



## *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East ...*

Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Arthur  
Coke Burnell, William Phillip, Pieter Anton Tiele

THE VOYAGE  
OF  
JOHN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN  
TO THE  
EAST INDIES.

*FROM THE OLD ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 1598.*

THE FIRST BOOK,  
CONTAINING HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST.  
*IN TWO VOLUMES.*

Edited,

THE FIRST VOLUME BY THE LATE  
ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, PH.D., C.I.E.,  
OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE;

THE SECOND VOLUME  
BY  
MR. P. A. TIELE,  
OF UTRECHT.

VOL. I.



LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

M. DCCC. LXXXV.

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**LONDON :**  
**WHITING AND CO., LIMITED, SARDINIA STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.**

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ENGLISH EDITION OF LINSCHOTEN.

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N.B.—*Nearly all these have been printed from the Dutch copper-plates.*

1. Portrait of Linschoten (*Reproduced as frontispiece to this volume*).
2. Engraved Title (*by William Rogers, London*).  
(*We give only, in type, the engraved lettering of this Title.*)
3. Malays and Javanese.
4. Chinese.
5. Chinese, with travelling conveyance, by land and water.  
Ships of China and Java, with mat sails.
6. View of the Island of St. Helena.
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8. Indian cottages and peasantry near Goa.
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27. King of Cochin on elephant.
28. Pagoda and mosque.
29. Jambos, Ananas, Mangoes, Cashew fruit, and Jack.
30. Indian palm trees of sorts.
31. Bamboo, Banian, Durian.
32. Arbor Triste.

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#### MAPS, AND OTHER TOPOGRAPHICAL PLATES.

(*These vary in different copies examined; some being omitted; some in quasi-duplicate. Their position in the book also varies much.*)

1. ORBIS TERRARUM TYPUS DE INTEGRO MULTIS IN LOCIS EMENDATUS, Auctore Petro Plancio, 1594. Engd. by Ioannes à Doetichum, junior.  
(In some copies this is replaced by a smaller and inferior TYPUS ORBIS TERRARUM, with no name of artist.)
  2. S. Eastern Africa and Indian Ocean.
  3. Pictorial chart of Mozambique.
  4. Western Asia from Egypt to Aracan. "Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, graven by Robert Beckit."
  5. Further India and Archipelago.
  6. Large map of Goa island by Linschoten.
  7. Three profiles of St. Helena.
  8. Profiles of Ascension.
  9. Large plan of Angra in Tercera.
-

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10. South Africa, "graven by William Rogers".
11. Map of Egypt, etc., English lettering.
12. Map of South America.
13. S. W. Africa and Atlantic.
14. (In some copies). Map of all Africa except the protruding western portion.

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 Sumatra, p. 32.  
 Java Major, p. 33.  
 St. Helena, p. 173.  
 In title of Part II, Map of Congo.  
 „ Part III, Small map of the two hemispheres.  
 „ Part IV, Small map of Spain.

## CORRECTIONS TO VOL. I.

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Page 52, line 2.—To “bear the people in”. The orig. Dutch has “to rock the people in”.

Page 60, note 2.—*Camocam* has nothing to do with *Cannequin*. The former is the modern *Kinkhwāb*. *Chautar* is also not = *Chādar*. It is a stuff that occurs in old lists, but we cannot define it.

Page 61, note 2.—For “qudri” read “gudri”.

Page 81, note 2.—Orig. Dutch : “bedryven antycxe perten”. This has nothing to do with horses, or hobby-horses. It signifies “they use antique tricks”. The translator has confounded “pert” and “peerd” (horse).

Page 105, note 2.—The English translation, “twice as richly laden”, is correct.

Page 111, note 2.—Java Minor for Sumbawa. This erroneous nomenclature is probably due to Barbosa.

Page 115, note 1.—Tidore was not given up to the Dutch before 1663. From 1606 it has been occupied by the Spaniards from the Philippines.

Page 128, note 6.—*Blick* is white iron, certainly never yellow copper.

Page 131, note 3.—The Dutch “roer” signifies here musket.

Page 187, note 2.—“Erf” is a common Dutch word for “ground”, “Huis en erven”, house and grounds ; “Temands erf betreden”, to walk upon the ground of anybody.

Page 223, note 9.—Read : Orig. Dutch, “as should be impossible to tell”.

Page 227, note 1.—On the image in the original work are drawn two burning furnaces, one on each side of the idol.

Page 228, note 1.—“Beckens” are cymbals.

Page 228, note 2.—“Water-back” is water-basin.

Page 229, note 7, 9.—*Kruyden* does not here signify vegetables, but dried herbs, as well as spices. *Kruydenier* is grocer (not greengrocer).

Page 233, note 2.—Caracks. See note 2 on p. 178.

Page 247, note 1.—The English translation “honestest” is correct.

Page 257, note 2.—Sunda. Here the island of Java is certainly intended.

Page 307, note 1.—The Malay name is *nuri*. *Noyra* is a corrupted form, as well as *lori*.

## PREFATORY NOTE.

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THE editing of LINSCHOTEN, for the Hakluyt Society, was undertaken by a great scholar, the late Arthur Burnell, of the Madras Civil Service: but his premature death left the work incomplete. What Dr. Burnell had been able to accomplish forms the first volume of the work now issued; the second, which completes the First Book of Linschoten,—*i.e.*, all that it had been intended by the Society to undertake,—has been edited by Mr. P. A. Tiele of Utrecht, and we have been happy in finding an editor so competent to complete the voluntary task which Burnell had left a fragment.

Circumstances render it impossible to accompany the issue of this work by even a sketch of Dr. Burnell's career; but a more favourable opportunity may, perhaps, occur before long. We will only now give the chief dates of his life. He was born in 1840, and went to India in 1860. In the attempt to combine the discharge of laborious official duties with an enormous amount of achievement in Indian scholarship, his health broke down entirely, and after resorting once or twice to Europe, with partial benefit, he had to quit India finally in 1880. After he had struggled through more than one dangerous attack of illness, it was hoped by his friends that he might still enjoy a fair measure of health, and live to accomplish literary work of various kinds, for which he was so well equipped. But these hopes were disappointed. He died at his house near Micheldever, 12th October, 1882.

The delay which has occurred in the issue of the present volumes is greatly to be regretted, but it will, I trust, be held

to be sufficiently excused by the unfortunate loss just mentioned. Circumstances consequent on that loss, and which it is needless to enter upon more particularly, have thrown upon the undersigned a great deal of irksome labour in connection with the preparation of the Index, and of some of the preliminary matter, for which he has been obliged to make time, very hard to find amid the pressure of other occupations, which it was impossible to put aside.

H. Y.,

PRES. HAR. SOC.

*April 9th, 1885.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

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JAN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN, that is, John son of Hugh, with the patronymic of Linschoten, a village in the province of Utrecht, whence his family probably originated, was born about the year 1563,<sup>1</sup> at Haarlem, where dwelt his parents, Huych Joosten and Maertgen Hendrics,<sup>2</sup> of Schoonhoven, a little town not far from Linschoten. When he was still a little boy (1572) the Spaniards were driven out of Holland. But very soon they returned in considerable strength, and Haarlem, after a noble resistance, was again (1573) forced under the Spanish yoke. It was probably at this time that old Hugh left Haarlem and established himself at Enkhuizen, a seaport which had early declared itself for the cause of freedom.

We learn from John that two brothers of his had some years previous to 1576 gone to Spain, and established themselves, probably in business, at Seville. In spite of the war between the two nations, commercial relations were still maintained, and could not well be abandoned by either side, as the Dutch market was then indispensable to

<sup>1</sup> His portrait has: "Anno 1595, æt. 32."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Hugh, son of Justus, and Martha, daughter of Henry.

the prosperity of the Indian trade of Spain and Portugal. Our John, a studious youth, who "took no small delight in the reading of histories and strange adventures", desired very much also to see a little of the world. "There is no time more wasted", so he wrote in later years to his parents,<sup>1</sup> "than when a young fellow hangs about his mother's kitchen like a baby, neither knowing what poverty is, nor luxury, nor what is found in the world, an ignorance which is often the cause of his ruin." So, when he was sixteen years of age, he got leave from his parents to join his brothers in Spain. On the 6th of December 1576, he departed from Texel in a ship of the great fleet of some eighty sail destined for the South, and arrived at San Lucar on Christmas Day. He went thence to Seville, where his brothers lived, and remained there some time to learn the Spanish tongue. For the narrative of his further adventures we must refer to his own work, and need here only recall that six years later John, then in the house of a merchant at Lisbon, seeing that trade was not very prosperous (in consequence of the recent war between Spain and Portugal), resolved to follow the example of one of his brothers and seek employment in the Indian fleet. His brother, who went in the same ship as clerk,<sup>2</sup> procured him a place in the suite of

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter from Goa, 1584, in the Royal Archives at the Hague.

<sup>2</sup> Not "purser", as in the English translation. The original Dutch has "schrevijn", *i.e.*, "escrivão".

Vincente de Fonseca, the newly appointed Archbishop of Goa, who was himself a passenger on board.

The fleet sailed for India on the 8th of April 1583, and on the 5th of August reached Mozambique, then the chief station of the Portuguese on the east coast of Africa, and the ordinary place of call for their ships on the way to or from India. During the two weeks he remained there, few things worthy of remembrance escaped the notice of Linschoten. On the 21st of September the fleet entered the river of Goa, whence the Archbishop was "with great triumph" brought into the town and conveyed to his palace. Here John remained with him, whilst his brother<sup>1</sup> returned in February 1584, with the re-laden ships to Portugal. Linschoten stayed five years in Goa. A short time after his arrival, two English merchants, John Newbury and Ralph Fitch, were brought thither prisoners by the Portuguese, who had arrested them under suspicion of their being spies sent by Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, the late pretender to the throne of Portugal. Moreover, their fellow-countryman, Sir Francis Drake, had committed sundry acts of hostility against the Portuguese in the Moluccas, on his voyage round the world, and had spread much terror amongst them. For their power in those islands was already

<sup>1</sup> He is called by Linschoten "Willem Thin" or "Tin", and must probably have been a half-brother. He perished three years later, on a voyage from Portugal to Hamburg, as we learn from the narrative (see p. 217 of vol. ii).



much diminished, and would certainly have been in the greatest danger if the English Admiral had fulfilled his promise to the inhabitants, and returned to expel their oppressors. So the English traders were strictly guarded; but, as we learn from Newbury himself,<sup>1</sup> as well as from Linschoten, our Dutchman and his comrade, Bernard Burcherts from Hamburg, interfered on their behalf with the Archbishop, "a very good man", and procured their release.

In April 1584, this Burcherts returned overland by Bussora and Aleppo to Europe, but Linschoten remained, in the hope of seeing much more of the world when he should meet a favourable occasion. "I should be much inclined", he wrote to his parents, "to travel into China and Japan, which are the same distance from here as Portugal, that is, he who goes thither is three years on the road. If only I possessed two or three hundred ducats they could easily be converted into six or seven hundred. This year a Dutchman and good friend of mine has gone thither as gunner in a ship, and would much have liked me to make the voyage with him, but to enter on such a thing with empty hands I thought folly: one must start tolerably provided to make profit. That same gunner has already been there once. He was born at Enkhuizen, has lived twenty-six years in this country, and is married to a Dutch woman. His name is Dirck Gerritsz. When he returns from this voyage he means to go home." It

<sup>1</sup> "Letter of John Newbury from Goa, 20 January 1584", in Hakluyt's *Navigations*, ii, 249.

is this same Dirck Gerritsz, surnamed "China", because of his voyages thither, of whom Linschoten speaks in his *Itinerarium*, and who furnished him with the tracks between China and Japan. Dirck's notes on India were made use of by the celebrated Lucas Jansz Waghenaer.<sup>1</sup> In 1598 he took part as pilot in the first voyage of the Dutch through the Straits of Magellan to India.

It seems that the opportunity for a voyage to Eastern Asia did not recur. In January 1587, the Archbishop took ship for Portugal, to make a report to the king of Indian affairs. As he intended to return, he left the young Dutchman in his house, and gave him honourable and profitable employment. But in September 1588, the news reached India that the good prelate had died a short time after his departure for Lisbon. This was a bad thing for his servants in India, for with his death they lost all chance of advancement. Linschoten, who had meant to remain there, perhaps for life, now loathed the idea, and his home-sickness became at once so strong that he took the earliest opportunity of returning to Europe. On the 20th January 1589, he set sail for Cochin in the same ship as his friend and townsman the gunner, Dirck Gerritsz, and in company with five other ships. The fleet touched at St. Helena to take in provisions; it was here than Linschoten met one Gerrit van Afhuysen, a

<sup>1</sup> In his *Thresoor der Zeevaart* (Leyden, 1592). Waghenaer's other great work (*Spieghel der Zeevaart*) was translated into English under the title of the *Mariner's Mirrour*.

native of Antwerp, whom he had known at Lisbon, and who having since made a voyage to Malacca, where he had remained fourteen months, was now on his way home. From him our inquisitive young traveller gathered much information about that emporium of Eastern trade and the neighbouring countries and islands. After visiting Ascension—of which island, as well as St. Helena, Linschoten sketched the coast—the Portuguese ships reached the Azores on 22nd July, after having had a narrow escape from the English fleet, whose presence forced them to anchor before Tercera, although it was very dangerous at this season to lie there, as they were soon to experience to their cost. On the 4th of August a tempest arose, and caused the ship from Malacca to founder. The supercargo, Afhuysen, urged Linschoten to remain with him in Tercera and join him in his efforts to recover the cargo by divers, and by other means. He assented, and remained more than two years on the island, which the governor, who had taken a liking for him, enabled him to explore with his own horses. To this circumstance we owe a full description of the island, and an account of all occurrences in the Azores to the end of 1591, including notices of the English expeditions to capture the Spanish and Portuguese ships returning from the Indies, and a full narrative of the death of that doughty warrior Richard Grenville.

On the 2nd of January 1592, Linschoten returned to Lisbon, whence, after arranging his affairs, he

went to Setubal, where he embarked on a ship then waiting to sail for the Netherlands. On the 3rd of September he reached his home at Enkhuizen, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. He "found his mother, brother, and sister in good health", but his father had died a short time after his departure.

The fruits of Linschoten's voyage are laid down in his *Itinerario*, which he began to compile on his return. The States-General granted him (October 8, 1594) a licence to publish the work, but, as we shall presently see, the publication was retarded, and only completed at the beginning of 1596.

The *first* part, which contains the *Itinerary* proper, is that here translated. It is preceded by the author's dedication to the States-General, a short preface, Dutch and Latin laudatory poems, and a portrait of Linschoten, of which a reproduction is given in this volume. The text has a great many interpolations, printed in italics. These were written by a learned physician then living at Enkhuizen, Bernard ten Broecke, whose name, after the manner of the time, was Latinised as Paludanus. Born at Steenwyk, in the province of Overyssel, in 1550, he studied and took his degree at the University of Padua, made a journey into Syria and Egypt, and brought home with him, as his epitaph says, "chests filled with the wonders of nature". His collection, the pride of Enkhuizen, was often visited by foreigners. It was augmented by the gifts of many travellers, of whom Linschoten was one, and by

those of learned men with whom he had entered into correspondence. In 1591 he was appointed Professor at the University of Leyden, but, moved by the entreaties of his fellow-citizens, he declined the appointment. As a writer, Paludanus is only known by his co-operation in the work of his townsman. His additions to our author are in part the fruits of his own experience and in part taken from previous writers.

The *second* part<sup>1</sup> of the great work of Linschoten, which was printed before the first,<sup>2</sup> is also very interesting. It contains a collection of the routes to India, the Eastern seas, and the American coasts, translated from the manuscripts of Spanish and Portuguese pilots ; and is, in particular, full of details on the routes beyond Malacca, in the Malay Archipelago, and on the Chinese coasts. It is by this compilation that Linschoten rendered his countrymen—as we shall see afterwards—the most direct benefit.

To this second part is added, with a separate title, a summary of all the domains, duties, tributes, revenues, etc., of the King of Spain, with a short description of the government, power, and origin of

<sup>1</sup> In many copies the third part (*Beschrÿvinghe van de gantsche custe van Guinea*) is bound before the second (*Reysgheschrift*), as the table of the maps prescribes. In the old English version the "First Book" is that of Linschoten's Voyages in the East (here reprinted) ; the Second is the Description of Guinea, etc., and of America ; the Third is the "Navigation" or Sea-Directory ; the Fourth is the Summary of the Revenues of the King of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> The title-page has the date of 1595.

the Kings of Portugal, the whole translated from the Spanish.

The *third* part consists of a short description of the eastern and western coasts of Africa, with a more ample description of America. These notices are taken from previous writers, as Lopez on the Congo; Peter Martyr and Oviedo on America; Jean de Lery on Brazil, etc., and were compiled with the help of Paludanus. This we learn from some expressions in the text itself, and from the preface in Linschoten's translation of Acosta's work, of which we shall speak hereafter.

The original edition is illustrated by thirty-six plates and plans, drawn by the author himself, and engraved by the brothers Joannes and Baptista à Doetechum. Besides these, there are six large maps made by Arnoldus and Henricus Florentii à Langren.

The plates illustrate the inhabitants, manners, customs, natural products, and manufactures of the country, and mostly refer to Goa and its neighbourhood. The plans are of Mozambique, Goa, St. Helena, Ascension, and Angra in Tercera; those of Goa and Angra are very full and interesting. The first map is that of the World. It bears, in the original Dutch edition,<sup>1</sup> the name of J. Bapt.

<sup>1</sup> The map in the old English version (belonging to India Library), as before me now, does not bear this name. In the left-hand corner, on the side of the *box*, below the figure called MEXI-

CANA, is—

IOANNES A DUETE CUM IUNIOR FECIT.
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—H. Y.

Vrient, of Antwerp, the same who bought and republished, with many additions, the Atlas of Ortelius. On this map are likewise shown the northern and southern constellations, including among the latter that of *Columba*, drawn for the first time by the Dutch mathematician Petrus Plancius. The other maps represent the west and east coasts of Africa, the western and eastern portions of Southern Asia, and part of America. When we compare those of Africa and Asia with other printed maps of the time, *i. e.*, those of Ortelius, Mercator, and De Jode,<sup>1</sup> they show many improvements, evidently borrowed from Spanish and Portuguese sources. We learn from the resolutions of the States-General<sup>2</sup> that, in 1592, the printer, Cornelius Claesz, at Amsterdam, the same who published the work of Linschoten, had obtained, with the help of Plancius, from Bartolomeo de Lasso, "cosmographer of the King of Spain", a collection of sea-charts of the whole world, with descriptions of the sailing-routes, and that the States gave him a patent for printing and publishing them. At the same time he obtained from them a patent for a great "Land and Sea Chart of the World", made by Plancius and engraved by John à Doetechum, as also for a chart of Asia "made by an expert in

<sup>1</sup> The map, "Asia, partium orbis maxima, formis haeredum Gerardi de Jode", in the *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* of Ger. and Corn. de Jode (1593), has some improvements, which we find also on the maps of Linschoten, but the names are less correct.

<sup>2</sup> Communicated by M. de Jonge, in his work, *De opkomst van het Ned. gezag in O. Indie*, vol. i, pp. 167-69.

the art of navigation at Goa, in East India.”<sup>1</sup> Now, the map of the World in the *Itinerario* would seem to be a reduced copy of the “great map” of Plancius (of which I have never seen a copy), as it contains the constellation named by him; while doubtless the chart of Asia “made at Goa”, and the sea charts obtained from Bart. de Lasso, were also used for the maps of the *Itinerario*, which claimed to be “from the most correct charts that the Portuguese pilots nowadays make use of”. From a careful comparison of some parts with earlier printed maps, I can affirm that this claim is no vain boast, but the simple truth.

We have seen that Linschoten returned to Holland in September 1592. At that time the project of seeking a shorter way to India by the north of Asia—a route long since discovered and abandoned by the English—ripened in the mind of an energetic merchant of Middelburg (Zeeland), named Balthasar de Moucheron, who for many years had traded on the northern coast of Russia. At the close of 1593, he communicated his plan to the States-General and the Prince of Orange, and asked their support. It happened that one of the promoters of the scheme was Francis Maelson, formerly pensionary of Enkhuizen, and now Counsellor of the Prince of Orange, a very able and influential statesman, who had known and befriended our Linschoten. When it was de-

<sup>1</sup> The patent, as printed in the *Resolution*, is confused, but it is evident that by the chart of Asia (“Asiatische Chaerte”) is meant a different map from that of Plancius.



cided that three little ships should be sent on a voyage of discovery, one equipped at Middelburg, one at Enkhuizen, and one at Amsterdam, Linschoten obtained the appointment of "commies" (supercargo) on the Enkhuizen ship, with orders to keep a journal of the proceedings.

For the history of this voyage, we must refer to the valuable introduction by Dr. Charles T. Beke, prefixed to the journal of Gerard de Veer, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1853.<sup>1</sup> We need only remark that the three ships sailed from Texel on the 4th of June 1594, and returned in September of the same year, those of Middelburg and Enkhuizen having reached the Kara Sea, and found, a great way beyond the Straits, an open track to the north, while that of Amsterdam, commanded by William Barentsz, sailed along the west coast of Nova Zembla, and passed Cape Nassau, but, after vainly endeavouring to make her way through the ice, was compelled to return.

Linschoten, having reported by letter the issue of the expedition to Prince Maurice of Orange and the States-General, was summoned to the Hague to make a further report *vivâ voce*, as well to the Prince as to John van Oldenbarnevelt, then the head of the Government. To them he presented his

<sup>1</sup> Of this, a second edition was published by the Society in 1876, after the discovery of the Barentsz relics on Nova Zembla by Capt. Carlsen (1871) and Mr. C. Gardiner (1875), with a new introduction by Lieut. Koolemans Beynen of the Royal Netherlands Navy.

journal of the voyage, a very detailed and interesting account of which was afterwards published. The original edition,<sup>1</sup> with its curious charts and engravings illustrating the inhabitants of Northern Russia, of whom little was then known, has now become very scarce.

It was the full conviction of Linschoten that the northern route to China and India had now been discovered, and he succeeded in imparting his sanguine hopes to a great many of his compatriots. Next year not less than seven vessels were equipped to follow this track. They started from Texel on the 2nd of July 1595. Linschoten himself was appointed one of the two Chief Commissioners. How the ships were prevented by the ice from reaching the Kara Sea and were at last compelled to return, is amply related by Dr. Beke. The journal kept by Linschoten of this unsuccessful voyage has been preserved, and was printed along with that of the expedition.

The disappointment was as great as the hope of success had been sanguine. The States-General resolved to make no further attempt at the public expense. But, owing to the undaunted spirit of discovery of William Barentsz and some others, who were of opinion that a passage might be effected by the north of Nova Zembla, the merchants of

<sup>1</sup> Printed at Franeker in 1601. A description of the volume is given by Beke, Introduction, p. cxxii, and in my *Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais* (Amsterdam, 1867), p. 190.

Amsterdam resolved to make a third attempt, and in 1596 Barentsz and his comrades went on their third voyage, which ended in the ever-memorable winter on Nova Zembla and the death of the brave navigator.

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A short time before the second Dutch expedition started to the north, the first Dutch fleet sailed to India on the track of the Portuguese. As the great work on India by Linschoten was only published in 1596, it would at first sight appear that this decision of the Dutch merchants had nothing to do with that publication. But the fact is otherwise. In the first place, that part of the work which contained the Nautical Directory, the most important with respect to navigation, was already printed in 1595; and further, it results from the journals of the first voyage to India, that the book was actually made use of on board the ships. Besides, it is evident that the track beyond the Cape was chosen in accordance with the opinion of Linschoten, whose conversation also may probably have assisted the promoters. The Dutch Government had stipulated that the ships should as much as possible avoid conflicts with the Portuguese, and seek a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants. Now, Linschoten had pointed out<sup>1</sup> the great importance of the trade with Java, and had remarked that there "men might well traffick without any hindrance, for that the Portingales come not thither because great num-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 112 of vol. i, in this edition.

bers of Java come themselves unto Malacca to sell their wares." So it came about that the Dutch ships chose the route to the Strait of Sunda, and Java was the first Indian country reached by them. It happened, however, that Linschoten had erred in assuming that the Portuguese did not come themselves to Java, for when the Dutch arrived at Bantam, the Portuguese merchants there were the principal cause that their first endeavours to open the trade were unsuccessful. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the brilliant success of the second and later voyages proves that Linschoten was very right in directing the particular attention of his compatriots to Java. The choice of this island for their head-quarters has been one of the causes of the rapid rise of the Dutch power in the Indies.

After his second voyage to the north, Linschoten took no further active part in maritime expeditions, but his interest in them remained unabated. The flourishing seaport of Enkhuizen, where he found such congenial friends as Bernard Paludanus and Lucas Jansz Waghenaer, attracted him so much that he settled there and was appointed treasurer to the town. The said Waghenaer, author of the best sailing-directions of that time (which were also translated into English), published in 1598 a popular work of the kind, named *Enkhuizer Zeekaertboek*; and in his preface thanked his friend and fellow-citizen Linschoten, for the assistance he had given him, and for which his northern voyages had furnished the

materials. In this same year Linschoten published a Dutch translation of the well-known work written by the learned Jesuit, Josef de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, under the title of *Historia natural ende morael van de Westersche Indien*,<sup>1</sup> the Indies, or West Indies, being then the common name for America. In the dedication to "his gracious and commanding masters", the magistrates of Enkhuizen, he frankly confesses that the description of the West Indies, which he, with the help of Dr. Paludanus, had appended to the *Itinerario*, was much inferior to this work of Acosta, in plan as well as performance. "For this author has not contented himself with relating all the particularities in the air and the water, above and below the earth, in the said countries, but he has tried very ingeniously to give from natural science (wherein he shows himself very experienced) the proper reason and explanation of each of them." It appears from this sentence that Linschoten had not an exalted opinion of his own powers. They were, however, appreciated by many of his compatriots.

In the year 1606, the States of the province of Holland resolved to favour the establishment of a West India Company, which should trade with America and the West Coast of Africa, and damage the Spaniards in those regions. A committee was appointed to inquire if there were enough persons to be found who would be willing to participate in it, and among the members of this

<sup>1</sup> See my *Mémoire Bibliographique*, ut supra, p. 307.

committee we find the name of Linschoten. The plan was frustrated, however, by the twelve years' truce with Spain in 1606, and the Dutch West India Company was not founded until this truce came to an end.

In this same year, 1609, Linschoten translated from the Spanish a letter of the King of Spain to the Duke of Lerma, concerning the banishment of the Moriscos.<sup>1</sup> It must have interested our traveller, who had lived some time in Spain, and who was so keen-sighted in probing the corruption existing among the Portuguese, to note how the Spanish Government were hastening by every means the ruin of their once powerful State.

The licenses which the States-General had granted Linschoten for the publication of his Indian and Northern journals were renewed in 1610. But it appears that Linschoten hoped to receive a more substantial recognition of the services he had rendered to his country. Indeed, those services were not small. We have seen that the *Itinerario* had been one of the keys that opened the entrance to India; and though the voyages to the North had failed of their immediate object, they had much contributed to a better knowledge of the Polar Sea and the northern coasts. So it cannot surprise us that he sought from the States-General an annual pension. But the Government deemed the patent for his books a sufficient remuneration, and his petition was refused.

<sup>1</sup> It was published at Enkhuizen by J. Lz. Meyn.

Had it been granted, the author would not have long enjoyed it. He died on the 8th February 1611, at the age of 48 years.

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The fame of Linschoten out of Holland rests mainly on his *Itinerario*. This book was in some respects a revelation. After its publication, everyone learned that the colonial empire of the Portuguese was rotten, and that an energetic rival would have every chance of supplanting them. Its importance met with speedy and extensive recognition. English and German translations were published in 1598; two Latin translations (one at Frankfort and one at Amsterdam) in 1599; a French translation in 1610. The latter, as well as the original Dutch,<sup>1</sup> was more than once reprinted. For long the book was constantly quoted as an authority. As circumstances changed, and the knowledge of Indian matters increased, it was in many respects replaced by more scientific works; but, as a picture of Portuguese India at the end of the sixteenth century, it has retained all its interest.

As to the style of Linschoten, I shall only repeat what I find in the MS. notes of Dr. Burnell, and add what he says on the English version and the reprint of it.

“The style of Linschoten”, Dr. Burnell says, “is plain and simple, but he has a peculiar trick of

<sup>1</sup> See on all these editions my *Mémoire Bibliographique*, pp. 83-103.

using synonymous words in great numbers, especially if he can introduce a Romance synonym of a Dutch word, *e.g.*, 'Itinerario ofte schipvaert'. The original edition has some misprints, but they are much more common in the English version. This version is poorly done. It is anonymous, but the title to the second part (the true and perfect description of ..... Guinea .....) has W. P. for the translator's initials, and these are usually taken to stand for William Phillip. Whoever he was, he does not seem to have had an idea of the literal method of translation, introduced by Aldus, and which has now been recognised as the only proper way of translating. His translation is, in fact, loose and paraphrastic; he repeatedly introduces words that are not required, and if he does not translate V. Linschoten's synonym always, he, almost always, when the original has only a single word, puts in a synonym of his own. Where V. Linschoten uses the impersonal form, the translator makes it always direct—*e.g.*, for 'as has been said', he puts 'as I (or we) have said'. To mark all these peculiarities of the English version would be impossible, except by re-translating the text, and giving the new translation in company with the old one: but this, it is obvious, it would not be worth while to print or do. I have, therefore, when it was possible, marked interpolations by [ ], and where the passage seemed of the least interest, have given a literal version in the notes. The orthography has been carefully preserved at great cost of time and trouble. It is most irregular.



The confusion between *u* and *v* has not been observed. As in other books of the same period and earlier, this confusion depends on a simple rule—where the initial letter is either *u* or *v*, *v* is put; and for a medial *v* or *u*, *u* is always put. The mark ~ for *m* or *n* has not been preserved, nor has the mark & for ‘and’.

“Again, all proper names, as well as some others, and the headings of chapters as well as the additions of Dr. Paludanus, are, in the original, in modern Roman type, whereas the text is in black-letter. It did not appear useful or ornamental to preserve this difference in the present reprint.”

P. A. TIELE.

UTRECHT, OCTOBER 1883.

N.B.—As regards the second volume, I have followed the method of Dr. Burnell in correcting the English text. In the notes I have only given explanations where I deemed it *necessary*. In elucidating the words in Eastern languages, I have to acknowledge with many thanks the help of Prof. H. Kern and Prof. M. J. de Goeje of Leiden, and that of Colonel H. Yule, who has likewise had the goodness to revise the proof sheets. The notes signed B. are by Dr. Burnell; those signed K. by Dr. Kern; those signed Y. by Colonel Yule.

T.

SEMPER EADEM

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IOHN

HVIGHEN VAN

LINSCHOTEN

his Discours of Voyages

*into y<sup>e</sup> Easte & West*

*Indies*

*Devided into foure Bookes*

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Printed at London by

IOHN WOLFE

*Printer to y<sup>e</sup> Honorable Cittie of*

*London.*



# To the Right VVorshipfull

IVLIVS CAESAR, Doctor of the Lawes,

*Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Master of*

*Requests to the Queenes Maiesty, and Master  
of Saint Katherines.*

---

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL: The manyfolde Curtesies, which it hath pleased you from time to time to multiply vpon mee, haue made me so greatly beholden vnto you, that they can neuer dye, but remaine fresh in my remembrance during my Life. So that I must enforce my selfe with all my best Endeouours openly to acknowledge the same, and by all the meanes that possibly I can, to bee thankefull for them; otherwise I might justly be noted with the blacke spotte of *Ingratitude*, the most odious vice that can raigne amongst men: which vice to auoyde, I have studied earnestly to finde out some way, whereby I might make knowne vnto your Worship that duetifull reuerence and affection, which I owe vnto you in that respect. But hauing hitherto had no fit oportunitie or good occasion to declare the same, I haue bene constraigned to remaine in this debt, vntill now at last it hath pleased God to offer me a meane which I hope will not be displeasing vnto you. About a Tweluemonth agoe, a learned Gentleman brought vnto mee the Voyages and Nauigation of *John Huyghen van Linschoten* into the *Indies*, written in the *Dutche* Tongue, which he wished might be translated into our Language, because hee thought it would be not onely delightfull, but also very commodious for our *English Nation*. Vpon this commendation and opinion, I procured the Translation thereof accordingly, and so thought good to publish the same in Print, to the ende it might bee made common and knowen to euerybody. And calling to

minde the vsual custome of *Writers* and *Printers* in these daies, who do commonly shelter and shrowde their works vnder the credit of some such as are able to Patronize the same, your Worship represented it selfe before mee, and did (as it were of right) challenge the *Patronage* hereof, as being a Matter that appertaineth to your *Jurisdiction*. For this *Dutchman* arriuing here in *England* after his long trauell and *Navigation* and bringing rare *Intelligences* with him from *Forreyne* parts, good reason it is that hee should bee examined by such as are in place and Authority appointed for such purposes. And to whom can hee be directed better then to your selfe, whom it hath pleased her most excellent Maiestie to authorize for *Iudge* in *Sea* matters and *Admirall* causes. And therefore I haue brought him vnto you, with earnest request, that you will be pleased to examine him accordingly, and if you shall finde him any way beneficiall to our Countrey and Countrey men, vouchsafe your good countenance, and giue him such intertainment as he shall deserve. Thus am I bold with your worship to acknowledge my duties after this homely manner, hauing none other meane to shew my selfe thankfull, but by presenting you with this slender fruite of my abilitie & facultie, which I beseech you to accept in good part; and I shall not cease to pray to God, that hee will blesse you with long life, and prosperous health, to the great comfort of many her Maiesties Subiects and Suppliantes that are daylie to bee relieued by your good means.

*Your Worships euer most bounden,*

JOHN WOLFE.

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## TO THE READER.

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LUCIAN in one of his *Dialogues* intituled 'Επισκοποῦντες, or *Surueyers*, writeth of *Charon* the old *Ferrie-Man* of *Hell*, that vpon a great desire which he had conceiued to view this world and the *Actions* of men therein, hee begged leaue of *Pluto*, that hee might haue a playing day, and bee absent from his boat, to the end he might satisfie his thirsty humor, that troubled him so eagerly. Meeting with *Mercurie* his fellow *Boatswayne* (for he also conducteth Souls in *Charons* Barge), they two concluded together, like the two *Sonnes* of *Aloëus*, to clap the *Mountaine Pelius* vpon *Mount Ossa*, and when they found that they were not high inough to take the surueigh, they added *Mount Ceta* vnto them, and *Parnassus* ouer them all. Vpon the toppe wherof, hauing settled themselves, they did at leysure and pleasure take a view not onely of the *Seas*, and *Mountaines*, and *Cities* of the world, but also of the *Inhabitants* therof, together with their *Speeches*, *Actions* and *Manners*. The same *Author* in another *Dialogue* called *Icaro-Menippus* discourseth of the *Cinike Menippus*, who being troubled with the same humor tooke vnto him the right wing of an *Eagle*, and the left wing of a *Vulture*, and hauing fastened them to his body with strong and sturdie thongs, mounted vp first to the *Acropolis* or *Capitol* of *Athens*, and then from *Hymettus* by the *Gerania* to *Acro-Corinthus*, and so to *Pholoë*, and *Erymanthus*, and *Taygetus*, and at last to *Olympus*: where he grew somewhat more bragg and audacious, then before he was, and soared higher vpwards till he had reached the *Moone*, and then the *Sunne*, and from thence the *Habitation* of *Iupiter* and the rest of the *Gods*: a sufficient flight (as he saith) for a well trussed *Eagle* to performe in a day. There he rested himselfe, and

discouered all the world and euery particularity thereof, to the end he might the more freely and like a *Scoggan* taunt and scoffe at the *Actions* of men in their seuerall kinds. But to leaue these *Poeticall Fictions*, and vaine Fables, which doo but declare the Nature of Man to bee desirous of Nouelties, and curious to know those things whereof he is ignorant; let vs come to those that being neither coniured out of hell, nor rapt into the heauens, but of their owne honourable disposition and instinct of Nature, haue not onely compassed Sea and Land in their own persons to learne and beholde *Nations, Realmes, Peoples* and *Countries* vnknowne, for the augmentation of their owne priuate skill and cunning, but also have committed their knowledge and labours to writing for the propagation of the seruice and glorie of God in *Pagan* and *Heathen* places, and the great pleasure, profit and commodity of their *Countrymen*. Of this kinde and sort of famous men, there hath beene great store in al ages, but specially at the first, *Homer, Anaximander, Hecatæus, Democritus, Eudoxus, Timæus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Possidonius, Dionysius, Strabo, Solinus, Pomponius Mela, Maximus Tyrius, Ptolomée*, and an infinite number of other ancient *Authors*, that have imployed their wits and industries in this behalf to the singular benefit of our later times, wherein there haue beene most excellent and exquisite followers of them, as *Munsters, Mercators, Theuets, Belonies, Ortelies, Villamonts*, & many moe, that by the light and good meanes of those their *Predecessors*, haue run beyonde them many degrees and discouered such New worlds as were neuer knowne to our Fathers and Forefathers; and therefore doo deserue the greater commendation. No doubt, it is very troublesome and laborious to iourney by land for the attaining to this knowledge: but to trauell by *Sea*, is not onely most dangerous, but also in a maner almost a desperate estate, considering especially the great perils wherevnto it is hourelly subiect, as namely, *Rockes, Flats, Sandes, Gulphes, Stormes, Tempests*, besides the continuall Watching and care in obseruing the *Poles Arctike*, and *Antarctike*, the *Æquinoctiall*

*Line, the Altitude and Degrees of the Meridian, the Circle of the Zodiacke, the Horizon, the Tropikes, the Longitude and Latitude of Heauen and Earth, the Paralleles, the Hemisphere, the Zenith, the Centre, and a Rablement of such curiosities, that are able to breake the braines of the soundest man aliue. To these if you will add the intollerable paines, and infinite diseases that doo spend their bodies, you must needs say, that they are the most miserable Creatures of the Worlde: So that you cannot choose but bee of the opinion of Anacharsis that Noble Philosopher, who beeing demaunded whether Number was the greater that of the dead or that of the Living, did redemaund againe, In which Number do you reckon those that trauell on the Seas? Signifyng thereby, that such as trauell vpon the Sea are in so great danger of death, that they doo continually dye liuing, & liue dying. And therefore well sayd Bias (one of the seuen Sages) that Saylers vpon the Sea were alwayes within two ynches of their death: and true it is, which the Latyn Lyrike Poet writeth That Man had a Hart of Oke, and was fenced with a triple Corslet of Brasse, that first adventured to commit a slender Boat to the raging Sea. A Type and Patterne of all which miseries, together with the cunning and skilfull Art of Navigation, is comprised in this Volume which wee haue in hand, being a most perfect description of the East and West Indies, or (as they are commonly called) the Portugall and Spanish Indies: A Worke assuredly very profitable and commodious for all such as are desirous & curious louers of Nouelties.*

Of these *Indies*, though not in distinguished tearmes of *East and West*, sundry *Historiographers* and *Authors* of the old *World* have made an honourable Mention, and left an exceeding commendation thereof, for the wonderfull and rare matters, that were discovered by the seuerall Trauels and Nauigation of diuers famous Captains: as namely, *Alexander the Great, Seleucus, Antiochus, Patrocles, and Onesicritus*, who had been all in the saide *Indies*, insomuch as one of them held them to be the *Third part* of all the

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Land that is inhabited, in regard of the great *Prouinces*, puissant *Cities*, and vnmeasurable *Islands* that are found therein: all very fruitfull and yeelding such treasure and rich Merchandize, as none other place of the whole world can afford. And although the curiosity and labour of these auncients was very great, yet greater hath beene the trauell and industry of those which of late time, and in our age hath beene employed therein: For the auncient Trauellers had in deede a certain kind of knowledge of this *Countrey* and *People*; but it was very vncertaine and vnperfect: Whereas we in our times are thoroughly learned and instructed by our owne experience in the *Prouinces*, *Cities*, *Riuers*, *Hauens*, and *Trafficks* of them all: So that nowe it is become knowne to the whole world. First the *Portingalls* (being great Merchants by reason of their skill in *Navigation* which in our dayes is growne to a more full perfection, than euer it hath beene in times past): they I say first discouered the *Wast* and *Desert Part* of the *Indies*, caused their *King* to be entertayned and honoured among the *People*, encreased and enhaused their credit and Name exceedingly, and the sundry commodities of their seuerall fruits and spices haue dispersed and communicated not onely to their owne Countrymen, but also to all Nations vnder the *Sunne*. But here the Matter stayed not: For then came the *English* (a *People* that in the Art of *Navigation* giueth place to none other) and they were incited to take this *Indian Voyage* in hande, and to make it generally knowne vnto their *Island*: & therevpon Syr *Francis Drake*, and Master *Thomas Candish* did not only sayle into the sayde *Indies*, but also trauelled round about the world, with a most happy and famous successe. Whose examples diuers honourable Gentlemen and valiant *Captaines* of *England* haue followed, to their vnspeakable praise and commendation, and the exceeding glory of their Country: as namely the Right Honourable *Earle of Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Syr *Francis Drake*, Syr *Martin Frobisher*, Syr *Richard Greenefield*, Syr *John Hawkins*, and Syr *Walter Raleigh*, and diuers others

named and mentioned in this Booke, And last of all, the *People* of the *Low*-*Countries* being instructed by the diligent search and trauell of the *English Nation*, fell to the like trafficke into the *Indies*, and haue performed many Honourable and profitable Voyages. Among whom the Author of this Booke, *John-Hugh Linschote* of *Harlem* was one that continued in *India* for the most part of nine yeares, and had good opportunity of sure and certaine intelligences by reason of his seruice under *Vincentius da Fonseca*, a *Fryer Dominican*, & by *K. Philip* created *Archbishop* of all *India*. This *Man Hugh Linschote* behaued himselfe so honestly and warily during the time of his abode there, that he was not onely in high fauour of his Lord and Maister, but he was also singularly and generally beloued of all the Inhabitants of the places where hee was most resiant.\* He did most diligently and considerately obserue and collect together all occurrents and accidents that happened in his memory and knowledge, and the same hath committed to writing in the *Dutch Tongue* with all faithfulness, to his owne euerlasting praise, and to the benefit of his Country, together with all the seuerall *Mappes* and descriptions of the *Countries*, *Cities* and *Townes*, and all the commodities therevnto belonging, which *Booke* being commended by Maister *Richard Hackluyt*, a man that laboureth greatly to aduance our *English Name* and Nation, the *Printer* thought good to cause the same to bee translated into the *English Tongue*.

The Volume conteyneth in it foure seuerall Treatises. *The First is*, *The Voyage* or *Iourney by sea* of the sayde *Hugh Linschote* the *Author*, into the *East* or *Portingall Indies*, together with all the *Sea-Coasts*, *Hauens*, *Riuers* and *Creekes* of the same, their *Customes* and *Religion*, their *Policie* and *Gouernement*, their *Marchandises*, *Drugges*, *Spyces*, *Hearbs* and *Plants*, the vertues whereof are explained by the *Annotations* of *Doctor Paludanus*, the learned *Phisitian* of *Enkhuyzen*: And last of all, a *Memoriall* of such *Accidents* as fell out during the *Author's* abode in *India*.

<sup>1</sup> Resident.

*The Second Treatise is, the Description of Guinea, Manicongo, Angola, Monomotapa, &c., with a discovery of the great Island of Madagascar, and all the Shallowes, Cliffes and Islands of the Indian Seas: The most part whereof was collected before by one Pigafetta from the mouth of Edward Lopez and published in English the last yeare.*

*The Third Treatise is, The Navigation of the Portingales into the East Indies: & from thence to Malacca, China, Japon, Iava and Sunda: And from China to the Westerne or Spanish Indies, and all the Coast of Brasilia, &c.*

*The Fourth and last Treatise is, A most true and exact Summarie of all the Rents, Demaynes, Tolles, Taxes, Imposts, Tributes, Tenths, Third-pennies and generally all the Reuenues of the King of Spayne, arising out of all his Kingdomes, Lands, Prouinces and Lordships, as well of Portugall as of Spayne, collected out of the Originall Registers of his seuerall Chambers of Accompts: together with a briefe description of the gouernment and Pedegree of the Kinges of Portugall.*

I doo not doubt, but yet I doo most hartely pray and wish, that this poore Translation may worke in our *English Nation* a further desire and increase of Honour ouer all *Countreys* of the *World*, and as it hath hitherto mightily advanced the Credite of the Realme by defending the same with our *Wodden Walles* (as *Themistocles* called the Ships of *Athens*): So it would employ the same in forraine partes, as well for the dispersing and planting true Religion and Ciuill Conuersation therein: As also for the further benefite and commodity of this Land by exportation of such thinges wherein we doe abound, and importation of those *Necessities* whereof we stand in Neede: as *Hercules* did, when hee fetched away the *Golden Apples* out of the *Garden* of the *Hesperides*; and *Iason*, when with his lustie troupe of couragious *Argonautes* hee atchieued the *Golden Fleece* in *Colchos*.

*Farewell.*

# VOYAGE OF VAN LINSCHOTEN.

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## The First Booke.

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### CHAPTER. I.

The Voyage and travailes of John Hugen<sup>1</sup> van Linschoten into the East or Portingales Indies: Setting downe a briefe discourse of the said Landes, and sea coastes, with the principall Havens, Rivers, Creekes, and other places of the same, as yet not knowne nor discovered<sup>2</sup> by the Portingales: Describing withall not onely the manner of apparrell of the Portingales inhabiting therin, but also of the naturall borne Indians, their Temples, Idols, houses, trees, Fruites, Hearbes, Spices, and such like: Together with the customes of those countries, as well for their manner of Idolatrous religion and worshipping of Images, as also for their policie and government of their houses, their trade, and traffique in Marchandise, how and from whence their wares are sold, and brought thether: With a collection of the most memorable and worthiest things happened in the time of his beeing in the same countries, very profitable and pleasant to all such as are welwillers, or desirous to heare and read of strange things.

BEEING young, [and living idlelye] in my native Countrie,<sup>3</sup> sometimes applying my selfe to the reading of Histories, and straunge adventures, wherein I tooke no small delight, I found my minde so much addicted to see and travaile into strange Countries, thereby to seeke some adventure, that in the end to satisfie my selfe, I determined, and was fully re-

<sup>1</sup>The translator has here adopted a misprint in the original Dutch; read "Huyghen".

<sup>2</sup>This is wrongly translated by the interpolation of "not", which is wanting in the Dutch: the original has, "as yet discovered by and known to the Portuguese". Linschoten's Latin version (1599) has, "Præcipuorum ..... locorumque Lusitanorum hactenus navigationibus detectorum, signa et notæ".

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Enkhuyzen.

solved, for a time to leave my Native Countrie, and my friendes (although it greeved me) yet the hope I had to accomplish my desire, together with the resolution, taken in the end overcame my affection and put me in good comfort, to take the matter upon me, trusting in God that he would further my intent. Which done, being resolved, thereupon I tooke leave of my Parents, who as then dwelt at Enckhuysen, and being ready to imbarke my selfe, I went to a Fleet of ships that as then lay before the Tassel, staying the winde to sayle for Spaine, and Portingale, where I imbarked my selfe in a ship that was bound for S. Lucas de Barameda, being determined to travaile unto Sivill, where as then I had two bretheren that had continued there certaine yeares before: so to help my selfe the better, and by their meanes to know the manner and custome of those Countries, as also to learne the Spanish tongue.

And the 6. of December, in the yere of our Lord 1576 we put out of the Tassel, (being in all about 80. ships) and set our course for Spain, and the ninth of the same month, wee passed betweene Dover and Callis, and within three dayes after wee had the sight of the Cape of Finisterra, and the fiftene of the same moneth we saw the land of Sintra, otherwise called the Cape Roexent, from whence the river Tegio, or Tagus, runneth into the maine Sea, upon the which river lieth the famous citie of Lisbone, where some of our Fleet put in, and left us. The 17. day wee saw Cape S. Vincent, and upon Christmas day after we entred into the river of S. Lucas de Barameda,<sup>1</sup> where I stayed two or three dayes, and then travailed to Sivill, and the first day of Januarie following, I entred into the citie, where I found one of my brethren, but the other was newly ridden to the Court, lying as then in Madrill. And although I had a speciall desire presently to travaile further, yet for want of the Spanish

<sup>1</sup> San Lucar was, and is, the port of Seville. The latest description I know of it is in Borrow's *Bible in Spain*, orig. ed., iii, p. 227, ff.

tongue, without the which men can hardlie passe the countrie, I was constrained to stay there to learne some part of their language : meane time it chanced that Don Henry<sup>1</sup> (the last King of Portingale<sup>2</sup>) died : by which meanes a great contention and debate hapned as then in Portingale, by reason that the said King by his [Will<sup>3</sup> and] Testament,<sup>4</sup> made Phillip King of Spaine, his Sister's Sonne, lawful Heire unto the Crowne of Portingal. Notwithstanding the Portingals (alwaies deadly enemies to the Spaniards) were wholly against it, and elected for their king, Don Antonio, Prior de Ocrato,<sup>5</sup> brothers Son to the King, that died before Don Henry : which the King of Spaine hearing, presently prepared himself in person to goe into Portingale to receive the Crowne, sending before him the Duke of Alva, with a troupe of men to cease their strife, and pacifie the matter : so that in the end, partly by force, and partly by mony, hee brought the Countrie under his subiection. Whereupon divers men went out of Sivill and other places into Portingale, as it is commonlie seene that men are often addicted to changes and new alterations, among the which my Brother by other mens counsels was one : First travelling to the borders of Spaine, being a cittie called Badaios, standing in the frontiers of Portingale, where they hoped to finde some better meanes, and they

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Cardinal Dom Henrique, titular Archbishop of Evora and administrator of Braga, and Dom Sebastiam's uncle. He was proclaimed king on the 20th August 1578, and died on the 31st January 1580.

