV, Chapter VII, p. 477

²¹⁹ Pearson, N. M. The New Cambridge History of India, p. 51

fact that his army wanted to get involved with a “thing small as that island”²²⁰ sounded incomprehensible to Surto, the mighty captain.

According to what Diogo do Couto tell us, we do not know if the Turks composed part of the population of the island or all of it, and they became very worried with the arrival of the Portuguese. “The Turks who lived in that island were forced to enter the fortress, thus all were left with no other option but to die in its defense”. The defeat of the Portuguese was unavoidable, given the disproportion between the forces of the island and of the invaders. In order not to leave the women, the children and the goods as booty for the Portuguese, the chronicler explains that the Captain gathered all the Moors and, the “devil bringing to him a remedy for memory”, made a speech that “had decided the future of all therein present”.

He said that, not finding any other solution nor agreement in the negotiation, any other option was left but to die with honor; it was preferable dying this way than living ashamed. After trying a few ways to save the women, the children and the inhabitants - what he wished most but had not the chance of making- he concluded that the most honorable was everybody to die in the defense of the fortress thus remaining as a rare example for the world. For their women, children and farms not to stay in the hands of the Portuguese, it was preferable to “deliver them to the fire”, “and afterwards with the hatred of this deepest sorrow, and with the most intense anger of this cruelty”, face their enemies to revenge the inhumanity that they felt compelled to commit.²²¹

Everybody accepted the advice and went out with rage from there, headed for home and dug their “cruel swords” into their innocent children and women who were resting, “opening the bowels with any pity”, what everybody made at the same time, “not letting safe any father, mother, son or brother”; not even a person of the family was left out. They were cruel without getting affected “with the child’s crying”, “nor with the tears and pious lamentations of the dear and beloved wife”. At the end of this “bloody and cruel spectacle”, they gathered their goods, silver, gold, spices and the richest furniture, made a big pile in a terrain of the fortress, added as much wood and

²²⁰ Decade IV, Book VII, Chapter III, p. 130

²²¹ Decade IV, Book VII, Chapter II, pp. 134-135

straw as they could and set fire. Then they took the corpses of the women, children and family members, “which were still pulsing” and still soaked with warm blood, and launched them into the flames, “imitating the brutal feat of the ancient Numantians”.²²²

After that “barbaric fire”, about seven hundred men assembled went to the mosque, and therein “they made vows to Mafamede wishing everybody die to avenge [the innocents]”. After the group prayed, they shaved their heads and became all bald, “which is a superstition used by those who despise the life and offer themselves to death”.²²³

Due to this cruelty done with their own wives and children, the Island was called “Isle of Deads”. In contrast, if so many people between Moors and Turks died, Couto says that only seventeen Portuguese lost their lives in this episode. After killing all the Turks and Moors, they entered the fortress to take the booty and found nothing more than the ashes of all the wealth, women and children of the island, they only could take advantage of some Moorish weapons.²²⁴

3.3 The First Siege of Diu (1538)²²⁵

We avoided enter in military history and we still want to stay far from this matter. It means that what is important here is to pay attention on the personages and their characteristics, and in how they had been presented. To be deep in the specific question about this battle and to find more about the historical context, we recommend the reader to check some works that can be found in our bibliography.

²²² Decade IV, Book VII, Chapter III, p. 135

²²³ Decade IV, Book VII, Chapter III, p. 136

²²⁴ Decade IV, Book VII, Chapter IV, p. 139

²²⁵ Rich information on this important siege in the Portuguese, Ottoman and Indian history, can be found in Lopo de Sousa Coutinho, *O primeiro cerco de Diu*, prefácio de Luís de Albuquerque, Edições Alfa, Biblioteca da Expansão Portuguesa, 41, Lisboa, 1989 (*O Primeiro Cerco de Diu*, prefaced by Luis Albuquerque, Alfa Editions, Library of Portuguese Expansion, 41, Lisbon, 1989).

When Dom João III authorized the construction of the fortress in the city of Diu, he understood that this would be the only way to defend that against "the wrath of the proud and arrogant Turks"²²⁶. It was already known long ago that the Turkish armada was a threat; the Portuguese awaited their arrival, knowing that at some point they would reach Diu. It was an armada that impressed everyone. The Portuguese said that the Ottoman fleet was heavily equipped with artillery and caused fear. The far superior number of fighters made the threat even more daunting.

“...but for sorrow and astonishment of the Moors of the City, who waited for the Turks as the saviors of their subjection put by the Portuguese, what was soon realized in the next day was that none of the Moors from Diu went to the Armada to visit the Turk, only Khoja Sofar - as he was a man who grown among them and came with them to India - he went to the galley to congratulate Suleyman Pasha for his arrival”²²⁷

The Portuguese who held the speech of being good and fair employers, but whose fame seems to be more like oppressors that did not skimp cruelty, give us a "proof" of this. The documentation does not fail to mention that they are righteous and good in business. They gain even the sympathy of the Moors, who at first were their enemies. Such is the sympathy for the Portuguese that the Ottomans, who were a promise of freedom for the Moors, become "troublemakers". Despite the Moors shared the same faith of the Ottomans, time has shown them that the Portuguese (i.e. Christians) were fairer and better to live with, especially in this case, in which an old and unpleasant acquaintance reappears, the so-called and infamous Suleyman Pasha. The arrival of the Ottomans in Diu had not encouraged the Moors, on the contrary, brought disorder to the life in the city. A more reasonable interpretation would suspect that a rebellion against the Portuguese by expressing support or enthusiasm with the arrival of a "rescuer" would be an act of suicide. This case is also a sample of what the Portuguese had always been telling about themselves and about their relationships with other people who accepted the friendship of *El Rei* (the King). It is the "proof" that, by welcoming and by accepting the Portuguese under the terms and conditions required by them, the locations would develop and would enjoy economic prosperity.

²²⁶ Decade V, Book I, Chapter II, p. 16

²²⁷ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter VII, p. 639

Everything that is read in the Portuguese chronicles is "proved"; there are no wasted or thrown at random adjectives in any context.

Antonio da Silveira received a letter from Suleyman Pasha and he replied it "without consulting the opinion of the others". Suleyman Pasha was "unfair on his word" and he knew that, for this reason he could safely answer it with no need to consult the opinion of the others, "because the Turks have never maintained their faith, nor their word".

The threats that Suleyman made did not bother the Portuguese captain: "may he unload as many adders as he wants to". To characterize the Portuguese as fearless men of war, they show themselves as accustomed to this kind of situation, "and to defend even the smaller stone of the fortress they would all die"²²⁸ if necessary, but would not make any agreement with Suleyman Pasha.

Before the absence of agreement between the parties, it happened the first battle for the conquest of Diu by the Ottomans. Many dead between the Turks were counted, although they were "so brave men". A lot of ammunition was spent, many ships were lost, and before the failure of the Portuguese, the sails were raised "at the fifth of November in the year 1538".²²⁹ It is important to highlight that the Turkish army was composed of "so brave men", because despite that, the Portuguese were superior and defeated them. It is also important to say that lot of ammunition was spent, what may mean that there was a misuse of a material abundantly available and lots of resources had to be used due to the Portuguese resistance; this puts the enemy in a qualification of bad users of resources. Lastly, it is mentioned that many ships were lost to conclude that the attackers had planned and taken the initiative, but did not have such claw of the Portuguese to defend the fortress.

We add the outcome in which the hand of God is present:

Having recounted about the coming of the Rums to India, the great cruelties and tyrannies never seen before, which Suleyman Pasha, his captain, used against the men of the same law

²²⁸ Decade IV, Book X, Chapter IX, p. 658

²²⁹ Decade V, Book X, Chapter XVII, p. 715

that was his law, and against vassals of the same Lord who was his Lord, from whom he had received no injury, but service and hospitality; it seemed to us that in becoming an example for those men who heard these feats, one should also mention how it ended, in order to be known that the Divine Justice never forget the punishment owed the wicked...²³⁰

The Turkish Sultan summoned Suleyman Pasha, who could not expect anything else but paying with his own life for what happened, so he committed suicide with the support of a poison and the Turkish Sultan ordered to collect his goods. Fair words about the end of Suleyman Pasha are added: a man who confiscated the wealth of many people through numerous robberies also had his wealth confiscated at the end. The hand of God, the Divine Justice, which is invisible to the eyes of all ordinary human beings, is evident and can be registered. The chronicle brings the sacred into the mundane, in order to make the historical content and the prediction of events harmonic, an essential element to unify the Portuguese mission with the Christian mission, as well as unify the Portuguese history with a prophetic cycle, consisting in another chapter with educational purposes, a notorious characteristic of these works.

...and what he took away from others, such as States, duties and honor, within one hour he found himself deprived of the honor and of the greatness of his profession; he who was the killer of so many innocent men, he was the killer and torturer of himself.²³¹

3.4 Time of “peace”

Between the two sieges of Diu, Portuguese and Ottomans signed a peace agreement. While new preparation was being made to impose a new siege upon the Portuguese, some rumors arrived about what was happening around Diu, but this movement of troops and artillery attempted to be justified with a war against the king of Patane, moreover, an embassy was sent to Goa to strengthen the peace agreement.²³²

²³⁰ Decadd IV, Book X, Chapter XVIII, p. 717

²³¹ Decade V, Book X, Chapter XVIII, p. 718

²³² Roger Lee Pessoa de Jesus (2012: 38)

This agreement was violated by the Ottoman vassals. We will not analyze the peace treaty, nor the details of that violation, we will focus only on how the complaints were made. In the chronicle in which "The Turk" apologizes for the misunderstanding, he claimed not to know of the incident, said it had nothing to do with it and that was certainly a party who had acted on their own and would investigate the case to find the guilty for disturbing the peace, and as soon as they were found, would be punished because he, "the Turk", "was not there to another thing but to keep the old friendship with the Portuguese", so ordered by Khoja Sofar. "He soon commanded to launch auctions and commanded them to sell to the Portuguese all things as before, frank and liberally, under penalty of death" for whom do not obey that order.