<sup>2</sup> More correctly: "The last of the Portuguese family." "Den laetsten uyt die Portugaloische stamme," *i.e.*, of the house of Viseu.

<sup>3</sup> This is an error. The old king was much vexed by intrigues, and refused to recognise Donna Catharina of Braganza, and left it to the Archbishop of Lisbon and some others to settle the succession, but they could not agree; so Philip II availed himself of the confusion which followed on the old king's death to back up his claims by force.

<sup>4</sup> Orig., "testament" only.

<sup>5</sup> Crato was a famous house of the order of St. John, or Knights Hospitallers. It is in Alemtejo. The prior and head of the order in Portugal was usually a member of the Royal Family.

were no sooner arived there, but they heard news that all was quiet in Portingale, and that Don Antonio was driven out of the countrie, and Phillip by consent of the Land receyved for king. Whereupon my Brother presently changed his minde of travelling for Portingale, and entred into service with an Ambassador, that on the Kings behalfe was to goe into Italie, with whome he rode: and ariving in Salamanca he fell sicke of a disease called *tauardilha*,<sup>1</sup> which at that time raigned throughout the whole Countrie of Spaine, whereof many thousands died: and among the rest my Brother was one.

*This sicknesse being very contagious, raigned not onely in Spaine, but also in Italie, Germany, and almost throughout all Christendome, whereof I my selfe was sicke being as then in Italie, and by them it was called Coccolucio, because such as were troubled therewith, were no otherwise troubled then in the throat, like unto Hennes which have the pip, after the which followed many pestilent fevers, with divers strange fits, which continued not above foure dayes.*<sup>2</sup>

Not long before, the plague was so great in Portingale, that in two yeres space there died in Lisbone to the number of 80. thousand people: after the which plague the saide disease ensued, which wrought great destruction throughout the whole Countrie of Spaine.

The fift day of August in the same yeare, having some understanding in the Spanish tongue, I placed my selfe with a Dutch gentleman, who determined to travaile into Portingal, to see the countrie, and with him stayed to take a more convenient time for my pretended voyage.

Upon the first of September following we departed from

<sup>1</sup> Sasseti, *Lettere* (ed. of 1855), p. 142, says that this was called "le petecchie" by the Italians. In this case, it appears to have been typhus; but the name was also given to epidemics of plague and diphtheria. (Littre et Robin, *Dict. de Médecine*, s.v. 'Coqueluche'.)

<sup>2</sup> This is a note by Dr. Paludanus (B. ten Broecke, a doctor of Enkhuysen).

Sivill, and passing through divers Townes and Villages, within eight dayes after we arived at Badaios, where I found my other Brother following the Court. At the same time died Anne de Austria Queene of Spaine, (sister to the Emperour Rodulphus, and Daughter to the Emperour Maximilian) the Kings fourth and last wife, for whom great sorrow was made through all Spaine: her body was convaied from Badaios to the Cloyster of Saint Laurence in Escuriall, where with great solemnitie it was buried. We having stayed certaine dayes in Badaios, departed from thence, and passed through a Towne called Elvas about two or three miles<sup>1</sup> off, being the first towne in the kingdome of Portingale, for that betweene it and Badaios, the borders of Spaine and Portingale are limited: from thence we travailed into divers other places of Portingale, and at the last arived at Lisbone, about the twenty of September following, where at that time wee found the Duke of Alba beeing Governour there for the King of Spaine, the whole Cittie making great preparation for the Coronation of the King, according to the custome of their countrie. Wee beeing in Lisbone, through the change of aire, and corruption of the countrie I fell sicke, and during my sicknes was seaven times let blood, yet by Gods help I escaped: and being recovered, not having much preferment under the gentleman, I left his service, and placed my selfe with a Marchant untill I might attaine to better meanes. About the same time the plague, not long before newly begunne, began againe to cease, for the which cause the King till then had deferred his entrance into Lisbone, which wholly ceased upon the first day of May, Anno 1581 hee entred with

<sup>1</sup> Linschoten's "mile" is equivalent, on an average, to about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  of an English mile; but his distances are by no means precise, and it is, therefore, difficult to fix the value. In the sort of sailor's catechism which forms the end of his pilots' guide (*Reysgeschrift van de Portugaloyzers in Orienten*, 1595) he says that there are 15 Dutch and  $17\frac{1}{2}$  Spanish miles to a degree, but it seems that he used the last.



great triumph and magnificence into the cittie of Lisbone, where above all others the Dutchmen had the best and greatest commendation for beautiful shews, which was a Gate and a Bridge that stood upon the river side where the King must first passe as hee went out of his Gallie to enter into the cittie, being beutified and adorned with many costly and excellent thinges most pleasant to behold, every street and place within the cittie being hanged with rich clothes of Tapistrie and Arras, where they made great triumphes, as the manner is at all Princes Coronations.

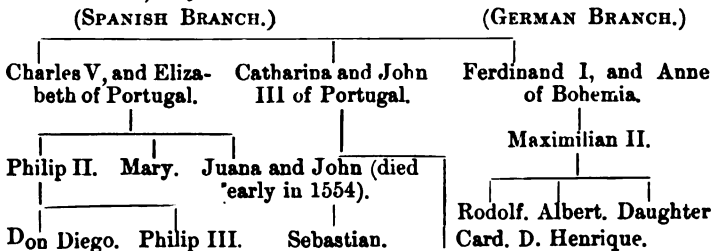
The same yere, the twelfth of December, the Duke of Alva died in Lisbone in the kings pallace, being high steward of Spaine, who during his sicknes for the space of fourteene dayes, received no sustenance but only women's milke: his body being seared and spicen was convaied into his countrie<sup>1</sup> of Alva.

The same month (the King being yet at Lisbone) died Don Diego Prince of Spaine and Portingale, the kings eldest son: his body beeing inbalmed, was convaied to Madril, after whose death the king had but one Sonne named Don Phillip and two Daughters living.

About the same time, there arived at Lisbone the kings sister, widdow to the deceased Emperour Maximilian, and with her one of her daughters,<sup>2</sup> who beeing lame was after placed in a Monasterie of Nuns, they with great triumph

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, estate. (Orig. Dutch: "zyn landt.")

<sup>2</sup> The following genealogical table, in which only the chief persons are mentioned, may be of use here:—



were likewise received into the cittie. After the death of Don Diego the kings eldest sonne, all the Lordes and States of Spaine and Portingale, as well spirituall as temporal assembled at Lisbon, and there in the kings presence (according to the ancient custome and manner of the countrey) tooke their oathes of faith and allegiance unto Don Phillip the young Prince of Spaine, and next heire and lawfull successor of the king his Father, in his dominions of Spaine, Portingale, and other landes and countries.

The next yeare Anno 1582. a great navie of ships was prepared in Lisbon, whose generall was the Marquesse de sancta Cruce, accompanied with the principall gentlemen and captaines, both of Spaine and Portingale: who, at their own costs and charges therein to shew the great affection and desire they had to serve their Prince, sayled with the said Navie to the Flemmish Ilandes,<sup>1</sup> to fight with Don Antonio that lay about those Iles with a Fleet of frenchmen, whose Generall was one Phillip Strozzi:<sup>2</sup> These two Fleets meeting together, fought most cruelly to the great losse of both parts, yet in the ende Don Antonio with his French men was overthrowne, and many of them taken prisoners: among the which were divers gentlemen of great account in France; who, by the Marquis commandement were all beheaded in the Island of Saint Michaels. The rest being brought into Spaine, wère put into the Gallies, Don Antonio himselfe escaped in a small ship and the General Strozzi also, who beeing hurt in the battail died of the same wound. By this victory the Spaniards were so proud, that in Lisbon

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the Azores. So called because a colony of Flemings was established there in 1456, under Jacome de Bruges (Jobst van Huerter of Moerkerke). [Barros *Dec.*, i, l. xvi, "Os Portuguezes em Africa, Asia," i, p. 23, also ch. 97 below.] He was the celebrated Martin Behaim's father-in-law. (See Major's *Prince Henry*, 1877, p. 134, ff.) "In 1490", says Behaim, "there were some thousands of souls there who had come out with the noble knight, Jobst van Huerter, Lord of Moerkerke in Flanders, my dear father-in-law....." (do. p. 135.)

<sup>2</sup> Don Antonio was also acknowledged by the English.

great triumph was holden for the same, and the Marquis de Sancta Crus, received therein with great joy: which done and all things being pacified in Portingale, the King left his Sisters sonne, Don Albertus Cardinall of Austria Governour of Lisbonne, and the whole cuntry; and with the saide Cardinals mother returned, and kept Court at Madrill in Spaine.

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## THE 2. CHAPTER.

The beginning of my voyage into the East or Portingale Indies.

Staying at Lisbonne, the trade of Marchandize there not beeing great, by reason of the newe and fresh disagreeing of the Spaniards and Portingales, occasion being offered to accomplish my desire, there was at the same time in Lisbonne a Monke of S. Dominicks order, named Don frey Vincente de Fonseca, of a noble house: who by reason of his great learning, had of long time beene Chaplen unto Sebastian King of Portingale, who beeing with him in the battaile of Barbarie, where King Sebastian was slain,<sup>1</sup> was taken prisoner, and from thence ransomed, whose learning and good behaviour beeing knowne to the King of Spaine, hee made great account of him, placing him in his own Chappel, and desiring to prefer him, the Archbishopricke of all the Indies<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On August 4th, 1578, at Alcacervivir. See Burton's *Lusiads*, iii, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, of Goa. The actual bishop and archbishops before him were: 1. D. Fr. João d'Albuquerque, a Franciscan friar, 1537-1553. 2. D. Gaspar de Leão Pereira, a Canon of Evora, 1560-1567, when he resigned; he died in 1576. 3. D. F. Jorge Themudo, Bishop of Cochin, and transferred to Goa, 1568-1574. 4. D. Gaspar de Leão Pereira, resumed his office, 1574-6. 5. D. Fr. Henrique de Tavora, a Dominican friar and Bishop of Cochin, whence he was promoted, 1578-1579. Before 1537, Goa and India, etc., formed part of the see (Archbishopric) of Funchal. The see of Goa, at first a Bishopric, was made an Archbishopric in 1559 with two suffragan sees—Cochin and Malacca. Eventually (1559) the Archbishop of Goa was (and is still) Primate of all the East.

beeing voide, with confirmation of the Pope he invested him therewith, although he refused to accept it, fearing the long and tedious travaile hee had to make thether, but in the end through the King's perswasion, hee tooke it upon him, with promise within foure or five yeares at the furthest to recall him home againe,<sup>1</sup> and to give him a better place in Portingale, with the which promise he tooke the voyage upon him. I thinking upon my affaires, used all meanes I could to get into his service, and with him to travaile the voiage which I so much desired, which fell out as I would wish: for that my Brother that followed the Court, had desired his Master (beeing one of his Majesties secretaries) to make him purser in one of the ships that the same yere should saile unto the East Indies, which pleased me well, in so much that his said Master was a great friend and acquaintance of the Archbishops, by which meanes, with small intreatie I was entertained in the Bishops service, and amongst the rest my name was written downe, wee being in all forty persons, and because my Brother had his choise which ship he would be in, he chose the ship wherein the Archbishop sayled, the better to help each other, and in this manner we prepared our selves to make our voyage, being in all five ships of the burthen of fourteene or sixteene hundredreth Tunnes<sup>2</sup> each ship, their names were the Admirall<sup>3</sup> S.

<sup>1</sup> He died on the voyage home in 1587 (see ch. 92) apparently of abscess in the liver. (August 4.)

The Dutch has "7 or 8 hundred last each ship". A "last" is about 2 tons.

<sup>2</sup> Readers of Milton and of the old travellers, e.g., Terry (in Purchas), and Fryer's *New Account*, will be familiar with this use of the word = chief ship. The French had the same idiom: "l'Admirale, appellée Nostre Dame du mont de Carmel"—Mocquet, *Voyages*, 1609 (ed. of 1645, Rouen, p. 219). On this abridged (?) expression, see Skeat's *Etym. Dy*, p. 8, s. v. The word "admiral" is merely a Latinised form of "amir", the Arabic word, as shown by Dozy (*Oosterlingen*, pp. 5-6). Such originals as "amir al bahr" are purely imaginary, and never existed. (See also Skeat's *Etym. Dy*.,

*Phillip*: the Vize Admirall *S. Jacob*. These were two new ships, one bearing the name of the King, the other of his sonne, the other three, *S. Laurence*, *S. Francisco*, and our shippe *S. Salvator*.

Upon the eight of Aprill, beeing good Friday, in the yeare of our Lorde 1583, which commonly is the time when their ships set sayle within foure or five dayes under, or over, wee altogether issued out of the river at Lisbone, and put to sea, setting our course for the Ilands of Madera, and so putting our trust in God, without whose favour and helpe we can doe nothing, and all our actions are but vaine, we sayled forwards.

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### CHAPTER III.

The manner and order used in the ships in their Indian Voyages.

The shippes are commonlye charged with foure or five hundred men at the least, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as there are souldiers and saylẽrs to bee found. When they go out they are but lightly laden, onely with certaine pipes of wine<sup>1</sup> and oyle, and some small quantitie of Marchandize,

s.v.) Linschoten, in his Latin version of 1599, translates the Dutch "waren met namen, den Admirael S.P.", by "Et. S. Philippi Prætoris Navis nomine vocabatur". "Vice Admirall" occurs here (p. 22), and Terry (about 1616) uses it also in the same way (*Purchas*, ii, p. 1465), viz., as = second chief ship: "Putting out a flagge of counsell to call the captaine of the Vice-Admirall....." Admiral Smyth (*Sailors' Word Book*, p. 20) says: "The epithet of *admiral* was also formerly applied to any large or leading ship, without reference to flag; and is still used for the principal vessel in the cod and whale fisheries."

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. *Periplus of the Red Sea*, sec. 56, which proves that wine was early imported into India. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the natives of India have learnt the vice of drunkenness from Europeans. Passages in the *M. Bhārata*, etc., show that drunkenness was common, and this may be gathered also from the law-books, which forbid the use of wine (e.g., *Mānava-dharma-Çastra*, xi, 146 fig.) In the *Abhilashitār-thacintāmani* (a Sanskrit manual for kings and princelings, of 1128 A.D.),

other thing have they not in, but balast, and victuals for the company, for that the most and greatest ware that is commonly sent into India, are rials of eight, because the principal Factors for pepper doe every yere send a great quantitie of mony,<sup>1</sup> therewith to buy pepper, as also divers particular Marchants, as being the least ware that men can carry into India: for that in these rials of eight they gaine at the least forty per cento: when the ships are out of the river, and enter into the sea, all their men are mustered, as well saylers and souldiers, and such as are founde absent and left on lande, being registred in the bookes, are marked by the purser, that at their returne they may talke with their suerties, (for that every man putteth in suerties) and the goods of such as are absent, beeing found in the ship are presently brought foorth and prised, and an Inventorie thereof beeing made, it is left to bee disposed at the captaines pleasure. The

though most ind-cent and foolish amusements are allowed, drinking spirits, etc., is prohibited; but several different kinds of spirits are referred to, and it is clear the vice was then a common one.

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese soon found that only money was of use to purchase spices in the East, and not the goods that at first they took there to exchange. This was the case in the Roman times (see *Periplus of the Red Sea*, sec. 56), when large quantities of coins were imported, and before the arrival of the Portuguese, Venetian sequins had been brought to S. India in large numbers. Josephus Indus (c. 1502) reported: "Aurum Venetorum signatum: argentumque illic (in Calecut) esse eximio in præcio... Is ergo Josephus adivit Illustrissimos Dominos venetos et eis ostendit nonnullos antiquissimos aureos in quibus erat expressa veneti ducis perq' vetus imago." (*Itinerarium Portugallensium*, fo. Milan, 1508, f. lxxxvii.) The most remarkable fact about the coins taken to India is that the Portuguese soon imported only those of silver (reals); and it was in this way that silver came to take the place of gold in the East. Terry (c. 1615) says: "The greatest part by far of commodities brought thence are caught by the silver hook" (ed. of 1777, p. 112). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the coin at Cannanore was all of gold (A. Hamilton, *New Account*, ed. of 1744, vol. i, p. 294). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, gold was already scarce in Gujarat. "They have pure gold coin likewise, some pieces of great value; but these are not very ordinarily seen amongst them" (Terry, *u.s.*, p. 113).

like is done with their goods that die in the ship, but little of it commeth to the owners hands, being imbeseled and privily made away.

The Master and Pilot have for their whole voyage forth and home againe, each man 120. Millreyes, every Millreyes being worth in Dutch money seaven guilders, and because the reckoning of Portingale monie is onely in one sort of money called Reyes, which is the smalest money to bee founde in that countrie, and although it bee never so great a summe you doe receive, yet it is alwaies reckoned by Reyes, whereof 160. is as much as a Keyzers gilderne, or foure rials of silver: so that two reyes are foure pence, and one reye two pence of Holland money,<sup>1</sup> I have thought good to set it downe, the better to shew and make you understand the accounts they use by reyes in the countrie of Portingale.

But returning to our matter, I say the Master and the Pilot doe receive before hand, each man twenty foure millreyes, besides that they have chambers both under in the ship, and cabbins above the hatches, as also primage, and certaine tunnes fraught. The like have all the other officers in the ship according to their degrees, and although they receive money in hand, yet it costeth them more in giftes before they get their places, which are given by favour and good will of the Proveador, which is the chiefe officer of the Admiraltie, and yet there is no certaine ordinance for their payes, for that it is dayly altered: but let us reckon the pay, which is commonly given according to the ordinance and manner of our ship for that yeare.

The chiefe Boteswain hath for his whole pay 50. Millreyes, and receaveth ten in ready money: The Guardian, that is the quarter master hath 1400. reyes the month, and for fraught 2800. and receaveth seven Millreyes in ready money: The

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt (c. 1601) put 200,000 *reis* as = £138 17*s.* 9*d.* (*Galvãos Tractado*, Hakl. Soc., xxx, p. 74). A thousand *reis* now = about four shillings; so 200,000 *reis* would now = about £40, more or less.

Seto Piloto, which is the Master's mate, hath 1200. reyes, which is three duckets the month, and as much fraught as the quarter Master: two Carpenters, and two Callafaren, which helpe them, have each man foure duckets a month, and 3900. millreyes fraught. The Steward that giveth out their meate and drinke, and the Merinho, which is he that imprisoneth men aborde, and hath charge of all the munition and powder, with the delivering forth of the same, have each man a Millreyes the month, and 2340. reyes fraught, besides their chambers and freedome of custome, as also all other officers, saylers, pikemen, shot, etc., have every man after the rate, and every one that serveth in the ship. The Cooper hath three duckets a month, and 3900. reyes fraught: Two Strinceros, those are they which hoise up the maine yeard by a wheele, and let it downe againe with a wheele as need is, have each man one Millreyes the month, and 2800. reyes fraught: Thirty three saylers have each man one Millreyes the month, and 2800. reyes fraught, 37. rowers, have each man 660. reyes the moneth, and 1860. reyes fraught, foure pagiens which are boyes, have with their fraught 443. reyes the month, one Master gunner, and eight under him, have each man a different pay, some more, some lesse: The surgion likewise hath no certaine pay;<sup>1</sup> The factor and the purser have no pay but only their chambers, that is below under hatches, a chamber of twentie pipes, for each man ten pipes, and above hatches each man his cabbin to sleepe in, whereof they make great profit.

These are all the officers and other persons which sayle in the ship, which have for their portion every day in victuals, each man a like, as well the greatest as the least, a pound and three quarters of Biskit, halfe a Can of Wine, a Can of

<sup>1</sup>The ships' surgeons were generally most incompetent. Mocquet gives an amusing account of the extreme ignorance of a Jewish pretender, who was the surgeon on his ship early in the seventeenth century (1609).



water, an Arroba which is 32. pound of salt flesh the moneth, some dryed fish, onyons and garlicke are eaten in the beginning of the voyage, as being of small valew, other provisions, as Suger, Honny, Reasons, Prunes, Ryse, and such like, are kept for those which are sicke: yet they get but little thereof, for that the officers keepe it for themselves, and spend it at their pleasures,<sup>1</sup> not letting much goe out of their fingers: as for the dressing of their meate, wood, pots, and pans, every man must make his owne provision: besides all this there is a Clarke and steward for the Kings souldiers that have their parts by themselves, as the saylers have.

This is the order and manner of theyr voyage when they sayle unto the Indies, but when they returne againe, they have no more but each man a portion of Bisket and water untill they come to the Cape de Bona Esperance,<sup>2</sup> and from thence home they must make their own provisions. The souldiers that are passengers, have nothing els but free passage, that is roome for a chest under hatches, and a place for their bed in the orloope, and may not come away without the Viceroyes passeport, and yet they must have beene five yeres souldiers in the Indies before they can have licence, but the slaves must pay fraught for their bodies, and custome to the King, as in our voyage home againe we will at large declare.

The 15. of Aprill we espied the Iland of Madera and Porto Sancto, where the ships use to seperate themselves, each ship keeping on his course, that they may get before each other into India for their most commodities, and to dispatch the

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Mocquet, *Voyages* (ed. 1645), p. 224.....“ ledit Capitaine Mor nous fit à tous mille sortes de rigueurs et cruantez, tant par prisons pour son plaisir, que pour nous tirer nos ordinaires de vivres: car il se reservoit force pipes de vin, de chair et d’huile, pour vendre à Mozambique.” This was in 1609, so the old mismanagement was still allowed to continue.

<sup>2</sup> This usage was continued in the next century (see Pyrrard's *Voyage*, p. 387 of vol. 2, 3rd ed., 1619). He says that this was designedly done to prevent people returning from India. Cfr. ch. 92 for Linschoten's experience. He had to pretend that he would return! Cfr. Camões' life.

sooner; whereby in the night, and by tides they leave each others company, each following his owne way.

The 24. of Aprill we fell upon the coaste of Guinea, which beginneth at nine degrees, and stretcheth untill wee come under the Equinoctiall, where wee have much thunder, lightning, and many showers of raine, with stormes of wind, which passe swiftly over, and yet fall with such force, that at every shower we are forced to strike sayle, and let the maine yeard fall to the middle of the mast, and many times cleane down, sometimes ten or twelve times every day: there wee finde a most extreame heate, so that all the water in the ship stinketh, whereby men are forced to stop their noses when they drinke, but when wee are past the Equinoctiall it is good againe, and the nearer wee are unto the land, the more it stormeth, raineth, thundreth and calmeth: so that most commonly the shippes are at the least two monthes before they can passe the line: Then they finde a winde which they name the generall winde, and it is a South east winde, but it is a side wind, and we must alway lie side waies in the wind almost untill wee come to the Cape de Bona Speranza,<sup>1</sup> and because that upon the coast of Brasillia, about 18. degrees, on the south side lieth [great flakes (*sic*) or] shallowes, which the Portingales call *Abrashos* (*sic*), that reach 70. miles<sup>2</sup> into the sea on the right side, to pass them the ships hold up most unto the coast of Guinea, and so passe the said Flattes, otherwise if they fall too low and keepe inwards, they are constrained to turne againe unto Portingale, and many times in danger to be lost, as it hapned to our Admirall *Saint Phillip*, which in the yeare 1582. fell by

<sup>1</sup> The Dutch has: "Must always lay by up near to the altitude of the Cape of Good Hope."

The use of "altitude" or "height" for "latitude" is an old sea-idiom in English, as well as in Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. It probably arose from the Pole-star being "the principal object used to determine position". (Note by Admiral Bethune to Hawkins' *Voyages*, Hakl. Soc., lvii. p. 136.)

<sup>2</sup> A mile of Linschoten = about 3½ English miles

night upon the Flats, and was in great danger to be lost, yet recovered againe, and sayled backe to Portingale, and now this yeare to shunne the Flats she kept so neare the coast of Guinea, that by meanes of the great calmes and raynes, shee was forced to drive up and downe two months together, before shee could passe the line, and came two months after the other ships into India: Therefore, men must take heed and keepe themselves from comming too neare the coast, to shun the calmes and stormes, and also not to hold too farre of thereby to passe the Flats and shallowes,<sup>1</sup> wherein consisteth the whole Indian Voyage.

The 15. of May being about fiftie miles beyond the Equinoctiall line Northwardes, we espied a French ship, which put us all in great feare, by reason that most of our men were sicke, as it commonly hapneth in those countries through the exceeding heate: and further they are for the most part such as never have beene at Sea before that time, so that they are not able to do much, yet we discharged certaine great shot at him, wherewith he left us, (after he had played with us for a smal time) and presently lost the sight of him, wherewith our men were in better comfort. The same day about evening, wee discried a great ship, which wee judged to bee of our Fleet, as after we perceived, for it made towards us to speake with us, and it was the Saint *Francisco*, wherewith wee were glad.

The 26 of May wee passed the Equinoctiall line which

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the *Abrolhos*. This word was explained (*e.g.*, by Pyrard, *u.s.*, i, p. 11) as meaning "Open your eyes", or "Keep good watch", and this popular etymology is received in Portugal and Brazil; but the word is to be found on Portuguese maps of other parts of the world (Cfr. *Moraes, s.v.*), and there can be no doubt that it is connected with the Port. "abrolhar" and French "brouiller", respecting which see Diez, *Etym. Wörterbuch* (4th ed.), p. 69. The Dutch accepted the popular etymology, *e.g.*, in Verhoeven's *Voyage* (Commelin's collection, or "Begin ende Voortgang", 1646, pt. ii (25), f. 9). "Abroillos is soo veel te segghen als doet Ooghen open, sijn sekere Droogten leggende op de Custen van Brasilien....."

runneth through the middle of the Iland of Saint Thomas, by the coast of Guinea, and then wee began to see the south star, and to loose the north star, and founde the sunne at twelve of the clocke at noone to be in the north, and after that we had a south east [wind, called a] general wind, which in those partes bloweth all the yeare through.

The 29 of May being Whitsonday, the ships of an ancient custome, doe use to chuse an Emperour among themselves, and to change all the officers in the ship, and to hold a great feast, which continueth three or foure days together, which wee observing chose an Emperour, and being at our banquet, by meanes of certaine words that passed out of some of their mouthes, there fell great strife and contention among us, which proceeded so farre, that the tables were throwne downe and lay on the ground, and at the least a hundred rapiers drawne, without respecting the Captaine or any other, for he lay under foote, and they trod upon him, and had killed each other, and thereby had cast the ship away, if the Archbishop had not come out of his chamber among them, willing them to cease, wherwith they stayed their hands, who presently commaunded every man on paine of death,<sup>1</sup> that all their

<sup>1</sup> This is mistranslated, no doubt for political reasons. It should be: "Had not the Archbishop come out of his cabin into the crowd with great lamentations and gestures, on which they began to be quiet, and he ordered them, on pain of excommunication, to bring all rapiers, poniards, and arms to his cabin, which was at once done, with which all was again at peace." The Archbishop's threat of "paine of death" is absurd, but was probably thought quite correct in England in 1598. Excommunication by Rome was then practically known, and death was a common punishment for trifling offences, and the threat (as really made) would not have made the good Portuguese prelate look so odious. Linschoten's original Dutch is: "So den Aerts-bisschop met en hadde ghecomen uyt zijn camer onder den hoop met groot ghecrijt ende ghebeyr, waerover zy begosten stil te houden, den welcken terstont gheboodt op de verbuerte van den Ban, datse alle Rappieren, Pongiardien, ende al 'tgheweer souden brenghen in zyn Camer, 'twelck terstontd gheschiede,

Rapiers, Poynyardes, and other weapons should bee brought into his chamber, which was done, whereby all thinges were pacified, the first and principall beginners being punished and layd in irons, by which meanes they were quiet.

The 12 of June we passed beyond the afore said Flats [and shallowes] of Brasillia, whereof all our men were exceeding glad, for thereby we were assured that we should not for that time put backe to Portingale againe, as many doe, and then the generall wind served us untill wee came to the river of Rio de Plata, where wee got before the wind to the cape de Bona Speranza.

The 20 of the same month, the *S. Franciscus* that so long had kept us company, was againe out of sight: and the eleaventh of July after, our Master judged us to bee about 50. miles from the cape de Bona Speranza: wherefore he was desired by the Archbishop to keepe in with the land, that wee might see the Cape. It was then mistie weather, so that as we had made with the land about one houre or more, wee perceived land right before us, and were within two miles thereof, which by reason of the darke and misty weather we could no sooner perceive, which put us in great feare, for our judgement was cleane contrarie, but, the weather beginning to cleare up, we knew the land, for it was a part or bank of the point called Cabo Falso, which is about fiteene miles on this side the cape de Bona Speranza, towards Mossambique the cape de Bona Speranza, lieth under 34. [35] degrees southward, there wee had a calme and faire weather, which continuing about halfe a day, in the meane time with our lines we got great store of fishes uppon the same land at ten or

waer mede alle dinck weder in vrede quam." These foolish doings on crossing the Line continued down to quite recent times.

The Latin (1599) has: "Nisi Archiepiscopus ex cubiculo erumpens, magnis clamoribus seditionem composuisset, ensesque omnes ac pugiones abstulisset, comminatus excommunicationis notam in eos, qui novas res moliri conarentur."

twelve fadoms water, it is an excellent fish, much like to Haddock, the Portingales call them Pescados.

The 20 of the same month wee met againe with *Saint Francisco*, and spake with her, and so kept company together till the 24 of June, when wee lost her againe. The same day wee stroke all our sayles, because wee had a contrarie wind, and lay two dayes still driving up and downe, not to loose anie way, meane time wee were against the high land of Tarradonatal,<sup>1</sup> which beginneth in 32. degrees, and endeth in 30. and is distant from Capo de Bona Speranza 150. miles, in this place they commonly used to take counsell of all the officers of the ship, whether it is best for them to sayle through within the land of S. Laurenso,<sup>2</sup> or without it, for that within [the land] they sayle to Mossambique, and from thence to Goa, and sayling without it they cannot come at Goa, by reason they fal down by meanes of the streame, and so must sayle unto Cochin, which lieth 100. miles lower then Goa,

<sup>1</sup> Natal, so called because Vasco da Gama discovered it on Christmas Day, 1497. The original has: "We were in the height of the land called, etc."

<sup>2</sup> The old name of Madagascar. So Camões (*Lus.*, x, 137):—

"De São-Lourenço-vê a ilha affamada,  
Que Madagascar he d'alguns chamada."

"Of Sam Lourenço see yon famous Isle,  
Which certain travellers Madagascar style."

*Captain Burton.*

Flacourt (*Histoire de la Grande Isle Madagascar*, Paris, 1658, p. 1), says: L'Isle Saint Laurens est par les Géographes nommée Madagascar....."

Terry (about 1616) still writes: "The two and twentieth of July we discovered the great Iland of *Madagascar*, commonly called *Saint Lawrence*....." (*Purchas*, ii, p. 1464).

The east coast of Madagascar was discovered on the 1st of February, 1506, by Fernam Soares. (Major, *Prince Henry* (1877), p. 265.)

Capt. R. F. Burton points out (*Lusiads*, iv, p. 520), that St. Lawrence was given as a name because J. G. d'Abreu saw the W. coast on August 10 (St. Lawrence's Day) in 1506, and gave it this name. Madagascar "came from Makdishu (Magadoxo) in Continental Zanzibar, whose Shaykh invaded it."

and as the ships leave the cape, then it is not good to make towards Mossambique, because they cannot come in time to Goa, by reason of the great calmes that are within the land, but they that passe the Cape in the month of July, may well goe to Mossambique, because they have time inough there to refresh themselves, and to take in fresh water and other victuals, and so to lie at anker ten or twelve dayes together, but such as passe the cape in the month of August, doe come too late, and must sayle about towards Cochinchina, thereby to loose no time, yet it is dangerous and much more combersome, for that commonly they are sicke of swollen legges, sore bellies, and other diseases. The 30. of July wee were against the point of the cape called Das Corentes, which are 130. miles distant from Terra Donatal, and lieth under 24. degrees Southwarde, there they begin to passe between the Ilands.<sup>1</sup>

*(The Iland of S. Laurenso, is by Marcus Paulus<sup>2</sup> named the great Iland of Magastar, by Andrea Thevet<sup>3</sup> [it is called] Madagascar, and is the greatest of all the East Ilandes, for it is greater in compasse then eyther of the Kingdomes of Castile or Portingale, and lieth on the other side of Africa as we passe the cape de Bona Speranza, it containeth in length (as Thevet describeth) 72 degrees, and in bredth eleaven degrees<sup>4</sup>, and is in compasse (as some hold opinion) 3000 Italian miles, and as some write 4000. which should be six or eight hundred Dutch miles. This Iland is judged to be very temperate, and therefore well peopled, but belceve in Mahomet. Marcus Paulus sayeth, that*

<sup>1</sup> Rather "inside the island (St. Lawrence to Mossambique)." ("Begintmen te loopen tusschen het Eijlandt.") The original is wrongly punctuated. Latin (as above): "Ibi cursus initium inter Insulam et continentem est." In De Bry: "Ubi naves cursum inter Insulam terramque medium inchoant" (ii, p. 16).

<sup>2</sup> See Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., ii, pp. 403-415.

<sup>3</sup> André Thevet was an unfrocked Franciscan monk who wrote several worthless books, e.g., his *Cosmographie* (2 vols. fo., Paris, 1575), here referred to. (V. Brunet, v, col. 814.)

<sup>4</sup> Orig.: "11 degrees, 30 minutes."

*the Iland is governed by foure ancient men, it is full of wilde beasts and strange foules, whereof he writeth [many] fables,<sup>1</sup> not worthie the rehearsall. This Iland hath Elephants and all kind of beasts<sup>2</sup> which have but one horn, whereof one is called an Indian asse, with whole feet uncloven, an other is called Orix, with cloven feet: it hath many snakes, efftes, and great store of woodes of redde Sandale, which are there little esteemed for the great abundance, there the sea yeldeth much Amber: it aboundeth also in Rice, Barley, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, and Millons, which are so great that a man can hardly gripe them, both red, white, and yellow, and better then ours, and much ginger, which they eat greene, Hony and Sugar in such abundance, that they know not whether to send it, Saffron, many medicinable hearbs, and Indian nuts. It likewise yeeldeth Silver, and hath manie Rivers, beautifull Fountaines, and divers Havens, whether many Sarasins and<sup>3</sup> Mores doe bring their Marchandise, as clothes of gold and Silver, Linnen made of cotton, wooll, and such like.<sup>4</sup>)*

From S. Laurenso to Mossambique, which lieth from the firme land of Das Coentes 120. miles, and is an Iland of 220. miles long, stretching north and south, and in breadth 70. miles, beginning from the first point, untill you come at the cape in 26. degrees, and endeth in the North in 11. degrees. The people of the Iland are blacke, like those of Mossambique, and goe naked, but the haire of their heades is

<sup>1</sup> The Rukh or Roc is intended, which Marco Polo describes.

<sup>2</sup> On the Animals of Madagascar, etc., see Flacourt, ch. xxxix, pp. 151, ff.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. "or."

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be an additional passage added by Paludanus, but it is not said to be by him in any of the early editions. Tiele, however (*Mémoire*, p. 90), says: "L'édition originale de l'ouvrage complet de Linschoten est, comme toutes les éditions suivantes, parsemée de notes de la main du savant médecin Bernard Paludanus (ten Broecke), d'Enkhuizen. Elles se distinguent du texte par des caractères differents." This is the case here.



not so much curled as theirs of Mossambique, and not full so blacke.<sup>1</sup>

The Portingales have no speciall traffique there, because there is not much to be had, for as yet it is not very well known. The 1. of August we passed the flats called os Baixos de Judea, that is the Flats of the Jewes[s], which are distant from the cape das Corentes, 30. miles, and lie between the Iland of S. Laurence and the firme land, that is from the Iland fiftie miles, and from the firme land seaventy miles, which Flats begin under 22. degrees and a halfe, and continue to twentie one degrees: there is great care to bee taken [lest men fall upon them], for they are very dangerous, and many ships have bin lost there, and of late in Anno 1585. a ship comming from Portingale called S. Iago being Admirall of the Fleet, and was the same that the first voiage went with us from Lisbone for vice Admirall, as in another place we shall declare.

The fourth of August we descried the land of Mossambique, which is distant from the Flattes of the Jewes[s]<sup>2</sup> nintie miles under fifteene degrees southwards. The next day we entred into the road of Mossambique, and as we entered we espied the foresaid ship called S. Iago which entered with us, and it was not above one houre after we had descried it, beeing first time wee had seene it since it left us at the Iland of Madera, where we seperated our selves. There wee found likewise two more of our ships, Saint Laurenzo and Saint Francisco, which the day before were come thether with a

<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt now that the natives of Madagascar are partly (at least) Malays, or that Malays have been there, and this since Hindu influences had had effect on the Malays, as the Madagascar language contains Malay words, with some of Sanakrit, some (*e.g.*, Mango) of Tamil (S. Indian) origin. As regards the Malayan affinities of Malagasi, see *Journal Asiatique*, viime série, vol. ix, pp. 517-521, where M. Marre has given sufficient proof. This author (to judge by his *Katakata-Malayu*) does not, however, seem qualified to decide what is Indian and what is not.

<sup>2</sup> Bayxos da Judia.

small ship that was to sayle to Malacca, which commonly setteth out of Portingale, a month before any of the ships do set sayle for India, only because they have a longer voiage to make, yet doe they ordinarily sayle to Mossambique to take in sweete water and fresh victuals as their voiage falleth out, or their victuals scanteth: If they goe not thether, then they saile about [on the back side of] ye Iland of saint Laurenso, not setting their course for Mossambique.

Being at Mossambique wee were foure of our Fleete in company together, only wanting the Saint Phillip, which had holden her course so nere the coast of Guinea, (the better to shun the Flats of Bracillia that are called Abrollios, whereon the yere before she had once fallen), that she was so much becalmed that she could not passe the Equinoctiall line in long time after us, neyther yet the cape de Bona Speranza without great storms and foule weather, as it ordinarilie happeneth to such as come late thether, whereby shee was compelled to compasse about and came unto Cochin about two months after we were al arived at Goa, having passed and endured much misery and foule weather, with sicknes and diseases, as swellings of the legs, and the scor-buicke, [and paine in their bellies], &c.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Linschoten says but little of the misery of the voyage to India in the early days; more is told by others (see the account of Vasco da Gama's first voyage in the *Roteiro*, and in Correa's *Lendas*, cfr. also Pyrad, Mocquet, etc.)

All accounts show that scurvy of the worst kind was terribly prevalent on board the Indiamen down to recent times. See Pyrad's *Voyage*, vol. i, p. 31 (of the 3rd ed., 1619) and Mocquet's *Voyages* (Rouen ed. of 1645), pp. 221-223. For a similar account of the state of things in the last century, see a most graphic letter by a French missionary in the *Lettres Edifiantes* (ed. of 1780), vol. xv, pp. 138-146, dated 1754.

The filth and misery were also great. Mocquet (*u. s.*, pp. 219-220) says: "Au reste, entre nous c'estoit le plus grand désordre et confusion qu'on scauroit s'imaginer, à cause de la quantité de peuple de toute sorte qui y estoit, vomissans qui çà qui là, et faisans leur ordure les uns sur les autres: on n'entendoit parmy cela que cris, et gémissemens de ceux

## THE 4. CHAPTER.

The description of Mossambique, which lieth under 15. degrees on the South side of the Equinoctial line upon the coast of Melinde, otherwise called Abex or Abexim.

*Mossambique is a Towne in the Iland of Prasio, with a safe, (although a small) haven, on the right side towards the cape: they have the golden mines called Sofala, on the left side the rich towne of Quiloo: and by reason of the foggie mistes incident to the same, the place is both barren and unholosome, yet the people are rich by reason of the situation. In time past it was inhabited by people that beleaved in Mahomet, being overcom [and kept in subjection] by the tirant of Quiloo, and his lieftenant (which the Arabians called Zequen<sup>1</sup>) that governed them.<sup>2</sup>*

Mossambique is a little Iland, distant about halfe a mile from the firme land, in a corner of the said firme land, for that ye firme land on the north side stretcheth further into ye sea then it doth, and before it there lie two smal Ilands named S. George and S. Jacob, which are even w' the corner of the firme land, and betweene those two Ilands not inhabited, and the firme land the ships doe sayle to Mossambique leaving the Ilands southward, on the left hand, and the firm land on the north, and so without a Pilot compasse about a mile [into the sea] to Mossambique, for it is deepe enough, and men may easily shun the sands that lie upon

qui estoient pressez de soif, de faim, de maladies, et autres incommoditéz, et maudissans l'heure de s'etre embarquez," etc.

The consequence of this frightful mismanagement was a terrible mortality, often of nearly all on board a ship.

<sup>1</sup> Arabic "Sheikh". In the original: "ondorworpen wesende den tyran van Quilo, die door zijn officier (welcke die Arabieis Zequen heeten) gheregiert werden".

<sup>2</sup> This looks like an addition by Paludanus, but it is not said to be by him. "The people are rich"; lit.: "It is populous."

the firme land, because they are openly seene. The ships harbour<sup>1</sup> so neare to the Iland and the fortresse of Mossambique<sup>2</sup>, that they may throw a stone [out of their ship] upon the land, and [sometimes] farther, and lie betweene the Iland and the firme land, which are distant halfe a mile from each other, so that the ships lie there as safely as in a river or haven. The Iland of Mossambique is about halfe a mile in compasse, flat land, and bordered about with a white sand: Therein growe many Indian palmes or nut trees, and some Orange, Apple, Lemmon, Citron, and Indian Figge trees:<sup>3</sup> but other kindes of fruit which are common in India are there verie scarce. Corne and other graine with Rice and such necessarie marchandizes are brought thether out of India, but for beasts and foule, as Oxen, sheep, Goats, Swine, Hennes, &c., there are great aboundance and very goode [and] cheape. In the same Iland are found sheepe of five quarters in quantitie, for that their tayles are so broad and thicke,<sup>4</sup> that there is as much flesh upon them, as upon a quarter of their body, and they are so fatte that men can hardlie brooke them. There are certain Hennes that are so blacke<sup>5</sup> both of feathers, flesh, and bones, that being sodden

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, "anchor", or, "lie at anchor" ("ligghen" in the orig. In the Latin of 1599 "naves admotæ sunt").

<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1507 by Duarte de Mello.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "a few Orange-fruit, Lemons, Citrons, and Indian figs". Figs, *i.e.*, plantains or bananas. This name was in use even in the last century. Now it is applied in N. Italy to the prickly pear (*Opuntia*) fruit; but these are an importation into India by the Portuguese, as was the case with many other plants now common there; *e.g.*, Red pepper, the Cashew, Pine apples, etc. At the beginning of the xviiith cent., Mocquet (*u. s.*, p. 285) calls bananas "figues de platane".

<sup>4</sup> The fat-tailed sheep are now well known. See Col. Yule's *Marco Polo* (2nd ed.), i, p. 101, and Barbosa's *Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, by Lord Stanley of Alderley, p. 12. Pyrard (ed. 1619, i, p. 37), describes them as seen in Madagascar.

<sup>5</sup> This is incorrect; the flesh is white, like that of other fowls. In India such fowl's flesh is supposed, like all unusual or nasty things, to be medicinal, and it forms an ingredient in many Tamil prescriptions

they seeme as black as inke: yet of very sweet taste, and are accounted better then the other: whereof some are likewise found in India, but not so many as in Mossambique. Porke is there a very costly dish, and excellent faire and sweete flesh, and as by experience it is found, it farre surpasseth all other flesh: so that the sicke are forbidden to eat any kinde of flesh but onely Porke, because of the excellency thereof.<sup>1</sup>

Mossambique signifieth two places, one which is a whole kingdome lying in Africa, behinde the cape of Bona Speranza, betweene Monomotapa<sup>2</sup> and Quiloa, the other certaine Ilands herafter drawne and described, lying on the south side of the

(e.g., "Aṅattiyar-Vaittiyam-arunūru", § 259, fig., "Vaittiyakkāviyam", §§ 769-774; "Vaittiya-cintāmani" (attributed to Dhanvantari), §§ 715-719; Pōyar, "Ezhanūru, § 388; Aṅattiyar's Vallādi-arunūru, § 298, fig.), which are said to be of use against diarrhoea, dysentery, spleen, fever, and almost all kinds of diseases. The eggs are used in Alchemical experiments (*Saumyasāyara*, § 817, fig.). But these black fowls do not appear to be used thus in N. India, where fowls are esteemed to be very unclean.

These fowls, under the name "nigger fowls", constantly appear in English poultry-shows. They are also called "Japan-silkie" (*sic!*). See Tegetmeier's *Poultry-Book*, pp. 265-8. The first mention of them is, apparently, by Marco Polo (see Col. Yule's 2nd ed., ii, p. 208), who was copied by European naturalists. Galvão mentions them in 1555 (see pp. 108, 120, of the Hakl. Soc. ed.). Pyrard (ed. 1619, ii, p. 245) says: "Il y a aussi force poules bien bonnes et délicates, mais toutes de plumage noir, et la chair mesme, soit cuite ou crüe....."; but this is incorrect; the black plumage is an accident, and the flesh is white (see above); the bones are black.

<sup>1</sup> Europeans in India will not now eat this unclean flesh; but it is much eaten by the half-castes, who keep up old customs in all matters. It is, with reason, supposed to be exceedingly unwholesome. Pyrard, who was in India in the beginning of the xviii cent., supports the text (ed. 1619, ii, p. 246): "Au Bresil et à Mozambic la chair de pourceau y est tenue pour la plus friande, délicate et saine de toutes; car les médecins en ordonnent aux malades, et leur défendent toutes les autres."

<sup>2</sup> Capt'n. Burton has explained "Monomotapa" (*Lands of Cazembe*, p. 22, note): M'wene (or M'ana) and M'tapa (or Mutapa), i.e., Lord of M'tapa (or Chedima, as it is now called), the chief district of the country behind Mosambique.

Equinoctiall line under 14. degrees and a halfe, whereof the greatest is called Mossambique, the other two Saint Jacob and Saint George.<sup>1</sup> These Islands lie almost in the mouth of a river, which in Africa is called Moghincats.

About Mossambique is a verie great and a safe haven, fit to receive and harbour all ships that come and goe both to and from Portingal and the Indies, and although both the Kingdome and the Iland are not very great, yet are they very rich and abundant in all kinde of thinges, as appeareth in the description of the same.

Mossambique, the chiefe and greatest of them is inhabited by two maner of people, Christians and Mahometanes, the Christians are Portingales, or of the Portingales race, there is also a castle wherin the Portingales keepe garrison, from whence also all other castles and fortes thereabouts are supplied with their necessaries, speciallie Sofala, where the rich mine of Gold lieth: there the Portingale ships doe use to harbour in winter time, when of wind or by meanes of foule weather, they cannot accomplish their voiage. The Indian ships doe likewise in that place take in new victuals and fresh water.

This Iland being first discovered by the Portingales,<sup>2</sup> was the only meanes that they found the Indies: for that from thence they used to take Pilots, which taught them the way: touching the manner and customes of these people, read the Authors description at large, they are good shooters in musket and caliver, and expert Fishermen.

Sayling along further by the coast towards the Indies you passe by Quiloa (which in times past was called Rapta<sup>3</sup>), not great but verie faire by reason of the great trees that grow there, which are alwaies fresh and greene, as also for the diversities of victuals, and it is also an Ilande lying

<sup>1</sup> There are many plans of Mosambique in the different editions of Linschoten, and in Hulsius' Collection (pt. ix, p. 24), also in Commelin's Collection (1646 ed.).