I believe that what has been presented here, any reader would be filled with doubts and mistrust. D. João Mascarenhas did not think differently, because what it meant for the Turks and the Portuguese "to preserve the old friendship of the Portuguese?" Mascarenhas, "he saw very well that they were all inventions", but pretended to believe in such words while commanded to buy foodstuff, firewood, wood and anything else they could find and could acquire. Preparations for a new siege did not go unnoticed by the Portuguese.²³³ It was perfectly clear that they were in the midst of a conflict; it was quite clear that both parties were planning something and gaining time, an atmosphere of impending conflict seemed undeniable. The spies of the court arriving, the Portuguese were sure they should prepare themselves for the worst, for a new attack on Diu by the Turks. "The spies of the Court came and stated that in the City of Champanel such a powerful army of people artillery and ammunition were assembled, which amazed the world, and showed clearly to be against that fortress of Diu".²³⁴

²³³ Roger Lee Pessoa de Jesus (2012: 38)

²³⁴ Decade VI, Book I, Chapter VI, p. 45

3.5 The Second Siege of Diu (1546)²³⁵

Khoja Sofar (Kwaja-Safar), a merchant and the lord of Surrate, captained the second siege of the Portuguese fortress of Diu, in 1546. This event of great importance for the history of the state of India is also a chapter of the history of the Islamic and the Ottoman people. It was the last attempt to retake the fortress of Diu, given back to the Portuguese in 1535. Diu was a port of great strategic importance and, until the port was given to the Portuguese, it belonged to the areas of the Sultanate of Gujarat, which had emerged from the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Turks, Iranians and Arabs of Abyssinia essentially formed the Gujarati military corps.²³⁶ Melique Az counted on people such as the "Moors, Arabians, Turks, Persians and Rum, which naturally nourished a hatred against us for the capture of that navigation", which are also described as "spirited men, and very nifty on the subjects of the war" and, above all, very offended by the presence of the Portuguese Armada.²³⁷

The Governor Nuno da Cunha knew the risk of an attack by the Turks, because the probability of that happening was quite large. Therefore, he left to Goa bringing all the good people with him and leaving in Diu only António da Silveira and six hundred men, of whom four hundred were poorly armed and the remaining two hundred were not in conditions to fight.

The siege of the Portuguese fortress of Diu was started by local forces of Cambaya and under the leadership of Khoja Sofar (a foreign merchant established in Gujarat) and the Portuguese situation was worsened by the arrival of the Ottoman reinforcements led by Suleyman Pasha, sent by the order of Sultan Suleyman of Constantinople. The Ottoman intervention in Diu was requested by Sultan Bahadur,

²³⁵ A good dissertation that can offer a broader view of the subject and emphasizing the political and military aspects written by Roger Lee is the Person of Jesus is *O Segundo Cerco de Diu (1546): Estudo de História Política e Militar, Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade de Coimbra, 2012.*

²³⁶ Geneviève Bouchon – "Un monde qui change" in Claude Markovitz (dir.) – *Histoire de l'Inde Moderne, 1480-1950.* Paris: Fayard, 1994, p. 44.

²³⁷ Decade III, Book IV, Chapter VI, p. 471

after the granting of Diu to the Portuguese. After the thirties, the Ottomans began to permanently keep a powerful navy in Suez, seeking the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Indian and reestablishing that very profitable trade route used by Muslims for so long.²³⁸

The Ottomans were led to the Indian Ocean after the construction of the fortress of Diu and the death of Sultan Bahadur. The establishment and the stay of the Portuguese in Diu took the spice trade through the Red Sea from the hands of the Turks and the Venetians, what means that the retaking of this trade depended on the retaking of the control by Muslims.²³⁹

Antônio da Silveira in charge of defending Diu and started to reinforce the Fortress to prevent themselves, in case if an attack really occurred. Yes, it occurred. The Portuguese managed to resist from September to November. The Turks abandoned the siege when they learned that the Armada of Garcia de Noronha was coming to rescue (belatedly) the besieged. The wall was ruined, the Portuguese were exhausted and only about forty men of war remained²⁴⁰, but they were still resisting. We can say that the Ottoman expedition was not a complete failure because, at the end, they managed to maintain the control of the Red Sea.

The defeat of the Ottoman and Gujarati coalition in the first siege in 1538, showed the difficulty in expelling the Portuguese from Diu. A ground attack in mass with a large numerical advantage was not enough, it was needed a strategy for the type of geography of that maritime region. A strategic of diplomatic character that deserves to be brought up is the attempt of Cambaya to create conflicts in all the realms where there were a Portuguese fortresses. A set of embassies was sent to several potentates neighbors, with the intention not to allow the Portuguese assemble and help each other along the siege of Diu, each having their own problems, sieges and rebellions to solve

²³⁸ Roger Lee de Jesus (2012: 32)

²³⁹ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1987: 120)

²⁴⁰ Roger Lee de Jesus (2012: 33)

all along the Indian coast²⁴¹. The plan of the Sultan of Gujarat failed, Zamorin did not joined, perhaps for not trusting the plan or the possibility of winning the Portuguese.

Khoja Sofar was the main organizer of the siege, hired mercenaries and used much of his own wealth to finance the war. Many mercenaries were expert people, for example, there were experienced fighters who participated in the siege of Rhodes and five engineers brought from Constantinople. Foreigners hired as mercenaries were usually specialists in artillery.²⁴²

Khoja Sofar had three vessels lost at sea, captured by the Portuguese before they reached their destination. In the course of the war, the Portuguese were capable of resisting the siege. Khoja Sofar saw much of his investment sinking into the sea, and many of his men falling, before he himself dropped dead in battle, victim of a stray artillery fire. "And seeing the big machine in which he based his hopes were scorched and undone, he was staring not only because had lost a very great quantity of ammunition, and many heavy artillery", but these artillery pieces were lost and their plans to destroy the fortress shooting from the sea sank together. Above all, he felt sorry for "the Turks, which he estimated so much", with whose efforts these soldiers expected to finally end this siege successfully, "and throw off the Portuguese from that island".

And bursting into blasphemies, said bad to his fortune; and then vowed to Mafamede not getting up that fortress before demolish it and take it. But very different was the thought of the Captain of it, and most of all, because they spent the whole night dancing revelries, interpreting the principle of victory as a signal of always achieving it against those enemies".²⁴³

The devastated and furious enemy of the Portuguese is celebrated with dancing and revelries. The victory to that point is a good omen that a final victory would be achieved and the most important message is that the victory will "always" occur "against those enemies". Khoja Sofar seems to have started without much luck, soon received the news of the destruction of another Armada on another coast. The

²⁴¹ Ibid., 40

²⁴² Ibid., 42

²⁴³ Decade VI, Book I, Chapter VIII, p. 67

Portuguese said he was beside himself and that he had lost his mind, “because he feared a bad end for that business”.

3.9 The Wall

Part of the siege forces were behind a wall built about 200 meters from the Portuguese fortress. Behind this wall, there was a series of entrenched alleyways forming a labyrinth. The Ottomans hired to join the battle brought this system. The road went towards the camp. The work took two months to reach the moat of the fortress.²⁴⁴

Khoja Sofar ordered to build the wall “in a hurry”. He put a large number of workers to carry out this task. They said that this wall "was fifteen feet wide." These workers rose the wall under great difficulty, "because of our artillery and arquebusary that killed many of them." The work on this wall did not cease, day and night opened paths to the ground, "intricate and in spiral" for the besieging army to approach the fortress protecting themselves from the shots. "Thereby they made a factory of streets, alleyways and crossroads, which seemed a labyrinth of Crete", but "not so many deaths were avoided", because the Portuguese seemed to have a great firepower and even at night, they tore down the work "where they intuited it", "but with all, as the officers were so many, the wall was growing, and rising with it some strong bulwarks with low embrasures in which Khoja Sofar ordered to place ballistics, lions and other thick pieces with which he intended to attack the fortress”²⁴⁵

While the Portuguese were awaiting for reinforcements, the captains of Bassein and Chaul sent men and people to help the besieged, but Khoja Sofar intercepted these ships, "two of them eventually fell into enemy hands". The Portuguese who came with it "fought very valiantly and sold their lives very well, (because everybody preferred

²⁴⁴ Roger Lee Pessoa de Jesus (2012: 43)

²⁴⁵ Decade VI, Book I, Chapter IX, pp. 69-70

to lose than getting captives) were killed and shattered”²⁴⁶. We have already seen that this is a current discourse: the Portuguese do not surrender, finding preferable losing their lives with honor to living dishonored and captive of the infidels. The cruel manner of death imposed by the rude enemies of the Portuguese is likewise barbaric and should always be described; certainly, at the time of the composition of the chronicles, it had impact as much as nowadays.

Khoja Sofar advises the Portuguese to surrender and hand over the fortress. Not without some humor, Couto writes that the answer of the Captain was "the Portuguese do not usually hand over an old wall". No one would surrender, if the Turks wanted the fortress, should kill all the Portuguese before, because that fortress could still defend against "the whole power of the Turk", and especially on that occasion, would not surrender to a "so small and weak, as was the d'ElRey (the King) of Cambaya", and that believed God much sooner would "search them in their places and break their pride”.²⁴⁷

3.10 Assault upon the Fortress

The next day at dawn, the whole army of the Moors were around the fortress "with all its insignia and unfurled flags, playing many instruments, giving all so great and amazing screams and roars, that this barbaric apparatus was able to rise and cause fear to many thousand thousands of healthy and insolent knights". All the symbolism of the flags and insignias, the excitement of the music and the screams of the besieging army always impressed and terrorized the Europeans, who had no such custom as a standard. Couto limits himself to consider as barbarism the way those people coped with the military task. The effect of this, as it was exactly what expected to occur, was to intimidate and frighten the enemy. Let us imagine such a scenario: a fort besieged by land and sea, on a small peninsula with a great human amount, approximately

²⁴⁶ Decade VI, Book I, Chapter IX, p. 73

²⁴⁷ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 104

twenty thousand soldiers shouting, marching, attacking by land and sea, building tunnels, shooting flaming arrows among many other things. He says thousands of men in good physical and mental condition would be terrified by the scene of early morning, with that huge army making a tremendous noise, but those few Portuguese "which were nothing more than two hundred", so wounded, battered, tired, and so exhausted by never being able to distance themselves from their weapons, "nor sleep a full hour", these were not intimidated!

“before all a new fury growing on them, what they saw seemed little, they stood in their seats waiting for the enemy, who came with it swooping with the bulwark São João with so many crashes, it seemed that the world was melting”²⁴⁸

From a war, we can not expect more than violence and perhaps some noble deeds - for example the rescue of people - that thanks to this violence, opportunely emerge. The bravery lies with the writers and historians, is the rage and fear what the noble and non-nobles have, is a struggle for survival as neither the animal world knows.

“... The destruction up falling upon that shoal was great, which was piled at the bottom of the bulwark, making on them such a damage that could soften other hearts, which were not as barbaric and cruel like those of their Captains, who could not feel anything given so many of theirs he had seen smashed, burned and with open bowels”²⁴⁹.

Especially close to the bulwarks, "the cruelty increased so much". As the enemy approached, it seemed to increase the hope of invading the fortress, and "instead of ten who was killed, twenty more were coming out". The enemies that reached the tops of the fortification was thrown down: "[they] fell and there remained, with no other to be put in his place”²⁵⁰.