<sup>2</sup> By Vasco da Gama. See *Castanheda*, i, ch. 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. *Lusiads*, x, 96. Rapta=the Rufiji or Lufiji (Burton).

about the mouth of the great River Coauo, which hath her head or spring out of the same lake from whence Nilus doth issue. This Iland is inhabited by Mahometans, and they are all most white apparelled in silk and clothes of cotton wooll: their women weare bracelets of gold and precious stones about their neckes and armes: they have great quantitie of silver workes, and are not so browne as the men, and well membered: their houses are commonly made of stone, chalke, and wood, with pleasant gardens of all kind of fruit and sweet flowers: from this Iland the kingdome taketh his name. This point asketh a larger discourse, which you shal finde in the leafe following.<sup>1</sup>

They have no sweet water in this Iland to drinke, but they fetch it from the firme land, out of a place called by the Portingales Cabaser, and they use in their houses great pots<sup>2</sup> which come out of India, to keepe their water in.

The Portingales have therein a verie faire and strong castle which now about 10. or 12. yeares past was fullie finished, and standeth right against the first of the uninhabited little Ilands,<sup>3</sup> where the ships must come in, and is one of the best and strongest built of all the Castles throughout the whole Indies, yet have they but small store of ordinance or munition, as also not any souldiers more than the Captaine and his men that dwel therin. But when occasion serveth, the married Portingales<sup>4</sup> that dwell in the Iland, which are about 40. or 50. at the most, are all bound to keepe the Castle, for that the Iland hath no other defence then onely that Castle,<sup>5</sup> the rest lieth open and is a flat sand. Round

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly given in different type in the or. ed. from "Mossambique", p. 26. This long passage is not in the Dutch or Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Such pots were brought from Burmah, and were called "Martabans".

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, St. Iago.

<sup>4</sup> "Married Portingales". These were settlers with privileges. See below, note 2 to p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> This passage shows that the Portuguese began very early to neglect their forts, and that they thus became an easy prey to the Dutch in the next century. Ribeiro, in his *Historica Fatalidade*, speaks very

about within the Castle are certaine Cesterns made which are alwaies full of water, so that they have water continuallie in the same for the space of one whole yeare or more, as necessitie requireth, although they take no great care for their necessitie, neyther Captaine Officers, nor other inhabitants of the Iland, for that they doe it orderly one by one, each house after the other, specially those 40. or 50. Portingales and Mesticos, which are Portingales ofspring, but borne in India, which are called Mesticos, that is as much as to say, as halfe their countrie men; which are also esteemed and accounted for Portingals. There are at this time in the Iland of Mossambique about 3. or 400. straw houses, and cottages, which belong to the natural born people of the countrie, being all blacke, like those of Capo verde, Saint Thomas, and all Æthiopia, and under the subjection of the Portingales, some of them beleeving in Mahomet: for before the Portingales held that Iland by traffique and daylie conference with the Moores and Mahometanes, as far as the red sea they held the law of Mahomet, as there are yet many that hold the same law, even unto the red sea, but from Mossambique upwards to Cape de Bona Speranza, they never received that law: so that there the Moores and naturall borne people of the countrie, doe as yet live like beastes, without knowledge eyther of God or of his lawes: some of the Moores<sup>1</sup> of the Iland are likewise Christians, and some heathens, but goe all naked, save onely that the men have their privie members wrapped in a cloth, and the women from halfe their breastes down to the middle of their thighes, are wrapped about with a gray cotten cloth, as you may see by their counterfets in the Indian Cards<sup>2</sup>: these are such as dwell among the strongly on this subject (iii, 1, p. 216); but the Portuguese had then lost nearly all their former possessions.

Cesare dei Fedrici (*Viaggio*, 1587, p. 56), says that the Viceroy could not make the settlers at Cochin do as he wished. In fact, all the Portuguese settlements seem early to have fallen into great disorder, chiefly owing to privileges allowed to certain classes.

<sup>1</sup> "Moores" lit. "blacks".

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Pictures of the Indians".



Portingales in the Iland, for that such as dwell on the firme lande for the most parte goe cleane naked, sometimes having their members covered, sometimes not.

The Portingales deale and traffique with such as dwell on the firme land in some Villages nearest unto them, as Sena, Macuwa, Sofala, Cuama, etc., which for the most part differ both in behaviour, speech, and manner of life, each [village] by it self, and fight one against the other, taking each other prisoners, and sell them, some of them eating mans flesh, as the Macuwen and others. Their chiefest living is by hunting, and by flesh of Elephants: which is the cause that so many Elephantes teeth are brought from thence.<sup>1</sup> The Moores<sup>2</sup> on the firme land, and throughout all Aethiopia have their villages and dwellings with their kings, each nation or kindred apart by themselves, so many villages, so many kings, and all differing in speech, manners, and customes, having war with their neighbours, they are not to bee trusted [nor beleeved], because they have no religion nor faith: for that during the space of foure or five yeares that the Portingales of Mossambique in their first comming thether, used to traffique with them upon the firme land, they lived peaceable, so that they thought themselves safe and out of danger: but when they least feared [the trechery of those Moores], they sodainely came and fel upon, and slew them all not leaving one alive.

The government of the Portingales in the Iland is in this manner. They have every three yeare a new Captaine and a factor for the king, with other officers, which are all offices given and bestowed by the king of Portingal, every three yeare upon such as have served him in his Indian wars, and in recompence of their services and payes, he giveth

<sup>1</sup> The passage: "each village by itself, and fight one against the other..... from thence", is repeated, word for word, in the German version of S. v. d. Hagen's Voyage, 1604-5, as given in Hulsius' Collection (pt. ix, p. 20), and is probably copied from the text.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "blacks".

them those offices, every man according to his calling and degree, where they receive their payes and ordinary fees out of that which they get by force: for that during their abode in those places, they doe what pleaseth them. The Captaine hath great profit, for there is another fortresse named Sofala,<sup>1</sup> which lieth between Mossambique and the cape de Bona Speranza, which is about 120. miles, by that fort is a certaine mine named Monomotapa: in the which land is a great lake, out of the which you may perceive the river Nilus to spring forth, as likewise the great and wide River of Cuama, or Niger which runneth betweene Sofala<sup>2</sup> and Mossambique into the Sea, in the bottome whereof among the Sandes much gold is found. In this mine of Monomotapa is great store of gold, and withall a certaine kinde of gold, called by the Portingales Botongoen onroempo, or sandie gold,<sup>3</sup> for that is very smal like sand, but the finest gold that can be found.

In this fortresse of Sofala the Captaine of Mossambique hath a Factor, and twice or thrice every yere he sendeth certaine boats called Pangaios, which saile along the shore

<sup>1</sup> Monterio (*Diccionario Geographico das provincias no Ultramar*, pp. 492-6), says that this place is now in the most wretched state, and does not mention the export of gold-dust. Pyrard (ed. of 1619, ii, pp. 247-8), gives much the same account as in the text.

<sup>2</sup> "Sofalah is the Arabic Safia, low (ground, etc.)." Burton, *The Lusiads*, vol. iv, p. 512.

<sup>3</sup> This passage stands thus in all the editions and translations, except Linschoten's *Latin* of 1599, which has: "In hac fodina Monomotapæ multum Auri est, et alia quædam Auri species *Botongo* et *ouro po*, id est, pulvis auri". It is therefore evident that the name is Portuguese; what Botongo is, I cannot feel certain. ?From the name of the people (Botongos) who procured the gold (*Barros*, i, f, 192a).

The mistake of the original is copied in *Hulsius*, ix, p. 21 ("Goldt von *Botongoen en roempo*, das ist, Staubgoldt", u. s. w.) It should clearly be: "*Botongo ouro po*"). The best modern account of this gold-producing region in E. Africa is in Ritter's *Erdkunde*, i, 1, pp. 146-8.

Mocquet (u. s., p. 260), speaks of this gold dust as very pure gold: "Je vy estant là la paye des soldats estre de l'or en poudre comme il se trouve, leur en baillant à chacun tant de carats", etc.

to fetch gold, and bring it to Mossambique. These Pangaios are made of light planks, and sowed together with cords, without any nailes,<sup>1</sup> they say that the mine of Angola on the other side of Africa is not farre from the saide mine of Sofala, not above 300. miles one from the other, for often times there commeth certaine Moores from Angola to Sofala over lande.

There are some Moores that carrie other Moores upon their backs like beasts, and are whollie accustomed therunto as if they were Horses, Moyles, or Asses.<sup>2</sup> I have spoken with men that came from thence, and have seen them, [and affirme it for a truth].

But returning to our matter of the government and usage of the Portingales and their Captaine, I say that the Captaine maketh the commoditie of his place within three yeares space that hee remaineth there, which amounteth to the value of 300. thousand Duckets, that is nine tunnes of golde.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These are noticed in Dom Manuel's letter of 1505 (see p. 3 of my reprint). "Pangaia" seems to be an African word, but the nearest I can find to it in Bleeck's *Languages of Mosambique* (1856, p. 137), is "Kaŋgala", a canoe with a deck-cabin. The Indian ships were built in this way, and the Madras "Mussoola" boats are so still. The Maldive ships were (and are still) made in this way. (Pyrard, ed. 1619, ii, p. 410.)

<sup>2</sup> This usage is probably the origin of the story of the "old man of the sea", who used Sindibad in this way. (See Lane's *Arabian Nights*, orig. ed. iii, pp. 55, etc.) As before, "Moores" should be "blacks".

<sup>3</sup> The Latin has: "Ducis Mozambicquæ lucrum, quod trium annorum spatio capit supra 30000. Ducatos ascendit; ea summa novem Auri tonnas conficit", Mocquet, a little later, says: "Le Capitaine de Mozambique durant les trois ans qu'il commande, peut enlever de Mozambique, Sofala, et Couama plus de trois cents mil escus, sans comprendre ce qu'il paye aux soldats, et quelque tribut qu'il rend au Roy....." (*u. s.*, pp. 259-260). The Dutch had then already twice attacked, and nearly destroyed Mosambique. Cfr. Claesz van Purmer-Endt's *Journal* (1651), pp. 30, fig. for the second siege (1606), and *Hulsius*, ix, p. 20, fig. for the earlier one by Van der Hagen. See also Commelin's Collection (*Begin ende Voortgang*, ed. 1646), ii (12), p. 3, for the siege

as while we remained there, the Captaine named Nuno Velio Pereria himselfe shewed us, and it is most in gold that commeth from Sofala and Monomotapa as [I] said before, from Mossambique they carrie into India Gold, Ambergris, Eben wood, and Ivorie, and many slaves, both men and women which are carried thether, because they are the strongest [Moores] in all the East<sup>1</sup> countries, to doe their filthiest and hardest labor, wherein they onely use them: They sayle from thence into India but once every year, in the month of August till half September, because that throughout [the whole countries of] India they must sayle with Monsoyns, that is, with the tides of the year, which they name by the windes, which blow certaine monthes in the yeare, whereby they make their account to goe and come from the one place to the other, and the time that men may commonly sayle betweene Mossambique and India, is 30. dayes little more or lesse, and then they stay in India till the month of Aprill, when the winde or Monsoyn<sup>2</sup> commeth againe [to serve them] for Mossambique, so that every yeare once, there goeth and commeth one shippe for the Captaine that carrieth and bringeth his marchandise, and no man may traffique from thence into India, but only those that dwel and are married in Mossambique, for that such as are unmarried may not stay there by speciall priviledge from the King of Portingall [graunted unto those that inhabite there] to

of 1604 under Van der Hagen (1st), and—(14), p. 4, for that in 1607 under Van Caerden (2nd siege), related also by Claesz Van Purmer-Endt, who took part in it. There is a Spanish hist. of this siege (by Duran).

<sup>1</sup> The Dutch also imported Negro slaves into S. India, but there is no trace of this race now to be found, so far as I have seen, in S. India, though I searched carefully at nearly all the old Portuguese and Dutch settlements.

<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that Linschoten is quite correct on this point on which mistakes are so often made. The monsoons are the winds, and do not mean rain at particular seasons.

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the end the Island should be peopled, and thereby kept [and maintained].<sup>1</sup>

Behind Mossambique lyeth the countrey of Prester John, which is called by them the countrey of Abexines, whereupon the coast of Mossambique unto the red sea is commonly called the coast of Abex, and divers men of Prester Johns land do send men of that country, some being slaves and others free, into India, which serve for Saylor's in the Portingalles shippes, that traffique [in those countries] from place to place, whose [pictures and] counterfets, as also their religion, manner of living, and customes doeth hereafter follow in the pictures of India. This coast of Abex is also by the Portingalles called the coast of Melinde, because that upon the same coast lyeth a towne and a Kingdome of that name, which was the first towne and King[dome] that in the Portingals first discoverie of those countries, did receive them peaceably without treason or deceit, and so to this day doth yet continue.<sup>2</sup>

Wee stayed at Mossambique for the space of 15. dayes to provide fresh water and victuails for the supplying of our

<sup>1</sup> These measures have entirely failed in all the Portuguese settlements in W. Africa and in India. Monteiro (*u. s.*, p. 388), does not give the number of Portuguese at Mosambique; but, from his account, it must have been very small, and there does not appear to be now a single settler there. Prazeres Maranhão (*Diccionario Geographico*, 1862, p. 147) puts the whole population of the town and island at 6000. He says that the island is unhealthy, and produces nothing; nor has a supply of water.

Large privileges were allowed to married European settlers in the Portuguese possessions. Thus, at Cochin, Cesare dei Fedrici (*Venice*, orig. ed. of 1587, pp. 55-6) says that they paid no duty on silk and sugar, the chief articles of trade, and only 4 per cent. on other articles; whereas others had to pay twice as much. Pyrard (ed. 1619, ii, p. 131) says: .....<sup>4</sup> "Ces soldats, pour tenir les estats, charges et honneurs, tant de la ville de Goa, que des autres places des Portugais, il faut qu'ils soient mariez, ou bien soldats enrrollez et gagez du Roy."

<sup>2</sup> See Camoens' fine poetical account of the reception at Melinde of Vasco da Gama (*Lus.*, ii, 57, ff.); Castanheda, i, ch. x-xii (first ed.).

wants, in the which time divers of our men fel sicke and died, by reason of the unaccustomed ayre of the place, which of it selfe is an unwholsome laud, and an evill aire by meanes of the great and unmeasurable heat.

The 20. of August wee set saile with all our companie, that is, our foure shippes of one fleete that came from Portingall, and a shippe of the Captaines of Mossambique, whose three yeares were [then] finished, his name was Don Pedro de Castro, in whose place the aforesaide Nuno Velio Pereira, was [then] come. The said Captain Don Pedro returned with his wife and family [again] into India, for that the Kinges commandement and ordinance is, that after the expiration of their three yeares office, they must yet stay three years more in India at the commandement of the Vice Roy of India, in the kings service, at their owne charges, before they must returne into Portingall, unlesse they bringe a speciall patent from the King, that after they have continued [three yeares] in office, they may returne into Portingal againe, which is very seldome seene, unlesse it be by speciall favour, and likewise no man may travell out of India unlesse hee have the Vice Royes Pasport, and without it they are not suffred to passe, for it is very narrowly looked into.<sup>1</sup>

The 24. of August in the morning wee descryed two Islandes, which are called Insula de Comora and Insula de Don Ian<sup>2</sup> de Castro. The Islande Comora lyeth distant from Mossambique 60. miles, Northwardes under 11. degrees on the South side is a very high land, so high that in a whole dayes saile with a good winde wee could not lose the

<sup>1</sup> The life of the great poet Camoens illustrates this well. He got away from Portuguese India with great difficulty, as the Governor of Mozambique (F. Barreto) arrested him to extort some money from him. (See the brief life by P. de Mariz in the 1613 ed. of the *Lusiads*, with M. Correa's commentary; Ed. *Juromenha*, vol. i, pp. 93-4; Burton, *Lusiads*, iii, pp. 27-8).

<sup>2</sup> Joam or João. These islands are between Mozambique and the Northern point of Madagascar.

sight therof, the same day the shippes seperated themselves againe, according to the ancient manner, for the occasions aforesaid.

The third of September we once againe passed the Equinoctiall line, which runneth betweene Melinde and Brava, townes lying uppon the coast of Abex, and the line is from Mossambique Northwardes 230. miles, and from the line to the Cape de Guardafum are 190. miles, and lyeth under 12. degrees on the North side of the Equinoctiall, upon this coast betweene Mossambique, and the Cape de Guardafum, lyeth these townes, Quiloo, in time past called Rapta<sup>1</sup> Mombassa, which is a towne situate in a little Island of the same name, which sheweth a farre off to be high sandie<sup>2</sup> downes, and hath a haven with two fortes to defende it, Melinde, Pate, Brava, and Magadoxo, each being a kingdome of it selfe, holding the lawe of Mahomet: the people are somewhat of a sallowe colour then those of Mossambique, with shining hayre, governing their Citties after the manner of the Arabians, and other Mahometanes. This corner or Cape of Guardafum is the ende of the coast of Abex or Melinde, and by this cape East Northeast 20. miles within the Sea lyeth the rich Island called Socotora, where they find Aloes, which taketh the name of the Islande being called Aloe Socotorina,

<sup>1</sup> The old names that Linschoten gives here and farther on are all taken from the *Lusiads*, though he, here and on another occasion, identifies the places differently.

Camoens (x, 96) identifies Rapta ("Rufiji", river of "sewn boats", Burton, ii, p. 395) with the Oby or Quiliman river. The proof that Linschoten got his learning on this from the poet is decisive, for both give the same old names. Linschoten does not mention the poet as his authority, but "historieschrijvers" (cfr. ch. i, vii and viii). If he means modern books, he could only refer to *Castanheda*, the first three decads of *Barros*, and to Albuquerque's *Comentarios* (1557), as well as the *Lusiads* (1572), all in Portuguese. Also Maffei (Latin, 1588). Besides these, there were some Italian versions of Portuguese voyages made available by Ramusio (vol. i, 1558-63 &c.).

<sup>2</sup> In the original this description of Mombas is in different type, as if by Paludanus; but not in the English or Latin (1599).

and is the verie best, being close and fast, and from thence is it carried [and conveyed] into al places.

By this corner and Island beginneth the mouth or enterance of the Estreito de Mecka, for that within the same upon the coast of Arabia lyeth the citie of Mecka, where the body of Mahomet hangeth in the ayre in an iron chest, under a sky made of Adamant stone<sup>1</sup>, which is greatly sought unto, and visited by many Turkes and Arabians. This entery is also called the redde sea, not that the water is redde, but onely because there are certaine redde hilles lying about the same, that yeeld redde marble stones: and because the sand in some places is redde, it is the same sea which Moyses with the children of Israel passed through on dry land.<sup>2</sup>

From the hooke or cape de Guardafum, which lesseneth, and is narrow inwardes towards Sues, in time past called

<sup>1</sup> In the "Obedientia" Emanuel (1505) says: "Mecā ipsam & p'fidi Maumeti sepulchrū iam subimus." Castanheda (i, 13) repeats this erroneous statement. Camoens (x, 50) seems to have known that Muhammad was buried at Medīnah.

The foolish old legend was explained by Niebuhr as probably having arisen from the misunderstanding of the Arab want of perspective in a view of Muhammad's tomb, which is at Medīnah, not at Mecca. Joseph Pitts (a renegade) in his *Account*, (Exeter, 1704, p. 100) gives a minute account of the tomb. It is curious that Linschoten should repeat the old myth, as an earlier traveller—Varthema—had already given a correct account (ed. of 1517 f. 10 b.). See Sir W. Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, (vol. iv, p. 293): "Abu Bakr.....gave command that the grave should be dug where the body was still lying, within the house of Ayesha."

Sprenger (*Leben*, iii, p. 554) says: "Mohammad starb am 8 Juni 632, Nachmittags, und wurde am Dienstag Abend in der Hütte der Ayischa auf dem Fleck, wo er gestorben war, begraben. Sie fuhr fort die Hütte zu bewohnen..... später wurde die Hütte niedergelassen und der Platz der Moschee einverleibt."

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch's *Essay, La Sortie des Hébreux d'Égypte* (1874) has proved that the Israelites never passed the Red Sea, but the Sirbonian lake: "Depuis plus de dix huit siècles, les interprètes ont tmal compris et mal traduit les notions géographiques contenues dans la Sainte-Écriture, la faute..... n'est pas à la tradition sacrée, mais à ceux qui..... se so t efforcés de reconstruire à tout prix l'Exode des Hébreux sur l'échelle de leur faible savoir." (p. 38).



Arsinoe,<sup>1</sup> (which is the uttermost town where the narrownesse or straight endeth) are 360. miles, and from thence over land to the Mediterranean sea in Italie are 90. myles, the straight or narrownes is in the entrance, and also within the broadest place 40. miles, and in some places narrower: it hath also divers Islands, and on the one side inwarde by Sues Northward Arabia deserta, on the other side southward Ægipt, where the river Nilus hath her course, and somewhat lower towards the Indian seas Arabia Felix: and on the other side right against it, the countrey of Abexynes, or Prester Johns land, upon the hooke [or corner] of Arabia Felix, the Portingals in time past helde a fort called Aden, but nowe they have none, whereby at this present the Turks come out of the straight [or mouth] of the redde sea, with Gallies that are made in Sues, and doe much hurt and iniurie uppon the coast of Abex or Melinde, as when time serveth we shall declare.

Having againe passed the line, we had the sight of the North Star, whereof upon the coast of Guinea, from the Islande of S. Thomas untill this tyme, wee had lost the sight. The 4. of September wee espyed a shippe of our owne fleete, and spake with him: it was the S. Francisco, which sayled with us till the 7. day, and then left us. The 13. of September wee saw an other shippe which was the S. Jacob, which sailed out of sight again and spake not to us.

The 20. of September we perceived many Snakes<sup>2</sup> swim-

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Camoens (*Lus.*, x, 98):

“Vês, o extremo Suez, que antigamente  
Dizem que foi dos Heroes a cidade  
Outros dizem que Arsinoe.....”

“View extreme Suez where, old annals say,  
Once stood the city hight Hero'opolis;  
By some Arsinoe called.....”

*Burton*, ii, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> This has been repeatedly noticed since the *Periplus of the Red Sea* (§ 55). See: Diego Affonso; sailing directions given by Linschoten in

ming in the sea, being as great as Eeles, and other things like the scales of fish which the Portingals call Vintijns,<sup>1</sup> which are halfe Ryalles of silver, Portingall money, because they are like unto it: these swimme and drive upon the sea in great quantities, which is a certain [sign and] token of the Indian coast.

Not long after with great joy we descried land, and found ground at 47. fadome [deepe,] being the land of Bardes, which is the uttermost [ende and] corner of the enterie of the River Goa, of being about thrée miles from the Citie: it is a high land where the shippes of India do anker and unlade, and from thence by boates their wares are carryed to the towne. That day we ankered without in the sea about three miles from the land, because it was calme, and the fludde was past; yet it is [not] without danger, and hath round about a faire and fast land to anker in, for as then it beganne in those places to be summer.<sup>2</sup>

The 21. being ye next day, there came unto us divers boats called Almadias, which barded us, bringing with them all maner of fresh victuailes from the land, as fresh bread and fruit, some of them were Indians that are christened: there came likewise a Galley to fetch the Archbishoppe, and brought him to a place called Pangijn<sup>3</sup>, which is in the middle way, betweene Goa and the roade of Bardes, and lyeth upon the same River: Here he was welcommed and visited by the

his *Reys-Gheschrift*, p. 312 of the original edition of the English translation (1598), and p. 7 of the original Dutch ed. (1596); also Purchas, i, p. 310; Corsali (in Ramusio's vol. i, p. 178 of the ed. of 1588); Pennant's *View of Hindoostan*, i, pp. 59-60 (1798).

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, *vintens*. I do not recollect seeing such objects, and cannot explain what is intended.

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese termed the rainy season on the W. coast (May-September) "winter", and the rest of the year "summer". Cfr. Barros, *Dec.*, iii, 4, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards (xviii<sup>th</sup> century) usually called "New Goa", when, owing to pestilence, Goa was deserted. By a royal edict in 1843 this place became the capital of Portuguese India (*Annaes Maritimos*).

Vice Roy of India, named Don Francisco Mascarenias,<sup>1</sup> and by all the Lordes and Gentlemen of the countrey, as well spirituall as temporall: The Magistrates of the towne desired him to stay there ten or twelve dayes, while preparation might bee made to receive him with triumph into the cittie, as their manner is, which hee granted them. The same day in the afternoone we entred the River, into the roade under the lande of Bardes, being the 21. of September Anno 1583. being five monthes and 13. dayes after our putting forth of the River Lisbon, (having stayed 15. daies at Mosambique) which was one of the speediest [and shortest] voyages that in many yeares before and since that time was ever performed: There we founde the shippe named Saint Laurence, which arrived there a day before us: The 22. day the S. Jacob came thither, and the next day after arrived the S. Francis.

There dyed in our shippe 30. persons, among the which, some of them were slaves, and one high Dutchman, that had bene one of the King of Spaines garde: every man had bene sicke once or twice and let bloode. This is commonly the number of men that ordinarily dyed in the ships, sometimes more sometimes lesse. About ten or twelve years since it chaunced that a Vice Roy [for the King] named Ruy Lorenzo Detavora<sup>2</sup> sayled for India, that had in his shippe 1100. men, and there happened a sicknes among them, so that there dyed thereof [to the number of] 900. and all throwne over borde into the sea, before they came to Mosambique the Vice Roy himselfe being one.<sup>3</sup> Which was an extraordinarie sicknesse, and it is to be thought that the great number of men in the ship were the cause of breeding the same:

<sup>1</sup> He had the title "Conde de Ota", was appointed in 1581, sailed on April 11th of the same year, and arrived at Goa on Sept. 26th. He was succeeded (in Nov. 1584) by Duarte de Menezes.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Lourenço Pires de Távora, appointed in 1576.

<sup>3</sup> He died not far from Mosambique, and was buried there.

therefore in these dayes the shippes take no more so many men into them, for that with the number they carrie, they have stinking ayre, and filth enough to clense [within the shippe.]

The 30 of September the Archbishoppe, my maister with great triumph was brought into the towne of Goa, and by the Gentlemen and Rulers of the countrey, led unto the cathedrall Church, singing Te Deum laudamus, and after many ceremonies and auncient customes, they conveyed him to his pallace, which is close by the Church.

The 20 of November our Admirall S. Phillip arrived at Cochin without staying to lande in any place, having indured much miserie by the meanes before rehearsed, having beene seven monthes and twelve daies under saile.

The last of the same month of November the shippes sayled from Goa to the coast of Malabar, and Cochin, there to receive their lading of Pepper and other spices: some take in their lading on the coast of Malabar, as at Onor, Mangalor, Cananor, etc. and some at Cochin, which can alwayes lade two shippes with Pepper. Cochin lyeth from Goa Southwarde about 90. miles: The shippes unlade all their Portingall commodities in Goa, where the Marchantes, and Factors are resident, and from thence the ships do sayle along the coast to take in their lading in Pepper, and to Cochin as it is said before. Each shippe doeth commonly lade eyght thousande Quintales of Pepper, little more or lesse Portingall waight: every Quintale is 128. pound. Then they come to Cochin, whither the Factors also do travell and lade in them Cloves, Sinamon, and other Indian wares, as in my voyage homewarde I will particularly declare, together with the manner of the same.

In the monthes of January and Februarie Anno 1584. the shippes with their lading returned from Cochin, some before, some after, towards Portingall, with whom my brother went, because of his office in the shippe,<sup>1</sup> and I stayed with my

<sup>1</sup> He was a ship's purser. See ch. ii (p. 9 above).

maister<sup>1</sup> in India certaine yeares to [see and] learne the maners and customes of the said lands, people, fruites, wares, and merchandises, with other things, which when time serveth, I wil in truth set downe, as I my selfe for the most parte have seene it with mine eyes, and of credible persons, both Indians, and other inhabiters in those Countries learned and required to know, as also the report and fame thereof is nowe sufficiently spread abroad throughout the worlde by divers of our neighbour countries and landes which traffique and deale with them, namely our countrey, the East Countries, England, Fraunce, etc. which likewise are founde and knowne by the Portingalles themselves, which dayly trafficke thither.<sup>2</sup> But before I beginne to describe Goa, and the Indies, concerning their manners, traffiques, fruites, wares, and other things, the better to understande the situation of the Countrey, and of the coasts lying on the East side, to the last and highest part of the borders of China, which the Portingales have travelled and discovered, together with their Ilandes, I will first set downe a briefe note of the Orientall coastes, beginning at the redde, or the Arabian sea, from the towne of Aden to China: and then the description of the coastes before named.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the Archbishop of Goa.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., "for opportunity enough there was (to me) there through the connection and communication with the surrounding countries and neighbours, that have their traffic and dealings with one another, as these our lands do with Eastern countries, England, France, etc., and all are visited by the Portuguese and daily frequented." The other translations mostly paraphrase this passage. Latin of 1599: "Commercia Regnorum et populorum facile mihi aditum ad cognitiones has præbuerunt. A Lusitanis etenim omnia ferè annotata ac perlustrata sunt." De Bry's Latin version: "Uti fit etiam apud nostrates, qui nunc cum maritimis, nunc cum Anglis aut Gallis contrahunt, qui et ipsi Lusitani vicina regna frequentare solent." The French is from the Latin of 1599: "Car les Portugais ont presque tout veu et couru."

## CHAPTER V.

The description of the coast of Arabia Felix, or the red Sea, to the Iland and fortresse of Ormus.

*Aden is the strongest and fairest towne of Arabia Felix, situate in a valley, compassed about upon the one side with strong mines,<sup>1</sup> on the other side with high mountaines, there are in it five Castles laden with Ordinance, and a continuall Garrison kept therein, because of the great number of shippes that sayle before it, the Towne hath about 6000. houses in it, where the Indians, Persians, Æthiopians, and Turkes doe trafique: and because the Sunne is so extreame hotte in the daye time, they make most of their bargaines by night. About a stones cast from the towne there is a hill with a great Castle standing thereon wherein the Governor dwelleth. In times past this towne stode upon the firme land, but nowe by the labour [and industrie] of man, they have made it an Iland.<sup>2</sup>*

Aden lieth on the North side, at the entrie of the red Sea on the coast of Arabia Felix, or fruitfull Arabia, and reacheth 60. miles more inwards then the corner or Cape de Guardafum the farthest part or corner of Abex, or Melinde as I said before: but the coast of Arabia, which taketh the beginning from Aden, is much more inwarde. Aden lieth under 13. degrees on the North side, and from thence the coast lyeth Northeast and by East till you come to Cape de Rosalgate, which lyeth under 22. degrees, and is the further corner of the lande of Arabia Felix, [lying] on the Indian Sea, which is distant from Aden 240. miles: the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. D. "Mynen"; Latin (1599) "muris", i.e., walls.

<sup>2</sup> Sic the original, which is incorrect. The Latin of 1599 has: "In speciem Insulæ reducta jacet", which is better, and correct. This passage is by Paludanus (orig. ed. of 1596 and the Latin text of 1599).

towne of Aden standeth by the hill called Darsira,<sup>1</sup> which men affirme to bee onely Cliffes of hard stones, [and red Marble,] where it never rayneth. The people of this coast of Arabia, are tawnie of colour, almost like those of the coast of Abex or Melinde, from that Countrie they bring great numbers of good horses into India, and also Frankensence, Mirhe, Balsam, Balsam woode, and fruite, and some Manna, with other sweete wares and Spices: they hold the law of Mahomet after the Persians manner.

From the Cape of Roselgate inwardes, following the coast North-west to the Cape de Moncado, in times past named Albora<sup>2</sup> are 70. miles. This point lyeth right against the Iland Ormus under 26. degrees. There beginneth the entrance of the straights of Persia, called Sinus Persicus, and the Iland Ormus lyeth betweene them both, having on the one side Arabia, and on the other side Northward [the Coun-

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Camoens (*Lus.* x, 99):

“Olha as portas do estreyto, que fenece  
No reyno da seca Adem, que confina  
Com a serra d'Arzira, pedra viva,  
Onde chuva dos ceos se não deriva.”

Burton (*Lus.* x, 99):

“Behold the Straits which end the southern side  
Of arid Aden-realms, that here confine  
With tall Arziran range, nude stone and live,  
Whence soft sweet rains of Heaven ne'er derive.”

Linschoten has (like Barroa) taken d'Arzira for a single word. This Arzira appears to be the island *Seerah*, which Dr. Badger mentions (*Hakl. Soc. Translation of Varthema*, p. 59, note): “At a stone's cast from this city (Aden) there is a mountain, upon which stands a castle, and at the foot of this mountain the ships cast anchor”; [original in ed. 1517: “Appresso la qual Citta ad uno tirar de pietra sta una mōtagna sopra la quale è un Castello. Et a pede de questa montagna surgono li navilii.”] (Note): “The mountain here mentioned is the small island of Seerah, which has lately been joined to Aden by a causeway.”

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Mosandam and Asabon. Ptolemy (vi, 7, 12) has: “Μέλανο δὴ καλούμενα Ἀσαβών”. Sprenger (*Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1875, p. 106) explains *Asabon* as corrupted from the Arabic “*Gabal Aswad*”, the

trie of] Persia, and is in breadth 20. miles. From the Cape de Moncadon, coasting the Arabian shore inwards to the Iland of Barem, are 80. miles, and lyeth under 26. degrees and a halfe. There the Captaine of Ormus being a Portingal, hath a factor for the King, and there they fish for the best Pearles in all the East Indies, and are the right orientall Pearle.<sup>1</sup> Coasting along this shore from Barem inwards to the farthest and outermost corner of Persia, or Sinus Persicus, lyeth the towne of Balsora, which are 60. miles: this Towne lyeth under 30. degrees, and a little about it the two ryvers Tigris and Euphrates do meete [and joyne in one], and runne by Bassora into the aforesaide Sinus Persicus. Thereabout<sup>2</sup> doe yet appeare [the decayed buildings, and] auncient Ruines of old Babylon, and as many learned men are of opinion, thereabout stode the earthly Paradiçe. From the towne of Balsora the coast runneth againe Northward towards Ormus, which is under the Dominion of the Persian, this Sinus Persicus is about 40. miles broad, not much more nor much lesse, and hath divers Ilands, and in the mouth therof lyeth the rich Iland Ormus, where the Portingales have a Forte, and dwell altogether in the Ile among the naturall borne countrimen, and have a Captaine and other officers every three yeares, as they of Mossambique.

origin of *Μέλαρα ὄρη*: "welches in der That aus schwarzem Gestein besteht."

Camoens (x, 102):

"Olha o cabo Asaboro, que chamado,  
Agora he Moçandão dos navegantes."

Burton:

"Behold of Asabón the head, now hight  
Mosandam, by the men who plough the Main."

That Linschoten took these names from Camoens is evident from the corrupt form Asaboro in both, for the English translator has given the word different from the original: "*C. de Moncadò*, eertijts *Asabora* ghenæmt", and the same in the 1599 Latin version (p. 10): "olim Asabora".

These pearls are termed "perolas"; those from the Tinnevely—Ceylon fishery are termed "aljofar" (=seed pearls) in the old Portuguese writers, 'Aljofar' is the Arabic 'al jauhar' = the same.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, near Bagdad.



## CHAPTER 6.

## Of the Iland and Towne of Ormus.

Ormus lyeth upon the Iland Geru, in times past called Ogyris,<sup>1</sup> and it is an Iland and a kingdom which the Portingales have brought under their subiection, whereas yet their King hath his residence, that is to saye, without the towne where the Portingales inhabite. These people observe Mahomets law, and are white like the Persians. And there they have a common custome, that he which is King doth presently cause al his brethren and his kinsmen of the Male kinde to have their eyes put forth,<sup>2</sup> which done they are all

<sup>1</sup> Geru (Gerum) in Ptolemy (vi, 7, 46): 'Ορυδρα' for (?) Ὀρύβις. Sprenger: *Die alte geogr. Arabiens* (p. 100). This first sentence is apparently by Paludanus.

Teixeira (*Relacion de los Reyes de Harmuz*, p. 13) says that Ormuz was originally on the mainland, but that the people migrated to the Island Gerun, which they called by that name. So Barros (*Dec.* ii, 2, 2) and Camoens (x, 103):

“Mas Vê a ilha Gerum, como descobre,  
O que fazem do tempo os intervallos,  
Que da cidade Armuza, que aly esteve,  
Ella o nome depois, et a gloria teue.”

Burton (ii, 398):

“But see yon Gerum isle the tale unfold  
Of mighty things which Time can make or mar;  
For of Armuza-town yon shore upon,  
The name and glory this her rival won.”

<sup>2</sup> Teixeira (*Relaciones. Amberes*, 1610, p. 40) says: “It is a practice much used by the kings of Persia and Harmuz to secure themselves against those whom they might fear, which were commonly their own relatives..... Their way to deprive them of sight was this: they took a basin of brass, and heating it at the fire as much as was possible, passed it two or three, or more times, before the eyes of him they wished to blind, and without other lesion of them, (i.e., the eyes) they lost sight, the optic nerves being injured by the fire, leaving the eyes as clear and bright as before.”

Barboea mentions this barbarous practice about 1516: *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Lord Stanley of Alderley (for Hak. Soc.), p. 44. The De Bry edition of Linschoten has an imaginary plate, vi, which includes this.

Such barbarities are related of several other Muhammadan dynasties.

richly [kept and] maintained during their lives, for that there is a law in Ormus, that no blinde man may bee their King nor Governor over them. Therefore the King causeth them all to have their eyes put out, so to be more secure in their governmentes, as also to avoide all strife and contention, that might arise, and to hold and maintaine their countrey in peace.

The Island is about three miles great, very full of clifves and rockes, and altogether unfruitfull. It hath neyther greene leafe nor hearbe in it, nor any sweete water, but onely rockes of salte stones, whereof the walles of their houses are made: it hath nothing of it selfe, but only what it fetcheth from the firme land on both sides, as well out of Persia as from Arabia, and from the Towne of Bassora, but because of the situation, and pleasantnes of the Iland there is al things [therein to be had] in great abundance, and greate traffique for that in it is the staple for all India, Persia, Arabia and Turkie, and of all the places and Countries about the same, and commonly it is full of Persians, Armenians, Turkes and all nations, as also Venetians, which lie there to buy Spices and precious stones, that in great abundance are brought thether out [of all parts] of India, and from thence are sent over land to Venice, and also carried throughout all Turkie, Armenia, Arabia, Persia and every way. There are likewise brought thether, all manner of marchandises from those Countries, that is from Persia: out of the Countrie named Coracone and Dias, and other places, great store of rich Tapestry [and Coverlets,] which are called Alcatiffas<sup>1</sup>: out of Turkie all manner of Chamlets: out of Arabia divers sortes of Drugges for Poticaries, as Sanguis Draconis, Manna, Mirre, Frankinsence and such like, divers goodly horses, that are excellent for breeding, all manner of most excellent Orientall Pearles out of Mascatte a Haven lying betweene the Cape of Roselgate and Moncadon, upon the Coast of

<sup>1</sup> "Alcatiffas", i.e., Ar. 'al-katf' (= carpet) adopted in Span. Port.

Arabia, divers sortes of Dates, and Marmelades,<sup>1</sup> which from Ormus is carried into India, and all places are served therewith: likewise the money called Larynen,<sup>2</sup> (which hath as it were two legges, stretching out like a peece of silver wide (*sic*) that is beaten flat, printed about with certain small Characters, which is coyned in Persia at a place called Lary, being fine silver) is brought thether in great quantities, wherby there is as great dealing with them, as with other marchandises, because of the greate gaine that is gotten by them and in India they goe very high.

Now to know the cause of so great traffique, and course of people in this Ilande of Ormus, you must understand that every yeare twice there commeth a great companie of people over land which are called Caffiles or Carvanes, which come from Aleppo, out of the Countrie of Surie three daies iornie from Tripoli which lyeth upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, this companie of people, or Caffila observe this order, that is, every yeare twice in the months of Aprill and September. There is a Captaine and certain hundreths of Iannisaries, which connvaye the said Caffila untill they come to the Towne of Bassora, from whence they travaile by water unto Ormus. The marchants know the times when the Carvana or Caffila will come, so that against that time they [make and] prepare their merchandises in a readinesse, and then are brought thether divers Cammels, Dromedaries, Moyles and horses every man his troope, which are there likewise to bee solde, so that there are assembled at the least five or six thousand persons all together, and ryde all in order like a battell that marcheth in the fieelde two and two upon a Cammell, or else ware hanging on both sides of the Cammel, as you shal see in the Picture that

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, jam. No doubt Halwah is intended, which is still brought from Muscat to Malabar.

<sup>2</sup> See the engraving in De Bry (*Petits Voyages*, ii, pls. opp. p. 96), which shows that these coins were horse-shoe shaped pieces of wire.

followeth. With a good garde of Ianisaries, because they are often times set upon by the Arabians which are great theeves, and come to robbe them, for they must travaile in the woods at the least fortie daies together, wher in every three or foure dayes they finde wels [or pits,] from whence they provide themselves of water which they carrie with them in beastes skins tanned, whereof they make Flaskes [and Botles.]

*The people nowe of late yeares have left off<sup>1</sup> their robbing and stealing in the highwaies, but long before the birth of Christ, they used it, as the Prophet Ieremie doth witnes saying in his third Chapter and second verse, Lift up your eyes and behold what fornication you commit in every place, you sit in the streetes, and stay for your companions like the Arabian in the woodes, etc. I remember that we fell among many thousande of these people, which in great povertie dwell within the woodes, and sandie downes<sup>2</sup>, that are altogether barren [where they live], in the heate of the Sunnes lying with their Cammels, getting their lyving only by robbing and stealing, their meate and best breade are Cakes which they bake under Cammels dung dried in the Sunne, which the Sand maketh hotte, and Cammels Milke and flesh, with such like unprofitable meate, to conclude they live like miserable men, as in truth they are.<sup>3</sup>*

Likewise ther are certaine victualers that follow this companie, which carrie all kinds of things with them, as Honie, Dates, Shéepe, Goates, Hens, Egges, etc. and all [other sorts of] victuals and provision, so that for money they may have what they will, every night they lie still and have their Tents, wherein they sleepe, kéeping good watch, in this manner they travaile to the Towne of Bassora, and passe through Babylon now called Bagedet, and through other places. Being at Bassora, they stay their certaine daies,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. D.: "not taken to robbery", etc., "Christ our Saviour," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Woeste sandt-duynen", i.e., "Waste sand dunes".

<sup>3</sup> "Annotatio D. Paludani", (orig. ed.)

wher againe they assemble themselves, to returne home, and travaile in the like sorte backe againe unto Aleppo, whereby all manner of merchandises, out of all places are brought thether in great aboundance, by great numbers of traveling Marchants, of al nations whatsoever, except Spaniards, Portingals, and the King of Spaines subiects, which are narrowly looked unto, although divers times many of them passe among the rest, under the names of French men, English men, or Venetians, which nations have their factors and servants continually resident in Aleppo, as also in Tripoli, where their dayly traffique is from Venice, Marsellis and London, and in Tripoli they unlade their wares, and [there the shippes] take in their lading, and from thence they send [their merchandises] by land to and from Aleppo, where they use great traffique, and [have] many priviledges and freedomes [graunted them] by the great Turke.

And for that wee are nowe speaking of Turks, I must not forget to shew you how, and in what sort the great Turke hath every day newes and letters from all his kingdomes and Countries that are so great, wild, wast, and spread so farre [abroad one from the other.] You must understand, that throughout the whole Countrie of Turkie, they use Doves [or Pigeons,] which are brought up and accustomed thereunto, having rings aboute their legges.<sup>1</sup> These Doves [or Pigeons] are borne from Bassora, and Babylon, unto Aleppo and Constantinople, and so from thence backe againe, and when there is any great occasion of importance to bee advertised or sent, they make the letter fast unto the ring, that is about the Pignons féete, and so let them flie, whereby the

<sup>1</sup> This is still the popular notion; but it is a great mistake, for a pigeon could not fly with a letter fastened as described. These pigeons are now termed "homing" pigeons, the carriers having become a fancy breed. Messages are sent on small pieces of paper wrapped round a leg shank, or a middle feather of the tail. (See Mr. Fulton's *Book of Pigeons*, p. 288, and Mr. Tegetmeier's *On the Homing or Carrier Pigeon*, pp. 29, fig.) The account in the text is improved on in "Asiae nova descriptio" (fo., Paris, 1656), p. 229; and Fr. Vincenzo (ed. 1672, p. 31).

letter with the Dove is brought unto the place whither it should goe, and they flie sometimes a thousand miles,<sup>1</sup> which men would thinke impossible, but yet it is most true, and affirmed by such as come from thence: I have séene of the Doves in India, that a Venetian my good friend shewed me, which for the strangeness thereof had brought of them with him into India.

But let us now returne unto our matter of the Ile of Ormus, which lyeth under 27. degrés, and in Sommer time<sup>2</sup> is so unreasonable and intollerable hotte, that they are forced to lie and sléepe in wooden Cesterns made for the purpose full of water, and all naked both men and women, lying cleane under water saving only their heads:<sup>3</sup> al their houses are flat above,<sup>4</sup> and in the toppes therof they make holes to let the ayre come in, like those of Cayro,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "... miles and more".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "... time which comes as in our countries".

<sup>3</sup> Jarric's *Thesaurus* (Cologne, 1615) vol. ii, p. 422, has: "Sub noctes æstivas tantus grassatur æstus, ut nisi arte aliqua calorem eluderent, intolerabilis foret; in domorum tectis quæ plana sunt, vasa quædam lintrium instar excavata habent; tantæ capacitatis, ut duo commodè in iisdem decumbant, tantæque longitudinis, ut velut in lectulis jaceant extensi. Decubituri ergo vas recenti complent aqua, cui collos tenus se immergunt, atque ita nocte tota sub dio frigido manent, quietem capturi." The De Brys (pl. vi), give a very imaginary plate of this.

<sup>4</sup> This passage is clearer in Linschoten's Latin than in the Dutch: "Omnia ædificia sunt plano tecto, ac foraminibus perspicuo, ad auram ac frigus suscipiendum, ut et Cayri. Itaque et oscillatione; quam *cattaventos* vocant, crebrâ corporis succussione, ac flabellis utuntur incolæ ad ventulum excitandum."

The word used in the original—"schougeln"—is not Dutch, but German, as the De Bry translation (p. 28) shows: "Utuntur instrumento quodam, quod appensum e sublimi hinc inde manu movetur, ad instar motacillarum puerilium nostris 'Schockelen', inde flabella circumquaque dependent, quibus impositi se invicem agitando ventos sibi faciunt ut refrigerentur; vocant hoc inventum *Cataventos*." Frey G. de Saõ Bernardino (in his *Itinerario*, 1611, f. 56 b, describes *cata-ventos* as "made like chimneys", with holes by which "in Summer the wind comes down to cool houses". Della Valle also describes them.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, the "malkaf" in Egypt.

and they use certaine instruments like Waggins<sup>1</sup> with bellows,<sup>2</sup> to beare the people in, and to gather winde to coole them withall, which they call Cattaventos.<sup>3</sup>

*Cayrus hath very high houses, with [broad] peint-houses, to ycelde shadowe, therby to avoide the heate of the Sunne: in the middle of these houses are greate Pipes, of ten cubites longe at the least, which stand Northward, to conuaye and spread the colde ayre into their houses, specially to coole the lowest romes.*<sup>4</sup>

In winter time it is as colde [with them] as it is in Portingale, the water that they drinke is brought from the firme land, which they kéepe in great pots, (as the Tinaios in Spaine) and in Cesternes, whereof they have verie great ones within the fortresse, which water for a yeare, or a yeare and a halfe, against they shall neede, like those of Mossambique. They fetch water by the Iland of Barein, in the Sea, from under the salt water, with instruments four or five fadome déepe, which is verie good and excellent sweete water, as good as any fountaine water.<sup>5</sup>

There is in Ormus a sicknesse or common Plague of Wormes,<sup>6</sup> which growe in their legges, it is thought that

<sup>1</sup> "Waggins", *i.e.*, swings, from "to wag". Cfr. Strattman's *Old Eng. Dyt.*, *s.v.* The original Dutch has the German word "schaukeln" (*i.e.*, schaukeln)=swing.

<sup>2</sup> "Bellows", rather "fans". Sousa (*Oriente Conquistado*, i, p. 742) mentions fans as being constantly in use.

<sup>3</sup> "Cattavento", see note 4 on last page, and cfr. Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 451 (2nd ed.) for an engraving of one. The proper meaning of the word is chimneys, not swings.

<sup>4</sup> These "pipes" are the chimneys called "malkaf" in Arabic; they are described in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*. This passage is by Paludanus. (Note in margin.)

<sup>5</sup> Teixeira (*u. s.*, p. 27) also describes this method of procuring fresh water. "Instruments"—orig. Dutch—"duykers" (Latin) "urinators" [*i.e.*, divers].