Diu is perhaps the best well documented and probably the most celebrated Portuguese province in Asia. The men who were in Diu those years when the two sieges were laid are Portuguese heroes. Couto regrets that, by oversight, the names of

²⁴⁸ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 105

²⁴⁹ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 107

²⁵⁰ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 109

those soldiers who participated in this battle were wiped, and once again says that each of them could inspire at least one great chapter²⁵¹. The *Decades* is rather a work to celebrate than to record the mishaps and complaints against the Portuguese. For this purpose, other articles were written.²⁵²

Couto pays tribute to the men who died in defense of the fort and whose identities were buried with them:

“And supposing that the Portuguese misery, of which we complained so recently, let ye forgotten and erased; ye, Oh valiant soldiers, who enhanced the name of the Portuguese to the stars in this siege, and through the strength of your arms ye made them to earn an eternal name, no one can take the name of ye who died here, defending the honor of your God and of your King; another larger and safer glory that you all will be enjoying, and where your names will be so patent and known among the courtiers of heaven, and your feats will be illustrated with other titles even greater, which all from earth could give ye (i.e. the martyrs of Christ), ye do not be jealous of anything”.²⁵³

If the Portuguese, with this battle, by giving their lives to defend the fortress of Diu, if they deserved an eternal name, if they were there defending the honor of Christianity, if they were there for the sake of God, if they will be dignified with such an honor and will be known among the courtiers in heaven, and if their deaths means they will die as martyrs, then it is not possible to conclude another thing but that this battle illustrate something bigger and wider: illustrates simply the battle between good and evil. It is an episode in Earth that has a meaning much beyond the earthly and worldly life. The meaning transcends the material level and the logic of this kind of thinking is clear! Good does not fight against good; it can only fight against evil. Evil, as much as it can be noted, is the Islam, especially figured by people of the Ottoman Empire and related to them.

At the time of the writing of this tribute, "already sixty Portuguese dead" were counted, whose names could not be identified. This shows that these men were not noble, were not part of elite, they were simple Portuguese men, as most of them.

²⁵¹ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 110

²⁵² O Soldado Prático; Primor e Honra da Vida Soldadesca no Estado da Índia

²⁵³ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 111

However, this does not preclude the suggestion that they deserved to be honored. The two sieges of Diu, of which the Portuguese were victorious, were able to raise simple men to the status of national heroes and martyrs of Christ. It looks like a nice incentive to animate new volunteers to provide such service! The synthesis of bravery is found in this other logical game where, among all those who deserve to be honored, they are those who "received major damage", because they "offered themselves to the greatest dangers and to the same death".²⁵⁴

3.11 Rumeção

Rumeção (Rumi Khan), with the permission of the sultan, took command of the siege after the death of his father, Khoja Sofar (Khawaja Safar). This change greatly affected the morale of the soldiers, as reproduced in agreement with the sources used by Roger Lee de Jesus in his theses.²⁵⁵ The command of such an operation is of undeniable importance. Despite *Decades of Asia* present a captain as Khoja Sofar as a weak man (or insufficiently strong to face the Portuguese), possibly he was a good commander and well versed in land and sea area. Obviously for being the sponsor of the war, with his death was necessary to reaffirm the hiring and payment of the mercenaries. Given this difficulty Rumeção took command of the siege and continued it to the final outcome.

This change of command and action of the besiegers was felt by the Portuguese, who start considering the captain Rumeção as discouraged from seeing "how badly the things of that siege were happening", "seemed to him that Mafamede was angry with him" because he had a great power at hand while the Portuguese had very little, besides being a defendant in a fortress "razed to the ground". In this type of writing history in the sixteenth century, as well as in its literature, the religion permeates all the situations. Here, the Prophet Muhammad is one of the chess players, and it seems that

²⁵⁴ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter V, pp. 112-114

²⁵⁵ Roger Lee de Jesus (2012: 43)

he punishes its "pieces". About Rumeção, the Portuguese insinuate that the Turks were being punished for carrying "sins committed against his Prophet". Shortly before, we saw that before some failures, Khoja Zophar had uttered some evil speaking against the Prophet of Islam, and behold, here again Couto makes use of his formula to explain successes and failures, and put back the Muslims as a people that fail, does not respect, and therefore suffer punishment. Of course that who punishes is who has the power to discipline, who has the knowledge, who has the truth. In an attempt to encourage his army, "commanded great processions at night, leaving the city on a pilgrimage to the mosques of the island, with all the army put in order, with large and beautiful fixtures, and with many cries and voices calling success to Mafamede".²⁵⁶

In a night of truce, Rameção went with the army to clamor for divine intervention, and "entering the mosques, made great prayers and superstitions, coming out, and coming in, went around many times, with loud screams and tears ...", Couto depicts this situation in a Christian manner and similarly considers these rites "as at the time of a general and contagious disease" in which "Christians in their processions, singing their litanies throughout the City" and at a certain point "the general and pious voice of all raises, crying for God's mercy with many tears and groans".²⁵⁷

This moment has also a very rich and meaningful symbolism. The divine intervention is the only thing that could help those men. A Christian procession is an act of devotion that aims to ask for divine intervention in a certain situation. If we believe the description of Couto, in which cries rose asking for "mercy of God with many tears and groans," we accept that the army, though powerful, was in despair. If God could not save them, they themselves would not have a very happy end.

At sunrise of the following day, "the fortress arose completely besieged", with the entire enemy concentrating their power, positioned with weapons and many unfurled flags, "and among all, there was one very big in which was painted the figure of Mafamede, as ugly and awful as his works". They seemed to be in a decisive moment and believed that they would achieve victory in that moment, they "were

²⁵⁶ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter V, p. 114

²⁵⁷ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter V, p. 115

considering this day as a great relic". They were playing the instruments of war "with sound and bang so confused and sad that seemed an annunciation of the doomsday", "therewith the hubbub, screams and shrieks of those barbarians represented the sad condemned to eternal punishment in their lamentations and blasphemies".²⁵⁸

With huge military power, and appealing for prayers, Rumeção still failed to take the fortress. For this reason he was "very embarrassed" and the King of Cambay, "whom every day was told what was happening", was "even more than he". The fortress was already in the great state of destruction, "all devastated", practically razed to the ground "and with so little and tired people". This small army was marked in history as the winner of "such great victories" for having "killed two great captains and more than two thousand men".

The King of Cambaya then being furious ordered to rebuke Rumeção "and all the Captains" by the "weakness and cowardice which were in them". They decided so a last attack in which "determined to use all the rest of the power and take the fortress" or "die all upon their bulwarks".²⁵⁹ Many soldiers of the Islamic army managed to invade the fortress and climb the ramparts. With the presence of the enemy in the fort, the Portuguese began to retreat "with much order and enter the fortress without losing even one, leaving near three hundred deads of the enemy side."²⁶⁰

Another morning, the enemy appeared besieging the fortress again "with their flags furled", this time with a new flag "in which the figure of Mafamede was, so ugly and misshapen that caused fear". They continue with the usual disrespectful description: "he had the hair (very long and spread) over the face and back, and with this dreadful vision, to which everyone prayed, they headed to the fortress, playing all the instruments, giving such loud screams that deafened the world". "The Rum and the Turks" came first and began to climb the walls",²⁶¹ "with that barbarian determination".

"(...) as it was seen at the bottom of the stronghold, where so many enemies were lying, that for others to arrive, they had to go over the corpses, which were still pulsing, and wallowing

²⁵⁸ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter V, p. 117

²⁵⁹ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter VII, p. 135

²⁶⁰ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter VII, p. 136

²⁶¹ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter VII, p. 137

in their own blood with a deathly agony. The voices, the cries, bawling everywhere (because everywhere one fought) were a very horrible and hideous thing"²⁶²

There were many wounded and burned,²⁶³ "the cruelty was great, the shouts, the screams, the bangs and the barbaric hubbub of Turks and Moors were all of a feature that caused fear".²⁶⁴ While we read it and the scenes of war horrify us, as well as the violence and sadness that this deadly competition among men is, the chronicler seems horrified not with the misfortunes of the battle, but with this infernal scene of Turks and Moors attacking "with feature that caused fear"; what seemed more terrible were the "voices, the cries and roars" of Muslims. The fact that they were trampling (and not helping) their dying companions prostrated on the ground, brutalizes much more the moment and the enemies. Couto does not say that among the Portuguese it would be different, but it is not necessary, because the horror felt when one reads about these battles makes any reader of the sixteenth century to be led to an interpretation which has reference in the medieval Christian imagery, which is filled with demons and infernal things, an unlimited cruelty and a final war between good and evil between humans and creatures.

That was a truculent battle, in which the Ottomans attacked heavily and the Portuguese defended themselves as best they could. To some extent, the chronicler begins to register with pride the Lusitanian effort and, before the success of the defenders, describes the frustrated perception of the Turks and the Gujarati, which "by seeing the damage they received in that first sample, they well understood how much would cost that business".

The Turks had the idea of building a machine "on a large barge, which was in the city", and such machine would be full of "poisonous material". The plan of the Ottoman captain was to bring and make that machine to lean on the Castle, where they would set it on fire "so with the smoke our men would be asphyxiated, and lose their

²⁶² Decade VI, Book II, Chapter VII, p. 138

²⁶³ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter VII, p. 140

²⁶⁴ Decade VI, Book II, Chapter X, p. 164

senses". With this done, the Turks might invade the fortress under assault and easily enter it.²⁶⁵

Khoja Sofar immediately ordered this machine of poisonous materials to be built on the barge, "which they fixed with thick beams and erected in the middle of it a so disgusting tower filled with saltpeter, sulfur, manure, dung and other smelly junk"²⁶⁶

As soon as it was erected, this "diabolical" machine was viewed from the Portuguese fortress. Antonio da Silveira soon understood what that gun was to, and how much dangerous it was, he determined that it should be burned before its goal could be reached, i.e., before the Turks set fire on it next to the castle. For this mission, Francisco de Gouvea was commissioned, "for being a man capable to all business", together with some soldiers he had selected, including some noblemen and some knights, and during the night they departed in two fustas.

(...) in the beginning of the slumber and under the flood, he left along the hull, been the most silent possible to avoid being perceived by the enemy (...), and by the many guards present all over the place; and soon it began to rain over the fustas (...), and with such an earthquake and such a bang, that it seemed the land and the sea would end in thunder and lightning²⁶⁷

Francisco Gouveia, "without being astonished by anything", started passing between all the *carrancas* to reach the barge where the poisonous machine was on, commanding to set fire to it as soon as they managed to reach the barge. Inside it, "some guard Moors did not realize our men because they fell asleep, only realizing it when the fire was already set, and lying down to the sea it passed to the land. So much that the fire encountered that smelly material, began to burn with such bravery that it seemed the world was being consumed in flames, what was watched by the ours with great joy and excitement, and with much more heartache and grief by the enemies"²⁶⁸.

²⁶⁵ Decade V, Book III, Chapter X, p. 290

²⁶⁶ Decade V, Book III, Chapter X, p. 291

²⁶⁷ Decade V, Book III, Chapter X, p. 291

²⁶⁸ Decade V, Book III, Chapter X, p. 292

Francisco de Gouvea, "as he was a Gentleman and punctual", remained under the rain all the time necessary to make sure that the whole barge was consumed by fire.