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, the so-called Guinea worms common in the tropics. The De Brys give a very imaginary plate (vi) to explain this and other matters

they procéede of the water that they drink. These wormes are like unto Lute strings, and about two or thrée fadomes longe, which they must plucke out and winde them aboute a Straw or a Pin, everie day some part thereof, as longe as they féele them creepe: and when they hold still, letting it rest in that sort till the next daye, they binde it fast and annoynt the hole, and the swelling from whence it commeth fourth, with fresh Butter, and so in ten or twelve dayes, they winde them out without any let, in the meane time they must sit still with their legges, for if it should breake, they should not without great paine get it out of their legge, as I have séen some men doe.<sup>1</sup>

*Of these wormes Alsaharavius,<sup>2</sup> in his practise in the 11. Chapter, writeth thus. In some places there grow certaine Wormes betweene the skinne and the flesh, which sicknesse is named the Oxen paine, because the Oxen are manye times grieved therewith, which stretch themselves in great length, and creepe under the skin, so long till that they pearce it, the healing [thereof] consisteth in purging the body of corrupt fleame, etc. Reade further.<sup>3</sup>*

In my master the Archbishops house we had one of his servants born in Ormus newly come from thence which drewe three or foure wormes out of his legges in the same manner as [I] said before, which hee tolde us was very common in that place.

The Captaines place of Ormus, next to Soffala, or Mossam-

related of Ormuz, viz., the troughs of water in which people were obliged to sleep on account of the heat, and the blinding of the king's relatives. This plate is not in the original Dutch edition of 1596, etc.

<sup>1</sup> It may be added that such an accident involves great danger and risk, even of life.

<sup>2</sup> Alsaharavius; Abulcasis or Albucasis, a Spanish-Arab surgeon, born at Alzabra (near Cordova), and died 1106 or 1107 A.D. Some of his surgical treatises were printed very early in Latin translations.

<sup>3</sup> According to a note in the margin this is by Paludanus.



bique is [holden and] accounted to be one of the best and profitablest places of all India. As touching the Portingales government and benefite in a manner as profitable as that of Mossambique, for that they have their ships which they sent to Goa, Chaul, Bengala, Mascatte and other places, and no man may buy, sel, ship or lade any ware, before the Captaine hath sould, shipped, fraughted, and dispatched his wares away, not that hee hath any such authoritie from the King, for he wholly forbiddeth it, but they take [such authoritie] of themselves, because the King is farre from them, to commaund the contrarie, onely this is graunted him by the King, that no man may send any horses into India, but onely the Captaine, or such as have authoritie from him, whereby he rayseth a great commoditie, for that horses in India are worth much money,<sup>1</sup> those that are good, are solde in India for fower or five hundred pardauwen, and some for seven, eight, yea 1000 pardauwen and more, each pardauwe, accounted as much as a Réekes Doller, Flemish money: the voyage that men make from Goa to Ormus,<sup>2</sup> is in the moneths of Januarie, Februarie, March, and in September and October. [Now] foloweth the coast of Ormus stretching towards India.

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#### THE 7. CHAPTER.

Of the coast of Ormus, to the Towne and Iland named Diu, a fortresse belonging to the Portingals.

From Ormus sayling alonge the coast East and by South, you finde the Cape called Iasque, in times past called Car-

<sup>1</sup> Till horses were imported from Australia, nearly all were brought from Arabia, etc., by the Persian Gulf. Even now, many are imported from these countries into India.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "The Voyage or Monsoon for sailing from Goa", etc. Latin (1599): "Tempestas autem navigationi commoda Goâ", etc.

PELLA,<sup>1</sup> which land was once named Carmania: This Cape lyeth under 25. degrés and a halfe, and is [distant] from Ormus 30. miles. Following the same coast you come unto the ryver Sinde, by Historiographers called Indus, which men say hath her beginning out of the mountaine Caucasus with the ryver Ganges, which runneth into the Sea through the kingdome of Bengale, as when time and place serveth wee shall declare: of this ryver of Sinde or Indo some men affirme India to take her name.<sup>2</sup> The mouth or entrance of this ryver lyeth under 24. degrés, and is [distant] from the said Cape of Iasque 140. miles: along this ryver lyeth the land of Sinde, wherupon the Portingals have given the ryver the name of the land, it is a very rich and a fruitefull land,<sup>3</sup> and dealeth much [in Marchandize] with all the Countries rounde about it, as also with the Portingals of India, and of Ormus, and other places which daily travaile thither: it hath divers sortes of excellent fine Cotton Linnen,

<sup>1</sup> Camoens (x, 105):

“Mas deixamos o estreyto, e o conhecido  
Cabo de Jasque, dito ja Carpella,  
Com todo o seu terreno mal querido  
Da natura, e dos doës usados della,  
Carmania teve ja por apellido.”

Burton:

“But now the Narrows and their noted head  
Cape Jask, Carpella called by those of yore,  
Quit we, the dry terrene scant favoured  
By Nature niggard of her vernal store:  
Whilere Carmania 'twas intituled.”

<sup>2</sup> This is correct; cfr. Lassen's *Ind. Alterthumsk.* (2nd ed.) i, pp. 2, 3. The Sanskrit “Sindhu” became “Höndu” in Zend, and the ancients thence got “India.”

<sup>3</sup> So Camoens (x, 106):

“Olha a terra de Ulcinde fertilissima.”

Burton:

“Behold Ulcindé's most luxuriant land.”

Ulcinde is here for Dulcinde, or Diulsind, an old port in Sinde, *i.e.*, Diul (a port at the mouth of the Indus mentioned by Barros) Scinde.

which they call Ioriims,<sup>1</sup> and Sluyers<sup>2</sup> or Lampardes,<sup>3</sup> and much Oyle of Cocus or Indian Nuts, Butter<sup>4</sup> in great abundance, and [very] good (but not so swéete and cleane as [that] in Holland which they bring in great high Earthen pots with smal necks, and is good to dresse meate), Pitch, Tarre, Suger-candie, and Iron, good store, and most excellent and faire Leather, which are most workmanlike, and cunningly wrought with Silke of all colours, both Flowers and personages, this Leather is in India much estéemed, to lay upon Beds and Tables instéede of Carpets [and Coverlets]: they make also al sortes of Deskes, Cubbords, Coffers, Boxes, and a thousand such like devises in Leade,<sup>5</sup> and wrought with mother of Pearle, which are carried throughout al India, especially to Goa and Cochin, against the time that the Portingals shippes [come] thether to take in their lading.

Leaving and passing by the foresaide ryver and some smal Ilandes, which lie by the firme land and coast of Sinde, you come to a small Gulfe, which the Portingals call Enseada,<sup>6</sup> in the which Gulfe lyeth many little Ilands, [the entrie of] this Gulfe is called Iaqueta,<sup>7</sup> where it ebbeth and floweth so

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Mahr. "jhoryā"; but Molesworth says of this: "A cotton stuff of a thick and coarse texture, about 4 cubits long, called also *sutādā*." The word is probably Konkani, or Mahratha.

<sup>2</sup> "Sluyers", *sluyer*. . . . *peplum, velum, Germ. Sax. schleyer* (Kilian, *s.v.*) [It stands here for Port, *beatilha*, "a veil, muslin".]

<sup>3</sup> This passage should run: "It has many kinds of, and very fine cotton cloth, which they call Iorijms, and veils or muslins (?) which are called *volantes*. . . . Kilian has: "Lampers, . . . *carbasus lampra sive splendens: nebula, velamen tenue et pellucidum*."

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, ghee.

<sup>5</sup> "In leade." Orig. Dutch: "alles ingheleyt"="all inlaid".

<sup>6</sup> "Enseada," *i.e.*, bay or gulf (original: "inganck").

<sup>7</sup> Camoens (x. 106):

"E de Jaquete a intima enseada,  
Do mar a enchente subita grandissima  
E a vasante, que fuge apressurada."

Burton:

"And of Jaquete-shore yon intime bay;  
The monster Bore which roaring floods the strand,  
And ebb which flieth with like force away."

This bore is called "Macareo" in Portuguese, and was observed also in

suddenly, and so farre in, that the like was never séene, nor yet heard of, and séemeth to be impossible, so that it is [in all places] estéemed for a wonder. The Indians<sup>1</sup> say, that Alexander the great came into this place, and perceiving the spéedie [and swift] ebbe [that ranne there]; he returned backe againe, thinking it to be a miracle and worke of the gods, or else a foreshewing of some evill fortune.<sup>2</sup> This [entrie of the] Gulfe lyeth distant from the river Sinde or Indo 60. miles, passing this Enseada, and sayling along the coast Southeast you come to the Iland, and the Towne and fortresse of Diu, inhabited by the Portingals, together with [their] natural Countrimen which are under the goverment of the Portingals.

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#### THE 8. CHAPTER.

Of the towne, fortresse and island of Diu, in times past called Alambater.

The Towne and Ilande of Diu lyeth distant from the ryver Indo 70. miles under 21. degrés, close to the firme land: in times past it belonged to ye King of Cambaia, in whose land and coast it lyeth, where the Portingals by negligence of the Kinge, have built a fortresse, and in processe of time have brought the Towne and the whole Iland under their subiection, and have made it very strong, and [in a

Burmah. Varthema described this place (f. 33, ed. 1517). It occurs also on the Severn and other places in England and elsewhere. In Corea the tides rise nearly 100 feet.

Jaqueta is the Gulf of Cutch (Burton, iv, p. 664).

<sup>1</sup> "Iudians". Muhammadans must be intended here, as they alone have any knowledge of Alexander the Great.

<sup>2</sup> This bore is first described in the "Periplus of the Red Sea" (§45 of the text in vol. i. of the *Geographi Graeci Minores* by Müller). The orig. Dutch has: "or a foretelling of some misfortune, if he went further".

manner] invincible,<sup>1</sup> which fortresse hath béene twice besieged by souldiers of Cambaia and their assistants, first in Anno 1539. and secondly in Anno 1546. and hath alwaies béene valiantly defended by the Portingals, as their Chronicles rehearse.<sup>2</sup> This Towne hath a very great Haven, and great traffique, although it hath verye little or nothing [at all] of it selfe, more then the situation of the place, for that it lyeth betwéen Sinde and Cambaia, which Countries are abundant in all kind of things, whereby Diu is alwaies ful of strange nations, as Turks, Persians, Arabians, Armenians, and other countrie people: and it is the best and the most profitable revenue the King hath throughout all India, for that the Banianen, Gusaratten, Rumos<sup>3</sup> and Persians, which traffique in Cambaia, [and from thence] to Mecca, or the red Sea, doe commonly discharge their wares, and take in their lading in Diu, by reason of the situation [thereof], for that it lyeth in the entrance of Cambaia, and from Diu it is shipped [and sent] to Cambaia, and so brought backe againe to Diu.

The Towne of Diu is inhabited by Portingals, together with the natural borne Countrimen, like Ormus and al the townes and places [holden] by the Portingals in India, yet they kéepe their fortresse strong unto themselves. This Iland aboundeth, and is very fruitfull of all kind of victuals,<sup>4</sup> as Oxen Kine, Hogges, Shéepe, Hennes, Butter, Milke,

<sup>1</sup> There is a plan of Diu in the "Lendas" iii, p. 625, and a good description of the place, as it was about fifteen years ago, in Wyllie's *Essays*, pp. 327-332. It is much decayed.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. Barros (*Dec.* iv, 10, 4 ff.), as regards the first siege (1538); the best description of the second is by 'Evens, which has been often printed. (1548—*Commentarius de rebus a Lusitanis in India apud Dium gestis anno sal. nostrae 1546.*) Goes wrote an account of the first (1<sup>st</sup>o., 1539).

<sup>3</sup> "Rumos," i.e., Turks. Maffei (*Hist. Ind.*, orig. ed., 1588, p. 70) says, correctly: "à Byzantio ferme evocantur, quo translatum ab urbe Roma quondam imperium est; corrupta Græca voce Rumes, quasi Romæos appellant". They were Janissaries (Goes, *Diensis Opp.*).

<sup>4</sup> Original Dutch: "eatables, victuals, and necessaries".

Onions, Garlicke, Pease, Beanes, and such like, whereof there is great plentie, and [that very] good, and such as better cannot be made in all these Low-countries, but that the Fuell is not so well drest: they have likewise Chéeses, but they are very drie and sault, much Fish which they sault, and it is almost like unto salt Ling, or Codde,<sup>1</sup> and of other sortes; they make hanged flesh which is very good, and will continue for a whole Viage: of all these [victuals, and] necessarie provisions they have so great quantity that they supply the want of all the places round about them, especially Goa, and Cochin, for they have neither Butter, Onyons, Garlicke, Pease, Oyle nor graine, as Beanes, Wheat, or any séede: they must all bee brought from other places thether, as in the orderly description of the coast as it lyeth, I will shew you, what wares, goods, marchandises, victuals, fruites, and other things each lande, Province, or Countrie yéeldeth and affordeth.

From Diu sayling along by the coast<sup>2</sup> about fiftéene or sixtéene miles, beginneth the mouth [of the water that runneth] to Cambaia, which is at the entrie, and all along the said water about 18. miles broad and 40. miles long, and runneth in North-east and by North, and at the farther end of the water is the Towne of Cambaia, whereof the whole Countrie beareth the name, and lyeth under twentie thrée degrés, there the King or Solden<sup>3</sup> holdeth his Court.

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## THE 9. CHAPTER.

### Of the kingdome and land of Cambaia.

The land of Cambaia is the fruitfullest [Countrie] in all India, and from thence provision of necessaries is made for all

<sup>1</sup> The "Seer-fish" is clearly intended.

<sup>2</sup> Original adds, "Eastwards".

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Sultan.

places round about it : whereby there is a great traffique [in the Towne], as well of the inhabitants, as other Indians and neighbors, as also of Portingals, Persians, Arabians, Armenians, etc. The King observeth the law of Mahomet, but most parte of the people that are dwellers and naturall borne Countermen, called Gusarates and Baneanem, observe Pythagoras law,<sup>1</sup> and are the subtilest and pollitiquet Marchauntes of all India, whose counterfets and shapes are placed [in this booke] by those of India, with a description of their living, ceremonies and customes, as in time and place shall be shewed. This lande of Cambaia aboundeth in all kinde of victuals, as Corne, Rice and such like grain, also of Butter and Oyle, wherewith they furnish all the Countries round about them. There is made great store of Cotton Linnen of divers sorts, which are called Cannequins, Boffetas, Ioriins, Chautares and Cotonias,<sup>2</sup> which are like Canvas, thereof do make sayles and such like things, and many other sortes that are very good [and] cheape. They make some [thereof] so fine, that you can not perceyve the thréedes, so that for finenesse it surpasseth any Holland cloth, they make likewise many Carpets, called Alcatiffas,<sup>3</sup> but they are neyther so fine nor so good as those

<sup>1</sup> "Pythagoras law", *i.e.*, are vegetarians, being Hindus.

<sup>2</sup> "Cannequins"—this word occurs in old Portuguese documents, *e.g.*, *Lembrança das cousas da India* of 1525 (pp. 48, 56) as "Quamdaquy." It seems to be the Mahr. *khandaki*—a low-priced kind of cloth.

"Boffetas"—*i.e.*, *bäfta* (Persian-Hindust.)=cloth.

Joriins? Mahr. "jhoryâ"—cotton cloth; see note 3 to the last chapter, p. 56.

"Chautares"—"Chādar"—"a sheet" (Hind.) [No; it is a different word, *chautār* in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 94; *chowtar* in Milburn.]

"Cotonias"—Perhaps formed from the Hind. "Kattān"—a white cotton cloth or linen. "Cotonyas de leuamte" occurs in the *Lembrança das cousas da India* of 1525 (p. 31) and "Cotonyas grandes," and . . . *pequenas* (pp. 48-9). This is, apparently, a Portuguese, not an Indian, word. Luillier (1705) has "cottonis", stuffs of silk and cotton [also in Milburn we have "*Cuttannees*" among piece-goods].

<sup>3</sup> Arabic adapted in Span.-Port., see Dozy and Engelmann's glossary, p. 88.

that are brought to Ormus out of Persia, and an other sort of course Carpets that are called Banquays,<sup>1</sup> which are much like the striped Coverlits that are made in Scotland, serving to lay upon chestes and cubbords: They make also faire coverlits, which they call Godoriins Colchas,<sup>2</sup> which are very fair and pleasant [to the eye], stitched with silke, and also of Cotton of all colours and stitchinges: pavilions of divers sorts and colours: Persintos that are stringes or bands, wherewith the Indians bind and make fast their bedsteddes, thereon to lay their beds: all kind of bedstedds, stooles for Indian women, and other such like stufes, costly wrought and covered with stufes<sup>3</sup> of all colours: also fine playing tables, and Chessebordes of Ivory, and shields of Torteur shelles, wrought and inlaide very workemanlike, many fayre signets, ringes, and other curious worke of Ivorie, and sea horse téeth, as also of Amber, whereof there is great quantitie: They have likewise a kind of mountain Christall, wherof they make many signets, buttons, beades, and divers other devises. They have divers sorts of precious stones, as Espinellē, Rubies, Granadis, Iasnites, Amatistes, Chrysolites, Olhos de gato, which are Cattes eyes, or Agats, much Jasper stone, which is called bloud and milke stone, and other kindes [of stones]: also many [kindes of] Drogues, as Amfion, or Opium, Camfora, Bangué, and Sandale wood, whereof when time serveth, I will particularly discourse, in setting down the spices and fruites of India, Alluijn, Cane Sugar, and other merchandises, which I cannot remember, and it would be over long and tedious to rehearse them all: Anell or Indigo

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find any probable Indian word for this; the Hindustani Dictionaries give "bānigā" and "bangah" as=cotton in the pod, and it may be a word derived from this. [*Bānk*, H. and M. from Port. *banco*, "a bench", therefore *bānki*, a "bench-cover".]

<sup>2</sup> A Hindustani word—*gūdrī*—"a quilt"—with the equivalent in Portuguese—Colcha, which is from the Latin "culcitra."

<sup>3</sup> "Stufes" should be "laquer," i.e., varnish.



groweth onely in Cambaia,<sup>1</sup> and is there prepared and made ready, and from thence carried throughout the whole world, whereof hereafter I will say more: but this shall suffice for the description of Cambaia, and now I will procéde.

At the ende of the countrey of Cambaia beginneth India and the lands of Decam, and Cuncam, the coast that is the inwarde parte thereof on the Indian side stretcheth from Cambaia to the coast of India, where the said inward part hath the beginning, which coast stretcheth Westwardes, South-west, and by South to the Islande lying on the coast or entry of the said place, called Insula das Vaquas, being under 20. degrées, upon the which corner<sup>2</sup> and countrey, on the firme land standeth the towne and fortresse of Daman, which is inhabited by the Portingalles, and under their subiection, distant from the Towne of Diu East and by South fortie miles.

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#### THE 10. CHAPTER.

Of the coast of India, and the havens and places lying upon the same.

The coast of India hath the beginning at the entrey or turning of [the lande of] Cambaia from the Islande called Das Vaguas, as it is said before, which is the right coast, that in all the East Countries is called India: but they have other particular names, as Mosambique, Melinde, Ormus, Cambaia, Choramandel, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, etc., as when time serveth shall be shewed, whereof a part hath already béene described. Now you must understande that this coast of India beginneth at Daman, or the Island Das Vaguas, and stretcheth South and by East, to the Cape of Comoriin, where

<sup>1</sup> Indigo, for a long period, was chiefly grown in the Ceded Districts of Madras, and especially at Curpah or Cudapah (*i.e.*, Kadapa). [But Cambay was notable for Indigo exports.] This list, it will be seen, includes many imports.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "height".

it endeth, and is in all 180. miles, uppon the which coast lie the townes and havens hereafter following which the Portingales have under their subiections, and [strong] fortes therein: first Daman from thence fiftéene miles [upwardes] under 19. degrésés and a halfe the town of Basaiin, from Basaiin ten miles [upwardes] under 19. degrésés the Towne and fort of Chaul, from Chaul to Dabul are tenne miles, and lyeth under 18. degrésés: from Dabul to the town and Island of Goa are 30. miles, which lyeth under 15. degrésés and a halfe: all these Townes and fortes aforesaide are inhabited by the Portingalles, except Dabul, which they had, and long since lost it againe: <sup>1</sup> The coast from Goa to Daman, or the turning into Cambaia, is called by those of Goa the Northerne coast, and from Goa to the Cape de Comoriin, it is called the southern coast, but commonly the coast of Malabar.

Concerning the towne of Goa and the situation thereof, as also the description of Decam and Cuncam, [as touching] their kings and progenies wee will in another place particularly declare, with many other memorable thinges, as well of the Portingalles, as of the naturall countrimen. Wherefore for this time we will passe them over, and speak of the other principal townes and havens, following along the coast.

You must understand that all the townes aforesaid, Daman, Basaiin, and Chaul, have good havens, where great traffique is done throughout all India: all these townes and countries are very fruitfull of Ryce, Pease, and other graines, Butter, and oyle of Indian Nuttes: but oyle of Olives is not [to be found] in all the East Indies, onely what is brought out of Portingall, and other such like provisions is there very plentifull: they make also some Cotton linnen, but [very] little. The towne of Chaul hath great traffique to Ormus, Cambaia, to the redde sea, to Sinde Masquate, Bengala, etc., and hath many rich Marchants, and shippes: there is a place by Chaul, which is the old towne of the naturall borne countrymen, where divers kindes of silkes are woven, of all sortes and

<sup>1</sup> Conquered 1509 (*Barros*, ii, 3, 4); rebelled 1526.

colours, as Grogeran, Sattin, Taffata, Sarscenet, and such like stuffes, in so great abundance, that India and all other places bordering the same, are served therewith: whereby the inhabitants of Chaul have a great commoditie, by bringing the raw silke out of China, spinning and weaving it there; and againe being woven, to carrie and distribute it throughout all India. There are likewise made many and excellent faire desks, bedsteds, stooles for women, covered with stuffes<sup>1</sup> of all colours, and such like marchandises, whereby they have great traffique: There is likewise great store of Ginger, as also all the coast [along], but little estéemed there: This land called the North part, hath a very wholesome and temperate ayre, and is thought to be ye [soundest and] healthsomest part of all India, for the towne of Diu, and the coast of Malabar is very unwholesome. These Indians, as also those of Cambaia which are called Benianen, and Gusarrates, and those of the lande that lyeth inwardes from Decam, which dwell upon the hill, called Ballagatte, which are named Decaniins,<sup>2</sup> and Canaras, are altogether of yellowe colour, and some of them somewhat whiter, others somewhat browner, but those that dwel on the sea coast, are different and [much] blacker, their statures, visages, and limmes are altogether like men of Europa, and those of the coast of Malabar, which stretcheth and beginneth 12. miles from Goa Southward, and reacheth to the cape de Comoriin, whose naturall borne people are called Malabaren, which are those that dwell upon the sea coast, are as blacke as pitch, with verie blacke and smoth haire, yet of bodies, lims and visages, in all [thinges] proportioned like men of Europa: these are the best soldiers in all India,<sup>3</sup> and the principall enemies that the Portingalles have, and which trouble them continually.

<sup>1</sup> "Stuffes", as before, should be "lacquer", i.e., varnish.

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese nasalized form of Hind. "Dakhni," i.e., people of Deccan; here the Canarese are intended. The Portuguese by confusion termed the Koukani people also Canarins.

<sup>3</sup> "India," i.e., the W. Coast, cfr. p. 62 above.

But the better to know the situation of the countrey, you must understande that all the coast severed<sup>1</sup> (*sic*) from India, is the low land lying 8. or 10. miles upon the coast, which is that whereof we speake, and is called Cuncam, and then there is a high or hilly Countrey, which reacheth [almost] unto the skies, and stretcheth from the one ende unto the other, beginning at Daman or Cambaia to the Cape de Comoriin, and the uttermost corner of India, and all that followeth again on the other coast called Choromandel. This high land on the top is very flatte and good to build upon, called Ballagatte, and Decan, and is inhabited and divided among divers Kings and governors. The inhabitants and natural borne countrymen, are commonly called Decaniins, and Canaras, as in the description of Coa and the territories thereof shalbe particularly shewed, with the shapes, fashions and counterfeites of their bodies, Churches, houses, trées, Plantes, and fruites, etc.

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THE 11. CHAPTER.

Of the coast of India, that is from Goa to the cape de Comoriin, and the furthest corner [of the lande], which is called the coast of Malabar.

The coast of Malabar beginneth from Cape de Ramos, which lyeth from Goa Southwardes ten myles, and endeth at the Cape de Comoriin, in time past called Corii,<sup>2</sup> which is 100.

<sup>1</sup> Original Dutch: "alle dese Custe diemen heet van Indien . . ." —"all this coast called of India" (*i.e.*, which the author terms 'India').

<sup>2</sup> Camoens (x, 107):

"Ves corre a costa celebre Indiana  
Para o sul até o cabo Comory  
Ia chamado Cori, que Taprobana,  
Que hora he Ceilaõ defronte teu de sy."

Burton:

"Ser, runs the celebrated seaboard Hindostanian  
Southward till reached its point, Cape Comori,  
First 'Cori' called, where th' Island Taprobanian  
(Tis now Ceylon) encrowns the fronting sea."

"Comorin" is the Portuguese form of the Tamil name "Ku-

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and 7. or 8. miles, whereon lie the places hereafter following, which are inhabited by the Portingals, and kept with fortresses: first from the said Cape de Ramos to the fortresse of Onor<sup>1</sup> are tenne miles, lying full under 14. deგრées, and is inhabited by the Portingalles. There is great quantity of Pepper,<sup>2</sup> for that they are able every yeare to lade a shippe with 7. or 8. thousand Quintalles of Pepper, Portingal waight, and it is the best and fullest [berries] in all Malabar or India. This land belongeth to a Quéene named Batycola,<sup>3</sup> which is a towne not farre from thence inwardes, wherin she kéepeth her Court: it is she that selleth the Pepper, and delivereth it unto the Marchantes Factors, that lie in Onor, but they must alwaies deliver their money sixe monthes before they receyve their Pepper, otherwise they get it not: then she delivereth the Pepper, which by one of the Factors is [receyved, and] laid up within the fortresse, till the shippes of Portingall come thether to take in their lading of Pepper: There is likewise much Ryce. This fortresse is not much frequented, but onely in the time of lading of their Pepper, which within fewe yeares hath béene used to be laden there, for before they used not to lade any in that place.

From Onor to the towne of Barselor<sup>4</sup> are 15. miles, and lyeth under 13. deგრées: it is also inhabited by Portingalles as Onor is: there is great store of Ryce and Pepper: From Barselor to Mangalor<sup>5</sup> are 9. miles, and lyeth under twelve

mari". The Portuguese nasalised every final "i" in foreign words.

"Cori" was not the ancient name of C. Comorin but of the point opposite the N. end of Ceylon, or Rāmeçvaram. *Κώρυ* represents "Kodi" or "Kodu", i.e., point or shore—not "bow-tip" as has been imagined.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Honnāvar or "Honore", now much decayed.

<sup>2</sup> This is not the case now.

<sup>3</sup> Bhatkal?

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, Basarūr of the present day, near Kundāpūr. For a plan, see Faria y Sousa's *Asia Port.* ii, 476, and Valentijn, viii, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, Mangalūr. A view of the fort is given by Faria y Sousa, *Asia Port.* i, p. 436.

degrées, and a halfe, which also is a fortresse [inhabited] as the others are by Portingals, and hath great store of Pepper and Ryce.

From Mangalor to Cananor<sup>1</sup> are 15. myles, which lyeth under 11. degrees and a halfe. This is the best fortresse that the Portingalles have in all Malabar, and there is much Pepper: The Malabars without the fortresse have a village, with many houses [therein, built] after their manner; wherein there is a market holden every day, in the which all kindes of victuailes are to be had, which is wonderfull, altogether like the Hollanders markets. There you find Hennes, Egges, Butter, Hony, Indian Oyle, and Indian figges, [that are brought from] Cananor, which are very great, and without exception the best in all India: of the which sorts of victuailes, with other such like they have great quantities: also very faire and long mastes for shippes,<sup>2</sup> such as better cannot be found in all Norway, and that in so great numbers, that they furnish all the countries rounde about them. It is a very gréene and pleasant lande to beholde, full of faire high trées, and fruitfull of all thinges, so is the whole coast [from] Malabar [all along the shore]. Among these Malabars the white Mores do inhabite that beléeve in Mahomet, and their greatest traffique is unto the redde sea, although they may not doe it, neyther any [other] Indian, without the Portingalles pasport, otherwise the Portingals army (which yearly saileth along the coasts, to kéepe them cleare from sea rovers) for the safetie of their marchants, finding them or any other Indian or nation [whatsoever], at sea without a pasport, woulde take them for a prize, as oftentimes it happeneth that they bring shippes from Cambaia, Malabar, or from the Ile of Sumatra, and other places that traffique to the redde

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Kannūr or Kannanūr. Of the old Portuguese fort here, plans and views are given by Correa (*Lendas*, iii, 1), Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* i, 84), *Baldeus* (p. 100), Valantijn, *Nieuw en Oud-Oostindien*, viii, 8).

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, The "Poon—spars". The name is Canarese.

sea. These Mores of Cananor kéepe friendshippe with the Portingalles, because of the fortresse which holdeth them in subiection, yet covertly are their deadly enemies, and secretly contribute [and pay] great summes of money to the other Malabars, to the ende that they shoulde mischief [and trouble] the Portingalles by all the meanes they can devise,<sup>1</sup> whose forme and images do follow after those of Goa and Malabar.

From Cananor to Calecut<sup>2</sup> are 8. miles, which lyeth full under 11. degrés: This towne of Calecut hath in times past béene the most famous Towne in all Malabar or India, and it was the chiefe towne of Malabar where the Samoriin,<sup>3</sup> which is the Emperour, holdeth his Court, but because the Portingalles at their first comming and discovering of India, were oftentimes deceyved by him, they resorted to the King of Cochin, who [as then] was subiect to the Samoriin, being of small power. But when the Portingals began to prosper [in their enterprise], and to get possession in the countrey, and so become maisters of the sea, Calecut beganne to decay, and to lose both name and traffique, and nowe at this time it is one of the townes of least account in all Malabar and Cochin to the contrarie, their King being very rich, and richer then the Samoriin, so that now he careth not for him, by means of the favour [and help he findeth at the hands] of the Portingalles.

From Calecut to Cranganor<sup>4</sup> are tenne myles, and lyeth under tenne degrés and a halfe: there the Portingalles have a fortresse.

From Cranganor to Cochin<sup>5</sup> are tenne miles, and lyeth not

<sup>1</sup> This is done by these Māppilas, at the present day, as regards the English; money is collected in Arabia, etc., and sent to Malabar.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Kōḷikkōdu.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Sāmūri, with the final "i" nasalised, as usual, by the Portuguese.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, Kodungalūr. *Baldaeus* (pp. 110-1) gives a fine view of this town. It was destroyed during the Muhammadan (Tipu's) invasion by Lally (1790), and hardly a trace is now left. (Cfr. Fr. Paolino's *Viaggio*, p. 86.)

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, Kocchi. As in all foreign words ending with a vowel, the Portuguese have nasalised the "i". In 1505 it was written "Coxi".

full under tenne degrées. The town of Cochin is inhabited by Portingals, [and naturall borne] Indians, as Malabars and other Indians that are christened: it is almost as great as Goa, very populous, and well built with faire houses, Churches, and cloysters, and a fayre and [most] pleasant River, with a good channell, and a haven: a little beyonde the towne towards the land runneth a small river or water, where sometimes men may passe over dry footed: on the further side whereof lyeth a place called Cochin Dacyma, and it is above Cochin, which is in the iurisdiction of the Malabars, who as yet continue in their owne religion: there the King kéepeth his Court: It is very full and well built [with houses] after the Indian manner, and hath likewise a market every day, where all kind of thinges are to be bought, as in Cananor, but in greater quantities. The land of Cochin is an Island,<sup>1</sup> and it is in many places compassed about, and through the Isle with small Rivers.

Right over against Cochin Northwarde lyeth another Island called Vaypiin, which is likewise compassed about with water,<sup>2</sup> like the fortresse of Cranganor, all these landes and countries are low and flat [land], like [the Countrie of] Holland, but have no ditches nor downes, but onely the flat shore upon the Sea side, and within the shore and the Strand of the ryver, [nor] without any high ground or shelters, and so it still continueth. The Countrie is verye great<sup>3</sup> and pleasant to behold, full of woodes and trées, it hath also woods of

<sup>1</sup> This may have been so formerly, but it is not now the case. Cochin was also called Sa.-Cruz by the Portuguese. The best plans and views of old Cochin are in *Baldeus*. The last relic of old Cochin, the only remaining tower of the Cathedral, was wantonly pulled down in 1874. The church was used by the Dutch as a storehouse. The English, when they took Cochin, destroyed it, but left the tower.

<sup>2</sup> Cochin, Vaipin, and Cranganore, are on the sandy slip of land between the backwater and the sea, but can hardly be described, at least nowadays, as is done here.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "green".



Cinamon trées, which are called Canela de Mates,<sup>1</sup> that is wilde Cinamon, which is not so good as the Cinamon of Seylon, for when the Cinamon of Seylon is worth 100. Pardauwen or Dollers that Cinamon is worth but 25 or 30. Pardauwen, and is likewise forbidden to bee carried into Portingale, notwithstanding there is every yeare great quantitie thereof shipped, but it is entred [in the Custome bookes] for Cinamon of Seylon, whereby they pay the King his full Custome for the best, Cochin hath also much Pepper, and can every yeare lade two ships full, other shippes lade along the coast, at the fortressess aforesaid, and use to come unto Cochin, after they have discharged all their Portingal wares and Marchandises at Goa, and thether also come the Factors and Marchants and lade their wares, as in my Voyage homewards I will declare. Without Cochin, among the Malabares, there dwelleth also divers Moores that believe in Mahomet, and many Jewes,<sup>2</sup> that are very rich, and there live fréely [without being hindred or impeached] for their religion, as also the Mahometans, with their churches which they cal Mesquiten;<sup>3</sup> the Bramanes likewise (which are the Spiritualitie of the Malabares and Indians) have their Idols and houses of Divels, which they call Pagodes.<sup>4</sup> These thrée nations doe severally holde [and maintaine] their lawes and ceremonies by them selves, and live friendly [and quietly] together

<sup>1</sup> Port. "Canela brava", or "dos mattos", i.e., wild cinnamon. These shrubs grow wild in most parts of the Malabar coast.

<sup>2</sup> The Jews had to leave Cranganore when it became a Portuguese possession, and settled in the native town of Cochin. They now live chiefly at Mattañcëri (to the south of Cochin), and at Cēñamangalam. They are almost entirely Sephardim from Bagdad and other parts, and even from Europe. There are also a few Ashkenasim. The black Jews are of mixed race.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Portuguese form of the Arabic "Masjid".

<sup>4</sup> The etymology of this word is full of difficulty. See the glossary of Anglo-Indian words by Col. Yule and myself, *s. v.* It means both "idol" and also "temple", as a few lines further down.

kéeeping good pollicie and iustice, each nation béeing of the Kinges counsell, with his Naires which are his gentilmen and nobilitie: so that when any occasion of importaunce is offered, then al those thrée nations assemble themselves together, wherein the King putteth his trust: of the which King and his Naires, Malabares and Baramenes, etc. with their manners, customes, apparrell, Idols, pagodes, and ceremonies, in an other place I will shewe you more at large, together with their pictures and counterfetes: and for this time I cease to speake thereof, and will procéede in the description of the coasts, [which I have already] begun.

From Cochin to Coulon<sup>1</sup> are 12. myles, and lyeth under 9. degrés: it is also a fortresse of the Portingals, where [likewise] every yere they lade a ship with pepper: from Coulon to the cape de Comori, are 20. myles: this corner lieth full under 7. degrees and a half, which is the end of the coast of Malabar and of India.

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## THE 12. CHAPTER.

The description of the kings, the division of the land and coast of Malabar, and their originall.

To understand the government and divisions of the land of Malabar, you must know, that in tymes past (but long sithence) the whole land of Malabar was ruled by one King, being then but one kingdome, where now are manie, and as the Malabares saye, the last king [that ruled the whole country alone, was named] Sarama Perimal,<sup>2</sup> in whose time

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Kulam, usually called "Quilon".

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Cēramān Pērumāl, who is said (in the *Keralolpatti*, ed. Gundert, p. 12, fg.) to have turned a Buddhist (350 A.D.). The legend (as given here) is the Muhammadan version given in the *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (translated by Lieut. Rowlandson in 1833; see pp. 55, fg.) of about 1580 A.D. According to this book, the Arabs first settled in Malabar in 710 A.D. (p. 5 n.)

the Arabian Mahometanes much frequented the countrie of Malabar, because of the great trafique of Spices, which as then were sent from thence to the red sea, and so conveyed into all places of the world. Those Arabians by their subtillties delt in such manner with the King, that they perswaded him and many of his country to beleve in the lawe of Mahomet, as they did almost [throughout] whole India, and other orientall countries and Ilands, which is one of the principalest occasions why they can hardly be brought to beleve in Christ, but rather seeke by all meanes to overthrowe the Christians, and to fight against the Portingales in those countries, as in the Portingal Chronicles and Histories of the first discovery and conquest of the Indies is at large described.<sup>1</sup>

But returning to our matter, this King Sarama was so déepestly rooted in his new sect [of Mahometes law], that he determined in him selfe to leave his kingdome, and goe on pilgrimage to Mecca, to see Mahomets grave, and there to ende his lyfe in so holy an exercise, thinking thereby to be saved, which in the end he brought to effect. And because he had neither children nor heyres [to possesse his kingdome], he divided the same among his chiefest [and best] servants and friends, giving to one Cochin, to an other Cananor, to the third Chale, to the fourth Coulon etc. and so he delt with all the other places [of his dominions], making every one of those places a kingdome: The town of Calicut he gave to one of his best beloved servants together with the title of Samoriin, which is as much to say as Emperour and chief of al the rest, and commanded that they should all acknowledge him as [their Sovereigne, and they his] vassalles, and at his commandement: whereby, even untill this time, the

<sup>1</sup> The Zamorin (at Calicut) was completely in the hands of the Muhammadans when the Portuguese arrived in India, so he was often called "King of the Moors". He was incited by them to treat the Portuguese with the grossest treachery.

King of Calicut holdeth the name of Samoriin, with the commandement and authoritie over the other kings throughout the whole [countrie] of Malabar, by such means as you have heard before, which done the king went on pilgrimage to Mecca, wher he ended his dayes: and the Samoriin with the other kings, continued each man in his [newe] kingdome, whose successors untill this day doe continue, and governe the said kingdomes, onely the Samoriin is [somewhat] imbased, and the king of Cochin exalted, since the Portingals arrived in the Indies, as it is said before.

These Malabares are excellent good soldiours, and goe naked, both men and women, onely their privy members covered, and are the principallest enemies that the Portingals have, and which doe them most hurt: and although commonlie they have peace with the Samoriin, and hold so many forts upon the land, as you have heard before, yet the Malabares have their havens, as Chale,<sup>1</sup> Calicut, Cunnale,<sup>2</sup> Panane,<sup>3</sup> and others, from whence with boates they mak roads into the sea, and doe great mischief, making many a poore merchant. The Samoriin likewise, when the toy taketh him in the head, breaketh the peace, and that by the counsell of the Mahometanes, who in all things are enemies to the Christians, and seeke to do them mischief: and because of the Malabares [invasions], the Portingall fléet is forced every yeare to put forth of Goa in the summer-time to keepe the coast, and to preserve the merchants that travaill those countries from the Malabars, for that the most traffique in India, is in Foists like galleyes, wherein they traffique from the one place to the other, which is their daylie living and occupations, as it shalbe shewed at large:

<sup>1</sup> Chale, *i.e.*, Caliyam. Where the Beypur railway station stands, the Portuguese had a fort till 1571. This was the place of "Chale".

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Vadakara or Badagherry, as it is now usually called. Kufñāli was a Māppiā pirate. Only La Croze's map shows this place by this name.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Ponnāni—an important Māppiā town.

and yet there are continuall pyracies committed on the sea, what order soever they take, [wherby poore marchants are taken prisoners, and robbed of all they have]. The land throughout is very fruitfull, gréene, and pleasant to beholde, but hath [a very noysome and] pestiferous ayre for such as are not borne in the countrie,<sup>1</sup> and yet pepper doth onely growe on this coast, although some groweth by Malacca in certane parts [of the land], but not so much, for from hence is it laden and conveyed throughout the whole world.

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### THE 13. CHAPTER.

Of the Ilands called Maldyva, otherwise Maldyva (Maled).

Right over against the Cape of Comoriin 60. miles into the sea westward, the Ilands called Maldyva doe begin, and from this cape on the North syde they lie under 7. degrés, and so reach south south east, till they come under 3. degrés on the south side, which is 140. myles. Some say there are 11000. Islands,<sup>2</sup> but it is not certainly knowne, [yet it is most true, they are so many, that] they can not be numbred. The Inhabitants are like the Malabares:<sup>3</sup> some of these Ilands are inhabited, and some not inhabited, for they are very lowe [ground], like the countrie of Cochín, Cranganor, etc. and some of them are so lowe, that they are commonlie covered with the sea: the Malabares say, that those Ilandes

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be an error. Occasionally unhealthy seasons occur; but, generally, the climate of Malabar is more healthy for Europeans than the Coromandel coast. At least, I found it so, like many others.

<sup>2</sup> The name was made also Naladiva, and this was easily held to signify "four islands"; what the real meaning of the name is, has not been determined. Probably it is Mala-diva, i.e., Islands of Mala (or Malabar).

<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that the inhabitants are Singhalese, but they are Muhammadans.

in time past did ioyne fast unto the firme land of Malabar, [and were part of the same land], and that the Sea in processe of tyme hath eaten them away, [and so separated them from the firme land].<sup>1</sup> There is no merchandize to be had in them, but only coquen, which are Indian nuttes, and cayro,<sup>2</sup> which are the shelles of the same nuts, and that is the Indian hemp, wherof they mak ropes, cables, and other such like [commodities]: those are there to be found in so great aboundance, that with them they serve the whole country of India, and al the orientall coast: of the wood of the same trées they make themselves boats after their manner, with all things to them belonging: of the leaves they make sayles, sowed together with strings made of the nutshelles, without any ironnayles, and so being laden with the nuttes and other parts of the said trées, [they come and trafficke with those of the firme land], their victuals in the ship being [the fruite] of the same trée: so that to conclude, the boate with all her furnitures, their marchandises and their victuals is all of this palme trée, and that maintaineth all the inhabitants of the Ilands of Maldyva and therewith they trafficke throughout India:<sup>3</sup> there are some of these nuttes in the said Iland that are more estéemed then all the nuttes in India, for that they are good against all poyson,<sup>4</sup> which are verie faire and great, and blackish: I saw some that were presented unto the vice roy of India, as great as a vessell of 2. cānes [Indian] measure, and cost above 300 Pardawen, which were to send unto the King of Spaine. Of this trée and her fruites,

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Castanheda (i, xiii). This notion is common in Malabar.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Malm. Kayara or "Coir", *i.e.*, the rope, the fibre is "jaggari".

<sup>3</sup> The best account of the Maldives is that by Pyard de Laval, who was shipwrecked there in 1601.

<sup>4</sup> This delusion is long past. The nuts (generally termed "Cocodemer") did not come from the Maldives, but were produced by the *Lodoicea Sechellarum*, a large palm of the Seychelles Islands, and unknown elsewhere. It produces an enormous two-lobed fruit. As regards the old notions regarding this fruit, which is now a mere curiosity, see

together with the usage thereof, I will discourse more at large in the declaring of the Indian trées and fruites, meane time I will returne to the description of the coasts with their situations.

From the cape of Comoriin the coast beginneth North east to turne inwards again, till you come to the Cape of Negapatan, which lyes under 11. degrés, and is 60. myles distant from the cape of Comoriin.

From the cape of Comoriin South east and by South, about 40 miles into the sea, lieth the furthest corner of the great Iland of Seylon, and so reacheth North and by east, untill [you come] right over against the cape of Negapatan, being distant from the firme land and the same cape 10. miles, and betwéene the firme land and that Iland there lyeth some drie groundes or lytle Ilands, whereby it is manie times dangerous for the Shippes that sayle unto Bengala and the coast of Choramandel, which commonly passe through that way. The island of Seylon is in length 60. miles, and in breadth 40. miles, from the first and uttermost corner North and by east, about 18. miles under 7. degrés and an halfe, lyeth a fort belonging to the Portingals, called Columbo, which by méere force and great charges is holden [and maintained], for that they have no other [place or péece of ground], no not one foot, but that in all the Iland: it is but a small

Garcia de Orta's *Colloquios da India* (Varnhagen's reprint of 1872), p. 69, fg. He doubted the virtues alleged of it. See also Acosta's *Tractado* (1578).

Camoens (x, 136):

“ Nas ilhas da Maldiva nace a pranta  
 No profundo das aguas soberana,  
 Cuj o pomo contra o veneno urgente  
 He tido por antidoto excellente.”

Burton:

“ O'er lone Maldivia's islets grows the plant,  
 Beneath profoundest seas, of sovereign might;  
 Whose pome of ev'ry Theriack is confest  
 By cunning leech of antidotes the best.”

fort, yet very strong and well guarded: The soldiers that are therein, are commonly such as are banished for some offence by them committed, or such as have deserved death: and some dishonest women, for some evill fact, [are put in there] to beare them company. They fetch al their necessaries out of India, and are often times assailed by their enemies, the Inhabitants of the Iland, and often times besieged, but alwaies valiantly defend themselves.

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THE 14. CHAPTER.

Of the Iland of Seylon.

The Iland of Seylon is said to be one of the best Ilands that in our time hath béene discovered, and the fruitfulest under the heavens, well built [with houses], and inhabited with people, called Cingalas,<sup>1</sup> and are almost of shape and manners like to those of Malabar, with long wyde eares,<sup>2</sup> but not so blacke of colour: they goe naked, onely their members covered: they were wont to have but one King, but having

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Sihalā (Sanskrit "Simhala"), the name of the people who emigrated to Ceylon from Magadha in N. India, 543 B.C., it is said. To explain this name, a myth was early invented; "The island of Lankā was called Sihala after the lion (Siha, *i.e.*, Sanskrit "Simha"); listen ye to the narration of the origin of the island which I (am going to) tell. The daughter of the Vanga king cohabited in the forest with a lion dwelling in the wilderness, and in consequence gave birth to two children." Of these, Sihabāhu, the eldest, was father of Vijaya, who conducted the emigration to Ceylon from India, and became king there. (*Dīpavamsa*, ed. by Oldenberg, i, p. 160, fg. or, ch. ix). The *Māhāvamsa* improves on this, as might be expected in a book later than the *Dīpavamsa* (*Mahavanso*, by Turnour, pp. 43-52, or ch. vi-vii). According to this, Sihabāhu, the lion's eldest child, killed his father the lion, and "by whatever means the monarch Sihabāhu slew the "Siho" (lion), from that feat his sons and descendants are called "Sihalā" (the lion slayers). This Lankā having been conquered by a Sihalō, from the circumstance also of its having been colonized by a Sihalō, it obtained the name of "Sihalā" (p. 50).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. D.—"open"; *i.e.*, the bottom distended by a plug inserted.



murdered their king, they divided their countrie into manie kingdomes, and not long since, a simple barber murdered their chief king,<sup>1</sup> and with great tyrannie brought the kingdome under his subiection, driving the other kings out [of the countrie], whereof one that was a Christian, fled into India, and dwelleth at Goa, where he is kept [and maintained] at the kings charge. This barber, as it is said, hath made himselfe king, and the whole Iland under his subiection, his name was Raju, he liveth verie warily, and is verie subtill, a good soldier, but trusting no man: the Chingalans are not his good friends, and yet they live in obedience under him, more through force and feare, then for love or good wil: for that he causeth them with great tyrannie to be executed, so that no man dareth stirre against him: he is likewise a deadly enemy to the Portingall, and about a yeare before I came from India, he had besieged the fort of Colombo<sup>2</sup> with a great number of Elephants, and men, but by meanes of the Portingals that came thither out of India, he was constraigned to breake up his siege before the fortresse.

The Iland is full of hils, and there is one hill so high that it is reported to be the highest hill in all India,<sup>3</sup> and is called Pico de Adam. The Indians hold for certane that Paradiice was in that place, and that Adam was created therein, saying

<sup>1</sup> This is an error. Raju (*i.e.*, Rāja-Simha) murdered (1571) his father, who was called Māyā-Dunnai (the Madune of the Portuguese historians). That Rāju was really of base origin is excessively probable. Pedigrees are more mendacious and concocted in the East than in any other part of the world. Gonçalez de Mendoça mentions this king.

<sup>2</sup> August 1586 to May 1587.

<sup>3</sup> This is an error. It appears to be a Singhalese fiction, as Knox (p. 3) gives it: "supposed to be the highest on this Island." Adam's Peak is 7420 ft. high; the highest mountain in Ceylon—Pedrotallagalla—is 8280 ft. high, and there are two other mountains higher. (Tennent's *Ceylon*, i, p. 15, *note*.) There are higher mountains also in S. India. Probably this erroneous notion of the height of Adam's Peak arose from the fact that, when visible, it is a very striking object from a ship at sea near Ceylon. (See the view in Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed.,

that yet untill this daye, there are some of his footsteps found upon that hill, which are within the stones, as if they were ingraven, and never goe out.<sup>1</sup>

The Iland is full of all sorts of Indian fruites and of all kind of wild beasts, as harts, hinds, wild bores, hayres, coneyes,<sup>2</sup> and such like in great abundance, of all sorts of foules, as peacocks, hennes, doves, and such like: and for oranges, lemons, and citrons, it hath not onely the best in al India, but better then any are found either in Spaine or Portingal, to conclude, it hath many, and almost all things

ii, p. 302). The Pali names of Adam's Peak are: Devakūta, Sabhakūta, Samanakūta, and Samantakūta.

<sup>1</sup> This impression of a footstep has been appropriated by several religions—Buddhist, Hindu, Muhammadan, and even Christianity (as relics of St. Thomas). It seems that footsteps of this kind were intended as signs of conquest, and inscriptions near the ones near Buitenzorg in Java, published by Dr. Cohen Stuart, prove this. Others occur in other Oriental countries. (*Buddha Gaya*, by Rājendraśāl Mitra, pp. 18, 124-7).

The first attribution of these footprints to Buddha, is in the *Mahāvamsa* (ed. Turnour, p. 7, or end of ch. i): "The divine teacher ..... having there propounded the doctrines of his faith, rising aloft (into the air) displayed the impression of his foot on the mountain Sumanakūto"..... This is, perhaps, of the 4th century A.D. The Muhammadans next adopted the impression as of Adam (cfr. *Tohfut ul Mujahidin*, p. 18, etc.), and there is still a pilgrimage there. I have myself seen and talked with a Bagdad Arab who had been to Adam's Peak for this purpose. The Hindus also attribute it to Çiva. As regards the Christian notions, see *Maffei* (Orig. ed., 1588, p. 39, and Couto, *Dec.* v, 6, 2). Camoens (x, 136):

"Olha em Ceilão, que o monte se aleuenta  
Tanto, que as nuuês passa, ou a vista engana,  
Os naturaes o tem por cousa sancta,  
Pola pedra, onde está a pegada humana."

Burton:

"See in Ceylon that Peak so stark, so gaunt,  
Shooting high o'er the clouds or mocking sight:  
The native peoples hold it sacrosanct  
For the famed Stone where print of foot is pight."

Col. Yule (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., ii, pp. 302, fig.) has collected all references to this mountain.

<sup>2</sup> This is an error; there are no rabbits in India, etc. *ibid.* 302

that are found in India through all the severall provinces and places thereof: it hath also manie Indian palme trees, or nut trees, which are called cocken; and certane credible persons<sup>1</sup> doe affirme, which told it to mée, that in the same Iland are nutmegges, Cloves, and Pepper trées,<sup>2</sup> although there is no certaintie thereof, for that as yet they have not béene brought, [or uttered to sell] among the Christians, but the best Cinamon<sup>3</sup> in all the east countries is there [to be had, where it groweth] in whole woodes, and from thence is dispersed into all places of the world. The Captaine that kéepeth the fort is forced by stealth in the night time to issue forth and fetch this Cinamon into his fort, whereof he maketh his principal profite, for much more profite hath he not. This Iland hath likewise al kindes of precious stones, except Diamonds,<sup>4</sup> but Saphires, Rubies, Topasses, Spinelen, Granaden, Robassen, etc. the best in [all] the East:<sup>5</sup> it hath likewise a fishing for Pearles, but yet they are not so good as those that are at Bareiin by Ormus: it hath likewise mynes of Gold, silver,<sup>6</sup> and other metals. The Kings of the Iland will not digge it foorth, but kéepe it for a [great] state and honor, I thinke rather it is but Latten, because no man ventureth for it: it hath also yron, Flaxe, Brimstone,<sup>7</sup> and such like ware, also many Iuorie bones, and divers Elephantes, which are accounted for the best in all

<sup>1</sup> Orig. D: "who have been captives inland in the island".....

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be a mistake. The Portuguese introduced the Oriental orange into Europe. The tree appears to be, originally, a native of Malabar.

<sup>3</sup> As Barbosa first stated.

<sup>4</sup> Tennent's *Ceylon*, i, p. 39 (5th ed.): "Diamonds, emeralds, agates, carnelians, and turquoise, when they are exhibited by the natives (*i.e.*, of Ceylon, have all been imported from India."

<sup>5</sup> The gems of Ceylon have been fully discussed by Sir Emerson Tennent (*u. s.*, pp. 31-9). "Robassen"; apparently a kind of Ruby.

<sup>6</sup> Gold and silver occur only "in the scantiest quantities" (Tennent, *l. c.*, i, p. 458). There is abundance of iron. (On the different forms in which it occurs, see *Ceylon Journal* for 1880, No. ii, pp. 43, 44.)

<sup>7</sup> This is an error; neither of the last occurs in Ceylon.

India, and it is by daylie experience found to be true, that the Elephantes of all other places and countries being brought before them they honour and reverence those [Elephantes]: the natural borne [people] or Chingalas are very cunning workmen in Gold, Silver, Ivory, Yron, and all [kindes of] metal, that it is wonderful: they are much estéemed [for the same]through al India, and beare [the name and]prayse above all the rest of the Indians: they make the fairest barrels for pièces that may be found in any place, which shine as bright as if they were Silver. My maister the Archbishop had a crucifixe of Ivorie of an elle long, presented unto him, by one of the inhabitants of the Ile, and made by him so cunningly and workmanly wrought, that in the hayre, beard, and face, it séemed to be alive, and in al [other parts] so neatly wrought and proportioned in limmes, that the like can not be done in [all] Europe: Whereupon my maister caused it to be put into a case, and sent unto the King of Spaine, as a thing to be wondered at, and worthy of so great a Lord, to be kept among his [costliest] Jewels. In such things they are very expert [and wonderful], and marvelous nimble and expert in iugling,<sup>1</sup> as well men as women, and travell throughout [the countrie of] India, to get money, carrying hobbyhorses<sup>2</sup> with them, very strange to behold. And this shall suffice [at this present] for the description of the Ile of Seylon, and now I will procéde to shewe you of the coast of Choramandel, where wée left before, being at the cape of Negapatan.

<sup>1</sup> Such jugglers are now never seen. Tennent (*u. s. ii*, 184, ff.) says they are (if any) now Tamils. Commelin (*u. s. i*, x, p. 17, in an account of Van Warwýck's voyage) gives a plate of a Singhalese "gogelaer" (in 1608), whose performances consisted in inflicting wounds on himself, it would appear.

<sup>2</sup> "Hobby horses". Orig. Dutch: "antijexe perten", *i. e.*, "trained horses".

## THE 15. CHAPTER.

Of the coast of Choramandel and the kingdome of Narsinga or Bisnagar.

The coast of Choramandel beginneth from the cape of Negapatan, and so stretcheth North and by East, unto a place called Musulepatan, which is 90. miles, and lieth under 16. degrés and a half. Betwéene these two places, upon the same coast, lyeth a place called S. Thomas, under 13. degrés and an halfe, and is 40. miles [distant] from Negapatan.

This place and Negapatan are inhabited by the Portingales, and in [al] the other places along the coast, they have traffique and dealing. The aforesaid place called S. Thomas was in time past a towne of great traffique,<sup>1</sup> [and as then] called [by the name of] Meliapor, and belonged to the kingdome of Narsinga,<sup>2</sup> whose king is now commonly called [king] of Bisnagar,<sup>3</sup> which is the name of [his] chief Citie where he kéepeth his court. This Towne lieth within the land, and is nowe the chiefe cittie of Narsinga and of the coast of Choramandel. The naturall countrimen, are for manners, customes and ceremonies, like those of Ballagate,<sup>4</sup> decaniins, and

<sup>1</sup> The town may have long existed, as an ordinary coast-town, but there is no evidence of its existence as an important place before the Portuguese came there. Conti (about 1440) mentions it by the name by which it is now chiefly known—Malepur (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakl. Soc., ii, p. 7). C. dei Fedrici (in 1587) describes the town as small ("non.....molto grande"), but very neat (p. 72 of the orig. ed.), and attributes it entirely to the Portuguese. King Manoel's letter of 1505 (see p. 6 of my reprint) says it had few inhabitants. It was rebuilt by the Portuguese about 1524, and peopled with veteran soldiers (Maffei, *Hist. Indica*, orig. ed., 1588, p. 38; Sousa, *Or. Conq.*, i, p. 251).

<sup>2</sup> When the Portuguese arrived in India, the King of Vidyā- or Vijaya-nagara was called Narasimha (1490-1508), and they took his name for that of his capital. This name occurs in King Manoel's letter of 1505 (p. 13 of my reprint). This kingdom arose in the fourteenth century A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Bisnagar, i.e., Vidyā- or Vijaya-nagara, now in ruins, and called "Hampe". It is in the Bellary District.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., above the Ghata, "Bālā" (Persian) "above".

Canaras, for they are al one people, but only separate by [several] places and kingdoms ; and the better to understand wherefore this place was named S. Thomas, the Indians say that in the time, when the Apostles were [sent and] spread abroad to preach the Gospell [of our saviour Christ] throughout the whole world, that S. Thomas the apostle came into that kingdome of Narsinga,<sup>1</sup> after he had bene in divers places of India teaching [and preaching] the word of God unto those Indians and unbeleving people, but little profited therein, for so say the Christians that are come of those same COUNTRYMEN, which S. Thomas converted and baptised in the faith [of Christ], whom the Portingals found there at such time as they entered into the country<sup>2</sup> and yet find many of them observ-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Thirteen hundred years before there was such a kingdom. It is superfluous to remark that the Indians do not know any such story as this, which is clearly based on the apocryphal "Acta Thomæ" (see Prof. Wright's *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, ii, p. 147, fig.) and similar Syriac documents (see *e.g.*, *Z. d. d. m. G.*, xxv, p. 321, fig.). That the Portuguese heard such stories from the Christians in India, shows that they came from Syria.

<sup>2</sup> The existence in India of some kind of Christians was known long before the arrival of the Portuguese, but there is no trace of any primitive Christian community there.

Cosmas (sixth century A.D.) mentions Persian Christians on the West Coast or in Malabar. Nilos Doxopatrios (twelfth century A.D.) mentions a Persian (? Nestorian) bishop in India (Prof. A. Weber, *Ueber die Krishnajanmāshtamī*, p. 330, note).

The so-called tombstone of St. Thomas at the Mount (near Madras), and similar stones in Travancore, have (as I pointed out in 1873 in my *Essay, On some Pahlavi Inscriptions in S. India*, 4to, Mangalore, 1873) Pahlavi inscriptions on them, which are now known to be Nestorian of the ninth century A.D., or thereabouts (see the late Prof. M. Haug's Review of my *Essay* in the *Allg. Z.* for January 29th, 1874). [Fr. Montecorvino] ([1298] A.D.) speaks of these Christians as of little weight, and Odoric (a little later) says these were Nestorians. Jordanus also says that they had no baptism, nor did they know anything about the Faith (see Yule's *Cathay*, pp. 214, 60, and 81; Yule's *Jordanus*, p. 23). There were also Manicheans early in Ceylon and India (see Flügel's *Mani*, pp. 85 and 103; also my *Essay* as above).

Josephus Indus (one of the two Indian Christian priests who went to Por-

ing the ceremonies of the Græek Church in the Chaldean tong,<sup>1</sup> that by no meanes will ioine with the Portingales in their ceremonies; but not long sithence at the time of my béeing in India, there was one of their Bishops,<sup>2</sup> that by land travelled to Rome, and [there] submitted himself to the Romish Church, yet [observing and] holding their ancient ceremonies and customes, which by the Pope was [still] permitted unto them: and when my Lord the Archbishop held a provinciall counsell<sup>3</sup> within the citie of Goa, where his suffraganes were assembled, [that is to say,] the bishops of Cochin, Malacca, and China,<sup>4</sup> to authorise the same, the afore-

tugal with Cabral) says they got Orders from the Armenians (*Itinerarium Portugallensium*, p. lxxxiii, chap. LXXXIII; Grynæus, *Novus Orbis*, etc., ed. 1555, pp. 204-5). According to Varthema (1503-8), a priest from Babylon visited the Christians of Malabar once in three years for baptisms. St. Francis Xavier found this to be the case, and supplied these so-called Christians' wants.

In 1503-4, the Christians at Quilon asked to have Mass said by a Portuguese friar (Empoli, *Viagem*, pp. 226-7). The falseness and trickery of these people are well known now (see Gouvea's *Jornada*; Vincenzo Maria's *Viaggio*; the *India Orientalis Christiana* of Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo; and even, from the sentimental point of view, in the Lutheran Dr. Germann's *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*).

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> This bishop was a Nestorian called Mar Abraham, who was Archbishop of Angamale. There is no doubt that, to secure his own ends, and to get the better of a rival, he wilfully deceived Pius IV, who had him consecrated Bishop by the Patriarch of Venice. On his return to his diocese, he continued what he had abjured at Rome, and Gregory XIII had (28th November 1578) to send him a brief of admonition. His duplicity was endless, as two historians of such contrary opinions as Gouvea (*Jornada*, ch. iii, iv) and La Croze (*Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, pp. 59-66) admit. Sousa (*Or. Conq.*, ii, pp. 224-5) says he abjured his errors at the council, but resumed them when he got to his diocese.

<sup>3</sup> This was the third provincial council of 1585. The second was in 1575, and the first in 1567.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, Macau, created a bishop's see in 1577. But the statement in the text is erroneous. The Bishop of Cochin, the *procurador* (a Franciscan) of the Bishop of Malacca, the first Inquisitor (Ruy Sudrinho), and sixteen priests were alone present. There were three sessions, in which thirty-three decrees were passed, and the Archbishop of Goa presided (see Sousa's *Oriente Conquistado*, vol. ii, p. 224).

said Bishop was likewise called [thether], who [as then] was newlie come from Rome, being made an Archbishop, and was personally in the counsell, but would not in any sort consent unto the altering [or changing of] anie points of his Religion or ceremonies from the suffraganes and from his Christians, which were commonly called S. Thomas Christians. But returning to our matter, they say that when S. Thomas had long preached [and taught] in the kingdome of Narsinga, and but little profited,<sup>1</sup> because the Bramenes, which are the

<sup>1</sup> This is the most usual form of the legend: it is well given (or nearly the same) by Camoens (*Os Lusíadas*, x, 110, 116); but numerous variations occur in the different relations, which it would be useless to attempt to enumerate. Thus, it is quite subsequent to the arrival of Europeans in India. The growth of this myth is easily traced. The Syrian priests imported their apocryphal account of St. Thomas, and Mailapur was assigned as the scene of his martyrdom; perhaps some Persian (? Manichean) Thomas, was buried there. *Marco Polo* (vol. ii, p. 340 of Col. Yule's 2nd ed.) gave the earliest myth. Conti (c. 1440) found Nestorians there, and heard that the body of St. Thomas was buried there (see p. 7 of his narrative in the Hakl. Soc. *India in the Fifteenth Century*). Josephus Indus, at the beginning of the next century, reported: "At primam diem Julii mirum in modum custodiunt in memoriam divi Thomæ Christiani pariter et Gentiles.....In eo igitur delubro (Mailapur) corpus divi Thomæ quiescit quod claret innumeris miraculis" (*It. Portugallensium* (1508) f. lxx(x)viii, c. cxlii; and Grynæus, *Novus orbis regionum*, ed. 1555, p. 205). This is what the King Dom Manoel told Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain in 1505 (see p. 6 of my reprint of his letter, *Copia de una littera*). In the original edition of Castanheda's first book there is nothing (ch. xxxix) but an abstract of what Josephus Indus said: it is, therefore, plain that the myth was but little known even then. Its development begins with 1524, when the body of the Apostle was supposed to be found. This gave rise to numerous myths, which were diligently collected by the Portuguese, as their kings had taken a great interest in the matter (Barros, iii, 7, 11; and Correa's *Lendas*, ii, pt. 2, p. 787). Another search was made in 1533, and again in 1547, when the tombstone of the saint was found (Couto, *Dec.*, vii, lib. 10, ch. 5, p. 217a; Maffei, *H. I.*, p. 252). On each occasion, new myths were told, and those of the most inconsistent kind. In short, the whole history is a curious anticipation of the deceptions practised early in this century and at the end of the last on Col. Wilford by the Brahmins of Benares. The Portu-



ministers of the Pagodes, their false and divelish idols, sought [and used] all [the] meanes [they could] to hinder him. S. Thomas desired the king to graunt him a place there to build

guese, it must be remarked, took all precautions, but enough was not then known of the history of India to prevent their being deceived, and they accepted in good faith myths as of the first century, which the names (*e.g.*, Sangama, the pretended founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty about 1320—see p. 54 (note) of my *Elements of S. Indian Palæography*) now show to be coarse modern fictions. The inscription on the famous stone found in 1547 (Barros, *Dec.* i, liv. 9, ch. 1; Couto, *Dec.* vii, liv. 10, ch. 5) I showed to be a Pahlavi (Sassanian-Persian) inscription of about 800 A.D., and it is a Nestorian confession of faith (*On Some Pahlavi Inscriptions in S. India*, 4to., Mangalore, 1873; Prof. M. Haug in *Allg. Z.* for 29 Jan. 1874). There are others like it in Travancore, and it is clearly an altar cross, not anything else. With the successive timely discoveries the inconsistent myths were harmonised by Maffei (orig. ed. 1588 of Florence, p. 53) and Lucena (*Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*, 1600, liv. iii, ch. 5, pp. 169, ff.). Lucena's account of the pretended deciphering by a Brahmin (p. 171) is most amusing; of course, the result was what was desired. Kircher (*Prod. Coptus*, 1636, pp. 106, ff.) also countenanced these fictions, though he mentions a Syrian Mar Thomas, as having revived Christianity in India (p. 112).

Moreover this cross took to performing miracles, viz., pouring forth a bloody sweat on several feast days of the saint. This is easily explained, though the miracle is well attested by persons who do not appear to have been weak and credulous. The feast-day was always on Dec. 18th (Lucena, *l. c.*, p. 169; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, i, p. 254), and was attended by a large crowd which filled the church at the Mount, which is still a small one, though enlarged about 1680. About the middle of the Mass (Maffei, *H. I.*, p. 252), the miracle occurred. It is only necessary to observe that a December morning is often, at Madras, very cool, and that the stone with the bas-relief of the cross is the only smooth surface in the small whitewashed church ("chiesola", Fr. Paolino, 1796). On this, then, the moisture caused in the air by the breath of the crowd would be condensed, as we see occur on the window-panes of a room in cool weather. The red tinge said to be observed is also easily accounted for by the accumulation of red (laterite) dust brought by the land winds in the hot weather, and which is deposited on every ridge in the Madras houses. It is only necessary to add that the miracle only occurred on the Feast-day (Sousa, *Or. Cong.*, i, p. 254). There are numerous accounts of this supposed miracle down to about 1700, *e.g.*, by Barretto (*Relation de Malabar*, 1645, p. 289); Vincenzo Maria (*Viaggio*, ed.

a Chappell, wherein he might [dayly] pray [unto the Lord], and instruct the people, which was denyed him, by the meanes of the Bramenes and other Enchaunters, wherein they [only] put their trust: but it pleased God (as they say) that a great trée or péece of wood fell into the mouth of the haven of the towne of Meliapor, whereby neyther shippe nor boate could passe out, nor come in [to the towne], to the kings great hindrance, and the losse of the daylie trafique to the towne: whereupon the king assembled to the number of thrée hundreth Elephantes, [thinking] to draw the trée or péece of wood by force out [of the river], but all in vaine, for he could not doe it: which he perceiving, neither yet that all his Bramenes and Southsayers could give him any counsell, [or helpe therein], he promised great and large rewards to him that could devise any meanes for the helping thereof: whereupon the Apostle S. Thomas went unto the king, and told him, that he alone (if it pleased him) would pull it foorth,

1672, p. 135); Sousa, (*Oriente Conquistado*, i, p. 254, fig.); *Lettres Edifiantes* (xii, p. 19, fig., "Letter of 1711 by Father Tachard".)

According to the myth last told the Portuguese, St. Thomas was murdered when praying before this cross, which he had made. According to the earlier one, he was killed by accident.

But no amount of whittling will make any history out of what is told.

If there is any truth at all in the Apocryphal Acts, St. Thomas must have gone to Bactria, i.e., if it be possible to identify the King Γουρδ-φοπος mentioned there with the Bactrian king Yndopheres, now placed by Von Sallet (*Die Nachfolger Alexanders*, 1879, p. 157) in the first century A.D.; but earlier authorities put him in the first century A.D. This identification was first suggested by the late Abbé Reinaud. The oldest text of this book is the Syriac, which has "Gudnpr" or "Güdnfr" as the king's name (cfr. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, ii, p. 147). The "house of prayer" that S. Thomas made has clearly arisen out of a figurative expression, which has been misunderstood.

Camoens gives this myth as told by Barros. See Capt. Burton's *Lusiads*, iv, pp. 665-8, for some valuable remarks on it, and especially on an approach to a St. Thomas legend in Brazil, some pious missionaries heard of "a local god Zomé or Sumé", whom they took to be St. Thomas (*l. c.*, p. 665).

desiring no other reward for his paynes, but onely the same péece of wood to make him a Chappell or house to pray in : which the king graunted, although both he and his Bramenes estéemed it for a iest, and laughed thereat : wherewith S. Thomas took his girdell, and binding about the péece of wood, without any payne [or labour] drew it out of the River upon the land, to the great wonder [and astonishment] of all the beholders, specially of the King, that presentlie gave him leave to make his chappell of the same péece of wood : through the which miracle divers of them receyved Baptisme, and became Christians, whereby the Bramenes fell into much [disliking and] lesse estimation with the common people, [both for their idolatrie, and also] in authoritie : so that they were great enemies to S. Thomas, and by all meanes sought to bring him to his death, which in the end they performed, having thereunto perswaded some of the [countrie] people, which [suddainly came behind S. Thomas, and] thrust him into the backe béeing on his knées in the same Chappell praying [to God] : which History as yet is found painted, and set up in manie places and Churches of India, for a [perpetuall] memorie [thereof] : and they say that the [stocke and] progeny of those that slew him, are accursed by God, [and plagued with a certaine disease], which is that they are all borne with one of their legges and one foote from the knée downewardes as thicke as an Elephantes legge, the other legge and all their members without any deformitie, being [straight and] well proportioned, like to other men, whereof I [my selfe] have séen many, both men and women, for that thereabouts there are whole villages and kyndreds of them (many of them being Christians after their manner) that are borne in the said land of S. Thomas, where as yet they dwell in great numbers. Whether this be the cause of their disease or not, God knoweth : I have [spoken with them my self, and] asked them the cause, but they say they know it not, onely that men tell them it is for the cause aforesaid, and they have no

let nor trouble in their going, but only the unsightlines and evil favoured fashion [of their legges], whose forme and counter-fait you shal find by the Pictures of the Indians.<sup>1</sup>

This Towne of Meliapor is in time decayed, and become poore, as all thinges in this worlde have no continuance, but are as a smoke [or shadowe].<sup>2</sup> And after the Portingals had discovered the land, and began to traficke there, upon the place of S. Thomas grave, they caused a little towne to be erected, and [therein] a Church of stone in the same place, where the grave and Chappell of wood [once] stood, making the doores of the Church of the same wood for a remembrance of the miracle, where S. Thomas bones are holden in great reverence [and estimation], and of many with great devotion visited [and séen]: and which is more, [at this time] the said Church dores, that were made of the same wood, are almost cut in péeces and carried away,<sup>3</sup> to set in gold and silver, whereof divers [Portingales] do wear the péeces about their necks, as a holy relicke, and are of opinion, that it doth many miracles: so that they of S. Thomas Towne have caused [their Church] dores to be stricken full of nayls, to kéepe men from cutting any more thereof, that they may not lose so holie a thing. A Fleming naturally borne in [the Towne of] Sluce [in Flanders], that had dwelt in the said Towne of S. Thomas above 30. yeares, and married there,

<sup>1</sup> This kind of elephantiasis affects all kinds of natives in S. India and Malabar. It is now known as "Elephantiasis Arabum", and is caused by an infiltration of albuminous-serous fluid into the scrotum and legs. It is attributed to the use of brackish water. Terry wisely doubted the truth of this legend (reprint of 1777, p. 424); Fryer (*New Account*, 1698, p. 58) and A. Hamilton (*New Account*, ed. 1744, vol. i, p. 328) attribute it to the water. It is known at Mosambique and many other places (Burton, *Zanzibar*, i, p. 185). Galen described it.

<sup>2</sup> The original has: "as all things in this world have no permanence, and are like smoke"—a clear imitation of Ps. ci, 4....."defecerunt sicut fumus dies mei". Mailapur was taken by the Muhammadans in 1572.

<sup>3</sup> The doors of the great church at St. Thomé (near Madras) appear to be referred to.

[béeing] my speciall friend,<sup>1</sup> sent me as a great and a wonderfull present, a whole paire of beades, of the same wood, which long before he had caused to be cut out and made thereof. And a Portingall [woman], which brought them unto me to Goa, had great devotion in them, saying, that they had delivered [her] out of a great storme and danger by the way, for that [she said she had] no sooner hangd the beades into the sea, but presently the storme ceased, whereupon [she] praised them much, willing me to esteem of them as one of the best and holiest iewels in the world.

From Musulepatan the coast runneth again Northeast and by East, to the kingdom of Bengalen, which is 120. miles, and it is the lande and kingdome of Orixá,<sup>2</sup> which stretcheth along the same coast unto the River of Ganges, the beginning of the kingdom of Bengalen. This coast of Narsinga, Bisnagar<sup>3</sup> and Orixá, are by the Portingalles commonly called (as also the coast of Negapatan and Saint Thomas) Choramandel,<sup>4</sup> [until you come] to Bengalen, where the Portingalles have great traffique, for that it is a very rich and plentiful Country of all things, as Ryce and all manner of fowles, and beasts in great abundance. It is also a wholesome countrey

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "by means of letters"; "paire of beades", orig. Dutch, "Pater noster".

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the Portuguese way of writing "Odiça". Camoens (x, 120):

"Ia com esta cidade tão famosa  
Se faz curua a Gangetica enseada  
Corre Narsinga rica, & poderosa  
Corre Orixá de roupas abastada."

Burton:

"Here with the city whereof Fame is fond (S. Thomé),  
Bends the long bow-line of Gangetick Bight:  
Runneth Narsinga rich and potent land,  
Runneth Orissa vsunting tissues bright".....

<sup>3</sup> Narsinga and Bisnagar are the same.

<sup>4</sup> From the Sanskrit name "Cōlamandala", which is adapted from the Tamil name "Sola mandala" (which occurs in old inscriptions), i.e., the country of the Sola kings of Tanjore. In the eleventh century A.D. this kingdom extended as far north as Masulipatam.

and a good ayre for strange nations, for that the Portingals and other countrey men can better brooke it then [other places] in India :<sup>1</sup> From these coastes they use great traffique into Bengala, Pegu, Sian, and Malacca, and also to India: there is excellent faire linnen of Cotton made in Negapatan, Saint Thomas, and Musulepatan, of all colours, and woven with divers sorts of loome<sup>2</sup> workes and figures, verie fine and cunningly wrought, which is much worne in India, and better estéemed then silke, for that it is higher prised then silke, because of the finenes and cunning workmanship: they are called Rechatas and Cheyias,<sup>3</sup> wherof the Christians and Portingals in India do commonly make bréeches.<sup>4</sup> They likewise make clothes thereof for women to put about them from their navelles downewarde, bound about their bodies, which they weare within the house, very finely made, the best sort are named clothes of Sarasso,<sup>5</sup> some being mingled with thréedes of golde and silver, and such like stuffe of a thousand sortes, very beautifull to behold, wherewith they cloath themselves in very comely manner. In this coast growe the great and thicke réeds, which are used in India<sup>6</sup> to make the Pallankins, wherein they carry the women, as in the Indian figures you shall see, which are so thicke, that a man can

<sup>1</sup> By India Linschoten intends Goa and the Malabar coast.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "loofwerck", i.e., "flowers" (cfr. Kilian and Oudemans).

<sup>3</sup> Chintzes were made till lately at these places. Some fifteen years ago I saw chintzes made at Sadras, but the best workmen are now dead. They told me that they were taught by the Dutch. An excellent account of the processes used is to be found in *Lettres Edif.* (vol. xiv, pp. 116-164 and 207-248).

"Rechatas" seems to be a Portuguese word; Bluteau gives the name as "Regatas", as does the Latin of 1599.

"Cheyias" read "Cheylas" (as in the original): Hind, *Selā*; Tamil, *Silai*.

<sup>4</sup> As is done by the Dutch in Java at the present day.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarasso*, Hind. *Sarasa*—"superior".

<sup>6</sup> As already explained, Linschoten means by "India", Goa and Malabar.

hardly gripe them with both his handes,<sup>1</sup> very faire to looke upon, and very high, [being] of divers colours, as blacke, redde, etc., Whereof in an other place [I] will say more.

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THE 16. CHAPTER.

Of the Kingdome of Bengalen, and the river Ganges.

At the ende of the Kingdome of Orixia and the coast of Choramandel beginneth the River Ganges in the kingdom of Bengalen: This is one of the most famous Rivers in all the world, and it is not knowne from whence it springeth. Some are of opinion that it commeth out of the earthly paradise because of an old speech of the Bengalers, [which is,] that in time past a certaine King of Bengalen was desirous to know from whence the river [Ganges] hath her beginning, to the which ende hee caused certaine people to bee brought up and nourished with nothing but rawe fish, and such like foode, thereby to make them the apter to [accomplish] his desire, which people (having made boats fitte for the purpose) he sent up the river, who were certain monthes upon the water, [so long] til they came where they felt a most pleasant [and swéete] savour, and founde a very cleare and most temperate skie, with still and pleasant water, that it séemed unto them to bee a[n earthly] paradise, and being desirous to rowe further upwardes they could not, so that they were compelled (seeing no remedie) to returne againe the [same] way that they came, and being returned, certified the King what they had séene. They that will not credit this are harde of believe, for my parte I leave it to the readers iudgement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These very thick bamboos are furnished by the *Bambusa arundinacea*; it has "culms up to six or even eight inches in diameter" (Beddome, *Foresters' Manual*, p. 229; and *Flora Sylvatica*). The *Dendrocalamus giganteus* of Penang and Tenasserim has culms twelve inches in diameter. These are the two largest bamboos.

<sup>2</sup> Rather: "He who will not believe it has a heart of stone: I give

This river hath Crocodiles in it, like the river of Nilus in Ægypt, the mouth or entry thereof lyeth under 22. degrés, and the coast runneth East and by South; to the Kingdome of Aracan, which is about 80. miles: it is an uneven coast full of Islandes, sholes, hookes, and créekes, for the lande of Bengalen lyeth inwards of the gulf, which is called Bengala, for that from Aracan, the coast beginneth againe to runne South and East outwards towards Malacca, and to the uttermost hooke which is called Singapura: But returning to Bengala and the River Ganges, [you must understand] that this [river] is holden and accounted of all the Indians to be a holy and a blessed water, and they do certainly believe, that such as wash and bath themselves therein (bee they never so great sinners) all their sinnes are [cleane] forgiven them, and that from thenceforth they are so cleane and pure [from sinne,] as if they were newe borne againe, and also that hee which washeth not himself therein cannot be saved, for the which cause there is a [most] great and [incredible] resorte unto the same, from all the partes of India and the East countries in great troupes, where they use divers strange ceremonies, and superstitions, [most] horrible to heare, for they doe most stedfastly beleve that they shall thereby merit eternall life.<sup>1</sup>

From this River Eastward 50. miles lyeth the towne of

him my part". Latin of 1599 omits this. De Bry's version has: "Cui narrationi si quis fidem denegaverit, is sane duro ad credendum corde erit, ad me quod attinet, sciat me eadem qua accepti mensura, aliis ea dividendere."

The Ganges is not mentioned in the Vedic literature as a sacred river, but assumes that character only in the much later Puranic literature. It is said to have descended from heaven; but, so far as I know, there is no trace in the Sanskrit literature of the myth mentioned here, except it be a form of the legend of the river of death (*Vaitarant*).

The story is taken from Gonçalez de Mendoga's *Historia, Itinerario* part (pp. 365-6=ii, 332, of Hakl. Soc. ed.)

<sup>1</sup> The Indian superstitions about the Ganges are now well known. A full account of them is given in Goldstücker's article in Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, reprinted in his *Literary Remains*, vol. i, p. 63, ff.



Chatigan,<sup>1</sup> which is the chief towne of Bengala : The naturall borne people of Bengala are in a manner like those of Seylon, but somewhat whiter than the Chingalas : they are a most subtill and wicked people, and are estéemed the worst slaves of all India, for that they are all théeves, and the women whores, although this fault is common throughout all India, no place excepted. They have a custome that they never [dresse or] séeth meat in one pot, but have every time a new pot.<sup>2</sup> Whensoever they are found in adulterie, they have their noses cut off,<sup>3</sup> and from that time forwarde they must leave ech others company, which is most narrowly looked unto by their law. The countrey is most plentiful of necessary victuails specially Rice, for that there is more of it [in that countrey] then in al the east [countries], for they do yearly lade divers shippes [therewith], which come thether from all places, and there is never any want thereof, and all other things in like sort, and so good cheape that it were incredible to declare ; for that an Oxe or a Cowe is there to be bought for one Larijn, which is as much as halfe a Gilderne, Shéepe, Hens, and other thingsafter the like rate, a Candit (*sic*)

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Satganw on the Hügli, some 25 miles above Calcutta as is clearly shown by the maps in the English *Linschoten*. p. 10 ; and *Purchas*, i, 578. Cesare dei Fedrici (orig. ed. of 1587, p. 92) calls it a fine city : "La citta di Satagan è honestamente bella per citta di Mori, & è molto abondante". It has now disappeared. [Errors here. Chatigan = Chittagong, or *Porto Grande* ; Satigan = Sätgānw, or *Porto Pequeno*.]

<sup>2</sup> Original Dutch : "Hebben eē ghebruick datse nummermeer twee mael in een pot eeten koken : maar elcke reijs een uieuwe pot". Latin of 1599 : "Cibum ex more eadem in olla bis non coquant". Ditto of De Bry : "Mos est apud eos, vt in eadem olla nullo modo bis coquant, sed quaque vice recentem vsurpent". This refers only to pots of pottery, not to metal pots. (Cfr. *Mānava-Dh.-Ç*, v, vv. 110-122).

<sup>3</sup> This was, and is, the usual private punishment of adultery by a married woman. Cfr. *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kosegarten, iii, tale 16, pp. 199-200 ; and *Hitopadeça*, ed. Max Müller, ii, tale 5, p. 35, fig. Modern cases are collected in Chever's *Medical Jurisprudence* (1870), p. 487, fig. ; but this mutilation is, curiously, not countenanced by the Sanskrit law-books. Cfr. *Nārada* (by Jolly) xii, 91. *Mānava-Dh.-Ç*. (viii, 371, etc.) is very cruel.

of Ryce, which is as much, little more or lesse as fourtéene bushelles [of Flemmish measure], is sold there for halfe a Gilderne, and [for] halfe a Doller: Sugar and other ware accordingly, whereby you may wel conceive what plentie they have. The Portingalles deale and traffique thether, and some places are inhabited by them, as the havens which they call Porto grande, and Porto Pequeno,<sup>1</sup> that is, the great haven and the little haven, but there they have no Fortes, nor any government, nor policié as in India [they have], but live in a manner like wild men, and untamed horses, for that every man doth there what hee will, and every man is Lord [and maister], neyther estéeme they any thing of iustice, whether there be any or none, and in this manner doe certayne Portingalles dwell among them, some here, some there [scattered abroad], and are for the most part such as dare not stay in India<sup>2</sup> for some wickednesse by them committed: notwithstanding there is great trafficke used in those partes by divers ships [and marchants], which all the year divers times both go to and from all the Orientall parts.

Besides their Ryce, much Cotton linnen is made there which is very fine, and much estéemed in India, and not only spread abroad and carryed into India and al the East parts, but also into Portingal, and other places: this linnen is of divers sorts, and is called Sarampuras, Cassas, Comsas,<sup>3</sup> Beatillias,<sup>4</sup> Satopassas,<sup>5</sup> and a thousande [such] like names: They have likewise other linnen excellently wrought of a

<sup>1</sup> Porto grande, *i.e.*, Chatigan (or Satganw). "Chatigan or Porto grande is oftentimes under the King of Ruon (Arracan)" (Fitch, in *Hakluyt*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 257) Pequeno=Hoogly. "From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is a league from Satagan: they call it Porto Piqueno" (*Ibid.*). Fitch was there about 1586. C. dei Fedrici (ed. 1587, p. 89) mentions "Porto Picheno" as up the river. [See note 1, p. 94.]

<sup>2</sup> This is stated by many other travellers down to Bernier (i, p. 94. repr).

<sup>3</sup> I cannot identify these names.

<sup>4</sup> Beatillias, *i.e.*, Port beatilha=very fine stuff (cfr. Moraes s. v.). There is also a Hind. word, "patill", with the same meaning.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot find such an Indian name.

hearbe, which they spinne like yearne :<sup>1</sup> this yearne is to be seene at the house of Paludanus : it is yealowish, and is called the hearbe of Bengalen, wherewith they do most cunningly stitch their coverlits, pavilions, pillowes, carpets, and mantles, therein to christen children, as women in child-bed with us use to doe, and make them with flowers and branches, and personages, that it is wonderful to see, and so finely done with cunning workemanshippe, that it cannot be mended throughout Europe : likewise they make whole pièces or webbes of this hearbe, sometimes mixed and woven with silke, although those of the hearbe it selfe are dearer and more estéemed, and is much fayrer then the silke. These webs are named Sarrijn,<sup>2</sup> and it is much used and worne in India, as well for mens bréeches, as dublets, and it may be washed like linnen, [and being washt], it sheweth and continueth as faire as if it were new.

From Bengala commeth much Algallia, or Civet, but by [the subtiltie and] villany of the Bengalians it is falsified and mixed with filth,<sup>3</sup> as salt, oyle, and such like stuffe, whereby it is not much estéemed. Also in Bengala are found great numbers of the beasts, which in Latine are called Rhinoceroses, and of the Portingalles Abadas, whose horne, téeth, flesh, blood, clawes, and whatsoever he hath, both without and within [his bodie], is good against poyson, and is much accounted of throughout all India, as in an other place shall be shewed more at large. There groweth likewise marble coloured Réedes,<sup>4</sup> whereof you may see many sortes in the custodie of Paludanus, which the Portingalles call Canas de Bengala, that is, Réedes of Bengala : within they are full of

<sup>1</sup> Can grass-cloth be intended? Orig. Dutch : "wit Lywaet", "white linen".

<sup>2</sup> Hind. "sāri", now worn by women.

<sup>3</sup> Adulteration is universal in India, even at the present day, when attempts are made to check this cheating.

<sup>4</sup> Some kind of ratan painted is clearly intended. Orig. Dutch : "ghemarmerde". Latin (1599) : "Similiter hic in marmoris varietatem arundines crescunt..... Cavæ eadem non sunt, sed intus prorsus solidæ"..... [Probably stained bamboos, still imported, are intended.]

pith, and are about the thickness of Spanish réedes, but somewhat thinner, and when they are gréene they bowe and bend like Willow twiggess: they are outwardly of divers colours and speckled as if they were painted. They use them in Portingall for olde women to beare in their handes [when they goe abroad or uppon the stones]<sup>1</sup>. There is another sorte of the same réeds which they call Rota:<sup>2</sup> these are thinne like twiggess of Willow for baskets, whereof Paludanus can shewe you great numbers, with the which in India they make many faire baskets, and a thousande other curious devises. Sugar, Butter, and such like ware they have in great quantitie as I said before: but this shall suffice for Bengala, whereof we leave [to speake], and returne to the [description of the] coast as it lyeth along the shore.

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#### THE 17. CHAPTER.

Of the coasts and lands of Aracan, Pegu and Sian, to the Cape of Singapura, and the towne and fortresse of Malacca.

Beyond the kingdome of Bengala, beginneth the kingdomes of Aracan and Pegu, which coast stretcheth from Bengala south and by East to the town and haven of Martauan, in the land of Pegu, and is 70. miles: Martauan lyeth under 16. degrés, from whence beginneth the kingdome or land of Sian: these kingdomes of Aracan and Pegu are very rich and fruitfull of all things, besides Gold and precious stones, as Rubies, Espinels, Saffires, Iacintes, Emeraldes,<sup>3</sup> Granates, and such like, as it is well knowne by the great numbers that are dayly brought out of those countries into all places. Likewise they make harde ware,<sup>4</sup> which is carried throughout the world: There are greater number of Elephantes in

<sup>1</sup> Original Dutch: "and to lean on".

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Rotan (Malay) or the "Calamus Rotan", our "ratan".

<sup>3</sup> Original Dutch: "Robassen". <sup>4</sup> *Ib.*: "lack", *i.e.*, "lacquer".

those countries, than in any other place of [India, or] the Orientall countries; and the Portingalles that traffique there, affirme that the king of Pegu hath a white Elephant, which hee<sup>1</sup> prayeth unto, and holdeth it to bée holy. The Peguans have a custome, that when any stranger commeth into their land to deale and traffique [with them], of what nation soever he bee: they aske him how long he meaneth to stay there, and having tolde them, they bring him many maides, that of them he may take his choice, and make contract [and agréed] with the parentes of the maid that liketh him best, [for the use of her] during his continuance there: which done he bringeth her to his lodging, and she serveth him about all [his affaires, both] by day and by night, like his slave or his wife, but hee must take heede that [in the meane time] hee keepeth not company with other women, for thereby he may incurre great daunger, and stand in perill of his life. When the time of his residence is ended, he payeth the friendes or parents [of the maid] as much as he agreed for [with them, which done] he departeth quietly away, and the maid returneth with credite home againe unto her friendes, and is as well estéemed of as ever [she was before]:<sup>2</sup> and if after that the same maide chance to marrie, were it with the principallest of the Countrey, and that the aforesaid stranger shold come to traffique in the same place againe, hee may againe demand his woman, and he shall have her without resistance

<sup>1</sup> "Hee", orig. "they". These sacred elephants are still kept by the kings of Siam and Burmah. This superstition has not, as yet, been fully explained. It is, probably, to be traced to the notion of the Buddhists, that Buddha was six times incarnate as an elephant (Hardy, *Manual*, p. 100). These holy elephants are not, however, white; it is enough if they are marked with certain white spots. Mgr. Pallegoix (*Siam*, i, p. 152) says: "Mais comme..... les Buddhas..... seront nécessairement singes blancs,..... éléphants blancs, ils ont des grands égards pour tous les animaux albinos et surtout pour l'éléphant blanc. Ils croient qu'il est animé par quelque héros ou grand roi qui deviendra un jour Buddha, et qu'il porte bonheur au pays qui le possède." Cfr. also, ii, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The women of Burmah have continued to be very loose in conduct.

of her husband, or any shame unto him, and she remaineth by the stranger as long as he abideth there, and he travelling from thence, she goeth home againe unto her husband, which among them is holden for a [most sure and] inviolable law. Likewise when any gentleman or nobleman will marrie with a maide, hee goeth to séeke [one of his friendes, or] a stranger [and entreateth him to lie with] his bride the first night of their mariage, and to take her maydenhead from her, which he esteemeth as a great pleasure and honour [done unto him], that another man wold take upon him to ease him of so much payne: This custome is not onely used among the Gentlemen and chiefe nobilitie of the lande, but by the King himselfe. Also divers of the Peguans weare a bell upon their yarde, and some two, as bigge as an Acorne, which is made fast betwéene the flesh and the skinne.<sup>1</sup> Of the like

<sup>1</sup> This practice is, it appears, now obsolete. It was first mentioned by Conti (1440? p. 11 of the Hakl. Soc. Tr.), and may have left a trace (as has been suggested by Col. Yule) in an existing practice of the Burmese, who often insert substances under their skin as charms (Yule, *Ava*, p. 208). My friend Dr. E. Nicholson informs me that a Burmese life-prisoner, sent, not long ago, to the Cannanor jail in Malabar, was found to have some substances under his skin, and as it was suspected that he had thus concealed valuables to bribe the jail servants to aid him to escape, they were removed, and found to be worthless charms.

Dr. Bastian does not appear to mention the first strange custom in his huge volumes on Burma, but he briefly mentions the amulets: "Von den Amuletten sei das sicherste der in einem Baum gefundene Stein, Titmadal genannt, der (wie die Goldblättchen) unter die Haut gebracht wird und den ich dort als harten Klumpen mehrfach gefühlt habe" (*Reisen*, ii, p. 144). Camoens alludes to the first (x, 122):

"Aquy soante arame no instrumento  
Da geração costumão, o que vsarão  
Por manha da Raynha, que inuentando  
Tal vso deytou fora o error nefando."

Burton:

"Here bells of sounding orichalc they fit  
Upon their bodies, by the craftihood  
Of subtle Queen, who such new custom plan'd  
To 'bate adulterous sin and crime nefand."

Something of the same kind appears to have been found in the Philippine Islands (De Morga, p. 304) and Australia (*Ib.*, note).

Belles Paludanus can shew you one, which I brought out of India, and gave it him; which bells have a very sweet sounde; This [custome of wearing Belles] was ordained [by them], because the Peguans [in time past] were great Sodomites, [and using this custome of belles], it would be a meane to let them from the same. The women go altogether naked, onely with a cloth before their privie members, which (as they go) openeth [and uncovereth], shewing all they have, which is [by them] ordayned, to the ende that by such meanes it should tempt men to lust after women, and to avoid that most abhominable and accursed sinne of Sodomie.<sup>1</sup> There are likewise some among them that doe sowe up the privie member of their female children as soone as they are borne, leaving them but a little hole to avoid their water; and when she marrieth the husband cutteth it open, [and maketh it] as great or as little as hee will, which they with a certaine oyntment or salve can quickly heale. I saw one of those women in Goa whom the Surgeon of [my Mayster] the Archbishops house did cut open:<sup>2</sup> men would iudge all these thinges to be fables, yet they are most true, for I doe not onely knowe it by the dayly trafficking of the Portingalles out of India thether, but also by the Peguans themselves, whereof many dwell in India, some of them being Christians, which tell it and confesse it for a truth, as also the neerenesse of place and neighbourhood maketh it sufficiently knowne.

<sup>1</sup> This is, almost word for word, taken from C. dei Fedrici's *Viaggio* (orig. ed. of 1587, p. 173): "Le donne tutte.....portano vna camiseta fina alla cintura di dove fina al collo del piede si cingono un panno di tre brazza e mezzo aperto dinanzi, e tanto stretto, che non possono far il passo, che non mostrino le cosse quasi fina in cima.....dicono che fu questa invention d'una Regina, per rimover gli huomini dal vizio contra natura, che molto vi s'usava.....", etc. Of the practice there can be no doubt, but an obscene reason is assigned, as is always done in India proper, for (e.g.) the Vaishnava marks worn by some on their foreheads. This is purely imaginary.

<sup>2</sup> This is still the case, I hear, in Siam. Also in Egypt. Bembo (*Ist. Viniziana*, lib. vi, p. 271, of vol. i, ed. 1790) uses nearly the same words as the text. but of a people on the Red Sea.

The people of Aracan, Pegu, and Sian, are in forme, manner, and visage, much like those of China, onely one difference they have, [which is,] that they are somewhat whiter then the Bengalon, and somewhat browner then the men of China: The pictures of the Peguan is to be séene by the figures of the Indians, among Saint Thomas Christians.

Let us returne again to [our discourse of] the coast to the haven and towne of Martauan, which is the furthest [part] of Pegu, and the beginning of Sian. In this towne many of the great earthen pots are made, which in India are called *Martauanas*,<sup>1</sup> and many of them carryed throughout all India, of all sortes both small and great: some [are so great that they] hold full two pipes of water. The cause why so many are brought into India, is for that they use them in every house, and in [their] shippes in steed of Caske. There are none in India but such as come out of Portingall, therefore they use these pottes to kéepe Oyle, Wyne, and water, which preserveth it wel, and it is a good thing for a traveller. There are many of them brought into Portingall, for that they use them for their shippes [that sayle] to India, to [carry] water and Oyle, etc. At Martauan beginneth the coast of Sian, and stretcheth South and by East to the Cape hard by Malacca, called Singapura, which is two hundred and twentie myles.