... being everything consumed, our men retreated to the fortress, where they were very well welcomed by everybody²⁶⁹

Being the difference in the number of men in each army so big (some say that they were 600 men at the Portuguese side and 22 000 men at the Ottoman side), it is possible that, to defend one's life and if men do not lose their hope, they could do things that would not be able to do under normal conditions. If that scene really occurred, it is possible that the Turks were "astonished to see the slashing damage that only two men had done", not just in any one enemy, but in "the best and most well-chosen people among the Janissaries of the Turkish Guard".

The fact that the Janissaries were the best people of the Turkish guard enhances even more our two anonymous heroes and at the same time intends to say that not even the best Turks were enough to defeat the Portuguese when they achieve that state of mind. The Janissaries, whose superb coming of the fame they enjoyed as an elite troop, were astonishing, tells us the chronicler, because not even "all the people who were in the big fortress" would be capable of doing like these two men who were defending the entrance from which the attackers were trying to invade. The Turks were "speechless and surprised". These two men also caught the attention of part of the army and of the Turks who "were with their eyes upon all the things that the two men were doing". The scene ends with a deep sorrow of the Turks that retreated to their trenches, "completely confused and shattered by the two men alone".²⁷⁰

The resistance of the Portuguese in the first and the smallest of the fortresses of Diu became worrisome to such a point that "(...) the Turks might have to grant everything, only mattering for them to have the Castle at their hands", as if they could not stand anymore the death toll at their army. "For the many people lost in the siege", they wanted to negotiate with the defenders, and once again the chronicler makes a

²⁶⁹ Decade V, Book III, Chapter X, p. 292

²⁷⁰ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter II, p. 314

generalization about "Turks and Moors", who should be by nature "cheats and liars, deserving great caution against them".²⁷¹

3.12 The six martyrs of Christ

After great insistence and after losing many soldiers, the Portuguese resistance gave up, the Janissaries "rose up with a loud bang" and came upon "a flag of Christ", which was still hoisted over the castle, and laid it on the ground, "putting instead of this a big red flag with the insignia of the Grand Turk".

The ours who were still in the Castle, by seeing that contempt made to the insignia of our Redemption, moved by the honor of their religion, came in six men led by João Pires, a very gentleman over his sixties, and attacked the Turks like crazies, and João Pires by carrying the flag of Christ at hand put it back in its place and pulled down the Turkish [flag]; [the offended Turks] started to injure the six [Portuguese], and then with a great animus (...) in a very unequal fight, the Portuguese insisted to have their flag in the place from where it was took of (...)²⁷²

The symbolic power in the Portuguese narrative is very strong and always present, which gives, in addition to an esthetic beauty, a touching narrative for the reader. This attitude of the men that face a whole army and could not see more than a flag in front of them and offer themselves to the labor, even though their last, to put back the flag that is no mere piece of cloth, is the symbol of the Redemption of the Christians. Every attitude of great risk makes sacred those who offer their lives. There is no man more noble and gentle than the martyr, because beyond his nobility, he has holiness and giving his own life fills him with the honor and loyalty of his greatest Lord, i.e. for Christians, the Christ.

The heroism does not stop there, three other times they managed to put the Christian flag back into its place, and followed "doing wonders on weapons", while fighting without forgetting "that great zeal for the honor of God, the remarkable", and

²⁷¹ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 324

²⁷² Decade V, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 324

those six men put themselves against so many that there was no aid possible for them, they were certain about that, the Portuguese walked “among the Turks like brave lions (about what they themselves were amazed of)”.²⁷³

Once these six combatants, the "hardworking Knights", were killed, the Turkish flag was placed and was not removed anymore. The Moors were astounded by what they saw; they took the corpses of those knights, the "Martyrs of Christ", and threw them from the Tower into the sea.

“Wonderful thing! God, willing to show how much that great love and zeal in His honor was accepted before Him, in the same instant that the corpses touched the water, the sea held back its course, going up with great fury and soon it turned down with another such [fury], and carried that corpses together until delivering it to the entrance of the hull; and after it had gathered them in this safe place, the tide turned to continue its ordinary course”.²⁷⁴

The Turks, by seeing the great strength with which the Portuguese defended the fort, "began to lose their dignity and their pride with which they arrived there". When Couto writes that the soldiers arrived with great pride, he means basically two things: Firstly, the Portuguese were there for the cause of God, and therefore obtained a lot of divine help, miracles in their favor; secondly, the quality of the men who were there, many nobles and knights, was divinely inspired and their spirit and morale were bolstered by their cause, unlike their opponents who arrived confident but without a cause inspired by such nobility and faith. The plans of the Turks "left them upside down; because those in the [fortress], as more enemies arose, the more they increased their spirits, their forces and their courage".²⁷⁵

The Turks were climbing the stronghold of Gaspar de Sousa with great determination. Some of them climbed through the cracks of the walls and others by the debris, until they reached a certain point where the Portuguese started to attack them from above, thus the defenders were doing what they could, achieving great success. The Turkish captains saw what was happening and had that stronghold taken, ordering the Janissaries with white weapons to take the lead. "Ashamed" of seeing so

²⁷³ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 325

²⁷⁴ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 326

²⁷⁵ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter IV, p. 341

many of their men made in pieces, disfavoring the death, they went to encounter it at the door, fighting a bloody battle, in which those in the stronghold found themselves in great risk and having a hard time.²⁷⁶

Gaspar de Sousa was killed, the Turks cut off his head, and his feet, and his hands, and threw the trunk of the body on the beach, that is how the Turks managed to avenge the great damage they received from the Portuguese, they put his head on a pike, and took it erected throughout the army.²⁷⁷

4.13 João da Nova

At nightfall, the body of Gaspar de Sousa was collected by his men to give him a "much honored burial" and "with many tears of everybody". Among many dead and sick, the relief of Goa was late and everyone complained about "starting to feel the lack of all things" also awaiting for rescue from the strongholds of Bassein and Chaul. Couto tells us that everyone feared the Turks, who had caused such a fear and mistrust "in some men". In addition to the danger and fear of being caught, the situation in other fortresses has not seemed to be plenty of resources. The fear that the Turks caused "in some men" leads us to the story of a man called João da Nova, considered "a very good soldier, who was always seen making war very well".²⁷⁸

The man named João da Nova is neither nobleman nor knight, is a simple man who was chosen as an example to show how terrified "some men" among the Portuguese became. It was considering the fortress as already lost, and "it seems that imagining the death", his features showed a "cold and melancholic humor", "he was like a dazed and amazed man, forgotten of everything, without weapons, as a haunted

²⁷⁶ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter VIII, p. 358

²⁷⁷ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter X, p. 375

²⁷⁸ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter X, p 376

man, he walked down the bulwarks persuading everyone to surrender to the Turks, "he was convinced that the fortress was not able to be defended".²⁷⁹

Let us note that João da Nova is another kind of character. He represents the discouragement and the loss of belief, is a man who is going crazy, lost hopes and stays between the soldiers trying to convince them that they must surrender to the Turks; he is virtually a puppet of the devil trying to destabilize the men who bravely resist the siege of the fortress. Thus, for being a negative image and contrary to what was seen so far about the Portuguese people, the general reaction of his teammates was mocking that poor man who looked melancholic. They prohibited him from entering certain locations, so he proceeded to walk lonely and sad, full of agonizing pain and with fear of death. João da Nova fell ill and became bedridden, cold and lifeless, eventually dying a few days later. Couto narrates that the doctors taking care of him understood very well his illness, "granting the necessary remedies" to revive him, "stating that the Viceroy was about to come, and the Turks were already embarking" but none of that helped João da Nova, "because the evil had taken such possession of [his] heart", that none of these things had an effect.²⁸⁰

4.14 Turkish barbarism and the Portuguese Nobility

In an attempt to negotiate with the Sultan, the King of Portugal sent an emissary to the Ottoman court. The emissary intended to discuss the terms of peace that a Pasha had proposed to the Viceroy of India. In order to continue the trade from Basra to Ormuz, he received from the "Turk", i.e., the Sultan, the answer that "he did not ask anyone to make peace", and if the king of Portugal wanted to make amends, he should send him a great man of his court. He wrote this in a letter and ordered the emissary to go. Departing from Istanbul, this man returned to the kingdom of Portugal and delivered the letter to the Cardinal ruler. The ambassador told what happened while he

²⁷⁹ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter X, p. 377

²⁸⁰ Decade V, Book IV, Chapter X, p. 377

was with the "Turk", "and they found the letter so dry that preferred to remain silent and not to talk about it anymore".²⁸¹

With this sort of report, the Portuguese are free to talk about the so-echoed "superb" and "arrogance" of the Turks. This arrogance also shows the indifference of the Sultan on this negotiation or on the Portuguese proposal, but this information is not provided to us; we readers are only left with the impression that there is a certain inability to diplomatic relations, or at least a contempt for the Christian World, as if the Islamic world, through the Ottomans, had no interest in anything that comes from the Christian kingdoms, had no respect to the Catholic kings and despised certain protocol knowledge between international authorities. In short, it echoes like intolerance from the Islamic party, and conversely the Christians are those agents that are open to peaceful dialogue.

This idea had already been suggested before the given example. Since the end of the fifteenth century, the Ottomans are the new threat to the Christian Europe, once the expansion of this empire westwards is seen as a new barbarian invasion. Barbarians who had conquered the power by the force of weapons, but lacking nobility, diplomacy or any other means of dialogue with the "civilized world". The reaction of the Sultan is not on a par with the Portuguese expectation. The Portuguese are presented as noble and present their opponents as barbarians, in order that the rivalry seems to exist mainly because of this difference. By remaining silent, the bishop and the ambassador enclose the subject because there was not any reason to discuss it. Silently, one concludes that there is no common language between noble and barbaric, they are at different levels and there is no argument to change the situation, once the barbarians do not have the civilizing development necessary to understand these differences.

²⁸¹ Decade VIII, Chapter V, p. 46

4.16 The End of the Siege

The siege had been laid in the winter and Rumeção "had not done anything". Even with the fortress razed and a big numerical advantage of men, he failed to expel the Portuguese. With the end of winter, aid began arriving from India. "Close to five thousand men had been lost" and "very great misgivings about that business started to be felt", perhaps because the Portuguese received many reinforcements and definitely the army of Rumeção would be decimated.³¹⁴

Dom Alvaro de Castro was pleased with the success of the resistance in Diu and, to celebrate, "had cut off the heads of Moors and threw them into the river." Among them, "there was also the [head] of Captain Janissary, a relative of Khoja Çofar". This Janissary had offered "thirty-two thousands of *pardaos* gold" for his own life, as we read in the chronicles, "if some Captains accepted it, they would offend so many and honorable nobleman and knights" who died in that siege, thus such bribery was not accepted. Ships coming from Bassein and Chaul entered the bay of Cambay to "defend" the supplies for the army: "[they] took many vessels laden with [supplies], and the Gentiles, and the Moors of them were hanged".³¹⁵ Couto talks about defending the supplies, but without giving much explanation, which might want to say that the Portuguese plundered the vessels that were perhaps of traders or supplies for the enemy army, and killed its crew, as usual.

Dom Manoel de Lima traveled from the coast of Daman until Gandar and looted everything he could. The text mentions 30 ships, but we do not know about which size, and finished his work in the so-called Portuguese style:

"By commanding to smash everyone who was found there, except sixty chosen Moors, who were put into the ships, and the pieces of bodies, the smaller [parts] were led adrift up to the mouths of rivers, where they were dropped with the flood of the tide and led to the villages,

³¹⁴ Decade VI, Book III, Chapter IV, p. 195

³¹⁵ Decade VI, Book III, Chapter VIII, p. 235

where that terrible and hideous spectacle was seen and filled everyone with fear and astonishment, cursing those who went because of that war".³¹⁶

Manuel Lima became the new Governor of India, arrived with the ships full of Portuguese flags and "the bodies of sixty Moors".³¹⁷ Despite describing that it arrived "with bodies" these Moors were "saved", i.e., had become captives.

4.17 The Miserable End of Rumeção, the Arrogant

Dom Manoel de Lima arrives in Cambaya imposing respect by fear. Such is the cruelty that Couto has no way to soften it; in fact this is one of the opportunities to make a critic. When he points out this characteristic of cruelty of a Portuguese governor in India, he does not avoid saying that such attitudes "exceed the Portuguese nature". He continues the condemnatory narrative in the path where the fleet of Dom Manoel de Lima passed: "to every living thing they found, made such great and inhuman cruelties". Dom Manoel is just one example of cruelty that was recorded in *Decades*, but we know that Vasco da Gama and Alfonso de Albuquerque made all kinds of misery against life, including against their compatriots. Dom Manoel de Lima, strangely, decided to burn all the supplies he had taken, "whereby the whole Kingdom started to suffer very great lack of them".³¹⁸

The war took greater proportions. After receiving reinforcement, the Portuguese arrived with the Armada of Manoel de Lima who came doing all this kind of barbarity where he passed, inciting hatred of the natives, who even not participating in the war were already suffering the consequences, but with the arrival of the Portuguese, had become victims of them.

Rumeção continued his attacks, and now also "the whole crowd of useless people, who threw so many stones, shots and other things upon us that seemed to rain

³¹⁶ Decade VI, Book III, Chapter IX, p. 243

³¹⁷ Decade VI, Book III, Chapter IX, p. 243

³¹⁸ Decade VI, Book III, Chapter IX, p. 247

thunderbolts and thunders from sky".³¹⁹ Rumeção was tired, "completely disturbed" and weakened. He carried with himself two shotguns. Afraid of being captured by the Portuguese, he undressed the captain's uniform "and dressed in a poor robe not to be identified". He found a ditch "with some dead bodies, and fell among them to see if he could escape that way", "but as there is no way to escape from the hand of God", in that place he received a large stone on the head, "thus the most powerful and arrogant Moor existent in all the Kingdom of Cambaya ended up in the most miserable state". There was no other arrogant like him, "among all the other [kingdoms] of the East at that time".³²⁰

Jorge Nunes, a "good knight", who seemed to be looking for Rumeção around those areas, found this trench with the Moors killed and recognized their Captain, cut off his head, "put him on his back" and brought it to the Governor, "who appreciated it so much". He started to be called Jorge Nunes Rumeção, "and after death, he was buried in S. Francisco de Damão, where his grave remains with a hand and a head taken by the hair, and a sign that says: Here lies Jorge Nunes that killed Rumeção"³²¹

Few Eastern peoples had the respect of the Portuguese. This "crowd of useless people" is the people of Cambaya, the same from whom the Portuguese have taken the peace, since settled in their land; the same that shortly before had had their provisions and boats stolen and within which one counts up the victims who were hanged and quartered by the Portuguese who came to avenge their own interests in the region. The "useless people" had only sticks and stones and threw objects at the Portuguese because they were civilians, ordinary people who by chance lived in a place that attracted the European greed.

When Rumeção takes off his uniform, he takes off his own identity and honor. He was an army commander, and we must understand that according to the view of who narrates this story, he did not only take off his own clothes, but also his honor. The honor and dignity of Rumeção were destroyed in that war and gradually

³¹⁹ Decade VI, Book IV, Chapter II, p. 275

³²⁰ Decade VI, Book IV, Chapter II, p. 282

³²¹ Decade VI, Book I, Chapter II, p. 283

deteriorating until he gets among the corpses. This Moorish commander - who had the greatest arrogance among all the proud Eastern men who dared to defend their own lands, interests and people - dressed the garb of the common people and left his own identity behind, but could not escape from the righteous God who accompanied the soldiers of Christ. For these Christian knights, to kill a Moor was an obligation which, when fulfilled, was worthy of all praise. Despite the brutality with which it was made and displayed, it was not an act of barbarism, but of heroism.

The balance of this war explains the reason for such a pride of themselves. Five thousand Moors died, the Portuguese made about six hundred captive soldiers, while among the Portuguese, thirty-five died and about two hundred were injured.³²²

4.18 Dom Afonso de Lima, the Terrible

While the governor continued with the rebuilding and reinforcement of the fortress, Dom Manuel de Lima was sent to Surrate, where one had news of the existence of "very rich ships of Mecca", for an everyday work of piracy. Then, he headed to his destination with thirty ships to "do in that bay all the war one could", but he was ordered to leave the city of Goga in peace, because all the people who fled from Diu were sheltered in that city.³²³

Dom Manoel de Lima, who apparently felt a great satisfaction in doing cruelties, entered the city of Goga, where they did not encounter much resistance, "because all the people of war busied themselves in saving the women and the children". Who dared to put himself in front of the Portuguese received in response the weapons fire. Dom Manoel de Lima ordered setting fire the city so that the men of his fleet would not fall in the riot when realizing they could steal lots of merchandise. The Portuguese captain chose to destroy what could have become a temptation for his men.

³²² Decade VI, Book IV, Chapter II, p. 285

³²³ Decade VI, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 287

As the city had loads of supplies and many commodities, the fire and the smoke "rose to heaven", forming "thick and black clouds of smoke that covered the entire City." Before the dust settle down, they took three men as prisoners and abandoned the destroyed city.³²⁴

These prisoners were used as guides by the Portuguese who knew of the existence of a village where the Moors who had fought in the war were living. With these guides, the captain sent one hundred of men who marched "with great order and prudence"; came to town "without being noticed" and attacked "with great impetus" at a time when they were "all asleep and tired of the effort to escape". "They made such destruction on everybody, and used of such great cruelties with all sorts of people they found that it was surprising". The place was torched, "they killed all the cattle that was found in the fields", threw the men into their *pagodes*³²⁵ intending to confront their religion and in the end they left "the pits and the tanks from where they drank to get filthy and abominable forever".³²⁶

"After cut [people], ravage and destroy everything, the Captain General ordered to hang the three Baneanes [who served as guides to that village], within its largest Pagoda [temple], which was to the Gentiles the biggest abomination and affront that could be".³²⁷

Diogo do Couto who was a man of letters, not a "barbarian" in the "civilized" world, wrote about the cruelties and excesses of his fellow Dom Manoel de Lima, as he himself classified. In the extensive Portuguese documentation, one can find narratives written by the own hands of the chroniclers of the court, in which it describes the feats of men like Dom Manoel de Lima. The Portuguese chroniclers were State employees and the editors and censors of the court should approve what they wrote before its publication, i.e., not everything that happened could become history. Even in our times, five centuries after João de Barros and Diogo Couto, history is made is about what happened and what not happened. With omissions, distortions and rhetorical games, it depends even on the mood of those who write, ideological position

³²⁴ Decade VI, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 291

³²⁵ The word used by the Portuguese is *pagode*, which refers to the temples or idols of the idolatrous peoples. In this case, they were Brahmins.

³²⁶ Decade VI, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 292

³²⁷ Decade VI, Book IV, Chapter III, p. 292

and a kind of occult interests. The history of the sixteenth century was still a kind of literature to assume the arrogance of a science of truth, neither one can speak of a methodology of history. What can one say about this narrative where the Portuguese denounces himself, has nothing to do with the truth, but with the need to delimit the truth. Couto, as a matter of ideology, may have found that gap to report a little of what he disagreed with, but otherwise may have depicted the man Dom Manoel de Lima as a character of exception in the Portuguese history, highlighting his wickedness by writing with indignation the feats of this captain.

4.20 Turks and Moors on the menu of Mombasa

After the destruction of Mombasa by the Portuguese, the Zimbabwes, a cannibal people, sent a message to the Portuguese Captain saying they were friends of the Portuguese and they did not want a war against the Europeans. It is said that the Portuguese had won their battle "so honorably and so harmfully against their enemies" that Zimbabwes could not fail to recognize this fact. They also wanted to end the war with the Moors of Mombasa, by planning to enter the island and search for the Moors who were hiding in the bush to kill and eat them.³³¹

After the Portuguese victory against the Ottomans in Mombasa, the chronicles record a praise of the heathen cannibals. Certainly, a compliment is highly recommended to prevent a war between natives equipped with rustic weapons and Europeans with firearms and cannons. I believe the praise of "honorable victory" makes perfect sense in this context. Also very convenient for the Portuguese to allow the Zimbabwes hunting the Moors.

For the Portuguese Captain this proposal was excellent! He imagined that the Moors and Turks who were hidden, afraid of being eaten by the Zimbabwes, would flee to

³³¹Decade XI, Chapter VIII, p. 43

the beach, and therein the Portuguese would be waiting for them to make captives those who were able to escape and preferred the Portuguese captivity than becoming the food of the barbarian Zimbos. Being natives, the zimbos could walk through those areas with great dexterity and had the knowledge of the terrain and the local nature as nobody else. So it happened: according to the chronicles, the Portuguese went to the beach while the Zimbos began the hunt. The Armada was prepared to collect so many fugitives as they could.

Then a great crowd of people started to come running to the beach, desperate and yelling for the Portuguese to rescue them. Just behind, the Zimbos was coming to kill as many as they could catch. Couto says that the Portuguese helped the fugitives giving gunshots to frighten the thrilled natives and welcomed in their ships as many Turks and Moors as it fitted, leaving to death those who could not be caught at sea. Among the fugitives was "the Chief Captain of the Turks Mirale Beque", who was fleeing on horseback, "and getting into the sea with the water by his neck, asking us to take him, what was soon realized, but with some effort". It was raining down upon him "infinite arrows of the Zimbos" who were following him and wanted to kill him at any price because he had offered great resistance and since before was already fighting against the Zimbos until reaching the beach.³³²

The Portuguese narrate this rescue act of the Turks and Moors as a kindness, which nonetheless seems like an anecdote, a play on which they might have been amused. Actually what they did was to get prisoners for negotiating afterwards with the Ottomans, for example, to exchange them for other Portuguese prisoners. This turkish captain was more valuable, thus he was one of the chosen. Such generosity was not manifested when they had control of the area of Mombasa, because if it is true that the Zimbos asked the Portuguese's permission with the fear and respect mentioned above, the Portuguese simply took advantage of a situation, and one can not say this is really the Christian mercy or compassion. Given the control of the situation, one of

³³² Decade XI, Chapter VIII, p. 44

the requests might well have been just to frighten the Turks and Moors to the beach, but it was not.