From Martauan to the towne of Sian [crosse] over lande South East and by East, and to the other side of the sea and of the coast are 70. myles, and by water the coast stretcheth to the Cape of Singapura, and from thence it runneth inwards againe to the saide Towne of Sian, so that this lande or uttermost cape is like an arme, which in the broadest place is from the one coast unto the other fiftie myles, and in some places tenne myles, that is, where the towne of Tanassarien lyeth, whereof hereafter I wil speake. All this lande in

<sup>1</sup> This word appears to be now obsolete, but Mr. C. P. Brown gives it in his *Zillah Dictionary* (1852), p. 66: "Martaban—name of a place in Pegu. A black jar in which rice is imported from thence."



time past was under the power and subiection of the King of Sian, who as Emperour commanded over all these countries, and is yet at this present of great power, although his greatest strength is broken,[and decayed]by the King of Pegus[meanes], with whom he hath continuall warres. They alwayes are and have béene deadly enemies, and in the yeare [of our Lord] 1568. they met [and fought together] in the felde with many hundreth thousand men on both sides, wherein the King of Sian had the overthrowe, and the King of Pegu the victory: so that the King of Sian at this time is become tributarie to the King of Pegu.<sup>1</sup> The cause of this [most] bloody battaile was, that the King of Sian had a white Elephant, which the King of Pegu understanding, and because hee thought the Elephant to bee holy, and prayed unto it as I said before, hee sent his Ambassadour to the King of Sian, offering him whatsoever he woulde desire, if he would send the Elephant unto him, which the King of Sian neyther for friendshippe, giftes, nor money woulde [once] consent unto: whereupon the King of Pegu moved with wrath, made all the power hee coulde to invade the King of Sian, and thereby not onely got the white Elephant, but made the King of Sian tributarie [unto him], as it is said [before], whereby [the King of] Sian is much declined, so that many kingdomes that [in times past] used to pay him tribute, doe nowe refuse to doe it, and holde their Kingdomes of themselves, as in the orderly description of the Coast you shall perceyve, and yet lie all within the lande which wee name Sian, although at this time it hath many Kinges with sundry names, whereby they are named and knowne.

The Countrey of Sian hath very much Benioin, which from thence is carryed to Malacca, and so spread abroad [into all Countries]: As touching their dispositions and persons,<sup>2</sup> they are in a manner altogether like those of Pegu, and not differ-

<sup>1</sup> The Siamese (Pallegoix, *u.s.*, ii, p. 85) tell a different story.

<sup>2</sup> Orig.: "As for what concerns the land and people".

ing much, as also those of Malacca, and all the landes bordering upon the same.

From Martavan coasting the shore southwardes [are] 60. myles, and then 30. myles Southeast and by East: Betwéene two Islandes the coast runneth inwards like a bow, wherein lyeth the towne of Tanassarien, under 11. degrees from this Towne as [I] said before, are but 10. miles over by lande to the other side of the Coast: The Portingalles have great traffique unto this towne of Tanassarien, and thether commeth great [store of] merchandise out of Pegu and Sian, for it is like a staple. Likewise there is much Wine brought thether, which is made of Cocus or Indian Nuttes,<sup>1</sup> and is called Nype de Tanassaria, that is Aqua-composita of Tanassaria, for that it is distilled water that procéedeth from the Indian nuts. and of it selfe hath the strength and vertue that our Aqua-composita hath, and is there called Nype: Although they still Nype in divers places of India, specially in Goa, yet is this of Tanassaria more estéemed, and it is better, which is carried into all places [of India] in great pottes of Martavan: The women of India are very desirous thereof, although for modesties sake before men they will not drinke it, but secretly [by themselves] they doe make good cheare [and gossoppe] therewith. Tanassaria is a Kingdome of it selfe, in time past under the subiection of Sian.

From Tanassaria 20. miles West South west to passe betwéene the two Islandes and out of the bowe, and then againe to sayle along the coast south and by east to the town and kingdome of Queda, are 60. miles, which lyeth under 6. degrés and a half, this is also a kingdome like Tanassaria, it hath also some wine, as Tanassaria hath, and some [small] quantitie of Pepper.

From Queda following the Coaste South south east 40. miles, till you come under 4 degrés and a half, lyeth a town

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. "Nipa arrack" is so called from the Nipa palm (*Nipa frutescens*) from which it was made, as C. dei Fedrici (*u. s.*, p. 95) said.

named Pera: there is found much Calaem,<sup>1</sup> which is like tinne, there commeth likewise of the same from Gunsalan a place lying upon the same coast North north west, from Queda 30. miles, under 8. degrés and a halfe, from Pera 30. miles; along the coast South east and by south, lyeth the towne and fortresse of Mallacca, under 2. degrés and a half, on the north side, from thence 20. miles southwarde is the furthest corner or cape of this arne called capo de Singapura and lieth under 1. degré.

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### THE 18. CHAPTER.

#### Of the towne and fort of Malacca.

Mallacca is inhabited by the Portingales, together with the naturall borne councitriemen, which are called Malayos: there the Portingales holde a fort, as they doe at Mossambique and is (next to Mossambique and Ormus) the best and most profitable [fort] for the Captaine throughout all India. There is likewise a Bishop, as [there is] at Cochin, but they are Suffraganes unto the Archbishop of Goa,<sup>2</sup> this is the staple for all India, China, the Ilands of Maluco, and other Ilands thereabouts; it hath great trafficke and dealing with all shippes which sayle to and from China, the Molucos, Banda, the Ilands of Iava, Sumatra, and all the Ilands bordering thereabouts: as also from Sian, Pegu, Bengala, Choramandel, and the Indies: whereby a great number of shippes goe and come thether, and doe there lade and unlade, sell, buye, and barter, and make great traficke out of all the Orientall countries: Therein also dwell some Portingalles, with their wyves and families, although but fewe, about a hundredth<sup>3</sup> [households], but of travellers that come

<sup>1</sup> "Calaem". Port.= "tin", from the Arabic "Kal'r", which is from the Malay "Kalang" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 245).

<sup>2</sup> This bishopric was founded in 1559. Malacca was conquered in 1511.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....not above a hundred".....

thether to trafficke [with them], and such as with their ships will sayle to China, Molucas, or other places, or that come from thence, and there take in [water and other] fresh victuals, and must stay there for the Monsoins (which are windes that blow at certaine times) to bring [and carry their wares] from one place to the other, [there are great numbers]. The cause why so few Portingales dwell [therein], is because it is a verie unwholesome countrie, and an evill ayre as well for the naturall Countrie men, as for straungers [and travellers], and commonlie there is not one that cometh thether, and stayeth any time, but is sure to be sicke, so that it costeth him either hyde or hayre, before he departeth from thence, and if any escapeth with life from thence, it is holden for a wonder, whereby the countrie is much shunned, notwithstanding covetousnes and desire of gayne, together with the apt situation of the place, maketh many venture, and lightly estéeme al dangers: by which meanes there is so great resort to Malacca from al places, as in all [the places of] India:<sup>1</sup> the country hath nothing of it self, but all things are brought thether in great abundance, and there is everie yeare a ship that cometh thether from Portingal, which setteth out a month before any of the ships [begin for sayle] to India, not once touching in India (unles for want [of fresh water, or other victuals it putteth] into Mossambique) which is laden in Malacca, and is alwaies twice as richly laden<sup>2</sup> with costly marchandises and Spices, as any [one] ship that ladeth in India, and from thence it taketh her course againe to Portingale.

The Malayos of Malacca say, that the first original [or beginning] of Malacca hath bene but of late yeares, for before that tyme there was no towne of Malacca, but only a small

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, as already explained—Malabar and Goa.

<sup>2</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: “Ende is altoos wel eens so rijck van alle costelicke waren ende speceryen”..... The English translator has thus erred in “twice as richly laden”, which should be “fully as richly laden”. The Latin of 1599 has: “In Malacca tantum onus suscipit, ceteris navigiis opulentia rerum omnium nimio quam excellentior” (p. 21).

village of 7. or 8. fishermens houses, which fished in that place, for that because of the unholosomenes of the countrie, everie man did shunne it: in the end certaine Fishermen gathering together being of Pegu, Sian, and Bengala, and other nations bordring upon the same, daylie made their repaire thether to fish, and did at length begin to build and erect a newe Towne and government in that place, and made a spéech among themselves, to differ from the places lying about them, [séeking] in all things to differ [and varye] from their neighbours,<sup>1</sup> so that [in the end] they made a spéech by themselves, and named the towne Malacca, which in short time hath gotten so great resort, by meanes of the aptnes and propernes of the place, specially for marchants, that it is become one of the best and principallest kingdomes of all the countries thereabouts, and this spéech called Melayo is reported to be the most courteous and séemelic spéech of all the Orient, and [all] the Malaiens, as well men as women are very amorous, perswading themselves that their like is not to be found throughout the [whole] world. They use many Bal-lats, poetries, amorous songs, after their manner<sup>2</sup> whereby they are wondred at, which maketh them proude, and hee that dwelleth in India, and can not speake the Malayans speach, wil hardly with us learne the French tongue,<sup>3</sup> their [forme and] figures are heere set downe,<sup>4</sup> together with those of the Ilands of Java, whereof hereafter we will speake more.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch has also: "and took the best words from all the other tongues, so that", etc. Latin (1599): "Excerptá phrasi elegantissimá ex omnium nationum sermonibus" (p. 21). This seems to be a crude statement of the fact that Malay is really a kind of *lingua franca*.

<sup>2</sup> Many specimens of Malay poems and stories, etc., have been published by Dutch scholars. There are also some in the late Mr. Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*.

<sup>3</sup> Should be: "cannot get on, as among us French." The Latin (1599) has: "Usus hujus sermonis per Indiam multa est, ut apud nos linguae Gallicae" (p. 21). The jargon used by Europeans in the East contains a large proportion of Malay words, many of which, however, are originally Indian.

<sup>4</sup> Add: "after the life".

## THE 19. CHAPTER.

Of the Iland of Sumatra, in times past called Taprobana.

Right over against Malacca, Southeast<sup>1</sup> (*sic*) about 20. miles from the firme land by Malacca, wher the straight is at the narrowest, lieth the famous Ilande of Taprobana,<sup>2</sup> nowe called

<sup>1</sup> Correct to Southwest as in original. For "20 miles" read "10. miles".

<sup>2</sup> Taprobana was, no doubt, Ceylon; but Barros (*Dec. ix, ch. 5*) seems to have been the first who saw this to be the case. Maffei (ed. 1588 of the *Historia Indica*, f. 16) says: "Cernitur insula Ceilanum; quam gravis auctor Ioannes Barrius Lusitanus multis rationibus Taprobanam olim fuisse contendit." Barros, in fact, decided the question, but before he wrote, Taprobana was generally held to be Sumatra; and even Maffei (*u.s.*) says: "Somatram.....quam geographorum vulgus Taprobanam putat"..... Thus the eminent scholar and physician, Girol. Fracastoro, who, according to the life in the 1555 ed. of his Latin works, devoted much attention to geography ("ex mitioribus omnibus disciplinis in unam Cosmographiam incumberebat: quam tanto studio quandoque colere consueverat, ut terrarum omnium ab Lusitanis primum in oriente, mox à Columbo in occidente superioribus annis inventurarum descriptiones et loca, ligneis orbibus ad amussim affabrefactis, .....deliniaret")—yet held Taprobane to be Sumatra, and in 1545 thought it necessary to state so clearly to Ramusio (see *Lettere di ziii Huomini Illustri*, 1560, p. 726). The *Asia Nova Descriptio* (fo., Paris, S. Cramoisy, 1566, p. 273) quotes Barros, and accepts his identification, which has never been called in question since. It is only, however, of late years that the progress of Oriental studies has identified "Taprobane" with "Tāmraparni", and proved conclusively that Barros was correct.

The application of "Taprobane" to Sumatra has been traced by Col. Yule (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., ii, p. 277):

[Sumatra] "when visited early in the next century [xivth cent.] by Nicolo Conti, we are told that he 'went to a fine city of the island of Taprobana, which island is called by the natives Shamathera'. Strange to say, he speaks of the natives as all idolaters. Fra Mauro, who got much from Conti, gives us 'Isola Siamatra over Taprobana'; and it shows at once his own judgment, and want of confidence in it, when he notes elsewhere that 'Ptolemy, professing to describe Taprobana, has really only described Saylan'."

It is curious that so late and well-informed a writer as v. Linschoten should have perpetuated the old error, which, till the time of Barros, however, was generally received in the xvth century. He seems to

Sumatra, by some Historiographers named Chersoneso Aurea, other affirme it to be Ophir,<sup>1</sup> from whence Salomon had his Golde, as the Scripture rehearseth, and say that in times past it was firme land[, and ioyned] unto [the Countrie of] Malacca. The Iland beginneth from the first pointe which lyeth right against the Gulfe of Bengala under five degrées, on the North side, and stretcheth also before Malacca, South Southeast, untill [it passeth] by the Iland called Iava Maior, where it endeth under 6. degrées on the South side, and is in length 170 miles, and in breadth 60. miles. The Portingals dwell not therein in any place, but deale [and trafique] in some places [thereof], yet very few, for that the inhabitants themselves doe bring many of their commodities unto Malacca.

The Iland hath many Kings, the principallest is the King of Dachem, which lyeth upon a point of the land, under 4. degrées and a halfe on the North side. This Dachem is very mightie and a great enemie to the Portingals, he hath often besieged Malacca, and done it great mischief, as it happened in the time of my bidding in India<sup>2</sup>, by stopping the passage of all victuals and other Marchandise comming to Malacca, as also by kéeping the passage of the straight betwéene

have followed the *Historia..... del gran Reyno de la China* of Gonçalez de Mendoça (p. 363—ii. p. 319), of which he made much use, where it is said that the “great kingdom and island Samatra (was) called Trapobana (*sic*) by the ancient cosmographers which, as some think, is the island of Ofir”, etc. In the remarkable atlas of Battista Agnese, which he drew up in 1554, and which is preserved in the great Marciana Library at Venice, is: “Taprobana Insula nunc Samatra”, with “I. Major”, and “I. Minor”, just as in v. Linschoten’s map. He applies, however, “Aurea Chersonesus” to the Malay peninsula.

<sup>1</sup> Camoens (x, 124) says of Sumatra :

“Chersóneso foi dita, e das prestantes  
Veas d’ouro, que a terra produziu  
Aurea por epithéto lhe ajuntarão :  
Alguns que fosse Ophir imaginarão.”

He also says (*ib.*) that it was said to have been formerly joined to the land.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : “As happened even in my time”.....

Malacca and Sumatra, so that the shippes of China, Iapen, and the Ilande of Molucco, were forced to sayle about, whereby they passed much danger, to the great discommoditie [and hindrance] of travelling Marchants, and they of Malacca and India, had many Gallies in the straights of Malacca, which some accursed Christians that have no residence, had taught them to make, whereby they did great mischief, and yet dayly doe, but by Gods helpe and the Portingals ayde out of India, all places were freed, and reduced into their pristinate estate, as in another place we shall declare. It was long sithence [concluded and] determined by the King of Portingale and his Viceroye, that the Ile of Sumatra should bee conquered,<sup>1</sup> and at this present there are [certaine] Captaines, that to the same end have the Kings pay, with the title of Generals [and chiefe Captaines,] or Adelantado of this conquest, but as yet there is nothing done therein, although they doe still talke thereof but doe it not.<sup>2</sup>

The Iland is very rich of mynes of Gold, Silver, Brasse, (whereof they make greates<sup>3</sup> Ordinance) precious stones, and other mettall; of all kinde of Spicees, sweete woode, rootes, and other medicinable Herbes [and Drugges]: it hath a hill of Brimstone that burneth continually, and they saye there is a fountaine which runneth pure and simple Balsame,<sup>4</sup> it hath likewise great store of Silke. At the last besieging and troubles of Malacca, the Kinge of Acheijn sent a péece of Ordinance, such as for greatnes length [and workmanship],

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "That some conquests should be made on the Island of Sumatra"..... See ch. xcii as regards what occurred in 1587.

<sup>2</sup> The climate has always impeded European expeditions in Sumatra, as has been found of late years at Acheh (or Achin); above, D'achem, i.e., D'Achem.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "metal" (for "brasse"), "good" (for "greate").

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, Naphtha. The numerous volcanos of the Malay islands have been fully described by the late Dr. Junghuhn in his great work *Java*; and others.



the like is hardly to be found in all Christendome,<sup>1</sup> which hee gave in marriage with his daughter to the King of Ior, a town lying by Malacca, upon the coast of Sian,<sup>2</sup> but this péce with his daughter were taken [upon the way] by the Portingals, and brought into Malacca, which péce was after laden in the Ship [that sayleth every yeare from Malacca] to Portingale, and sent unto the King for a present, being so heavie that they were forced to lay it in the Balast [of the ship]. The same péce lyeth at this present in the Ile of Tarcera, because the said shippe stayed there, being in our companie as I returned out of India, also the Towne of Ior [upon the same occasion] was by the Portingals [besieged, and at the last] wonne and by them rased to the ground, and for ever made wast, wherein they founde about 150. Brasse péces smal and great, some of them beeing no greater then a Musket, and some greater, and [so] of all sorts, verie cunningly wrought<sup>3</sup> with Flowers and personages which I have [purposely<sup>4</sup>] set down to let you know that they have [other kindes of] Mettals,<sup>5</sup> and know howe to handle them.

But returning to our matter, There are some places in this Iland where the Portingales doe traffique; which are those that use to traffique to Malacca, as a Towne called Pedir, which lyeth 20. miles from Acheijn, uppon the coast right over against Malacca, from whence commeth much Pepper and Golde. And from an other place called Campar, which lyeth almost under the Equinoctiall line, uppon the corner on the South side, on the same side on the West coast of the Iland lyeth a place called Manancabo, where they make Poinyards, which in India are called Cryses,<sup>6</sup> which are very

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "or so well wrought".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "of which on another [occasion]". "Ior", *i.e.*, Johore.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch has: "and ornamented".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "only".

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "all metals".

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, "Creeses", Malay "Kris"—dagger.

well accounted and estéemed of and is thought the best weapon in all the Orient, whereof those of Iava and Malacca do make gret provision for themselves.

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THE 20. CHAPTER.

Of the Iland of Iava Maior, with their wares, Marchandisea, and trades, waights, myntes,<sup>1</sup> and prices thereof with other particularities.

South Southeast right over against the last point [or corner] of the Ile of Sumatra, on the south side of the Equinoctiall [line] lyeth the Iland called Iava Major,<sup>2</sup> or great Iava, where there is a straight or narrow passage betweene Sumatra and Iava, called the straight<sup>3</sup> of Sunda, of a place so called, lying not far from thence within the Ile of Iava: this Iland beginneth under 7 degrés on the south side, and runneth east and by south 150 miles long, but touching the breadth, it is not found, because as yet it is not discovered, nor by the Inhabitants themselves [well] knowne. Some thinke it to be firme land, [and parcell] of the countrie called Terra Incognita, which [being so,] shoulde reach from that place to the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Coinage. Orig. Dutch: "munte".

<sup>2</sup> Java Minor being here Sumbava, as the Map proves.

Who was the author of this perversion of the old nomenclature? Damian a Goes writes in 1539: "Postremo.....ad insulã Samatræ, Ad Iavã quoque minorẽ et maiorẽ.....fidẽ Christi propagatam esse"..... (*Commentarii Rerum Gestarum in India.....a Lusitanis.....4to. Lovanii, 1539, E iii, b*). This erroneous nomenclature long obtained. In the *Asia Nova Descriptio* (Paris, 1656) it is given (pp. 348-9): "Iavæ sunt Insulæ duæ, majorem vnam, alteram minorem appellant.....Major.....dirimitur à Somatra freto.....dicto de Sunda.....Iava minor, quibusdam dicta Cambaba (*i.e.*, Çambava or Sumbava) est australior maior(e) et Orientalior maiore; vix adhuc nota".....

The first part of this is in the very words of Maffei (*Hist. Indica*, orig. ed. of 1588, p. 98):

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "or narrow".

Cape de Bona speraçe,<sup>1</sup> but as yet it is not certainly known, and therefore it is accounted for an Iland: the inhabitants say, that within the land there is a River, wherein if any wood doth fal, it turneth into stone.<sup>2</sup> Through this straight or narrowe passage Thomas Candish an Inglish captaine passed<sup>3</sup> with his Ship, as he came out of the south parts, from Nova Spaigne. This Iland aboundeth with Rice, and all manner of victuals, [as oxen,] kyne, hogges, shéepe, and hennes, [etc. also] Onyons, Garlicke, Indian nuttes, [and] with al [kind of] Spices, as cloves, Nutmegges, and mace,<sup>4</sup> which they carry unto Malacca. The principall haven in the Iland is Sunda Calapa,<sup>5</sup> whereof the straight beareth the name: in this place of Sunda there is much Pepper, and it is better then that of India or Malabar, wherof there is so great quantitie, that they could lade yearlie from thence 4 or 5 thousand kintales Portingale waight: it hath likewise much frankinsence, Benioin of Bonien called Folie, Camphora, as also Diamantes, to which place men might very well traffique, without any impeachment,<sup>6</sup> for that the Portingales come not thether, because great numbers of Iaua come themselves unto Malacca to sell their wares.

And although it be besyde the matter, yet doe I not

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "That over C. de boa Esperança, should reach here".

<sup>2</sup> Camoens (x, 134):

" Olha a Sunda tão larga, que uma banda  
Esconde para o Sul dificultoso:  
A gente do Sertão, que as terras anda,  
Vm rio, diz, que tem miraculoso,  
Que por onde elle so sem outro vae,  
Converte em pedra o pao, que nelle cabe."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "lately passed". "South parts", orig., "South sea".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Foelie". A little further on is: "De Massa ofte Foelien".....; also "die Foelye ofte Blom van Muscaten"..... Camoens (ix, 14) calls mace "dry flower" "a secca flor". In earlier times "flower of nutmegs" appears to have been applied to cloves. (See Col. Yule's *Cathay*, ii, p. 473). "Kintale", i.e., Quintal (Spanish, etc., from Ar. qintār)=100 lbs.

<sup>5</sup> Sunda Calapa—close to Bantam on the East.

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "belet", i.e., "hindrance".

estéeme it unnecessary in briefe to shewe, in what sort they use to buy, sell, and deall with ware, money and waight, seing we are now in hand with the [said] Iland of Iava. You must understand that in Sunda there is no other kind of money then certaine copper mynt called Caixa, of the bignes of a Hollandes doite, but not half so thicke, in the middle whereof is a hole to hang it on a string,<sup>1</sup> for that commonlie they put two hundreth or a thowsand upon one [string],<sup>2</sup> wherewith they knowe how to make their accounts, which is as followeth. 200 Caixas is a Sata, and 5 Satas are 1000 Caixas, which is as much as a Crusado Portingale money, or 3 Keysars guilders,<sup>3</sup> Netherlandish money, Pepper of Sunda is solde by the sacke, and each sacke wayeth 45 Catten waight of China: everie Catte is as much as 20 Portingale ounces, and everie sacke is worth,<sup>4</sup> as it is solde there, 5000 Caixas, and when it is at the highest, 6 or 7 thowsand Caixas, Mace, Cloves, nutmegges, white and black Beniamin, and Camphora, are solde<sup>5</sup> by the Bhar,<sup>6</sup> each Bhar of Sunda weigheth 330 Catten of China. Mace that is good<sup>7</sup> is commonlie worthe 100 or 120 thowsand Caixas, and good Cloves after the rate, but [bad or] foule Cloves of Baston<sup>8</sup> are worth 70 or 80 thowsand Caixas the Bhar. Nutmegges

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....to pass a string through". *I.e.*, Chinese cash.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....upon one another".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "3. Karolus guldens".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....at least worth".

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... are all sold"..... "Beniamin", *i.e.*, Benjoin. See ch. 71.

<sup>6</sup> A bhar (bahara)=3 pikul or 300 kati, each of which is 1 lb. 6 oz. 13 drs. (Maxwell's *Manual of Malay*, p. 141). The traders, however, appear to have given Malay names to Chinese weights.

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....clean and fine".....

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch: "... ..which are called of Baston". De Orta (*f. 102 b*) says that the Spaniards called *fuste* what the Portuguese termed *bastam*. They appear to have been spurious cloves (stalks); the Latin of 1599 has: "Ex caryophyllis autem, sordibus admixtis ac *Baston* dictis, *Bharus* 70000. & 80000. *Cairis* emitur". Cfr. ch. 65, below, as to these cloves.

are commonlie worth 20 or 25 thowsand Caixas the Bhar: white and black Benioin is worthe 150 and 180 thowsand Caixas, and 200 thousand the Bhar. The wares that are there [by them] desired in barter for their spices, are as hereafter followeth, divers and different sorts and colours of cotton lynnens, which come out of Cambaia, Choramandel and Bengala, as Sarasses de Gabares, and painted Tapen from S. Thomas, of fyve elles [the péece]: they are clothes so called out of Bengala, white Cotton lynnens, viz. Sarampuras, Cassas, Sateposas, and blacke Satopasen, and some [browne] unbleached lynnens: out of Cambaia black Cannequins,<sup>1</sup> red Turiaes, which are all clothes of cotton lynnens, red Beyramen great and litle, which is verie like unto Cambricke: and I am perswaded, if Clothe [of Holland were there to be soulede,]<sup>2</sup> it woulde be more estéemed than Cotton lynnens out of India. These Javens are of a verie fretfull and obstinate Nature, of colour much like the Malayers, brown, and not much unlike the men of Brasilla, strong and well set, big limmed, flatte faces, broad thicke chéekes, great eyebrowes, smal eyes, litle beard, [not past] 3 or 4 hayres upon the upper lippe and the chinne: the hayre on their heades very thyn and short, yet as blacke as pitche, whose picture is to be séen by the picture of the Malayen of Malacca, because they dwell and trafficke much together.

Returning againe unto the coast, East and by south about 25 miles beyond Java Maior, beginneth the Iland of Java Minor<sup>3</sup> or litle Java, and somewhat further the Iland Timor, (wher sanders groweth in great abundance)<sup>4</sup> and a thousand

<sup>1</sup> "Black Cannequins" (see note 1 on p. 60 above).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "these countries".

<sup>3</sup> Here the old name of Sumatra is applied to Sumbava. Cfr. Burton, *Lusiads*, iv, p. 555, "Java Minor (Sumbava)" note. "It is more probable that the two original Javas were Java proper and Sumatra. Sumbava hardly deserves such a title."

<sup>4</sup> Camoens (x, 134):

"Ali tambem Timor, que o lenho manda  
Sandaló salutífero e cheiroso."

other Ilands bordering all about, which I can not particularly set down, yet they are all inhabited, and full of people, and are like the Javers.

From Malacca they travell to the Ilandes of Molucca, Banda and Amboyna, where the Portingales have both forts and captaines and trafficke with them:<sup>1</sup> their way is from Malacca south east and by south, above 100 miles, betwéene many Ilands and through many shallowes, so that they must anker everie night, to avoyd danger of sandes, which continueth almost all the waye to Molucca, and having in that sort passed those hundreth miles, they set their course eastward, and east and by north, 250 miles, to the Iland called Banda, which lyeth under 5 degrés on the South side. In this Iland the Portingales doe trafficke, for in it are the best<sup>2</sup> Nutmegges and Flowers. There likewise they doe preserve nutmegges, and make oyle thereof,<sup>3</sup> which is brought to Malacca, and from thence into all other places: the trafficke there consisteth most in bartering, as it doth in Sunda and Java, but they are not to be trusted, you must kéepe good watch, and goe not on land, but stay aborde the shippe, whether the Ilanders bring their marchandises, and deale [with men] as I said before, for it happeneth divers times, that they deceave the Portingales, which trust them over much, for that one of my acquaintance and my friend being there, for captaine in a shippe, the shippe being cast away upon that coast, was with all his men taken [and put in prison], where for the space of two yeares he indured a most miserable life, and in the end was ransomed. All these

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese power in the Moluccas was supplanted by the Dutch in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Tidore was given up in 1605. A brief history of this period is to be found in Bk. xviii of Luys Coello de Barbuda's (Spanish) *Empresas Militares de Lusitanos*, 4to., Lisbon, 1624 (pp. 317, ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "in this island grow the most and best".....

<sup>3</sup> ".....and (make) expressed oil from the same nuts and flowers, which is brought thence to Malacca".....

voyages to Banda, Moluca, and those Ilands, and also any other way whatsoever in India, may no man make, without licence and speciall favour of the King of Portingall, and [their offices] are given them in recompence of their service in the Indies, as also all other offices, as in an other place shall be declared.

About 20 miles beyond Banda North west, lieth the Iland called Amboyna, where the Portingales have a small fort: this Iland hath not much spice, but the shippes that sayle from Malacca to Maluco, doe stay there, and take in fresh water.<sup>1</sup> From this Iland<sup>2</sup> Northwarde 70 miles, lyeth the Iland Tydor, under one degré North, and is the first Iland of the Molucaes, sixe miles northward lyeth Malaco, and not farre thence Tarnate, and the Ilands<sup>3</sup> of Cloves.

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## THE 21. CHAPTER.

### Of the Iland<sup>4</sup> of Maluco.

The Ilandes of Maluco are five, viz. Maluco, Tarnate, Tydor, Geloulo, and an other(;) where the Portingales have 2 forts, that is in Tarnate and Tydor, which long since were discovered<sup>5</sup> and wonne, where they trafficke from Malacca and out of India. The Spaniards have sought divers meanes to have traffique there, and came from thence out of Nova Spaigne, into the Iland called Tarnate,<sup>6</sup> where in a storme

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "refreshments of fresh water".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Of Amboyna".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....the other islands of cloves".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Islands".

<sup>5</sup> By Abreu and Serrano (1511), *vide* Barros, *Dec.* iii, 5. ch. 6. *Empresas (ut s.)*, p. 255.

<sup>6</sup> This might, at first sight, be taken for an erroneous allusion to the unfortunate Magalhães, and to the murder of his successor in the command—Duarte Barbosa. But there were several subsequent expeditions of a like kind, which all ended in the same way; and the account given

they lost their shippe, and so could not get from thence againe, [whereby] they were by the Portingales most of them slayne, and the rest taken and sent [prisoners] into Portingale, whereupon the King of Spaine and Portingale had a long quarrell and contention, touching the division of their Conquests, and discovery of the seas, which by the Popes meanes at the last was ended, in such sort,<sup>1</sup> that at this present onely the Portingale trafickes to those Ilands. These Ilands have no other spice then cloves,<sup>2</sup> but in so great abundance, that as it appeareth, by them the whole world is filled therewith. In this Iland<sup>3</sup> are found firie hilles, they are very dry and burnt land, they have nothing els but victuals of flesh and fish, but for Rice, Corne, Onyons, Garlicke, and such like,<sup>4</sup> [and all other necessaries, some are brought from Portingale,<sup>5</sup> and some from other places thereabout, which they take and barter for cloves. The bread which they have there of their owne [baking] is of wood or rootes,<sup>6</sup> like the men of Brasillia, and their cloathes are of

here is of the expedition of Villa Lobos in 1545, and is taken from Gonçalez de Mendoça (*Historia, Itinerario* part, ch. vii, p. 317). "This Villa Lobos arrived at the Ilands of Malucas, and at those of Terrenate..... In these Ilands they had great war by meanes of the Portugals, and ..... went to the most part of them with the aforesaide Portugals unto the India of Portugall, from whence afterwards they sent them as prisoners unto the said King of Portugall"..... (Hak. Soc. ed., ii, 259).

<sup>1</sup> The demarcation was first settled by Pope Alexander VI (1493). "Is.....ne quando Lis ad arma deduceretur; ultra Hesperidum insulas ad trecentessimam fere leucam et quadragessimam ducto a Septentrionibus ad Australem polum circulo; totum terrarum orbem ex æquo bifariam secuit." (Maffei, *H. I.*, p. 15.) The feuds between the Spaniards and Portuguese in the East continued even after the two kingdoms were united. See De Morga's *Sucesos* (*Philippine Islands*, Hakl. Soc., xxxix).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "... ..have nothing but cloves".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....these islands".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....such like requisites for life".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....by the Portuguese".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....The bread that they have and use of their own is of wood or roots, like the Brasilians".....



woven strawe or herbes, faire [to the eye]: in these Ilands onlie is found the bird, which the Portingales call *passaros de Sol*, that is Fowle of the Sunne, the Italians call it *Manu codiatas*, and the Latinists, *Paradiseas*, and by us called *Paradice birdes*,<sup>1</sup> for ye beauty of their feathers which passe al other birds: these birds are never séene alive, but being dead they are found upon the Iland:<sup>2</sup> they flie, as it is said alwaies into the Sunne, and kéepe themselves continually in the ayre, without lighting on the earth, for they have neither féet nor wings, but onely head and body, and the most part tayle, as appeareth by the birdes that are brought from thence into India, and some from thence hether, but not many, for they are costlie.<sup>3</sup> I brought two of them with me, for Doctor Paludanus, which were male and female, which I gave unto him, for his chamber. The Ilands lie among divers other Ilands, and because there is no speciall notice of them, by reason of the small conversation with them: I<sup>4</sup> let them passe, and turne againe unto the coast of Malacca, which I left at the Cape of Singapura, and so will shewe the Coast along.

<sup>1</sup> The first account of these birds as they are in a state of nature is by Wallace in his *Malay Archipelago*.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "fall on the islands". Camoens (x, 132):

"Aqui ha as aureas aves, que não descem  
Nunca á terra e so mortas apparecem."

Burton:

"Here dwell the golden fowls, whose home is air,  
And never earthward save in death may fare."

The origin of this fable is to be traced to the fact that the legs were not preserved, but removed.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "for they are few and costly".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "we".

## THE 22. CHAPTER.

From the Cape Singapura to the towne of Sian, and the coast of Cambaia, and Cauchinchina, and the Iles of Borneo, Lusons, Manillios or Philippinas.

From the Cape of Singapura<sup>1</sup> to the hooke named Sinosura<sup>2</sup> eastward, are 18 miles, 6 or 7 miles from thence lyeth a cliffe in ye sea called Pedra bianque,<sup>3</sup> or white Rock, where the shippes that come and goe to and from China, doe oftentimes passe [in] great danger and some<sup>4</sup> are left upon it, whereby the Pylots when they come thether are in great feare, for that other way then this they have not.

From this hook Sinosura East and by South 40. miles beginneth the first corner of the Iland Borneo,<sup>5</sup> under one

<sup>1</sup> Few who see the now splendid town of Singapore will recollect that it was really founded by Sir S. Raffles in this century, and that he found there only a miserable fisher-village. Camoens (x, 125) mentions the "land of Cingapura", but says nothing of a village or town. Nor does Eredia. The name, however, a corruption of the Sanskrit "Simha-pura" (=Lion-town) would indicate that there was once a town there, founded in the early centuries A.D. by the Hindu colonists, and this is supported by the discovery of inscriptions, in characters of that period, on the spot (Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, and *J. A. S.*, Bengal).

<sup>2</sup> This is no proper name. Linschoten has misunderstood the direction mentioned by Camoens (x, 125) in a figurative way :

"Daqui, tornando a costa a Cynosura,  
Se encurva e para a Aurora se endireita."

Burton :

"Thence curves the coast to face the Cynosure,  
And lastly trends Auroraward its lay."

A comparison with a similar allusion (in x, 88) makes this plain : "Cynosura" (= "Bear" constellation) is put for north, or polar star. ".....este cabo Cingapura està contra o Nortê, que entende aqui por 'Cynosura', torna a ..... fazer ponta para o Oriente..... (M. Correa).

<sup>3</sup> Properly Pedra branca, off Bintan.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... some ships".....

<sup>5</sup> The name "Borneo" is merely a corrupt form of "Bruni". Camoens (x, 133) has Bornêo, and mentions the camphor got there.

degré in ye North, and stretcheth 120. myles North east till you be under 7. degrés, the breadth as yet is not knowne nor discovered. This Isle is full of trées, from whence Camfora is taken, and is the best in all the East [countries]. From Sinosura the coast reacheth North 30. miles to the towne of Pan,<sup>1</sup> which lyeth under thrée degrés and a halfe : ten miles further by the same course the coast runneth againe North Northwest for 50. miles, where the towne of Patane lyeth under 7. degrees and a halfe : These two towns Pan and Patane are kingdomes, but contributarie<sup>2</sup> to Sian :<sup>3</sup> From these places comes the wood called Pala Dagula,<sup>4</sup> and the costly swéet woode called Calamba,<sup>5</sup> which being good, is waid against Silver and Gold : they also have Camphora, but not so good as that of the Island Borneo. There is founde some gold, and the stone called Bezars stone,<sup>6</sup> which is very costly and proved to be good against poyson. There are likewise some Diamants, and also Nutmegs and flowers, and

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Pahang. Camoens has (x, 125) :

“Vês Pam, Patane, reinos e a longura  
De Sião, que estes e outros mais sujeita.”

<sup>2</sup> Only Patane is now tributary to Siam.

<sup>3</sup> “Le pays que les Européens nomment Siam s'appelle *Muang-Thai* (le royaume des libres) ; son ancien nom était *Sajâm* (race brune), d'où vient le nom de Siam” (Mgr. Pallegoix, *Description du Royaume de Siam*, i, p. 5). It seems more probable that the name is after the “Sham” tribes (cfr. Mayer's *Chinese Government*, p. 42).

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, “Pao Dagula”, or aloes-wood, and a corruption of “agallochum”, which again seems to be the Sanskrit “aguru”. The silly corruptions (*e.g.*, “lignum aloes”, etc.) to which this name has given rise are endless. [Aguila was surely taken direct from some native corr. of *aguru*. Y].

<sup>5</sup> “Calamba”, (?) a Malay name of the same ; apparently a corruption of a Chinese term said by Rumphius to be “Kilam”. G. De Orta (*Colloquios*, xxx ; *Do Linaloes*) has a sensible chapter on this wood, and sweeps away most of the silly old notions about it. According to him, the Malays called the best kind by the name Calamba.

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch : “*Bezar* or *bazar*”. The Persian word *pâdzahr*, expeller of poisons, became *bâzahr* in Arabic, also pronounced *bêzahr*, from thence the Europeans got the word (cfr. Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, p. 26). Cfr. ch. 87, for a full account of the former notions as to this substance.

the wood Sapon,<sup>1</sup> whereof also much is brought from Sian, it is like Brasill<sup>2</sup> to die withall.

From Patane 120. myles North, the coast runneth backe againe unto Sian, which lyeth under 14. degrés and a halfe from Sian, from the turning in South west 15. myles: The coast runneth again south east 70. miles to the towne of Cambaia:<sup>3</sup> this towne lyeth under 10. degrés. From thence the coast runneth againe Northeast 60. miles, and 60. miles Northwest: from whence it runneth West North west to the furthest [parte] inwarde of the créeke of Cuchinchina: This coast of Cambaia is also called the coast of Champaa, this land hath much of ye swéet wood Calamba: Through this kingdome runneth the river Mecom into the sea, which the Indians namè Captaine of all the Rivers, for it hath so much water in the Summer, that it covereth and watereth all the countrey, as the river Nilus doth [the countrey of] Ægypt. The people of Cambaia beléeve that all creatures both men and beastes of what sort [soever] they be, do here receyve reward for their worke [whether it be] good or bad.<sup>4</sup> Up-

<sup>1</sup> "Sapon." This is the Malayālam "Sappanga", which the Portuguese took to the farther East; the word literally means red (wood). The idea of deriving the name from "Japan" is absurd, as the tree (*Cæsalpinia S.*) only grows in the tropics. <sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "... brazil wood"...

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Cambodia, which Mgr. Pallegoix (*Description de Siam*, i, p. 28) says is a corruption of *Kamphuca*, the former name; the present name being *Khmer*. It was once a great kingdom, as the huge ruins of Buddhist temples show, but for 300 years has been reduced to nothing by Siam and Cochinchina. Its present state is well described by Mouhot, Bastian, and Vincent.

<sup>4</sup> Word for word from the *Lusiads* (x, 127):

"Vês, passa por Camboja Mecom rio,  
Que capitão das aguas se interpreta;  
Tantas recebe d'outro só no estio,  
Que alaga os campos largos e inquieta:  
Tem as enchentes, quaes o Nilo frio:  
A gente delle crê, como indiscreta,  
Que pena e gloria tem depois de morte,  
Os brutos animaes de tode sorte."

The last lines clearly refer to Buddhist teaching, and Buddhism was, and is, the religion of the country.

wards in the land behind Cambaia and Sian are many [severall] nations, as Laos, which are [a] great and [a] mightie [people], others named Auas and Bramas, which dwel by the hilles: others that dwell upon the hils called Gueos, which live like wild men, and eat mans flesh, and marke all their bodies with hote iron, which they estéeme a frédome.<sup>1</sup> These countrey men are such as are knowne, besides divers others that are unknowne.

From the coast of Cambaia or Champaa East or to seaward about 100. myles little more or lesse lie ye Islands called the Lussons or Lussones, which were first discovered by the Spaniardes out of newe Spaigne, in an: 1564.<sup>2</sup> and were called also las Manillas or Philippinas,<sup>3</sup> because the principallest Haven and Towne is called Manillia, and of others Lusson,<sup>4</sup> whereof also they are named the Lussons: and the Spaniardes gave them the name of the King of Spaine, calling them ye Philippinas. This towne [of] Lusson or Manillia lyeth under 14 degrés, by this towne and Iland of Lusson lie a great number of Ilands, which are all called the

<sup>1</sup> This is, again, a mere copy of Camoens (x, 126):

“Vês neste grão terreno os differentes  
Nomes de mil nações nunca sabidas;  
Os Laos em terra e numero potentes,  
Avás, Bramás, por serras tão compridas.  
Vê nos remotos montes outras gentes,  
Que Gueos se chamam de selvages vidas;  
Humana carne comem, mas a sua  
Pintão com ferro ardente — usança crua.”

These Gueos were thought to be Karens. Burton (iv, p. 542) suggests “they may be the Giao-chi (Kiao-tchi, or old Annamites), one of the four great barbarian tribes of Northern Indo-China, on the frontier of the Middle Kingdom.” [See *The Kouys*, in *Garnier, Voy. d'Expl.*, i, 98. Y.]

<sup>2</sup> By M. L. Legazpi. (See *De Morga*, p. 15, fig.)

<sup>3</sup> “The commander-in-chief had given to all these isles the name of Philippines, in memory of his Majesty” (i.e., Philip II of Spain) (*De Morga*, p. 17).

<sup>4</sup> The origin of the name is yet to be explained.

Manillians, Lussons [or] Philippinas, and are all at the commandement of the Spaniardes, whose Governour or Captaine lyeth in the towne of Manillia or Lusson, who was sent thether out of Nova Spaigne in the behalfe of the King [of Spaine], and also a Bishop, as head [over all the rest].<sup>1</sup>

All these Ilands have in time past béene under the crown of China, and upon some occasion<sup>2</sup> left it, whereby there was no policie nor government among the Inhabitants [of the same], for that he that was the richest [and of most power amongst them] was maister, and lived together like beastes whereby the Spaniardes had but small labor to subdue them, whereof manie they baptised, and made [them] Christians, which everie day increased:<sup>3</sup> it is a very fruitful land, and hath much corne, and al sortes of [wilde beastes, as] harts, hynds, and such like: also cattle, as buffels, oxen, kyne, hogges, goates, etc. they have manie muske cattles,<sup>4</sup> all kinde

<sup>1</sup> The early history of these islands is to be found in De Morga's *Sucesos en las Islas Philippinas*, 4to., printed at Mexico in 1609, of which the Hakluyt Society has given a translation (by Lord Stanley of Alderley) in 1868. The best modern account is Dr. F. Jagor's charming *Reise*, of which there is an indifferent English translation.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....for certain causes".....

<sup>3</sup> For the beginning of the rapid conversion of the natives, see De Morga, pp. 318, ff. It was effected by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits. On p. 320 it is said: "In these islands there is no province or town of the natives which resists conversion and does not desire it: but, as has been said, in some their baptism is delayed for want of labourers to remain with them to prevent their retrogression or reverting to their idolatries." It appears that now all the natives of the Philippines, except savage hill-tribes, are nominally Christian; and Mr. W. G. Palgrave has given (in the *Cornhill Magazine*) a very rose-coloured account of them. It must be recollected that the missionaries in the Philippines have never had the difficulties to contend with, and the unseemly rivalries which have arisen in India proper, and ruined their work there. I allude to the results of the "Padroado", and to the rivalries of missionaries of different sects.

<sup>4</sup> De Morga (p. 286) says the same.

of fruites, as in China, abundance of hony and fish : it is said also that there is all kindes of spices, but as yet there is no certaintie thereof, but onely that the Spaniardes give [it] forth so : but you must thinke they doe it because they wil extol and set forth their things above all others, as their manner is. Those of China trafficke<sup>1</sup> with these Ilands, and bring thether all sortes of commodities out of their country, as al silkes, cottons, porselynes, powder for shot, sulphur, brimstone, yron, stéele, quicke silver, and other metals, coper, meal nuttes, chesnutttes, bisquit, dates, al sorts of lynnens cloth, deskes, and such like, and of all curious things that may be found, and there cometh from China thether every year at least 20 shippes, and from thence is [their marchandise] by the Spaniardes shipped and sent into newe Spaine, and to Mexico, which waye is now as common, as from India to Portingale, wherewith wee will return againe unto our matter, concerning the coasts where we left, that is, from the further part inwards of the Haven of Cauchinchina eastward to the hooke called the Terra Alta, or the high lande, which lyeth under 19. degrés, and they are 60. miles. There beginneth the great kingdome of China, whereof we will speake particularly.

This running in [of the water or Haven], is the ende of the land of Cambaia, and the coast of Champaa, where the lande called Cauchinchina beginneth : which land and coast reacheth unto China, as [it] is saide [before]. This lande of Cauchinchina is devided into two or thrée kingdomes, which are under the subiection of the King of China, the people for person, manners, customes, and ceremonies are almost like those of China, it is a fruitful Countrie of all necessarie provisions and victuals. It hath also much of the wood [called] Palo Daguilla, and of the [most] swéete woode

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Gonçalez de Mendoça's *Historia, Itinerario* (ch. viii(=xiii), pp. 322, ffg. ; Hak. Soc. ed., ii, pp. 265, ffg.), from which this is taken. Also De Morga's *Philippine Islands*, pp. 337-9.

[called] Calamba,<sup>1</sup> also much Silke and other merchandises, as those of China [have]. From this corner East and by South, ten miles from the land lyeth the Iland of Aynao, which is an Iland and Province of China, betwéene this Iland and the firme land is a fishing of Pearle.<sup>2</sup> From this corner coasting along the shore Northeast and by East [are] 90. miles, [where] lyeth the Iland and towne of Macao under 22. degrés and a halfe, this is inhabited by the Portingals, together with the naturall countrimen of China, from Macao Northwest in a créeke or river which is full of Ilands inwards lyeth the towne of Canton under 24. degrés and a halfe, and is 30. miles from Macao, which is the chiefe Towne of this Province [and] is a great Towne of Marchandise, from whence the Portingals have their ware, and is the onely place where they [usually] have conference<sup>3</sup> with the whole countrie of China.

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### THE 23. CHAPTER.

Of the great fruitfull kingdom and strong countrie of China, with other notable things of the same.<sup>4</sup>

The land of China lyeth under Tropicus Cancrī,<sup>5</sup> and the coast thereof stretcheth Southwest and Northeast, above

<sup>1</sup> Camoens (x, 129):

“Ves, corre a costa, que Champá se chama,  
Cuja mata é do pao cheiroso ornada”.....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: “.....of all kinds (of) pearls”.....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: “.....communication”.....

<sup>4</sup> Linschoten's account of China is based on Camoens' allusions and Gonçalves de Mendonça's *Historia*. Wherever he has to give a Chinese term, he follows the orthography (or cacography) of the last. He mentions this author (at the end of his ch. xxiv), but does not say how much he is indebted to him.

<sup>5</sup> Camoens (x, 129):

“Aqui o soberbo imperio, que se affama  
Com terras e riqueza não cuidada,  
Da China corre e occupa o senhorio  
Desd' o Tropico ardente ao Cinto frio.”



400. miles, it hath on the Southwest side the kingdome of Cauchinchina, and on the North west and North [side] Tartaria. In the lande lying westward from China, they say there are white people, [and] the land called Cathaia, where (as it is thought) are many Christians, and that it should confine and border upon Persia. But to the purpose of China, it is sayd, that betwéene the landes of China and Tartaria, there is a wall<sup>1</sup> in length 500. miles, which is thus to be understoode, that [on the same side of the Countrie] there are verie high mountaines, [all along the borders], and some vallies betwéene them, which may in all bee counted 80. miles, which [vallies] are with walles made as high, and even with the hils, whereby the Countrie is all inclosed like a wall or Bulwarke, to defend them from the Tartarians, which are their great enemies : who, in times past before the wall was made, had almost overcome the whole kingdome, many yeares together, as Histories make mention, but driving them out againe, and after that making [their Countrie] sure by that wall, ever since they have continued in peace [and quiet] from the Tartarians.

The kingdome of China<sup>2</sup> is devided into fiftéene Provinces, accounting the land and Province of Aynao, and every Province hath a principall [or shire] Towne, whereof the whole Province taketh the name. In the middle of this kingdome lyeth a great Lake, or Sea, from whence doe spring many ryvers and heads, which part and spread themselves through-

<sup>1</sup> Camoens (x, 130) :

“ Olha o muro e edificio nunca crido,  
Que entre um imperio e o outro se edifica.”

Burton :

“ Behold yon wondrous and incred'ble Wall,  
This and that other Region built to part”.....

Linschoten's account is taken from Chapter ix of Book I of Gonçalez de Mendoça's *Historia* (p. 18=p. 28), and from ch. xii of the *Itinerario* (or last book, p. 337). Cfr. also Marco Polo's account in Col. Yule's edition.

<sup>2</sup> G. de Mendoça, *Hist.*, (pp. 13 and 337; Hak. Soc., i, 22; and ii, 283).

out the whole kingdome, in so many branches<sup>1</sup> that men may travel through [the Countrie] in Boats, Barkes, and Brigantines,<sup>2</sup> which they use in those Countries.<sup>3</sup> The abundance of this water is the cause that it<sup>4</sup> is so fruitfull of all things, and most of their Townes, Boroughs, and Villages are built upon rivers and waters, whereby they have great traffiques, serving ech other with all things in great abundance, this Sea coast is the greatest [coast of any countrie on the water side] that was ever heard off, wheron lyeth five provinces, which are Cantao or Canton, after the which Northeastward lyeth Chincheo, and then Liampoo, and Nanqijn or Nankijn, and Paquian,<sup>5</sup> which is the last Northeastwarde. In this province the King holdeth his Court,<sup>6</sup> and most part of his souldiers, because this Province lyeth néerest to Tartaria, and it is saide, that this Province is one of the best in all China, wherfore the King kéepeth therin [continually]. The countrie is so full of Scutes and Boates to sayle in ryvers, that it is wonderfull,<sup>7</sup> for they say [and affirme,] that in the Haven and ryver of Canton, there are [alwaies] more ships and barkes, then are in the whole [countrie] of Spaine. The land by meanes of ye good ayre and temperatenes [thereof] is so fruitfull, that al things are there to be had in great abundance, as Corne, Rice, and other such like graine or séedes, and is both sowen and mowed [continually] al the yeare long.<sup>8</sup> Within the land ther are some Elephants, Lyons, Tygers, and such<sup>9</sup> cruell beastes. There<sup>10</sup> are also many beasts of Mo-

<sup>1</sup> Original Dutch: ".....in so great numbers".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Bergantynen".

<sup>3</sup> "In these countries." Orig. Dutch: "there".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "the land".....

<sup>5</sup> "Paquian": Pe-che-lie" (Sir G. Staunton).

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....residence and court".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "that it is a wonder to tell".

<sup>8</sup> G. de Mendouça, *Hist., Itin.* ch. xii (p. 337; Hak. Soc., ii, p. 284).

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....other".....

<sup>10</sup> This is from Mendouça's *Historia*, I, ch. iv (p. 8=1, p. 16), and the

seliaet, [that is to say, Muske-Cattes], which are of the bignesse and likenesse of a little Dogge, which they kill and burie for certaine daies, and being rotten, and well brused with blowes, whereby the flesh and bloud are mixed together, they make many round Balles of the [same] flesh and bloud so mixed, each Ball of an ounce waight, by the Portingals called Papo, which they carie into all places. There are also in that land many Cattes of Algallia, or Civet<sup>1</sup> [Cattes], and [some] Amber. They have also horses, but smaller then [the horses] in Europe. Géese, Hennes, Duckes, and such like, are there in [great] aboundance, ryver and sea Fish are likewise plentifull, and all kind of necessaries whatsoever. The countrie hath many mines of Golde and Silver, but the King letteth it not [commonly] be carried out [of the countrie], but kéepeth it in his house for treasure, therefore they séeke [and procure] all things [to bee brought into the land]: notwithstanding they have great riches in their houses, of Gold, Silver, and other common Jewels, they estéeme more of Silver then of Golde,<sup>2</sup> because the Golde is of many values<sup>3</sup> and prices, and the Silver is alwaies of one price. It hath also many Pearles and Alioffar,<sup>4</sup> which come out of the Iland and Province of Aynao,<sup>5</sup> also much Quick-silver, Copper, Iron, Stéele, Blick,<sup>6</sup>

*Itinerario*, ch. xii (p. 339=II, p. 285). "Moseliaet", etc., *Muskus*. Oudemans (iv, p. 484). A modification of the Port. al-mizcle from Ar. al-misk.

<sup>1</sup> "Algallia", i.e., Ar. *al-ghāliyah*=Civet (cfr. Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 118). "Civet", i.e., Ar. *zabād*, etc. (cfr. Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, p. 31).

<sup>2</sup> Another proof that since the xvith cent. the relative values of gold and silver have been entirely changed in the East. Cfr. note 1 on p. 11 above. In China in the xvith cent. gold was relatively cheaper and silver dearer than in Europe (Mendoça, *Hist.*, I, iv, p. 9=I, 18).

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Alloys".....

<sup>4</sup> "Aljofar," i.e., seed-pearls. (See note 1, on p. 45, above.)

<sup>5</sup> G. de Mendoça, *Hist., Itinerario* part, ch. xii, p. 340=II, p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> "Blick" in the Dutch; "bracteas" in the 1599 Latin. This represents "laton" in the original Spanish of G. de Mendoça, which is copied by Linschoten. It means, therefore, "latten", i.e., iron covered with tin (according to Sir G. Staunton's note on Parke's 'Tr.); or (?) yellow copper.

Tin, Leade, Brimstone and other such like mettales, and Amber, besides all these riches, and innumerable rents that the King of China hath, it is said that he hath in every chiefe shire or Province towne<sup>1</sup> a great and unknowne treasure. It<sup>2</sup> is a common custome in that countrie to weare, as we doe here, course and common cloth and linnen, as also Silke, Satin and Brocado, which is cloth of Golde and Silver, with faire workes and borders, [downe to their shooes, which they commonly use,] because of the great quantitie of Silke, that is within the countrie, for it is affirmed for a truth, that only from the town of Canton there is yearely carried into India, above threé thousand Quintals of Silke, which are sold by waight, besides the Silkes that are yearely carried to the Ilands of Iapan, Lucon, or Phillippinas, and to the land<sup>3</sup> of Sian, and other countries bordering about the same: and yet there stayeth so much within the countrie, that therewith might bee laden whole Fléetes [of shippes], and would not be missed: there is also much Flax and Cotton, and so<sup>4</sup> good cheape, that it is almost incredible:<sup>5</sup> the earthen Pots, Cuppes and vessels<sup>6</sup> that are made there, are not to bee numbred, which are yearely carried into India, Portingall, Nova Spaignia, and other waies, but the finest sorte may not be carried out of the land upon paine of death, but serve onely for the Lords and Governours of the countrie: which are so fine that Christall is not comparable unto it.<sup>7</sup> These Pots

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....in all chief towne of the provinces.....concealed treasure."

<sup>2</sup> This next subject (down to "incredible") is from (J). de Mendouça, *Itinerario* part of the *Historia*, ch. xii (p. 341=ii, pp. 286-7).

<sup>3</sup> "Land." Orig. Dutch: ".....island".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....very".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "that it is a wonder".

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....porcelains"..... This is taken from the same part of Mendouça's *Historia* (p. 342=p. 287).

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....that no crystal-glass can be compared with them".

and Cups<sup>1</sup> are made inwards in the lande, of a certaine earth that is verie hard, which is beaten smal and then layed to stéepe in Cesterns of stone full of water, made for the purpose, and when it is well stéepe and often stirred, (as we do milke to make Butter)<sup>2</sup> of the finest thereof which driveth [or swimmeth on the top] they make the finest worke, and use the courser accordingly, whereof some they paint, and then they are dried and baked in Ovens.

*The maner to make [Earthen Pots and Cups (called) Porcelleyn [Cuppes]] by Scaliger is set downe in his Booke of Subtilties in this manner. In the 92 Exercise. The Cups and earthen Pots that are called Porceleynes, whereof also the Earth hath her name, are first beaten to small Poulder, which they steepe in water, and then forme their Pots [Cuppes, and vessels] out of the same, which done they burne<sup>3</sup> them under the earth, and having layen in the earth 100. yeares, being then full baked and made, they are digged foorth and soulede, some say, that not the Cuppes, etc. but the stuffe is buried, although John Huyghens opinion seemeth to be true and according to their maner, saying, that they are made of Earth, as other Pots and Cannes are made in our countrie.<sup>4</sup>*

The land also aboundeth in Honie, Suger and Waxe,<sup>5</sup> of all sorts of Spices, rootes and plantes as also fruites, and much more then in Spaine: and other kindes of fruites also which are not knowne heere: there are Oranges that are swéeter

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... porcelains"..... On this name see Mahn's *Etym. Unters*, p. 11, fg. The word is Italian, not of Eastern origin.

<sup>2</sup> This account of the method of the manufacture is from Mendoça's *Historia*, i, ch. x (pp. 21-2; Hak. Soc., i, p. 33). Marco Polo first mentioned it.

<sup>3</sup> Read "bury"; "burne" must be a misprint. Orig. Dutch: "ende begraven die onder die aerde". Scaliger seems to have followed Barbosa.

<sup>4</sup> Annotatio D. Paludani (orig. Dutch ed., but not given in the 1599 Latin). It is properly printed as such, *i.e.*, in different type, in the original edition of the English.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....of Sugar and Hony and Wax, and very good cheap" ..... This is from the *Itinerario* in Mendoça's *Historia*, ch. xii (p. 342=ii, p. 287).

then Suger : there is a kind of fruit called Lechyas, which are like Plums, but of another taste, and are very good and much esteemed, whereof I have eaten, to conclude it hath of all things that man can wish or desire.

The rents<sup>1</sup> and revenewes of the King of China are so great, that it is incredible, for he hath onely in custome out of a river in the province of Canton, for Salt that is made there, yearly a million and a halfe of Golde, whereby men may estéeme the rest accordingly. All the Townes in that Countrie are walled about with stone walles, and have Ditches of water<sup>2</sup> round about them for their securitie, they use no fortresse nor Castles, but onely uppon every Gate of the Towne they have strong Towers, wherein they place their Ordinance for defence of ye towne. They use all kinde of armes, as Calivers,<sup>3</sup> Bowes, Pikes of divers sortes,

<sup>1</sup> This is from the *Itinerario* in *Mendoça's Historia*, ch. xii (p. 341=ii, p. 286).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....water or rivers".....

<sup>3</sup> This mention is curious, as the Chinese seem to have had an important part in the invention of firearms. The orig. Dutch has "Roers" (=buis, according to Oudemans in his *Old and Middle-Dutch Dy.*). In the Latin of 1599 this is: "Armis etenim omnis generis utuntur, sclopetis".....; so there can be no doubt that guns are intended. This sentence is, however, copied from G. de Mendoça (p. 342=ii, p. 288): "No usan fortalezas ni las tienen, sino solamente unas torres sobre las puertas de las ciudades, y allí ponen toda el artilleria que ay para defensa de la tal villa o ciudad usan de muchas maneras de armas, en especial de arcabuses, arcos, y lanças de tres o quatro maneras y tambien de espadas que son como alfanjes, y con ellas rodela." Parke translates: "They doo use no fortes, neyther have they any, but onely over the gates of the cities, towers,....., and in them is put all the artillerie, the which is for the defence of that city or towne. They use many sortes of weapons, but in especiall hargabustes, bowes, lances of three or foure manners, swords like unto faunchers, and with them targets." (The rest of the passage here about the Chinese soldiers is similarly a continuation of this passage in G. de Mendoça.) Mendoça has also a chapter (iii, 15) to show that the Chinese had firearms long before they were known in Europe (pp. 97-99=i, pp. 128-130): but accepts the exaggerated notions of the Chinese. He repeatedly mentions firearms and shots from them. This voyage was in 1574-5. The conclusion of Reinaud and Favé (1849) is: "En résumé, aux Chinois appartiennent

Rapiers, like Falceons, Cortlasses and Targets. The souldiers when they goe to warre, weare Coates downe to their knées, lyned with Cotton, so that the thrust of a Pike or a Rapier will not readily enter, such as are souldiers are paide by the King, which are knowen by wearing a red or a yellow Hat, whereof there are so many, that the number is not knowne, they have Captaines of 10. of 100. of 1000. 10000. 20000. &c. Which Captaines may bee knowne by certaine tokens, one from the other, whereby they know how many men he hath under him. Every month<sup>1</sup> they Muster and are paide with Silver [money], for they have no other Coyne, and they are péeces of cut Silver,<sup>2</sup> in which sort they pay and receive all their money, for the which purpose they doe alwayes carrie about them a paire of Ballaunce with an instrument to cut the Silver.<sup>3</sup> A souldier hath every moneth<sup>4</sup>, the value of a Ryall and a halfe of Spanish money in silver, which is more in that countrie (as the value and price of all things goeth there) then foure Ducates or twelve Guilders with us. For Religion<sup>5</sup> and ceremonies they are Heathens, without

la découverte du salpêtre et son emploi dans les feux d'artifice (c. 1232). Ils ont les premiers mélangé cette substance avec le soufre et le charbon, et reconnu la force motrice qui naît de la combustion du mélange : c'est ce qui leur a donné l'idée de la fusée. Ils ont même remarqué l'avantage d'un charbon de bois léger. Pour les Arabes, ils ont su produire et utiliser la force projective qui résulte de la détonation de la poudre : en un mot, ils ont inventé (c. 1300) les armes à feu" (*Journal As.*, No. 16, 1849 ; sep. imp., 1850, p. 71). This disposes of the claims of the Chinese. The vain assertions of natives of India and their foolish advocates do not deserve notice.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "every new moon".

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, so-called Sycee silver. This information is from Mendoça's *Historia*, i, ch. x (p. 22=i, p. 34).

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "for which they always carry with them small balances or scales to weigh, with an instrument to cut and to snip the silver".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "every new moon for his wages or pay".

<sup>5</sup> This is from ch. xiii of the *Itinerario* in Mendoça's *Historia* (p. 343 =ii, pp. 289-90).

any sparke [or point] of Mahomets law, or of any other sects. In many places they pray to the Divell, onely because hee shoulde not hurt them. When any man lieth on his death bed, they set the picture of the<sup>1</sup> Divell before him, with the Sunne in [his] left hand, and a poinyard in the right hand, which Divell is painted with a very fierce looke: and therefore they desire the patient or sicke man to looke well upon him, that hee may bee his friend in the world to come, and that yeare<sup>2</sup> hee may not hurt him. They pray to the Sunne and the Moone, which they thinke, are man and wife, and when any Eclipse happeneth, they make great sacrifices, fearing that God will take their lives [from them], and cleane overthrow them, whereby they are in great feare.<sup>3</sup> They doe all believe the immortalitie of the soule, and that after their deathes, they shall receive either good or evill reward in the world to come according to their workes. Wherefore they use faire [and costly] Graves, and beléeve that in the world to come men shall never more die, but live for ever, there are also in this land many and divers faire Universities, and Schooles<sup>4</sup> [for learning], where they studie Philosophie, and the lawes of the land, for that not any man in China is estéemed or accounted of, for his birth, family or riches, but onely for his learning and knowledge, such are they that serve<sup>5</sup> in every Towne, and have the government [of the same,] being served and honoured with great solemnities, [and worthinesse], living in great pleasure and estéemed as gods. They are called Loitias,<sup>6</sup> and Man-

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... a".....

<sup>2</sup> Should be "there".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "fear and confusion".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "studies or schools". This is also from the same part of *Mendoça's Historia* as what goes before (p. 345=ii, pp. 291-2).

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, "fill office". This is an early account of the now famous examination system of the Chinese which has been copied in Europe.

<sup>6</sup> "Loitia," a corruption (?) of "Siu-Ts'ai"=Licentiate. "In every second year the Literary Chancellor of each province completes a tour of his domain, holding examinations—*ngar-lin*—at the different Prefec-



dorijns,<sup>1</sup> and are alwaies borne in the stréetes, sitting in Chariots<sup>2</sup> which are hanged [about] with Curtaines of Silke, [covered] with Clothes of Golde and Silver, and are much given to banketing, eating, drinking, and making good cheare, as also the whole land<sup>3</sup> of China. No man may rule, governe, or use any Office of Justice in the Towne or place where he was borne, which they saye, the King doth, because their friendes or parents should not moove or perswade them to doe anything<sup>4</sup> contrarie to Justice, or to the hinderance of the Kings service. When any of the aforesaide [governours or rulers] die in China, they kill divers of their servants and wives, and cause all kinde of victuals and necessaries with divers Jewels to bee put into the Grave with them, whereby they thinke themselves well provided, and to have good companie with them, to live withall in the other world.<sup>5</sup>

The Countrie is verie temperate and good ayre, for it be-  
ginneth under 19. degrés, and is in some places higher then  
50. degrés, whereby it is to be presumed, that it must [of  
force] be fruitfull, a great helpe thereunto is the earnest and  
continual labour the [countrimen and] inhabitants take, to  
build houses in their land,<sup>6</sup> whereby there is not one foote  
of land lost, [or that lyeth wast, for] even to the verie moun-  
taines, it is both plowed and planted, because there are so

tural cities. Candidates who are successful on these occasions obtain their first degree, and become entitled *siu-ts'ai*, which may be rendered Licentiate" (Mayer, pp. 69-70). Sir G. Staunton does not explain this word in his edition of Parke's translation of *Mendoça*.

<sup>1</sup> Mandorijns, *i.e.*, the Malay name for Chinese dignitaries, taken from the Sanskrit "Mantri", and applied by the Malays to their own lower officials. The final nasal alone is Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> "Chariots" should be "chairs".

<sup>3</sup> Should be: "all those of China".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "anything unjust or".

<sup>5</sup> This curious statement is from G. de *Mendoça*, p. 345 (ii, p. 291). It must refer to Tartars.

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "to cultivate their land". This is all from the first book, ch. ii, of *Mendoça's Historia* (p. 4; ii, p. 11).

many people [in the COUNTRY]. It is not in mans memorie, that ever there was plague [in that COUNTRY],<sup>1</sup> and they have a law which is very straightly holden, that no man may goe [or depart] out of the COUNTRY without licence, nor yet that any stranger may come into the land without leave upon paine of death. Likewise, no man may travaile through the COUNTRY to begge, whereof they have a great care, and looke néerely unto it. The people are well formed, and commonly fat and well liking of body, broad and round faces, smal eyes, great eyebrowes, broad foreheads,<sup>2</sup> small and flat noses, litle beards, seaven or eight hayres above their lippes and under their chinnes, and verie blacke haire, which they estéeme verie much, and have great care in ye keming thereof, and in keeping [it] cleane, as well men as women, and weare it as long as it will growe, and then binde it in a knot on the top [of their heads], and upon it they put a péce of Silke netting. Those that dwell on the Sea side, with whome the Portingals traffique, that is [in] Machau and Canton, are a people of a brownish colour, like the white Moores in Africa and Barbaria, and part of the Spaniards, but<sup>3</sup> those [that dwell] within the land, are for color like

<sup>1</sup> From ditto: *Itinerario* part, ch. xii, p. 336=ii p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> This description of the Chinese is from Gonçalez de Mendoça's *Historia, &c.* (bk. i, ch. x, p. 19=i p. 29), improved and added to by V. Linschoten. Orig. Dutch: "grootte ooghschellen, ende seer hooghe wýnbrauwen", i.e., large eyelids and very high eyebrows (cfr. Kilian and Oudemans for these words). The Latin of 1599 correctly translates: "..... palpebris grandioribus superciliis elevatis"..... These details are not in the Spanish from which Linschoten copied the rest of this passage.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is loosely translated and wrongly punctuated. It should run: "But those inland, are like the Netherlanders and High Dutch, that is to say, in colour. There are some among them that are wholly black, and that have large eyes and full beards; but few (of them) it is to be presumed, as the Chinese also relate, that they have their descent from some admixtures of the Tartars and their neighbours, other strange nations, when it was allowed them to have intercourse with them", etc.

Netherlanders and high Dutches. There are many among them that are cleane blacke, which have great eyes and much beard, but verie few [of them, as] it may well bee thought, and as the men of China themselves report. Their ofspring was out of Tartaria, or from other of their neighbours of straunge Countries, at such time when they had licence [to travaile into those Countries, and] to have conversation with them by trade of marchandise, which nowe they may not doe, as it is saide before. They use to weare the nayles of their left hands very long, and on the right hand short,<sup>1</sup> which they hold for an auncient ceremonie of their law and believe. Their apparell (as I said [before]) is most of Silke of all colours, that is such as are of welth, and indifferent rich,<sup>2</sup> others and such as are poore, do weare apparel of Cotton linnen, and of blacke and coloured Sayes and such like stufte:<sup>3</sup> Cloth made of Wooll nor Velvet they can not make in all China, although there wanteth no wooll, and they have many shéepe: notwithstanding, they know not how to use it, and wonder much at it when the Portingalles bring it thether. The women goe verie richly apparelled, with long and wide Gownes, they weare many Jewels on their heades, within their haire, and also uppon their bodies, they doe commonly hold their hands covered, they are but little séene [abroad], but sit most part within the house, and estéeme it for a great beautifying [unto them] to have small féete,<sup>4</sup> to the which end they use to binde their féete so fast when they are young, that they cannot grow to the full, whereby they can hardly goe, but in a manner halfe lame. Which custome the men have brought up, to let them from much going, for that they are verie jealous, and unmeasurable leacherous and unchast, yet is it estéemed a beautifying and comli-

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....cut off".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "middling condition".

<sup>3</sup> Latin of 1599: "Plebs tamen gossypinis vestibus, aliisque vulgaribus penulis incedit"

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. Mendocça's *Historia*, i, ch. x, (p. 20 = i, p. 31).

nesse for the women. Those that are of any wealth or estate, are born in chaires through the stréets, hanged and covered with Silke, Sattin, and Damaske Curtins, woven with silver and golde thréedes, and have small holes [to looke through], so that they may sée and not be séene.

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#### THE 24. CHAPTER.

Of the Provinces, Townes, and other things worthie of memorie in the kingdome of China.<sup>1</sup>

The kingdome of China is divided into 15 provinces, every one being as great (as it is reported [and founde written]) as the best kingdome in Europe, and are governed by a Viceroye or Governour, which by the Chinaes is called Cochin.<sup>2</sup> Two of the said Provinces are ruled by the King himselfe and his Councell, which are Tolanchia (1) and Paguia (2), wher the King is alwaies resident. The other Provinces are called Foquiem (3), Olam (4), Sinsay (5), Xansay (6), Oquiam (7), Aucho (8), Hona (9), Canton (10), Quicheo (11), Chequeam (12), Saxi (13), Aynaon (14), Susuan (15).<sup>3</sup> Most of

<sup>1</sup> *Mendoça, Hist.*, i, ch. vii, p. 15 = p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> "Cochin." According to Mayers (*Chinese Government*, p. 31), inspectors (*Sün Fu*) were succeeded in the sixteenth century by governors-general (*Tsung-tuh*). The *Avisi* of 1583-4 term the Viceroy 'Tutano' or 'Lancitano'.

<sup>3</sup> These names are taken from Gonçalez Mendoça's *Historia*, i, 7, p. 13, =i, p. 22. Mr. Mayers (*Chinese Government*, p. 31) says: "The modern division of the Empire into provinces, called *Shêng*, dates from the period of the Yüan dynasty (fourteenth century), when, in addition to the departments of the central government, which were designated *Chung Shu Shêng*....., thirteen provincial governorships were established, under the title of 'ambulatory' departments, or *Chung Shu Hing Shêng*..... The Ming dynasty inherited this system from their Mongol predecessors, and continued it with slight alteration..... The fifteen provinces of the Ming dynasty were Shan-tung (10), Shan-si (6), Ho-nan (9), Shen-si (5), Fuh-kien (3), Ch'ch-kiang (12), Kiang-si, Hu-kwang (7), Sze-ch'wan (15),

these Provinces have rivers and waters running through them, and have conference [and familiaritie by buying and selling with each other] both by water and by land. It is recorded by the Chinaes themselves in their Chronicles,<sup>1</sup> that in these fiftéene Provinces ther are 591. chiefe Citties, 1593. other Citties, besides villages:<sup>2</sup> whereof some are so great as Citties: whereby you may consider the greatnesse of the land. Most of the Townes are built uppon rivers and running streames, and closed about with broade ditches, and thicke stone walles, without the Walles betwéene them and the Ditches, is a walke, where sixe men on Horse backe maye ryde in ranke, and the like within, which space is made to mende and repaire the Walles [when néede requieth], whereof they are very carefull,<sup>3</sup> [and looke warily unto them]. The high waies and foote pathes throughout the whole kingdome, are fairely paved, and all along even and smoth till you come to the hils, and the entrance or Frontespicio of the Citties, verie costly and workmanly built with thrée or foure Gates one by the other, all stricken over full of Iron, and the stréetes within the Citties and Villages very fairely paved, and playned as straight as a line, and even in breadth,<sup>4</sup> so that if you stand at the ende<sup>5</sup> of a stréete, you may see to the other ende, by reason of the straightnes bee it

Kwang-tung (13), Kwang-si (6), Yün-nan (4), and Kwei-chow (12), with the two 'metropolitan' provinces, Chihli (1) (or Peh-chih-li) and Kiang-nan (or Nan-Chih-li) (2), in which the northern and southern capitals Peh King and Nan King were respectively situated." In the last century the number was increased to eighteen. I have put corresponding numbers to these two lists, so far as they admit of identification, according to Sir G. Staunton's edition (i, p. 22). "Aucheo" is said by Major (ditto, i, p. lxx) to be the Fokien pronunciation of Fo-cheou. The original Dutch ends the list with this name, and puts Susuan third. Magaillans says that these names are very incorrect.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....histories and memorials".....

<sup>2</sup> *Mendoça, Historia*, i, 1, 8, p. 14=i, pp. 23-4.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "To always repair them well".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "broad".....      <sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....side".....

never so long. At the end of every *stréete*, are certaine Vaults made, wherein are wares and marchandises of all costly things, [and prices] that man can wish [or desire]. Over every *stréete* there are divers Arches made of stone,<sup>1</sup> verie finely and cunningly Painted, which are set in the *stréetes*, because that all their feastes, playes and spirituall ceremonies are done by night, and then those Arches are placed full of lights and Torches, which maketh a goodly shew. The houses commonly have thrée doores to goe in at, whereof that in the middle is the greatest, the other somewhat lesse, they are commonly low without Sellers under ground but within very large and broad, with great roomes and faire Gardens, full of all pleasure and delight. The towne<sup>2</sup> where the King is resident,<sup>3</sup> is called Xuntien or Taybijn, which some men call Quinzay, this name Xuntien is as much to say in Chinish speach, as heavenly Cittie, and lyeth in the Province of Pagua: of the greatnesse whereof they write<sup>4</sup> wonders, for they affirme that within the walles the Towne is as long, from the one end to the other as a man on horsebacke may ride upon a day, with a thousand other wonders, which for brevitie I omit.<sup>5</sup> In this towne the King hath his Palace, with all [pleasures] that may [or can] bee devised, both for him selfe, his wives, and his Courte. His wives little or never goe abroad, so that they are seldome or never séene, thereby to maintaine their authoritie, as also fearing that any mischief should happen unto them, there are not in all the countrie any Noble men of [name or] title, as Earles, Dukes, Viscounts, or such like, nor that have any vassales, commandements, Jurisdictions, or proprieties to

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : “.....hewn stone”.....

<sup>2</sup> This is taken from *Mendoça's Historia*, iii, 2 (p. 56=i, p. 77). Quinzay, etc., is King-ze (“The Capital”, according to Sir G. Staunton), or Hang-cheou (Major, *ib.*, p. xxi). It is described by Marco Polo.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : “.....and holds his Court”.....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : “.....and relate”.....

<sup>5</sup> Magaillans compares this to the exaggeration of F. M. Pinto.

themselves, other then such as are given<sup>1</sup> by the King, and when they die, it returneth againe unto the King, and if hee wil, he may take it from the children, but commonly hee letteth them have it, so they be fit for the place, and that with a new gift and bond to serve the King. In all the principall townes where the Viceroyes or Governours hold their states, there hangeth a<sup>2</sup> picture of the King, covered with a Curtaine of cloth of Golde, whereunto all Officers, Commaunders, Loitias, Mandorijns etc. dayly resort and doe it [all] reverence and honour, such as belongeth [to a King of such estate], as if the King himselve were there in person, the Kings title<sup>3</sup> is, *King and Lord of the world, and Sonne of heaven.*

No man throughout all China may beare any weapons,<sup>4</sup> nor yet have them in his house but such as are appointed thereunto, and receive the Kings pay, as souldiers, whose children succéed their fathers in their places. The men of China are great and cunning workemen, as may well bee séene by the workmanship that commeth from thence. They make and use [waggons or] Cartes with sayles (like Boates) and with whéeles so subtilly made, that being in the fielde they goe and are driven forwards by the winde, as if they were in the water, they are verie wittie in buying and selling. All the traders that kéepe shops, have a Table hanging at their doores wherein is written every kind of ware they have to sell. All Officers or handicrafts men have either of them a stréete alone, and dwell by themselves, and their children must use the like trade after their Fathers deaths, whether they were souldiers, Justices or Governours.<sup>5</sup> When

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....given of free will by"

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....a portrait or a picture".....

<sup>3</sup> His titles are (according to Mayers, p. 1) : Hwang shang (= "Emperor") and Tien Tsze (= "son of heaven").

<sup>4</sup> G. de Mendoça's *Historia*, parte ii, ch. xv (p. 178=ii, p. 58).

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : "and their children and descendants must follow the office and trade of their ancestors, except by permission of the law and governors."

any man is very rich, he is licenced not to work, notwithstanding he must keepe workmen, and kéepe open shoppe, the money<sup>1</sup> that is used throughout all China is Golde and Silver unstamped, but cut in smal pièces to [the value of] a penie, and so received by waight, and in like sorte payed. Also all wares, of what sort soever they bee, [not so much] as Hennes, Géese, Fish, and such like, but are bought and solde by waight. They have one wife which they call [their] lawfull [wife], and as many other as they can [well] maintaine, the sonne of the lawfull wife inheriteth most part of their goods, and that which remaineth is equally devided among the other children, they marrie with whome they will, except [it be with their] Sisters,<sup>2</sup> or [their] Uncles children. The Bridegrome<sup>3</sup> before he fetcheth the Bride home to his house, must indowe her with certaine goods, which he giveth to the Bride [her selfe], and shee giveth them unto her Father or mother in recompence of their charges for bringing her up [in her youth], which done shee goeth home with the Bridegrome, and the parents may do what they wil with that which they have so received for their daughters dowrie, and spend it as they thinke good, and what remaineth thereof after the parents are deade, returneth againe unto the daughter, whose husband gave the same for his wife, so that he which hath most daughters, is the richest, as it is reported, by the Pictures heereafter following you may see the forme and manner of those of China, as wel men as women, as also of the Mandorijns, and mightie men or Governours, as they are carried in the stréetes, and goe to sport upon the ryvers, where they refresh themselves with all kinds of dainties.<sup>4</sup>

The men of China have manie speeches,<sup>5</sup> but in writing

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....the money and coinage".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch adds : ".....sister's children".....

<sup>3</sup> This is copied from G. de Mendoça's *Historia*, ii, ch. ix (p.44=i, p. 62), down to "richest".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : " With eating and drinking", etc.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... and special languages". The earliest ac-



they understand each other in everie place, for they write everie thing with figures and characters, whereof their alphabets are sundrie and innumerable: these figures with their paper of divers colours, as also penne and inke, you may see at D. Paludanus house, so that men had need of a good memorie, and long exercise, before they can understand them all, [and read what it is], which is the cause that among them such as are learned are so much esteemed. [Their] paper is like that of Europa, but not so white, but thinner and smoother: they make also of all colors, which is very faire, they write with pennes of Réedes, wherein there sticketh a pensell, such as Painters use.<sup>1</sup> Printing, painting, and gun-powder, with the furniture thereto belonging, have béene used in China many hundreth yeares past, and very common, so that it is with them out of memorie<sup>2</sup> when they first began. Their Chronicles<sup>3</sup> shewe that their first king, being a great Nigromancer, who raigned manie thousand yeares [past], did first invent [great] ordinance with all things belonging thereunto:<sup>4</sup> Printing is likewise very auncient [with them], for that there are bookes found in [those countries of] China, which were printed [at the least] five or sixe hundreth yeares before printing was in use with us in Europe,<sup>5</sup> [so that it is not founde when it first began there].

count of the Chinese characters, and of the different languages for which they are used, is in Mendocça's *Historia*, i, pt. iii, ch. xiii (p. 91, fig.=i, 120, fig.)

<sup>1</sup> This description of the Chinese substitute for pens is from G. de Mendocça's *Historia*, iii, ch. xiii, (p. 93=i, p. 123).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....out of thought and memory".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....their memorials and chronicles".....

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. G. de Mendocça's *Historia*, iii, ch. xv (p. 97=i, p. 129). This is a gross exaggeration. Reinaud and Favé consider that the Chinese first discovered the composition which was afterwards used as gunpowder by the Arabs. See above, note on pp. 131-2.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "before it was thought of in Europe". Sir G. Staunton states (i, p. 132, note) that "printing without moveable types does not go back, even in China, beyond the beginning of the tenth

And there are many bookes in China, for that they are very curious [and desirous] to write [and register] all thinges, as well that which is done in their kingdome, or which belongeth thereunto, as also other memorable things, cunning and fine devises, lawes and ordinances, al policies and governments in their townes,<sup>1</sup> wherein they much resemble and surpasse the ancient Grecians and Romans. The manner of their banquetings and feastes<sup>2</sup> are thus, as many persons as are invited, so many tables are prepared [and made ready], although they be a hundreth: the tables are verie [faire and] finely painted,<sup>3</sup> with all kynd of imagerie and flowers, most pleasant to behold, so that they use no table-clothes, but round about the edges [of the table there] hangeth a cloth down to the ground, of silke, damaske, gold or silver, everie one according to his estate, and at the corners of the tables there hang divers faire baskets full of all sorts of swéete flowers, with marchpaine stuffe of all formes and fashions, gilded and very cunningly made.<sup>4</sup> In the middle of the tables they place the meats, very costlie and well drest, and in good order, all in dishes of fine earth,<sup>5</sup> or els silver. The meat both fish and flesh, or whatsoever it is, is all cut in pièces, the bones and sinewes cleane [taken] forth, which they never touch with their fingers, but onely use to take it up with two little pièces of blacke wood made

century of our era." Moveable type appears to have been first used between 1041 and 1048. G. de Orta (*Colloquio*, f. 74 b) has asserted the antiquity of printing in China.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : " For they are very careful to write everything, as well as what belongs to their land and history, as well as other memorable things, arts, laws, and rules (' loyen'), likewise all policy and burgher ordinances, and rules," etc. *Loyen* (" loi" and " law", *Oudemans*, s. v., iv, p. 178) = " *Wet*", " *Verordening*", " *Wettelijk recht*".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... meals"..... This description is from G. de Mendocça's *Historia*, iii, ch. xviii (p. 104=i, pp. 137-8).

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : " Gilt and ornamented".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : " Figures and representations of all kinds, all of gilt sugar, very masterly made". <sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : " Fine porcelain".

round,<sup>1</sup> whereof you may see some at D. Paludanus house, that I gave him : and these they use in stead of forkes, which with them is so ready, yt there falleth not one bit or crumme [upon the table], whereby they use no napkins to wipe [their handes], for they need them not, neither do they foule either hand or mouth. Their drinke is wyne made of Rice, and brewed as we brew beer. They drinke often, but verie litle at a time, and will drinke at the least 20. times in one smal cup before it be empty : when they are at their Feasts and banquets they have much musicke. They have likewise many manners [and customes] of curtesies,<sup>2</sup> which are these : The common people as they meet together, they shut their left hand, and cover it with their right hand, and so hold them together on their breast, with much bowing and stooping with their heads downwards, thereby to shewe that they love each other, and are as fast bound and united together [in love], as their hands are [fast knit] together, and that with all their harts, wherewith they use manie courteous spéeches. Among the Nobles or Mandoriins, when they meet together, they presently shut both handes, and lay their fingers each upon the other, and so with their armes make a hoop<sup>3</sup> or bowe, and so stand still stooping and bowing their heads and bodies with great curtesie, making choise who shal first go by, with many other ceremonies used among the Nobles, which were over long to rehearse. Wherefore [at this present] I will leave them ;<sup>4</sup> and cease to write any fur-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the now well known " chop-sticks " (cfr. *Mendoça*, parte ii, xiii, p. 169=ii, p. 47, in addition to the part already referred to).

<sup>2</sup> *Orig.* Dutch adds : " And those very curiously ordered. Their usages of courtesy are these"..... The description of the Chinese way of saluting is from G. de *Mendoça's Historia*, i, bk. iii, ch. xix (p. 107 =i, pp. 141-2).

<sup>3</sup> *Orig.* Dutch : " Ende raken also met die armen eenen hoep ofte boghe".....

<sup>4</sup> *Original* : " So will cease as to what relates to their ceremonies and other things and concerns the land, as brevity requires. For if one were to relate it in length and detail, one would have to use a hundred quires of paper".....

ther of their ceremonies, and other customes, as necessitie requireth, for that if I should describe them all at large, [it would be over tedious, and] a hundreth quiers of paper would not suffice: yet if any man be desirous to see<sup>1</sup> more hereof, let him read the booke made by a Spanish Fryer named Fray Iuan Gonsales de Mendosa, of the description of China, which booke is translated out of Spanish into Latine,<sup>2</sup> although there are some faults, by wrong information given unto the Author: notwithstanding it conteyneth many particular things worthie the reading.<sup>3</sup>

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#### THE 25. CHAPTER.

Of the town and Iland of Machau in China, where the Portingales have their residence, and trafficke with their marchandises, wares, and some prices therof, and the waight, measure and money as well of China, as of Malacca, which continually come thether.<sup>4</sup>

The Iland and Towne of Machau or Makau, is inhabited by Portingales, together with the naturall borne [Countrimen] of China. They trafficke with the men of Canton, from whence the Chinayes bring all [their] marchandises, and resort thether to buy wares, but the Portingals may not goe thither, but as any shippe commeth out of India to Machau it is by the Mandorijn or Governour of Machau presently measured both breadth, length, [and depth], which done, they know how to make their account for the receipt of their cus-

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... know".....

<sup>2</sup> By Marcus Henning, 8vo., Frankfurt, 1589.

<sup>3</sup> V. Linschoten, however, as will have been seen, has largely used this book. His account of China, etc., is, almost word for word, taken from Mendoc̃a. The original Dutch has for the last sentence: "Yet, nevertheless, it has many things and details which are correct, and worth reading." Magaillans (Pref. to *Nouvelle Relation de la Chine*, 1688) finds much fault with Mendoc̃a's book.

<sup>4</sup> This chapter seems to be entirely from what Van Linschoten heard at Goa, from Portuguese who had been to Macau.

tome, and then they may lade what and how much so ever they will, without paying more, or concealing any Custome. They suffer the Portingals to chuse a Factor among themselves, [who] in all their names [is licenced] to goe to Canton, there to buy what they desire : but in the night time hee must lye in the Suburbs without the towne, upon paine [of great punishment]. This towne of Machau, hath a Portingall Bishop, who is Suffragan to the Archbishop of Goa, as [I] saide before :<sup>1</sup> thither commeth a shippe yearely out of India, by the King of Portingals particular licence, the Captaines place whereof is given to a man of great authoritie,<sup>2</sup> as the Captains places of the fortresses. And from Makau the saide shippe sayleth to Iapen and there dischargeth, and then returneth againe to Makau, and from thence to Malacca, and so to Goa. No man may sayle that way but onely such as have special licence from the Kinge, some one time, some an other, for that there must but one ship sayle that viage every yere, which is likewise given in recompence of some service done in India, as all other Officers in like sort are. But to China and Malacca onely, every Marchant may freight as many ships as they can, alwaies remembred, that to Iapen no man may do it but by the Kings permission, and in China or Malacca no man may lade nor unlade, before such ships as are there for the King, have received in the whole freight, and are ready to depart, and after they have laden every man may doe his best, in what ships hee will, that is from China to Malacca and Goa. The Captaine of the ship that sayleth to Iapen doth greatly profit by his Voyage, [for] having a good summe of money to traffique [thither withall], in a good ship which commonly is of 14. of (*read or*) 16. hundred Tunnes,<sup>3</sup> hee may well gaine 150. or 200. thousand Ducats

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 15 (p. 84). Created a see in 1575 by the Bull: "Super specula militantis Ecclesie". (*Annaes Mar.*, iii, p. 274).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... great credit and authority".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... seven or eight hundred last".

[by the Vyage], which continueth at the least thrée yeares. For in April they depart from Goa to Malacca, wher they must stay a certaine time for the winds, which at a certaine time blowe certaine months [together]: and these [winds] are called Monsoins. From Malacca they sayle to Makau, wher they stay [at the least]<sup>1</sup> 9. Months for the Monsoins,<sup>2</sup> and then they sayle to Iapen, where they must likewise stay certaine Moneths againe, to returne with the Monsoins,<sup>3</sup> to Makau: wher againe they stay, as in their Viage outwards: so that the time of thrée yeares is fully expired before they have made their Viage to and from [Iapen]. And all the time of the Captaine of this ship his residence as well in Iapen as Makau, he is there chief Ruler and Governour [of the place], like the Viceroye in India, and the [several] Capitaines in their Forts, for that when the one departeth from Makau to Iapen, there commeth an other [to Makau] from Goa, to make the same Viage, after the other hath performed his Viage. And when hee returneth againe from Iapen to Makau, the other sayleth to Iapen, and so the first continueth Governour againe at Makau, until he departeth from thence to Malacca, and [so] to India, and in this sorte there is alwaies a Governour within the Towne of Makau, as I saide before.

The marchandise [or ware that they carrie] from Makau to Iapen, are silks, and from Iapen they return nothing but silver, whereby they doe greatly profit.<sup>4</sup> And seing we are in hand with their trafficks, from Makau, I think it not impertinent to rehearse some of the ware which the Portingals

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... near".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... monsoon" (singular). Cfr. note 2 on p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: do. do.

<sup>4</sup> This continued to be the case down to quite recent times. Lullier (*Voyage.....aux Grandes Indes*, 12mo., Paris, 1705, p. 249) wrote: "Des Indes on peut aussi aller en Chine.....on y va aussi d'Europe, mais ne faut porter avec soy que de l'argent, car il y a trop à perdre sur nos marchandises".....

use commonly to buy there, and to traffique withall, together with the ordinarie prices therof,<sup>1</sup> as also the waight and monyes, as well of China as of Malacca, because of the néere-nesse and common traffique that they [dayly] use with each other, more then any other places of India, which I set downe in this place, because this waight and reckoning differeth from that of Portingall and India. It is to be understoode that in China there are thrée sorts of Silkes, [that is], one sort called Lankijn which is estéemed for the best. The second called Fuscan, which is good also. The third and worst Silke is called Lankam, besides these there are other sorts of Silke, as Silke unspunne, called raw Silke, and Silke that is spunne and made in thréedes, which the Portingals call Retres. The white unspunne Silke of Lankijn is worth the Pico<sup>2</sup> (which is a certaine waight) which hereafter I will shew you, about 145 or 150. Ryals of eight, or Rikes Dollors accounted after [the rate of] that money. The white unspunne Silke of Fuscan is worth the Pico, 140. or 145. Ryals of eight, the unspunne Silke of Lankam, is woorth the Pico, 75. or 80. Ryals of eight, the Retres white Silke of Lankijn is worth the Pico 150. or 170. Ryals of eight, the Retres white, and other Silke of Fuscam and Susuam, is worth the Pico 130. or 135. Ryals of eight, the Retres white of Canton is worth the Pico 50. or 55. Ryals of eight, the wrought Silke of al colours at the same price, the unspunne Canton Silke in colours is worth the Pico 50.<sup>3</sup> or 60. Ryals of eight, white Lamparden Silk of 14. Els the péce are commonly worth one yeare with the other, 50. or 55.<sup>4</sup> Ryalls of

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... price of them, more or less".....

<sup>2</sup> These weights, etc., are Malay; but these now differ as follows:— 16 tahl=1 katí (1 lb. 6 oz. 13 drs.), 100 katí=1 pikul, 3 pikul=1 bahara, 40 pikul=1 koyan (Maxwell, *Manual*, p. 141).

<sup>3</sup> Should be 55.

<sup>4</sup> "Also 50 or 55"....., etc. The punctuation is here wrong, and should be "..... 50 or 55 Ryalls of eight, the hundred. The Mos-seliat".....

eight. The hundred, the Mosseliat [or Muske] is commonly worth, one yeare with the other the Caete, which is 20. ounces, sixe or seven Ryalls of eight, other fine wares and marchandises of China,<sup>1</sup> have their different prices [accordingly], as the time serveth, and are not so common as these [Silkes], for that with the [Silks] aforesaid is the Portingalles trade, and the principallest riches, that are brought out of China to the countries bordering about it.

As touching the waight and money of China and Malacca, you must understand, that the waight which in Malacca is called a Bhar, is three Picos, and every Pico is  $66\frac{2}{3}$  Caetes, so that 3. Picos which is a Bhar, are 200. Caetes, as well great as small waight, a Bhar of China is 300. Caetes, which waigh as much as 200. Caetes at Malacca small waight: for that three Caetes of China, are in Malacca, two Caetes small waight: a Caete of China is 16. Taeys Chinish waight, which are 14. Taeys in Malacca which is as much as 20. Ounces  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Portingall waight. They use likewise a waight which they cal a Hant,<sup>2</sup> every Hant is twelve Caetes smal waight and every Caete is 22. Taeys, and 16 Hantes. and 8. Caetes, are iust 200. Caetes, which is a Bhar of small waight, so likewise a Tael of Malacca is 16. Mases, and 10. Mases and  $\frac{1}{4}$ . is an Ounce of Portingall [waight], and an Ounce and a halfe is iust 16. Mases, and the eight part of a Mase, by these Mases they sel the Bezars stones, for every Mase two or thrée Ducats, according to their greatnesse and goodnesse. In Malacca are two sortes of waights, great and small, which heereafter follow. A Bhar great waight, is 200. Cates, and one Cates 26. Taeys, and one Taey is one Ounce  $\frac{1}{2}$ . hard waight of Portingall, the small waight is a Bhar, which is also 200. Caetes, and one Caetes is 22. Taeys, and a Tael is a full Ounce and a halfe Portingall waight. With [their] great waight they weigh<sup>3</sup> Peper, Cloves, Nutneps, Folio, red and

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "curiosities and wares of China".....

<sup>2</sup> *Hant.* ? Malay *gantang*.—A. Hamilton's *Gantam* (ii, p. 318).

<sup>3</sup> Original also has: "these following wares".



white Sanders,<sup>1</sup> Indico, Alum, Sanguis draconis, Palo Daguila, Siet,<sup>2</sup> and Sapon.<sup>3</sup> With the small waight they waigh<sup>4</sup> Quicksilver, Vermilion, Coper, Blic,<sup>5</sup> Ivorie bones, Silk, Muske, Amber, Calamba, or Lignum Aloes,<sup>6</sup> Tin, Lead, Lancua,<sup>7</sup> Oyle of Nutmegs, and of flowers, Verdette,<sup>7</sup> Rosamallia,<sup>7</sup> Beioim [and] Camphora, etc. The marchandises that the Portingals carrie to China, whereof they make most profite<sup>8</sup> is Ryals of eight, which in China are worth above six testones, not for that they had rather have it then other Silver, but for that it is all Silver,<sup>9</sup> for it is presently cut in péesces, to pay it out after their manner as it is shewed before, they carrie likewise some Wines both Portingal and Indian Wine, and some Oyles of Olives, which are there desired. Velvet, Cloth of Scarlet, whereof they have none, nor yet can make any, although they have both

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the two chief kinds of sandal wood.

<sup>2</sup> Original has: "Zivet".

<sup>3</sup> "Sapon." Sappan (*Caesalpinia S.*) wood, *i.e.*, for a red colour.

<sup>4</sup> Original has also: "These following wares".....

<sup>5</sup> "Blic." Latin of 1599: "bractea," *i.e.*, tinned iron plates. Oudemans, *s. v.* Bleck, <sup>2</sup> "dunne ijzeren vertinde platen". Blick, *bractea* (Kilian).

<sup>6</sup> Palo Daguila (above), Lignum Aloes and Calamba are all names for the same article, which was much used in perfumery in the xvth cent. under the name "Agallochum". The little *De Latinis et Græcis nominibus arborum*, etc., 16mo., Lugd., 1548, p. 8, has: "*Agallochum*, Est ce que les apotiquaires.....appellent *Lignum aloes*, duquel on fait des perfuns merueilleusement odorans. Aucuns des Cheualiers de Rhodes ont des patenostres de ce bois, et les Dames en Italie communement en ont, comme chose bien riche". So also Fr. Philippus a Sema. Trinitate in his *Itinerarium Orientale*, 1649, p. 303. The Calamba or Calambac was the finest kind (*Garcia de Orta, Colloquios*, ed. Varnhagen, f. 124 b).