Another sign that the men saved (captives) were selected is that over thirty "honored" Turks, i.e. of a higher category, came together with the Turkish Captain, including the "Captain of the Galleys" and a sheriff, "who was Provider of his Armada". They also captured over two hundred Moors of Mombasa, and has not picked up more people because there was not more space where to put them. Letting those people dying on the beach or in the sea had the effect of injury, with the loss of an exchange currency essential in wartime. The vessels were small "and were too full in the back", which prevented them to gather more of this "human goodness".

“...It was hurtful to see so many women and children drowning, which for fear of the Zimbabwes were thrown into the sea, choosing rather to death of water than the iron of the cruel barbarians”³³³

Mirale Beque was brought to the Portuguese captain, "as soon as he came, made his courtesy and compliments to the chief captain, as a servant to his Lord", "with much courage and prudence," and told him he had no wonder with that tragic outcome because those were things that war can lead to, and, as recorded in the chronicles of Couto, this Turkish captain said he wished to be a captive of the Christians, since he had already been once in Spain.

“The chief Captain welcomed him so kindly, saying that he had made a good choice and would not regret later. Perhaps it would be worse to be eaten by the barbaric and inhuman Zimbabwes”^{.334}

This last sentence confirms the outcome that makes of the Portuguese a humane, civilized and (thank God) a Christian people. Putting acknowledgements in the mouth of a Turk after greetings and honors, symbolizes the superiority of Christianity and the recognition of this superiority by a Muslim. So far, no valiant act on the part of the Ottomans and the Moors was described, and thus will continue until the end. The scene of the rescue, the generosity of the Portuguese captain and the gratitude of the Turkish captain, then his satisfaction at being captive of Christians, as

³³³ Decade XI, Chapter VIII, p. 45

³³⁴ Decade XI, Chapter VIII, p. 46

his experience shows, form a group that strongly symbolizes the Portuguese mission within the idea of bringing Christianity to other lands, but without making war; the war is simply unavoidable and all the military power is only for defending themselves against the infidel barbarians.

"As soon as the Armada appeared in the water, the Governor soon came to the 'Flagship' galley very cheerful and giving thanks to God for the mercy that had made him achieve such a great victory. Therein, Mirale Beque threw himself at his feet, he stood up from the chair he was, told him to get up, and returning to his seat asked him how he was [feeling like], for what the Turkish answered: 'As a slave to Your Lordship', and the Governor responded [back]: 'Rejoice and give thanks to God, because I have been already a captive of a Lord worse than you are, (...) and now I'm in this state you see: the same can happen to you. To this, Mirale replied: 'Lord, it is true that I am a captive, but being a captive of Your Lordship, I consider myself a very great Lord'.³³⁵

A lesson on nobility, and the acceptance of the nobility by the Turkish captain. Even in a condition of slavery, the captive feels himself a great lord, so great is the honor to have such a noble man as his lord.

Having his life saved by the Portuguese, the Turkish captain may even have been grateful to the Portuguese, but probably there is some exaggeration in this last scene. To show such gratitude, what could have passed at the head of the captain, who had become a slave, is something unimaginable. The Turkish throws himself at the feet of the most powerful man among the Portuguese, who humbly undoes the attitude of the Turk, so he put up with dignity before the Portuguese governor. The attitude of the Turk shows that he expected anything worse than that, being accustomed to the way the Turks acted, and this nobility that is such amazes him. In short, the noble Turkish warrior is at the feet of the Portuguese nobleman, who is willing to accept him and gave him not only dignity but also hope.

³³⁵ Decade XI, Chapter X, pp. 58-59

4.21 The Policy of Cursing

If the Portuguese really believed in all the evil themselves described wherever they arrived in, indeed they strove to gain the support of certain rulers only depicting a horrible image of the Turks. We believe the descriptions were propositally exaggerated. Certainly this is part of the political game, but it is not that easy to believe that one could scare a ruler, even of a small island, like one scares a child. Most likely there is always an economic issue as an incentive, and a military issue as self protection or self preservation, so that such negotiations were possible.

Heitor da Silveira, by knowing that the Turks were underway with a strong armada, realized he was in a very difficult situation, then he ordered one to visit the king of Aden, and offer him their services. In other words, he wanted to unite forces against a common enemy, which until that moment was an enemy only of the Portuguese in Asia. He made the king to know that they could succor with an Armada, "full of many and valiant soldiers, all with very great desire to take risks in their service," and explained to the king that he was also there, ready for a confrontation and wanted to help in that war. He would help to expel the Turks out of that land, "it would be very great harm to all Arabia if they step on some part of it, because they were vile and cruel people, wherever they came to, wore large tyrannies and had no faith nor word". The king "who was fearful" was very grateful to hear the offers of Heitor da Silveira, and had him saying that if he succored his realm in such difficult times, he could not prove ungrateful, and wished gladly to make himself a vassal of the King of Portugal, as long as the conditions were fair, to turn higher the obligation to help and favor: asked to send him a person to make peaces and set the contracts"³³⁶.

Given the necessity that the king had to support this Portuguese strategy and the predicament in which they were in, Couto confesses, Heitor da Silveira wanted to take advantage of the situation to create a hateful image of the Turks. Basically, the negative image of the Turks depicted had this political function. The Turks with all the

³³⁶ Decade IV, Book VI, Chapter X, pp. 101-102

features that the Portuguese had attributed to them, were always a central part of the Portuguese propaganda against evil (nowadays the so-called terrorism). The defamation was an essential tool in the diplomatic war. The Portuguese were already doing what is popularized today as the creation of an enemy of everyone, the creation of a demon who spread evil and therefore should be opposed by a force of good. Within this dynamic that surrounded the vassals of the Portuguese king in Asia, both coercion by arms and by ideology coexisted.

4.22 Cruelty and lack of character

On a rainy day, "Georgians and Persians" fought against "the disorganized Turks". The Turks fell into an ambush, about which is said that the slaughter was such that "the entire field was covered with them, and rivulets of black blood ran down everywhere". This is not a major battle, but a small one as others that occurred often. The emphasis is not the struggle of the massive killing of Turks, but their blood which flowed black.

Moving to a bigger scene, is said that the Turks in order to save their own lives, they ran despairingly towards a river "where they entered in such a hurry and disorder that forty thousand drowned". All the money ("that was a lot"), the artillery and the provisions stayed in the hands of the Georgians and the Persians. The Pasha on the other side of the river assembled again with those who managed to cross "and went toward Teflis", complaining of the bad luck along the way "and blaspheming Mahamede". According to Couto, the guilty of the misfortune was a renegade, "Manuchiar", "suspected that it was planned", Pasha believed that his army had been driven along the way purposely, because the Georgians and Persians were waiting for them in a certain place.³³⁷

³³⁷ Decade X, Chapter I, p. 264

As usual, the Ottoman battles are depicted as embarrassing defeats, where the Turks get great harm and suffer great losses. The Ottoman army is always unorganized or become disorganized so easily because amidst the confusion they spread trying each one save its own life, thus all the men become vulnerable. What was done often is to ridicule the military capability of the Ottoman armies and commanders. All armies and kingdoms may be exalted by the Portuguese, on the only condition that they are fighting against the Ottomans. A people that has the Ottomans as enemies are worthy of praise, even if they are Muslims, like the Persians. The warriors always fight valiantly, and lost, the worship of the enemy of the Ottomans is always present.

The Chapter XII of the Decade X has the suggestive title: "On the site of Tabriz City, and the merciless and cruel looting that the Turks made, and the assaults that the Prince of Persia launched on the Turks, killing many of them".³³⁸ It allows us to imagine what will come next. After describing the region, the chronicler tells us that the Pasha ordered to raise a fortress over there and surrounded in circle format all the gardens of Babylon with a wall thirty feet wide with watchtowers, and in the middle stood a very strong tower. This work was completed in thirty-six days. While this fortress was erected, the Turkish Army went to the City to entertain themselves in the baths, "which are many and beautiful." The presence of some, though few, Turks, "seems to have indignated some people" and the reason is "because they are so mistreated that do not enter into any prosperous and rich city without using their [barbaric and savage] nature". Some Turks were captured and killed by townspeople".

This is a narrative of a certain comicality, questionable, but with quite precise intentions. The presence of the Turks was so uncomfortable that they were simply murdered, just like that, as cockroaches. Why the presence of the Turks is so troublesome is explained with a note of pity, "they are so mistreated" that seem to bring disaster on their faces, and not to hide in their gestures and behavior "their barbaric and savage" nature. Anyway, the Portuguese version simplifies to this point because it was possible to be done, and such ideas were accepted, this narrative is rather

³³⁸ Decade X, Chapter XII, p. 81

committed to curse as much as possible the Turkish enemies, and who would say the contrary?

Upon learning what had happened, the Janissaries "were outraged and revolted", they went to see the Pasha "with great anger and excused themselves to avenge the death of their companions," and the Pasha gave permission for the Janissaries to avenge these deaths. And

“with that brutal bravery they entered the city and began to kill all" those found ahead "without forgiving any age or gender, tearing the innocent in the breasts of their miserable mothers, violating the maidens, dishonoring the married woman at the sad sight of their spouses, whose tears they could not [attend] for being tied”,

they kept still robbing, ravaging, and destroying the houses and the temples, and all that they met ahead.

The Ottoman troops then filled the city of "pitiful misery, tears, mourning, anguished cries of children and women, old and young"; "was the most cruel and inhumane thing" that even those barbarians would have mercy of such misfortune, but the "wrath and the brutal fury" blinded these soldiers in such a way that they still considered to had been done little. At the end of the day, sick and tired of so many cruelties and other vile acts, they returned loaded with wealth, "and in the next day returned and resumed their barbarism". On the third day, they proceeded "with so much bravery and ruthless brutality", mercilessly without sorrow or pain for so much misery. After they no longer had more to steal, and anyone else to kill, they retreated with great spoil".³³⁹

We do not know what had outraged the inhabitants of this prosperous and rich city, whatever it was not important for Couto and for us now, because we know that his intention is to show how the Ottomans are barbaric, cruel and savage. Even though this event is real, near to the Portuguese narrative chronicle, this story certainly does not appear on any official Ottoman document. Such portrayed image shows the maximum imaginable brutality and fear. The Janissaries left for a revenge, whose

³³⁹ Decade X, Chapter XII, pp. 83-85

reason is not explained and leaves the impression that it was because of some killed Turk soldiers, and without seeking the guilty for these deaths, they started their vengeance with fury. The entire city was prosperous and beautiful, with a beauty to which the "barbarians "were not used to" and according to Couto, it had been demonstrated that they did not know how to deal with such a beauty. This idyllic description of the city hides many details and shows those that elevate it to a status of beauty. We are led to the idea of peace and happiness, and this idyllic vision is destroyed by the "barbarian Turks". Everything was destroyed, people and places, the riches were taken and it was all gone. The intent of disseminating this sort of story is to create fear and awake the sense of justice in the reader. Anyone who reads, imagines and believes in this kind of story will rebel against it and the memory will be registered with this enemy of the West as a problem of injustice in the world; and injustice must be fought before it reaches us.

4.23 Disorganization and inferiority

The previous chapters exemplify the behavior of the Ottomans in Persian lands, since the moment they were victims of an ambush until the events narrated in the city of Tabriz. We are about to see what happened to the Ottomans in a battle against the Persians in this region. The Persian Captain is referred by the Portuguese as "the Prince".

"... The Prince, beyond his effort that was great, fought with so much anger and hurt, no matter the dangers of the battle, he did not present himself unless there was the greatest danger, what caused terror in the Turks, causing such damage to them that they could not bear and for this started to retreat"³⁴⁰

This is the time when the justice arises, the time in which the Persian "Prince" arrives on the scene to fight against the Turkish enemies. Let us observe the detail that the Persian general is always referred by the respectful word "prince", showing that

³⁴⁰ Decade X, Chapter XII, p. 87

the Portuguese recognize his sovereignty and majesty. It's like a fairy tale where it is intended to finalize showing that evil is never wins and it is properly punished. These Persians "heroes" have nothing to do with God. The divine is left aside when the heroes are not the Portuguese but, anyway, the Persians personify justice. As the Ottomans are cruel and evil villains, any enemy of them is automatically depicted with the opposite characteristics. Let us see how the two armies are described in this episode.

With the arrival and the advancement of the Persian army and an initial victory over the Ottomans, "the Persian Prince left the Pasha in a state of disappointment and regret". This prostration was continually increasing, on the other hand the results of the battle were increasingly giving encouragement to the Persians who "confident and dominant no longer feared anything else".

The Turks organized as follows, on the right side was the "Pasha of Caramania, with everyone from Syria" on the left was the "Pasha of Anatolia, with the people of Greece", the "Pasha of Caeremit took the lead", and in the middle was the "Pasha Cigala, with the people of Syria and Bithynia", plus an army of "sixty thousand chosen soldiers" on horseback. The Turkish Pasha had an army of Janissaries beside him and had artillery.³⁴¹

From the description, it seemed to be a very respectable army. According to Couto, we understand that only the cavalry had sixty thousand units, plus an artillery and the regional generals with armies of other regions. It was a huge and strategically positioned army.

Let us look at the situation of the Persian army.

Trying to make use of all the power, the Ottomans moved in accordance to the "Persian Prince's movement". The Turks always positioned around him, trying to induce the Persians to a certain place where the artillery could reach the enemy. "By realizing the intention of the Pashas, the prince" noted the positions of each of the Ottoman generals, chose one and attacked. The Persian attack the "Pasha of Cacremit"

³⁴¹ Decade X, Chapter XII, p. 88

who was ahead: "the Persian brought him down quickly, cut off his head and told to hang it from a tree with a spear. With the same impetus, his army dismantled the troops which resulted in the death of many Turks".

The story continues, the Pashas saw one of their generals' head on the spear "and were filled with fear of the Persians", "the prince" realized by the faces of his enemies, whose "features changed immediately". "And starting against the Turks with his army full of anger with that memory of the cruelties of Tabriz", broke against them "with such fierceness that caused astonishment". Couto tells us that the Persians attacked the Turks with such cruelty and rage that they were satisfied with the results, then we can imagine that if the memory of that massacre in Tabriz was alive, the battle must have been really horrible. Even though the Persian attack had been very cruel, it is softened in the text by the lack of description, i.e., the cruelty of the Persians was already long justified. When it reaches the part where the brutality and the cruelty of the Persians is overlooked, the reader is already convinced that anything that is made against the Ottomans is nothing but fair and proper, including to expose a head in a spear and parading with it.

The Prince went into battle accompanied by his principal men and "did such things that looked like a hungry lion". The dead were so many that not even the Pasha of Trabzon had escaped, many military dignities were captive, including the Pasha of Caramania, among many others. Seeing themselves lost and disoriented, the Turks regrouped and fled. The Persians followed them up near their artillery. At nightfall, the Persian prince retreated to the king. "With such this victory, almost twenty thousand of the best Turks were lost in battle".³⁴²

The battles with the Turks receive the attention and interest of the Portuguese, especially when they suffer a defeat or are forced to retreat. The way they are portrayed conveys the idea of desperate men running wildly fleeing. They start in an organized way, but in the midst of the battle get confused, muddled and lost, unable to maintain

³⁴² Decade X, Chapter XII, pp. 89-91

discipline, their leaders seem to lose control of the situation. These reasons are often given to explain the defeats narrated by the Portuguese.

The Ottoman army was known for its discipline and organization, and many Turkish generals gained fame for their competent command. While this fame ran through Europe, the Portuguese tried to destroy it portraying it as an illusion, trying to show that before a failure the Ottomans lost all the control of the situation, and basically this reputation was not deserved except for the amount of arms and men that this empire could gather. The military organization exists only at the beginning of the battles when the army is presented with a terribly frightening positioning able to intimidate any enemy. The fear of the Pashas is also a feature that attracts our attention, the fear of a leader simply "does not exist" in a Portuguese leader who faces the difficult situations usually willing to lose their lives and encourages his men to do the same. This fear described sends a surprising message to the West: see the cruel and seemingly fearless Ottomans whom you are afraid of!

Posture and morality are fundamental in a war, and the Portuguese effort is to encourage their own compatriots and other Westerners, showing that by advancing on the Ottomans with organization, discipline and confidence, the mask of the bravery of the Ottoman commanders fall and their troops can not resist the fear. The Persian Prince is a stimulating example to the West. It is not known through the chronicle if the Persians had a more powerful army than the Turks, this detail would only be mentioned if the Persian army was inferior, which would be one more reason to downgrade the quality of the Ottoman army defeated. There are many suggestions about the sagacity of the Persians, they seem to have been surrounded on three sides, and interestingly moved freely in one direction. Their efficiency was so great that there was no time for the Turkish armies to react . Even though the efficiency of the Persians is exalted, is the inefficiency of the Turks that leaves us wondering how that was possible.

The title of the chapter XIII is On how the Turks rose from Tabriz: and how the Prince of Persia fell upon him, and the famous victory achieved: and the death of

Osman Pasha.³⁴³ A number of six thousand horses on the Persian side is mentioned. The Turks had set up tents and pavilions, everything was destroyed and the horses of their army were released: "the Turks frightened and scared" ran from side to side trying to save themselves "and before they could be put in order, before they could determine and decide what to do, the Persian Prince could do whatever he wanted. "The meaning of this story is presented as "the day the Persians showed all their value, getting up without any fear in the midst of many people so warlike, even being so unequal in number".

The revenge of the Persians was almost finished, but it was not enough to narrate the defeat of the Turks at that time, we still find the information that Pasha tried to use the artillery as a last alternative. Without remaining many options and not to lose everything without attempting a counterattack, "he ordered to shoot upon their own soldiers who were also shot down". The "Persian Prince" was compelled to retreat with his soldiers because he was getting damage: "the Turks were hitting friends, enemies and all around". This attitude of the Turkish commander (pasha) and the attitude of the Persian ("Prince") are perfectly opposed. The Turkish desperately gives an order to shoot anyway and without caring for his own men, while the Persian retreats with his army to prevent injuries and deaths among them. The Turkish acts with despair and reaches this point to try something absurd as a last solution, while the Persian wisely withdraws from the range of artillery.

At nightfall, as at the end of a working day, the Persian "prince" came to the King carrying spoils of the enemy. He had left twenty thousand enemies killed in the last battle and in the total of all battles. According to this Portuguese source, the number of Turks killed reached seventy thousand men.³⁴⁴

With this outcome, it seems that "justice" was done. Seventy thousand Turks were killed and those who remained alive did not even have the spoils taken in Tabriz. They had many friends and relatives killed, "said evil of their King, blaspheming Mafamede and making public insults to the Pasha", which was full of grief because of

³⁴³ Decade X, Chapter XIII, p. 91

³⁴⁴ Decade X, Chapter XIII, p. 93

this failure. Faced with this embarrassment, the Pasha decided to end it all by taking his own life that same day, leaving before in his place another commander who kept his death secret. As they went in a closed car, kept the secret with trustable people so that the affairs of the army continued without change.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁵ Decade X, Chapter XIII, p. 94

CONCLUSION

The internal division among Christian countries inaugurated an era of a necessary political individualism. The rising nations had their own concerns to deal with. Building a strong nation in the context of the Early Modern Age was determined by the wealth of a nation and the strength of its army that wealth could build. More than ever before, the strength and wealth were essential to the success of a nation. For this reason, the initiative of a crusade, or a war in the name of Christianity was no longer possible. With the birth of the nation, are born with them the importance of nationality, an extra factor to divide people as from their borders. The aristocrats were no longer a military class and they devoted himself to politics and the economy. The complexity of the new state administration and the new possibilities of business and the expansion of the world map started a new economy where competition has become a rule. Send an army to take the Holy Land was no longer making sense to join forces with another nation, have expenses, divide the gains that were uncertain or even doubtful turned the idea of holy war into a simple fantasy of an influential and powerful Church, but incompatible with a new World Order.

The Portuguese had no grounds that may be justified by reasons other than economic. The lack of manpower forced them to have foreign workers, were they slaves or not, Arab navigators or Indian, African soldiers, and finally a huge recurrence of marriages with native women. Many Portuguese spent a long or the whole life in the lands where they were exploring. That enemy was both an indispensable ally and without this "other" as stigmatized and despised, nor knowledge, nor the bravery and courage, nor the more advanced weapons and well- equipped ships nor the proclaimed superiority of character or the truth of the Christian religion would have allowed such great advances in European man in Asia. The hate especially nourished toward the Ottomans can not be for no reason other than the fact that these enemies, who served the Turkish sultan, were obstacles to the Portuguese exploration, and not for the reasons given by the Portuguese chroniclers that those enemies were barbarians, savages, cruel, unjust and unfaithful.

The enemy could be anyone who had been come in their way to hinder their business. The war was the only resource to ensure the gains, who dictated the terms were the most powerful. To start a war, is necessary to have a reason. The reasons may exist, but if they do not exist, should be created. The more different the enemy, the better! The minds and hearts of men are inflated with fear and prejudice. All ignorance open up a crack for the creation of demonic creatures that threaten the peace. The warriors full of this sense of honor, run to defend the good the name of God, by the order of a monarch. What lie ahead of them and appear different, can only be the work of the Devil and therefore must be destroyed.

Religion was no longer able to generate holy wars, it inflates the hearts of their faithful. The Church's ideological union with the power of the state and the Eastern promise of wealth creates armies full of men prepared to give their lives for all these values, spiritual and mundane (this depends on the most urgent needs of each individual). The Ottomans and Muslims in general were perfect enemies! They were Orientals, Arabs and Indians had physical and cultural differences very large relative to the Portuguese. Muhammad was a strange, unknown man, the image of the most important prophet of Christianity (Jesus Christ) was not in the center of that Islamic religion. These differences have facilitated the creation of the enemy. The wealth seduced men and blinded them completely. They would never see those "different people" as partners, but rather as enemies, and the destruction or domination of these "different people" offered the riches of this world and the other, recognition of their monarch on earth and in heaven.

We searched answers to understand why the Portuguese nourished special hate against the Ottomans, what they thought about the Turks and about themselves. After some examples we could extract from the *Décadas da Ásia* we could see something about their encounters not very friendly. The Portuguese interpretation of the History is by itself the explanation we wanted. Turks were the most hated enemies of the Portuguese and exposed to the Christianity as a religious menace to the western people and the Christians. It should not be more dangerous than the Moors and other peoples against whom they also maintained an historical hostility. It seems the question were not only religious.

Possibly, the Portuguese were the greater responsible for the creation or, at least, had enormous part on disclosing the demonized image of the Ottomans in the West from a position in which they did not seem to suffer great threat from the Ottoman expansion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

The derogatory view about the Ottomans, the deconstruction of the human aspect of the Turks and other Muslims were necessary. That was a way to justify that the "other" is something that should be destroyed by the Christian Truth and Civilization to be victorious over the barbarism at the end, and thus the good triumphs over evil. The emphasis on the negative characteristics of non-European peoples such as moral defects, cruelty, frequent use of violence, among many other things, are rhetorical instruments used in this distinctive construction that divides good and evil, characterizing and defining what each thing is.

About the intentions of the historical characters and their personal reasons, they will always be questionable in the field of History, but never ignored, since two opinions at different points of the hemisphere can be antagonistic and at the same time plausible. History is also literature and rhetoric. As individuals, we can never be sure about the intentions of an individual. For example, one can decimate a people or a "race" for the good of his compatriots; a leader can see as positive the fact that a religion is destroyed, if he believes that it slows down the development of his nation. In short, there is an infinity of reasons that can lead leaders and their followers to extreme cruelty. However, it is appropriate to say that manipulating ideas, making use of rhetoric and argumentation around a thought or belief that is within the most simple and most naive (or purer) hearts to achieve power or wealth, has always been a common practice in history . These material purposes need an excuse to make war, to attack peoples, to take what belongs to them and enslave them, i.e. it is necessary to justify and legitimize the actions with words, speeches and texts.

Throughout this work, probably no one shall have seen anything that was not expected, in relation to what is already known from other works such as Edward Said and Bernard Lewis on Orientalism, among many others that continue to be produced, since this theme remains current due to the division still made between West and East,

between West and "the other", particularly. I do not know if it is correct to say, but if at one hand the Orientalism is a recurring and relevant theme within the humanities, on the other hand the "Occidentalism" simply does not exist, suggesting that this division between us and "the other", the eastern, is an issue yet to be solved in the West, and little or much less relevant in the East.

The big decisions that usually give direction to the History come from the elite, and elite tend to turn their eyes to the interests of the State, because they are the States and wish to protect their political power and increase their wealth. A king may wish above all to fight for what he believes, to bring his faith to the greatest number of people and as far as possible, he can be a fervent religious leader who makes decisions for believing to be pleasing God, but a king alone does not make history, a king is in a context and in this context there are many independent subjects. To try to understand any episode in history is necessary not overlooking anything at hand, seeking for the peripheral and secondary characters and paying attention especially to those that have a prominent place as an object of criticism. Those not mentioned and the defamed may mean much more than an official speech, but unfortunately, these voices will be silenced forever. If we trust too much the words and ignore the philosophy, psychology, anthropology and other human sciences, the historical documents can lead us to make literature rather than History. The historian, so clever, cannot think that the men of the past was less clever than he is.

Portugal introduces the Ottomans in its history still in the context of the Avis dynasty's formation before the European kings. The "Turks" were first mentioned in the work of Pina, in the fifteenth century. This quotation introduced the idea of a new barbarian invasion, which has always existed in the European imagination as an imminent threat to destroy the civilization. This turn, the Turks were evoked for this role, who after the taking of Constantinople, came towards the West, where they conquered several kingdoms in the Balkans until reach Italy. The Portuguese at the moment even do not know who the Turks were. An encounter between them had never happened and it would be necessary to wait until the Portuguese came to India and settled down there, disturbing the ancient trade of Muslims in the East and changing the routine of classic routes through the Red Sea. By making use of the historical

moment, whose stage was the Eastern Europe, the Portuguese speech aimed not seem exactly a crusade in defense of the Christian kingdoms, but also an opportunity for expansion, as the one performed on the north of Africa. In this historical narrative, the "Turks" were characterized as barbarians, unable for war, soldiers of the evil forces, unfaithful, cruel, arrogant, dishonest, disloyal and more.

Muslims were already long known by Europeans, especially by the Iberians, after centuries of peaceful coexistence. The fact that they have become the greatest enemies of the West was simply the way in which history placed them face to face. Christians envisioned enrichment opportunities and reached the sources of this wealth, the old ideal of crusade still made sense and the Ottomans, beyond their material needs, seemed to live a moment of ideological fervor and perhaps had this ideal of holy war quite alive.

The language of the chronicles, typically Renaissance, seeks for a close form to the classical works, whose great references were still the Greek and Roman authors, composed however with that entire medieval Christian parlance. The book then narrates the feats of the early Modern Age, with a strong medieval language and ideology, while it was attempted to mirror the classic Greco-Roman style.

The didactic intention of these works was more than recording the history of the Portuguese in Asia. The importance of creating a heroic image of the Portuguese was not only to record the glories of heroic people, but also to form nobles with a certain type of character and inflamed by the ideal of a Christian nobility that could encourage new knights to provide the same services as the Portuguese who went to these trips used to provide to the Portuguese State.

The fact that the "Turk" was the main enemy of the Portuguese is easily explained by the role that the Ottomans had in the years of the Portuguese in Asia. The Ottomans were the only force that could confront the Portuguese and, undoubtedly, thanks to the Ottomans and to the unity of Muslims, Portugal did not profit more from their business in India. Being the Ottomans a secondary enemy, they also stand in the background in the descriptions of the Portuguese.

The justification of holy war in the East loses its validity when we read the praises for the Persian Empire. While the Ottomans were depreciated, the Persians were exalted. Where there were no Portuguese fighting with the Turks, if there was any Persian, all the praise started to go to those other warriors who were also "infidels" from the Christian point of view.

The Chinese are very little mentioned in *Decades*, but when reported they are not depreciated by their religious beliefs. There are several levels of "other" and the Ottomans, because of the war intervention they made, are "others" in the worst level. They are the representatives and leaders of the Muslims and are the antithesis of the Portuguese, especially regarding the Lusitanian virtues. Islam is mocked and cursed because it is the religion of the Turks; if the Turks were Hindus, probably the greatest enemy of Christianity was going to be Hinduism, and the antithesis of the Portuguese nobleman would be the barbaric Hindu.



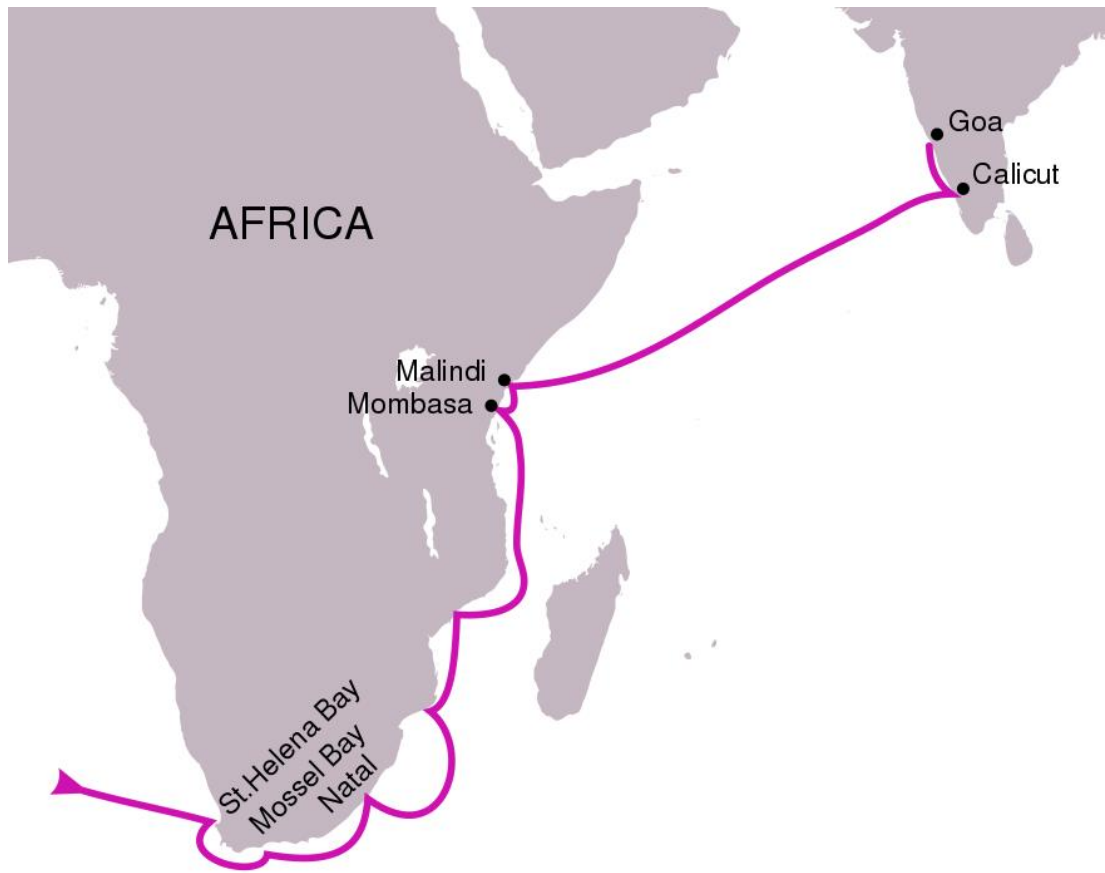
1. João de Barros' Portuguese Language Grammar with the commandments of the Holy Mother Church



2. Die Osmanen in Europa - Original prints from the 16th century at Hungarian National Museum depicting a Turkish warrior butchering infants



3. Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut, 20 May 1498



4. The route followed in Vasco da Gama's first voyage (1497–1499)

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