<sup>7</sup> I cannot find any clue as to what is intended by Rosamallia (? Rose Malloes=Liquid Storax). These names are *sic* in the different versions, etc. *Lancua*? lançoa (=a Chinese medicinal herb, Moraes). *Verdete*=Verdigris. On "Rose Malloes" see Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia*, p. 242. [Malay, *Rasamala*=Liquidambar altingiana].

<sup>8</sup> Original: "..... the most and surest profit".....

<sup>9</sup> Original: "But all silver"..... Thus the Latin of 1599 runs: "Non quod eam monetam alteri Argento præponant, sed quia in isto regno Argento maximum pretium est, ut supra rettulimus."

shéepe and wooll enough. Looking glasses, Ivorie bones, and all kinde of Christall and Glasse, are well solde there.<sup>1</sup> But this shall suffice for that which concerneth the land of China, now I will procéede to the description of the Iland of Iapan, which is the farthest Viage and last Orientall place by the Portingals discovered<sup>2</sup> or at this day knowne.

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THE 26. CHAPTER.

Of the Iland of Iapan.

The Iland or the land of Iapan<sup>3</sup> is many Ilands one by the other, and are seperated and devided only by certaine small Créekes and rivers, it is a great land, although as yet the circuite<sup>4</sup> thereof is not knowne,<sup>5</sup> [because as yet it is]

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Alle fraigheyt van Cristal ende Glas, uer-wercken eñ dierghehijcke curieusheden, souden daer wel ghewilt wesen"..... Latin (1599): "Alia elegantiora ex Crystallo et Vitro, horologia ceteræque curiositates maximâ ibi in æstimatione essent." Thus the passage should run: "All ornaments of Crystal and Glass, clocks, and such curiosities would be esteemed there." So the French version (1638, p. 47).

<sup>2</sup> In 1539, when Sousa was Viceroy, says Maffei (?): "Cæterum ejus præturam una res maxime fecit insigne; aperta per id tempus, et primum cognita nostris hominibus terra Japonia"..... (Maffei, *H. I.*, ed. 1588, p. 242). "Iaponiæ, sive Iapaniæ nomine magnum numerum insularum intelligimus, quas in extrema Asia extremoque Oriente anno Christi 1539. Lusitani reppererunt" (*Asia Nova Descriptio*, 1656, p. 327).

<sup>3</sup> This is from the *Itinerario* part, ch. xiv, of Mendocça's *Historia* (pp. 347, ffg.—ii, p. 294, ffg.) to a certain extent, but a great deal was clearly derived from Maffei and from the Japanese, whom the author saw at Goa in 1583 and 1587, as he relates. Much information about Japan was early given in the letters of St. Francis Xavier and his companions. Maffei (at the end of his *Historia Indica*) gave a collection of these in Latin down to 1573; and a much larger collection was printed in 2 vols., folio (in Portuguese), at Evora, in 1598.

<sup>4</sup> Original for "circuit" has "size". This account of the extent, etc., of Japan is nearly what Maffei states (*u. s.*, p. 242).

<sup>5</sup> Original: "known and discovered".

not discovered, nor by the Portingalles sought into, it beginneth under 30. degrés, and runneth till you come to 38 degrés,<sup>1</sup> it lyeth East from the firme land of China, about 80. miles, and from Maccau by the waye that the Portingalles travaile Northeast warde, is about 300. miles, and the Haven where commonly the Portingals use to traffique<sup>2</sup>, is called Nangasache. They have likewise other places where they traffique and deale. The countrie is cold, [proceeding] of much rayne, Snow and Ice, [that falleth therein], it hath some Corne lande, but their common Corne is Ryce.<sup>3</sup> In some places the land is verie hillie and unfruitfull, they eate no flesh but the flesh of wilde beasts, and [such as is] hunted, wherein they are verie expert, although there are Oxen, Cowes, Shéepe, and such like Cattell good store, yet they use them to other thinges [about their] labours, [and] because it is tame flesh<sup>4</sup>, which they cannot brooke, they refuse it as wee do horse flesh, they doe likewise refuse to eate Milke, as wee doe bloud, saying that Milke although it is white, yet it is verie bloude. They have much Fish, whereof they are verie desirous, as also all kindes of fruites, as in China. Their houses are commonly<sup>5</sup> covered with wood, and with strawe, they are fine and workmanlike builte, specially the rich mens houses, they have their Chambers hanged and flowred with Mattes, which is their best hangings. The Iapens are not so curious nor so cleanly as the men of China, but are contente with a meane, yet for the most part they goe verie well apparelled in Silke, almost like the Chinos.

<sup>1</sup> Original: "to beyond 38".

<sup>2</sup> Original: "trade and resort".

<sup>3</sup> Maffei (*u. s.*, p. 243): "Tellus, maxima ex parte, nivalis ac frigida, neque admodum ferax. Septembri mense oryzam (is cibus est communis omnium) quibusdam etiam locis Maio triticum metunt: neque ex eo panes more nostro, sed genus quoddam offæ, seu polentæ conficiunt."

<sup>4</sup> Maffei (*u. s.*): "Ex animantium genere, oves, porcum, gallinam, anserem, fœdasque alias domi haud quaquam alunt Japonii: si caro sustanda sit, ferina vescuntur".

<sup>5</sup> Original: "of wood covered with wood or straw".....

The countrie hath some mines of silver,<sup>1</sup> which from thence is by the Portingals yearely brought unto China, and there bartered for Silke, and other Chinish wares, which the Iapeans have néede of. The countriemen are verie skilfull to search for Silver, and to sell [their wares]. They have among them verie good handicrafts men, and cunning workemen in all kind of handie workes. They are sharpe witted, and quickly learne any thing they see, as by experience it is found, [in those parts] which the Portingales have discovered. The common people of the lande are much different from other nations, for that they have among them as [great] curtesie and good policie, as if they had lived continually in the Court, they are verie expert in their weapons as néed requireth, although they have little cause to use them, for that if anye of them [beginneth to] brawle or [to] drawe his sworde, hee is put to death, they have not any prisons, for that who-soever deserveth [to be imprisoned], is presently punished, or banished [the countrie]. When they meane to lay holde upon a man, they must doe it by [stealth and by] deceit, for otherwise he would resist and doe much mischief. If it bee any Gentleman or man of great authoritie, they beset his house about with men, and whether hee [chance to] slay himselfe or not, they enter the house by force, and kill al they find therein. Which to avoid, he suffereth himself often times to be killed by his servantes. And it is often séene that they rip their own bellies open,<sup>2</sup> which often times is

<sup>1</sup> So Camoens (x, 131):

“Esta mea escondida, que responde  
De longe á China, donde vê buscarse  
He Iapão, onde nasce a prata fina  
Que ilustrada será co a ley divina.”

Barton :

“This Realm half shadowed, China's empery  
afar reflecting, whither ships are bound,  
is the Japan, whose virgin silver mine  
shall shine still sheenier with the Law Divine.”

<sup>2</sup> This is an early account of the custom now well known by the Japanese name of Hara-kiri (= cut-belly).

likewise done by their servants for the love [of their Masters], therein to show their Masters the love they beare unto them, so little esteeming their owne lives, to pleasure and serve them. The like doe young Boyes in presence of their parents, onely for grieffe or some small anger. They are in all their actions very patient and humble, for that in their youthes they learne to indure hunger, colde, and all manner of labour<sup>1</sup>, to goe bare headed, with few cloathes, as well in Winter as in Summer, and not onely the common people, but the principall Gentlemen [and Nobles] of the countrie. They account it for great beauty to have no haire, which with great care they doe pluck out, onely keepe a bunch of haire on the crowne of their heades, which they tie together. Touching their traffique, manners, speach, and all their ceremonies, concerning life,<sup>2</sup> and curtesie, they are cleane contrarie unto all other nations, speciallie from those of China, and till this day observe the same as an infallible law,<sup>3</sup> which groweth upon this occasion.

A long time since, there was in China a great and mightie familie,<sup>4</sup> which together with all their friends and acquaintance secretly conspired [and agréed to ryse up] against the King of China, to drive him out of his kingdome and to kill him, and [having so done], to place themselves therein: but it could not so secretly be contrived [and wrought], but in the end it was knowne: whereupon the king punished them most gréevously,<sup>5</sup> and caused divers of the principall conspirators to be put to death, and all others he found to be consenting therunto should have felt the like paine, which

<sup>1</sup> Maffei (*H.I.*, p. 243): "Mortalitatis incommoda, famem, sitim, æstum, algorem, vigiliæ, laboresque admirabili patientia tolerant".

<sup>2</sup> Original: "all their ceremonies of life, and courtesy".....

<sup>3</sup> Original: "Aenghebooren wet", i.e., "hereditary law", or "law acquired by birth" (cfr. Oudemans, "Aangeboren", i, p. 13).

<sup>4</sup> This story is given in De la Porte's French version of Mendocça, and by Parke in his English version, 1588 (ii, p. 294, fg.) It is not, however, in the 1596 edition of the Spanish, though, probably, it may have been in earlier ones. The Italian version of the first edition does not give it.

<sup>5</sup> Original: "took a grievous vengeance".....

gréevéd the Counsell and other Noble men of the countrie, for that divers of their néerest kinsmen were of that conspiracie, so that with humble and long petition to the King, they besought him to let them live, and to punish them with some easier punishment then death: but that which they sought and desired at the king, all things considered, was little better then death, which was that he would banish them and all their posteritie for ever out of the countrie, into the Ilands of Iapen, which as then were not inhabited, and this [as they desired] was done: whereby there is so great [envie and] hatred betwéene them and the men of China, that they hate each other to the death, and doe all the mischief one unto the other that they can [imagine or devise], even untill this time. The men of Iapen have done much mischief unto the men of China, and many times fallen upon their coasts, and put all to fire and sword, and now [at this present] have not any conversation with them, but onely they trafficke with the Portugales, and to shewe themselves whollie their deadlie enemies, in all their actions they are cleane contrary to the men of China,<sup>1</sup> and to the same end have changed all their customes, ceremonies and [manners of] curtesie from the men of China. To recite the particulars would be over long, yet I will in briefe set down some fewe examples of the customes and manners therein. One is where the China useth the curtesie of salutation to a man with the head and hand, when they méet together: the Iapens to the contrarie put off their shoes,<sup>2</sup> whereby they shewe them reverence, and as the Chinaes stand up when they minde to receyve any man, and to doe him reverence, they to the contrarie set themselves down,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This theory of V. Linschoten has made him alter slightly several of Maffei's statements, as will appear by the following notes.

<sup>2</sup> Maffei (*H.I.*, ed. 1588, p. 245): "Inter salutandum, nos caput; illi, perlevi crepidarum vel sandaliorum excussu, pedes aperiunt."

<sup>3</sup> Maffei: "Advenienti amico nos adsurgimus, illi subsidunt."

accounting it a verie unseemely thing to receyve or bid a man welcome standing on their féet; and as we put on our clokes when we meane to goe abroad [into the towne or countrie], they put them off when they goe forth, putting on great wyde bréeches, and coming home they put them off again, and cast their clokes upon [their shoulders]: and as among other nations it is a good sight to see men with white and yealow hayre and white téeth, with them it is estéemed the filthiest thing in the world, and seeke by all meanes they may to make their hayre and téeth blacke,<sup>1</sup> for that the white causeth their grief, and the blacke maketh them glad. The like custome is among the women, for as they goe abroad they have their daughters and maydes before them, and their men servants come behind, which in Spaigne is cleane contrarie, and when they are great with childe, they tye their girdles<sup>2</sup> so hard about them, that men would thinke they shuld burst, and when they are not with Childe, they weare their girdles<sup>2</sup> so slacke, that [you would thinke] they would fall from their bodies, saying that by experience they do finde, if they should not doe so, they should have evill lucke with their fruit, and [presently] as soone as they are delivered of their children, in stéed of cherishing both the mother and the child [with some comfortable meat], they [presently] wash the childe in cold water,<sup>3</sup> and for a time give the mother very little to eate, and that of no great substance. Their manner of eating [and drinking] is: Everie man hath a table alone, without table-clothes or napkins, and eateth with two péeces of wood, like the men of China.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maffei, *u. s.*, p. 245: "Nobis, dentium, in candore; illis, quod mirere, in ipsa nigritie decor est."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Riem ofte gordel", *i. e.*, girdle. Oudemans (*s. v.*, *Riem*, vol. v, p. 842) explains the first by "gordel". So Kilian, =cingulum.

<sup>3</sup> Maffei (*H. I.*, ed. 1588, p. 243): "In lucem editi, vel hyeme summa, protinus lavandi ad flumina deferuntur."

<sup>4</sup> Maffei (*Hist. Indica*, ed. 1588, p. 243): Paxillulis item ipsi duobus inter edendum ita scienter utuntur, uti neque excidat quicquam; nec digitorum tersu opus sit."

they drinke wine of Rice, wherewith they drink themselves drunke, [and] after their meat they use a certaine drinke, which is a pot with hote water,<sup>1</sup> which they drinke as hote as ever they may indure, whether it be Winter or Summer.

*The Turks holde almost the same manner of drinking of their Chaona<sup>2</sup>, which they make of certaine fruit, which is like unto the Bakelaer,<sup>3</sup> and by the Egyptians called Bon or Ban:<sup>4</sup> they take of this fruite one pound and a half, and roast them a little in the fire, and then sieth them in twentie poundes of water, till the half [be consumed away]: this drinke they take everie morning fasting in their chambers, out of an earthen pot, being verie hote, as we doe here drinke aquacomposita<sup>5</sup> in the morning: and they say that it strengtheneth and maketh them warme,<sup>6</sup> breaketh wind, and openeth any stopping.<sup>7</sup>*

The manner of dressing their meat is altogether contrarie unto other nations: the aforesaid warme water is made with the powder of a certaine hearbe called Chaa,<sup>8</sup> which is much estéemed, and is well accounted of among them, and al such as are of any countenance or habilitie have the said water kept for them in a secret place, and the gentlemen make it themselves, and when they will entertaine<sup>9</sup> any of their friends, they give him some of that warme water to drinke: for the pots<sup>10</sup> wherein they sieth it, and wherein the hearbe is

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, tea. Chinese: "cha"; dialect: "t'eh", from which the Malay "teh" and the European "tea" have come, but after the date of this book.

<sup>2</sup> Misprinted thus in the original Dutch and here. Read "Chaoua", *i.e.*, Arabic "qahwah", from which "coffee", etc., have been adapted; but this was done well on in the xvii<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> "Bakelaer". *Lavrierbes* (=Laurel berry), of which the taste is bitter and disagreeable. From the Latin, "*bacca lauri*" (Oudemans, *s. v.*). So Kilian. <sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, Arabic, "bunn"=coffee berries.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Brandewijn".

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "that it strengthens and warms the stomach".....

<sup>7</sup> Note by Paludanus. <sup>8</sup> *I.e.*, the Chinese name for tea.

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch: "will honour and refresh any".....

<sup>10</sup> Such pots were sought in the Philippine Islands, where they were called "tibor". See De Morga's *Philippine Islands* (Hakl. Soc., xxxix),



kept, with the earthen cups which they drinke it in, they estéeme as much of them, as we doe Diamants Rubies and other precious stones, and they are not estéemed for their newnes, but for their oldnes and for that they were made by a good workman: and to know and kéepe such [by themselves], they take great and speciall care, as also of such as are the valewers of them, and are skillfull in them, as with us the goldsmith priseth and valueth silver and gold, and the Jewellers all kindes of precious stones: so if their pots and cuppes be of an old and excellent workmans making, they are worth 4 or 5 thousand ducats or more the péce. The King of Bungo did give for such a pot, having thrée féet, 14 thousand ducats,<sup>1</sup> and a Iapan being a Christian in the town of Sacay, gave for such a pot 1400 ducats, and yet it had 3 péces [upon it].<sup>2</sup> They doe likewise estéeme much of any picture [or table], wherein is painted a blacke trée, or a blacke bird, and when they knowe it is made of wood<sup>3</sup>, and

p. 285. "In this island of Luzon, particularly in the provinces of Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, there are to be found among the natives some large jars, of very ancient earthenware, of a dark colour, and not very sightly, some of a middle size, and others smaller, with marks and seals, and they can give no account from whence they got them, nor at what period; for now none are brought, nor are they made in the islands. The Japanese seek for them and value [286] them, because they have found out that the root of a herb which they call cha, which is drunk hot, as a great dainty, and a medicine, among the kings and lords of Japan, does not keep or last except in these jars, upon which so high a value is set in all Japan, that they are the most valued precious things of their *boudoirs* and wardrobes; and a tabor is worth a high price", etc. The Jesuit L. Almeida, in a letter of 1565 (Maffei, ed. 1588, p. 425; *Select. Epp.*), gives an account of some such pots possessed by a Japanese Christian, who was, apparently, the one mentioned in the text. It appears that the Japanese have continued this fancy to the present time (cfr. Dr. F. Jagor, *Reisen*, p. 134).

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "... 1400. ducats"...

<sup>2</sup> [*Fr. ed.* "radoubé de trois bandes."]

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Van eenigh hout", i.e., "of some wood"; but, apparently, a misprint for "oud", i.e., "old" and "famed master". The 1644 ed. (p. 36) has this corrected to "oudt". Saeghman's abridgment has: "if old and made by a famed master" ("als men weet dat het out

by an [ancient and cunning] maister, they give whatsoever you will aske for it.<sup>1</sup> It happeneth sometimes that such a picture is sold for 3 or 4 thousand ducats and more. They also esteeme much of a good rapier, made by an old and cunning maister, such a one many times costeth 3 or 4 thousand Crowns the péece.<sup>2</sup> These things doe they kéepe and esteeme for their Jewels, as we esteeme our Jewels and precious stones.<sup>3</sup> And when we aske them why they esteeme them so much, they aske us againe, why we esteeme so well of our precious stones and iewels, whereby there is not any profite to be had, and serve to no other use, then only for a shewe, and that their things serve to some end.<sup>4</sup>

Their Justice and government is as followeth : Their kings are called Iacatay, and are absolutely Lords of the land, notwithstanding they kéepe for themselves as much as is necessary for them and their estate, and the rest of the land they devyde among others, which are called Cunixus<sup>5</sup>, which are en".....). The Latin of 1599 agrees with this correction. That of De Bry has : "Quodsi constat lignum peculiare ejus esse tabulæ, atq; picturam ab artifice celebrato facta".....

<sup>1</sup> Maffei (*u. s.*, p. 244) : "Magnus insuper honos papyri plagulis ..... in quibus, atro monochrome singulæ tantum aves, arboresve, nobilium artificum penicillo pictæ retinent oculos. Hæc igitur, ut dixi, Japonii, dynastæ præsertim, et avide sibi comparant, et aliis ambitiose proponunt."

<sup>2</sup> Maffei : "Mira etiam dignitas, omni ornatu remoto, nudis gladiatorum laminis certorum opificum. Prorsus, uti nonnullæ aureorum quinque circiter millibus æstimentur" (*u. s.*).

<sup>3</sup> Maffei : "Hæc.....haud inferiore apud Japonios habentur loco... ..quam apud Europeos anuli gemmati, et baccata monilia" (*u. s.*).

<sup>4</sup> Maffei, p. 245 : "Neque vero, cur ita faciant, probabilem plerunque rationem afferre non possunt. Ut illa.....cujuslibet usus vasa, quam nullius commodi lapillos, quantavis mercede, sapientius emi :"...... The original Dutch has : "That their things are of use, and do them some service."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : "What is necessary for themselves, house, and keep, and the rest of their land and incomes they distribute and share among others called Cunixu"..... Maffei does not mention the kings and Cunixus, but only the Toni; in other respects this passage is merely a translation of what is on p. 245 of the *Hist. Indica*.

like our Earles and Dukes: these are appointed by the King, and he causeth them to governe [and rule] the land as it pleaseath him: they are bound to serve the King as well in peace as in warres, at their owne cost [and charges], according to their estate, and the [auncient] lawes of Iapan.

These Cunixus have others under them called Toms,<sup>1</sup> which are like our Lords and Lieutenants, with whome likewise they deuide and part the land by the king given unto them. And these Toms doe yet deuide their parts among their friends and [such are their] soldiers, and take an oath to be redie at the commandement of their heads and chief governers, [as wel in peace as in warre] at their own proper costes [and charges]: and every one must maintayne himself, and be content with that part which is allotted unto him: wherewith everie one of them according to his estate and qualitie may live well, and everie one of them hath so much power and authoritie over those that are under him, that he may punish, banish, and put [them] to death, and doe with them, [if they offend,] as it best pleaseth him, be it with right or with wrong, without any appeale or answering before any man: this power is not given onely to the Governors, Captaines, and Officers over their Subiects, Vassalles and Soldiers under their charges, governments and offices ( as I said before ) but also to maisters of houses and fathers over their children, servants, and family: so that they may kill, beate, hacke, and hewe them as they thinke good, and at their pleasures, without any resistance or correction for the same.

The rents and revenues [belonging] to the King are very small, and are nothing else but rice, which is their living:<sup>2</sup> he hath every yere [onelie] 500 thousand packes or sakes of Rice, and not any other customes, rents and revenues, whereof he giveth 10 or 12 Cunixus each man 30 or 40 thousand sakes, the rest is for his owne costes and charges,

<sup>1</sup> Toms. A misprint (in original) for "Toni" (in singular, "Tono").

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "reckoning".

to the maintenance of his estate,<sup>1</sup> and the Cunixus must distribute [of their parts] among the Toms, and the Toms among the soldiers, wherewith they maintaine themselves, [every man] in his estate.<sup>2</sup> Their spéech is different from the Chinish, so that they understand not each other, but in writing they differ not, for that they use all the self same figures and characters: they use likewise manie kindes of vowels,<sup>3</sup> and in their writing manie courteous spéeches, to every man according to his estate and calling, with severall titles and wordes: whereby their spéech is hardly to be learned by a straunger.<sup>4</sup> Their religion is much like unto those of China: they have their Idolles and their ministers, which they call Bonses,<sup>5</sup> and hold them in great estimation: but since the time of the Jesuites being among them, there have bene divers baptised and become Christians, which daylie doe increase, among the which were 3 Kings, that is the king of Bungo, which is one of the principallest kings of Japan, although there are many in the countrie, wherewith the Portingales, as yet have had no conference: [the second] the King of Arryma: [the third,] the King of Omura.<sup>6</sup> Those thrée Kings sent their sonnes and Nephewes with the Jesuites into India,<sup>7</sup> from thence to travell into Portingale,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "...maintenance of his person, house, and family".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "...maintain themselves honourably".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "vocabulen", i.e., "words".

<sup>4</sup> Maffei, *Hist. Ind.* (ed. 1588), p. 244: "Sermo Japoniorum, unus et communis est omnium; sed ita varius idem et multiplex, uti plures haud immerito videantur esse. Quippe uniuscujusque notionis ac rei, multa vocabula sunt, quorum alia contemptus, alia honoris causa; alia apud principes, alia apud plebem; alia denique viri, alia fœminæ usurpant. ... Itaque ad perdiscendum et magni laboris, et longi temporis indiget."

<sup>5</sup> I.e., the Japanese "Bosu", with a nasal inserted by the Portuguese according to the habit of that language. Cfr. Reinhardttoettner, *P. Gr.*, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> He was converted in 1563. See the letter of L. Froes (given by Maffei, ed. of 1588, p. 405). His name was, originally Xumitanda.

<sup>7</sup> See also ch. 92 below. The Jesuits long were proud of this embassy,

and so to Rome, to submit themselves unto the Pope, and departing out of Japan, in anno 1582. they arived in India, in the citie of Goa An. 1583. the same yeare that I arived in India, so that we found them yet in Goa, and the next yeare after they sayled unto Portingal, and from thence to Madril where by the king and nobles of Spaine, they were with great triumph and honour welcomed and received, and presented with many gyftes. From thence they travelled to Rome unto the Pope,<sup>1</sup> who likewise did them great honor, and bestowed many presents upon them, as also all the Cardinals and Lords of Italie, for that they travelled through-[out] all Italie to Florence, Venice, Ferrara, etc. which being done, they returned againe unto Madril, with letters from Pope Sixtus, and some holie reliques of the crosse that Christ died upon,<sup>2</sup> to present the same unto the Christian Kings of Japan, as an holie present: in the end they arived in India againe, during my being there [which was] in anno 1587, being with great ioy received, and so set sayle unto Japan, where they arived again with great admiration of all the men of Japan: which the Jesuites did, to the end (as they said) the better to move the Japans to be christened, and to make them knowe the magnificence of the countrie of Europa, because they would not beleéve it being shewed them: but the principallest cause and intent of the Jesuites was, thereby to reape great profit, and to get much praise [and commendation], for that most of the gifts which the princes of Japan

though it was the beginning of the misfortunes of the Christians in Japan. The *Asie Nova Descriptio* (by a Jesuit in 1656, Paris, fo.) gives the following account: "Quales eo solo fructus ex ea semente provenerint specimen vidit Europa, tum, cum Rex Bungi Franciscus, et Rex Ariminensis Protasius, Omureque princeps Bartholomæus ad Evangelii lucem postea vocati, Mantium, et Michaëlem spectatissimæ virtutis adolescentes, sibi que sanguine conjunctos ad exhibendam suo nomine Pontifici Maximo obedientiam Romam legavere, et anno 1585 exhibuere" (p. 335). The persecution began in 1587, and arose out of what has since been so often seen, the mixture of missionary enterprise with politics.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Sixtus V (1585-1590).

<sup>2</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: "Cross of Jerusalem."

had given them, fell to their shares: they likewise obtained of the Pope and the King [of Spaine], that no man might dwell in Japan,<sup>1</sup> either Portingale or Christian, without their licence and consent, so that in all Japan there are no other orders of Munkes, [Fryers,] Priests, nor any other religious persons remaining or resident there, but Jesuites alone. They have onely among them certaine<sup>2</sup> handie crafts men, [by them brought] out of India, with whome they have to doe, but for other men, as marchants and others, they may but goe and come, and not stay there, without the Jesuites licence. They have almost all the cuntry under their subiection, such [I meane] as are converted to the faith of Christ, as well sprituall as temporall, making the Iapans beleëve what they list, [wherby] they are honored like gods, for that the Iapans make so great account of them, that they doe almost pray unto them, as if they were Saints. They had obtained so much [favour] of the Pope, that hee granted them a Bishoppe of their order, (which is contrarie to their profession)<sup>3</sup> who came out of Portingale to be Bishop in Iapon,<sup>4</sup> but dyed in the way, betwéene Portingale and India: Since that they have procured an other, so that to conclude, they have all the praye under their clawes. As likewise they doe enjoy and possesse the principallest places [of Religion] in all India, where they builde most princely houses, which no man dareth withstand or refuse them, neither any of the Religious orders, have the meanes or wealth to doe the like. This they know full well howe to

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "all Japan".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "certain Portuguese".

<sup>3</sup> This is correct; but, in recent times, there have been many Jesuit bishops in the East, and the best that could be found. Bellarmine was the first Jesuit Cardinal, but there have been several since. De Sousa (*Or. Cong.*, ii, p. 539) says the Jesuits did not wish for a Bishop (even of their own order) in Japan, but were overruled by Spain and Rome, and Dom S. de Moraes was appointed.

<sup>4</sup> The see was termed usually Japan, or Funay. It lapsed from 1614 till lately. It was created in 1588 (*Annaes Mar.*, iii, p. 275).

bring to passe, for that there is not any thing, from whence they will not sucke or draw out some profit [or advantage], or else they have the slight, and cunning how to get it as well from the King, and from other Noblemen and estates, as also from the common people, it séemeth in a manner that they bewitch men with their subtile practises and devises, and are so well practised and experimented in trade of marchandises,<sup>1</sup> that they surpasse all worldly men. To conclude, there is not any commoditie to be had or reaped thoroughout all India, but they have their part therein, so that the other orders and Religious persons, as also the common people, doe much murmur<sup>2</sup> thereat, and séeme to dislike of their covetous humors.

A little beyond Iapon under 34. and 35. degrés, not farre from the coast of China, lyeth an other great Iland, called Insula de Core,<sup>3</sup> whereof as yet there is no certaine knowledge, neither of the greatnesse of the countrie, people, nor wares that are there to be found.

From Makau East Northeast, distant above 90. miles, lye certaine Ilandes, called Lequeo Pequeno, or little Lequeo, and lye about 20. miles distant from the firme lande of China, and 90. miles farther<sup>4</sup> in the same course, lye other Ilands, called Lequeo Maior, or great Lequeo. All these Ilandes are travelled unto, and inhabited by those of China, whereof we will now cease to speake, [till an other time], (having par-

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "trade, deal in exchange and the like".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "begin to murmur".

<sup>3</sup> Corea is not an island, but a peninsula, as all will know. The Catholic missionaries have furnished all that is known of Corea. That Corea is here intended is made plain by the Latin of 1599: "Supra Iaponiam 34. et 35. gra. non procul ab ora Chinæ illa ingens insula jacet quam *Coream* vocant." In the European languages in the xvth century, "island" is often put for "land", and here, occasionally, the translator has put (*e.g.*, in the heading to the next chapter—27) "land" where the Dutch original has "island".

<sup>4</sup> According to the original this should be punctuated: ".....farther. In the".....

ticularly made a briefe discourse in an other place, of all their manners, customes, wares, and marchandises, according to the truest instructions I could find) and so will returne againe to the description of Goa, together with the places bordering about the same.

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### THE 27. CHAPTER.

A short relation of the land<sup>1</sup> lying behind Goa : in the iurisdiction whereof lyeth the said towne of Goa, and of the Originall of their Kings and Governours, with their names, by true information given by the inhabitants<sup>2</sup> themselves, together with their Histories.

Before I begin to write of the towne and Ilande of Goa, with the [coastes,] superstitions, and other customes of the countrie, lying behinde and rounde about Goa, as well where the Portingales inhabit, as where the native countrie men are resident, I thought it convenient to begin with the same somewhat further off,<sup>3</sup> then at the present time, the better to understand the originall [of the people, together with the principall causes of] the divisions of the same countries and nations, as also their Kings names and surnames. Then you must understand that about 300. yeares past, there was a mightie King of the countrie of Deli,<sup>4</sup> which lyeth within the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "Island".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "Indians".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "more about past times".

<sup>4</sup> All this vague account of the Muhammadan dynasties in S. India is taken from Clusius's (del'Ecluse's) abridgment of the *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas e Cousas Medicinaes da India* of Dr. Garcia de Orta, ch. xxviii, but with a few trivial additions. Garcia de Orta's *Colloquios* was printed at Goa in 1563, and has lately been reprinted by Varnhagen, Lisbon (1878). The information here given in this chapter is there scattered in ch. ii (f. 7), ch. x (f. 35, ff.), ch. xxxiii (f. 133), etc. The *Colloquios* consist of dialogues which Clusius abridged and re-arranged in prose, and he collected all this information in ch. xxviii. This book was very popular; the first edition appeared in 1567, and others followed in 1574, 1579, 1582, 1584, 1593, 1595, and 1606. It



land behind Goa on the Northside, and bordereth upon the land of Coracone, belonging to the King of Persia, wherein are made the rich Coverlets [and hangings], by the Portugales called Alcatyffas,<sup>1</sup> which land of Deli is verie colde, and hath Snow and Ice [in it] like the Netherlands. This King of Deli<sup>2</sup> brought under his subiection, all the countries bordering about him, among the which were Decam, Cuncam, Ballagate, and the lande of Goa. At the same time the countrie of Cambaia, which is distant from Goa about 100. miles Northward, was overrunne and taken forcibly by the Moores, and Mahometans, and brought the naturall countrymen,<sup>3</sup> called Reysbutos<sup>4</sup> being heathens, with great tyranie under their subiection. The land of Ballagate, and Decam was before inhabited by heathens,<sup>5</sup> that were verie mightie and of great power,<sup>6</sup> whose successors are now called Venesares,<sup>7</sup> and others that yet dwell within the countrie called Colles<sup>8</sup> which Colles, Venesares, and Reysbutos of Cambaia doe yet live by robbing and stealing, and those of Cambaia pay tribute to the saide Reysbutos, because they should not appears to have quite supplanted the original work in Eastern Europe, as Christoval d'Acosta's Spanish abridgment (Burgos, 1578) supplanted it in the Peninsula. Clusius's Latin version was translated into Italian by A. Briganti (1576, 1582, 1584, 1605, 1616), who added to it a translation of the Spanish works of N. Monardes on the W. Indian drugs.

<sup>1</sup> "Alcatyffas", i.e., the Arabic *al-qatifah* = carpet, early adopted in Spanish. "Alcatifa, alquetifa (tapis, couverture), de *al-qatifah* qui se dit dans le même sens, comme l'a démontré M. Dozy, *Dict. de Noms des Vét.*, p. 232, n. 1" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 88).

<sup>2</sup> "King of Deli". Mahmūd of Ghazni, who conquered Delhi and Kanauj 1017 A. D., seems intended. [Rather 'Alāuddīn, 1294-1316.]

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....the heathen of the country".....

<sup>4</sup> "Reysbutos", i.e., Rājputs.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....ruled and inhabited by heathen".....

<sup>6</sup> This is the usual idle hearsay current in India, and the vain imagination of conceited pedants, who have never been able to rise to an approach to an idea of what constitutes history.

<sup>7</sup> "Venesares", i.e., Mahr. *Vanajāri* (?) or *Brinjaris* = "traders".

<sup>8</sup> "Colles", i.e., *Ko'lis*. A caste living in woods by robbery (Molesworth, *s. v.*).

robbe [and spoyle] them, but suffer them to live in peace. The Colles and Venesares also receive tribute of the men of Decam and Ballagate: for that the Kings could never as yet overcome them, although they make no shew thereof, but still dissemble with them, for that of what soever they robbe and steale, they have their parts. After this King of Deli had brought all these kingdomes and countries under his subiection: then came the Tartarians, which the Indians call Mogoren, and overcame most part of the countrie of Deli.<sup>1</sup> At the same time there dwelt in the kingdom of Bengalen a Noble Gentleman,<sup>2</sup> whose brother, the King of Bengallen had wrongfully put to death, whereby this Gentleman sought [and devised] all [the] meanes [hee could] to bee revenged, and did not onely bring it to passe by bereaving the King of his life, but also tooke the whole kingdom from him, and brought it under his subiection,<sup>3</sup> and being [in this sorte] become absolute Lord [and King] of Bengalla, was not [therewith] content, but desiring to augment his kingdom, and [thereby] to win [great] fame,<sup>4</sup> did invade the countrie of Deli, (bordering upon him) with a great armie [of men], and [by force] drave the Tartarians or Mogoros out [of the countrie], and so conquered [both that lande and] all the countries bordering thereabouts, as Decam, Ballagate, and Cuncam, as farre as to the kingdom of Cambaia, and for a time was the greatest Prince in all those quarters. For the Indians affirme that hee had in Compasse under his subiection above 800. miles of land. This King raining for a time over al these lands [and countries, in the end] desiring to live quietly, and to returne unto [his kingdom of] Bengala, thinking it too troublesome for him to rule so great a countrie, did invest one of his cosins, with the countries of Decam, Balla-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the invasion of Timur in 1398 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "ridder" or "knight".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "subjection and obedience".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....honour and fame"..... According to De Orta (*Coll.*, f. 34 b) Xaolam (*i.e.*, Shah 'Alam or?—) is intended.

gate, and Cuncam, with the land of Goa, and the countries bordering about [the same, which done], he returned into his land of Bengala, leaving his saide cosin King and commander of the aforesaid countries. This man was alwaies a great friende and wel-willer to strange nations, as Arabians, Turkes, Ruynes,<sup>1</sup> and Corasones, and parted his countries among Governours and Captaines, to on whereof beeing called Idalham,<sup>2</sup> whome the Portingales call Hidalcam,<sup>3</sup> he gave the Government of Angedina, which lyeth 12. miles from Goa Southwards, stretching towards the North, [till you come] to a place called Siffardan which are 60. miles, wherein is contained the towne and Iland of Goa: to an other Captaine called Nisa Maluco,<sup>4</sup> hee gave the coast of Siffardan stretching Northwards, to Negotana which are 20. miles, and lyeth inwards to [the land of] Cambaia: so that those two Captaines had their Governments in the countrie of Cuncam, which lyeth on the Sea coast, and seperateth it selfe from the land of Decam, by great and high hills, called Guate.<sup>5</sup> These hills

<sup>1</sup> "Ruynes". A misprint (of the original) for "Rumes". See note 3 on p. 58, above.

<sup>2</sup> "Idalham", i.e., 'Adil Khān or Yusuf 'Adil Shāh (of B'japūr, 1489-1534). He was a Turk who claimed to be the brother of Muhammad II of Constantinople.

<sup>3</sup> Barros (ii, v, 2), "Hidalcão". Castanheda (iii, 12), "Hidalcão". *Lusiadas* (x, 72) "Hydalcão". Maffei (*H. I.*, p. 83) has "Idalcan". He explains it as "Mahometanus dynasta". It was, in fact, the title of the Bijapur dynasty. ["of Angedina" should be "from Angedina".]

<sup>4</sup> "Nisa Maluco", i.e., Nizām-al-Mulk, the founder of the Ahmadnagar dynasty (founded A.D. 1490). The spelling is that of Barros. De Orta (f. 36 b) says that he died in 1509. [Read, "coast from Siffardan".]

<sup>5</sup> Camoens (vii, 21-2):

"Aqui se enxerga lá do mar undoso  
Hum monte alto, que corre longamente.  
Servindo ao Malabar de forte muro,  
Com que do Canará vive seguro.

XXII.

Da terra os naturaes lhe chamão Gate."

Burton:

"Here seen yonside where wavy waters play  
a range of mountains skirts the murmuring Main,

are verie high, and have many corners and hookes [of land], and doe stretch towardes<sup>1</sup> Cambaia, to the Cape de Comorin, and from thence backe againe to the coast of Choramandel.<sup>2</sup> The hill of Guate is so high, that men may easily see it within Goa, and all the coast along, though commonly it is covered with clouds, and it is the more to bee wondred at, [for this respect], because all other hils are uneven, high and low, and this is faire and flat land on the top, with great and goodly fields: and is by the Indians called Ballagate, that is to say, above the hill, for Balla is above,<sup>3</sup> and Gate is a hill, whereby the Portingals doe commonly cal the whole countrie Ballagate, although the principall part, and the land it selfe is called Decam,<sup>4</sup> and also Canara, whereof the inhabitants are called Decanijns and Canaras, as the Kings also in times past used to beare titles, [and call themselves] Kings of Decam.

But returning to the division of the rest of the countries, he devided likewise the land of Ballagate or Decam, into Provinces, giving one part to Imadernaluco,<sup>5</sup> by the Portingales called Madremaluco,<sup>6</sup> and an other part to Cotalmoluco,<sup>7</sup> and an other to Melique Verido.<sup>8</sup> All the said Captaines were strangers, as Turkes, Ruines,<sup>9</sup>

“serving the Malabar for mighty mure,  
who thus from him of Canará dwells secure.

The country people call this range the Ghaut.”

<sup>1</sup> “Towardes” should be “from”.

<sup>2</sup> This is an error. The mountains on the E. coast only begin North of Madras. <sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, in Persian, *bālā*.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, a corruption of the Mahr. *daxin* from the Sansk. *daxina* = South, or is the Hind. *daḥḥan* = the same. <sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, Imādu’l Mulk.

<sup>6</sup> “Madremaluco”. *Sic* in Barros, ii, v. 2, and Maffei (*H. I.*), p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.*, Quḥb al Mulk, the sovereign of Golconda under the Quḥb-shāhī dynasty (1512-1580).

<sup>8</sup> “Verido”, *i.e.*, Berid. The name of the first of the Bidar or Ahmadnagar dynasty. De Orta says he died in 1510 (f. 35 b), and that he was a Hungarian.

<sup>9</sup> Should be “Rumes” as before. Yūsuf ‘Adilkhān was a Turk, as was Kāsim Barīd. Quḥb Qulī was a Turkman from Persia and Imādu’l Mulk of Hindu origin. (Elphinstone’s *History of India*, 5th ed., pp. 476-7, 758-9).

and Corasones, except Nisamalucode, who was Sonne to a Gentleman of the Kings house, and because the King had laine with the mother of Nisamaluco, therefore hee boasted himselfe to be of the lineage of the King of Decam, all the other Captaines were slaves and servants, which the King had brought,<sup>1</sup> and placed in those roomes,<sup>2</sup> as putting great trust in them, thinking that they would acknowledge it, and bee thankfull unto him for the same. But it fell out otherwise, as wee see it commonly doth, and that good is requited with evill, [for] these Captaines in time, getting [credite], authoritie, and power, were in great estimation, and as it were, absolute Kings and Governours of their Provinces, for that the King never troubled himselfe therewith, but layde all [the charge] uppon them, whereby they beganne to bee puffed up with pride, [and determind] to usurpe the Provinces under him, for them and their successors: And because it grieved them to be in subiection [to an other], and at his commaundement, they all met together, and [among them], agréed to take their Lord and King prisoner, and so every one of them to be sole commanders of the countries they had in charge, which they easily brought to effect, for that they had all the meanes they would wish or desire, as being of subiects, obeyed for chiefe rulers and Kings, which being among them so concluded. They suddainely tooke their King prisoner within the towne of Beder, which is the principall towne of Decam, where hee then kept Court, and for their more securities kept him in prison, under the custodie of Melique Verido. And the better to bring their purpose to effect, for their greater strength, they ioyned with them certain mightie Heathens of the same countrie, one [named] Mohadam Coia, an other called Veriche, who for their parts got divers riches, countries and townes, as Mohadam Coia had the townes of Visapor, Solapor, and Paranda, which are the nearest townes to Goa, and that have the greatest dealing

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "bought".

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "towns".

and traffique with them. And the chiefe place of Hidalcam, or Idalham, is at this day in the towne of Solapor, but the towne of Paranda was after taken from him by Nisa Maluco, with some other places. In this manner was that great kingdome devided into so many kingdomes and governments, whose successors and posterities doe yet till this day possesse the same, and Idalham or Hidalcam,<sup>1</sup> that dyed in Anno 1535. his Grandfather was one of those Captaines that beganne the new division aforesaid. This Hidalcam was verie mightie and much respected of all ye countries round about him. From him the Portingales have twice woon the Towne of Goa.<sup>2</sup> Thus in briefe I have declared the cause and first beginning of the devision of these countries, which being so devided, Idalham had warre against the King of Narsinga,<sup>3</sup> or of Bisuagar,<sup>4</sup> which land bordereth upon the countrie of Hidalcam. The King [of Narsinga] being called Rau,<sup>5</sup> of some Ham, which in Persia or among the Mogoros, is as much to say, as absolute King, which the Portingales call Cam. This King of Bisnagar to revenge himselfe uppon Hidalcam, did so much by friendship and strength, that hee brought the said Hidalcam and all the other Kings of Decam under his subiection, to whome they payed tribute, and so at this day remaine tributaries [unto the said King].

As touching the signification<sup>6</sup> of the names of the aforesaid Kings, you must understand that when the King devided ye countries among those Captaines and Governours, he honored them with princely titles, as their manner is, when they will exalt, [or rayse] a man. So that you must perswade your selves, these names, are no mans proper names, but onely

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Ismael, the Bijapur king of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty (1510-35).

<sup>2</sup> By Albuquerque on Feb. 17 and Nov. 25, 1510. Cfr. Barros (ii, v. 3, etc.), Castanheda (iii, 8, etc.), Maffei (*H. I.*) pp. 83-7.

<sup>3</sup> See note 3 on p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Read: Bisnagar. See note 3 on p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> "Rau", *i.e.*, Mahr. "rau" from rājā (Sanks.); "Ham", *i.e.*, Khān, a Muhammadan title.

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "signification or meaning".....

names of honour attributed unto the persons that beare them, which both they and their successours doe perpetually hold [and enioye], for the name of Idalham,<sup>1</sup> or Adelhham is as much to say as King of Iustice, for Adel in the Persian tongue is Iustice, and Ham King. Maluco is a kingdome, and Nisa<sup>2</sup> a Lance or Speare, so that Nisa Maluco is as much to say, as the Lance or Speare of the kingdome. And Cota<sup>3</sup> in the Arabian tong, is strength, wherby Cotamaluco is as much to say, as the strength of the kingdom. Imad<sup>4</sup> is a Collume or Piller, so that Imade Maluco,<sup>5</sup> is as much to say, as the Piller or Collume of the kingdom. Verido<sup>6</sup> signifieth kéeping [or looking unto], so y<sup>t</sup> Melice or Maluco Verido, is as much to say, as the kéeping [or kéeper] of the kingdom. Some thinke this Maluco should be called Meliques,<sup>7</sup> which is as much to say, as little King. Now there are other titles of Xa,<sup>8</sup> as Nisamoxa, Adelxa, and other such like names, which come out of Persia, from whence they were first brought into India, and that by this meanes. It is well knowne, that in the countrie of Corasone which lyeth in Persia, a man of base condition [and birth] named Xa-Ismael: some men called Suffy,<sup>9</sup> rose up in those parts, and making an other interpretation<sup>10</sup> of the Alcoran or Mahomets lawe booke, farre different from that which the Schollers and Prophets of Mahomet did then holde, hee did thereby procure great resort unto him out of all Persia and Arabia, and became so strong [and mightie], that by force he compelled al the countries there about to be at his commandement, [and under his

<sup>1</sup> "Idalham", *i.e.*, 'Adil-Khān. <sup>2</sup> Should be Nizām = ruler (Arabic).

<sup>3</sup> Cota, *i.e.*, Qutb = Polar star, pole, etc. (Arabic).

<sup>4</sup> Imad, *i.e.*, 'Imādu = pillar, support (Arabic).

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, 'Imādu 'l Mulk.

<sup>6</sup> Verido, *i.e.*, Berīd (-shāhī dynasty of Bīdar or Ahmadabād, 1492-1609). <sup>7</sup> *I.e.*, Mulaik (Ar. dimin.). <sup>8</sup> "Xa", *i.e.*, the Persian "Shah".

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....whom some call suffy"..... Ismail + 1524.

<sup>10</sup> *I.e.*, the Shiah as opposed to the orthodox or "Sunni" belief. Orig. Dutch: ".....another interpretation or exposition".....

obedience]. And because the Turkes did still hold the olde law of Mahomet,<sup>1</sup> and maintained the same in all points, with all their forces, they grew a continuall and bloudie warre<sup>2</sup> betwene those [two] nations, each [maintaining] and defending their owne Sect, which as yet continueth among them. [To conclude] this Xa-Ismael in short time after became the mightiest and greatest Prince in all Asia, as is well knowne: and, under pretence of [being] defender of their faith, did in all places take occasion to bring [each countrie] under his subiection, and thereupon sent into al places, commaunding evêrie man presently to receive, [accept], and allow of his Religion, threatning such as denied to do it, [to overrun them] with fire and sword, wherby many through feare received the same law and [new] interpretation. After whose death, his Sonne Xa Thamas succéded in his government, and for that he held his Fathers opinion, hee caused the same message<sup>3</sup> to be sent by his Ambassadors unto the Kings of Ballagate, Decam, and Cuncam, which through feare, they did presently accept of, (although after the Ambassadors departure from thence, they did againe reiect it). And the said Xa Thamas [in regard of their obedience] did honour them with the name of Xa, which is to say, a King, whereby they had the names of Adelxa, Nisamoxa, and Contumixa, and all the Kings continued [so] with the name of Xa, which in Persia<sup>4</sup> is a King, and Ismael is a proper name, whereby Xa Ismael, and Xa Thamas are as much to say as King Ismael, and King Thamas, and<sup>5</sup> of the Turkes and Rumes are called Suffy or Soffy, which signifieth a great Captaine. The Kings of Decam also have a custome when they will honor a man, or recompence their service

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, remained Sunnis, following the Hanafiyah school.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....a permanent enmity and bloody war".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....command".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....Persian".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....Thomas, etc. By the Turkes and Rumes they are also called Suffy"..... For "Thomas" read "Tahmasp".



[done], and rayse him to dignitie [and honour]. They give him the title of Nayque,<sup>1</sup> which signifieth a Captaine, as Salua Nayque, [and] Acem Nayque. And when they will give a man an honourable title,<sup>2</sup> [or salutation], they call him Rau, as Chitarau, which is to say, strong King, and such like titles, which among them is a great honour. Also Adelham or Hidelcam, is called Sabayo,<sup>3</sup> which signifieth Seigneur or Lord, for the Iland of Goa had a Captaine or Governour, that was Lord of the towne, when the Portingales wanne it first, called Sabayo, as the Portingales Chronicles of their Indian conquests doe make mention,<sup>4</sup> whose house or Palace to this day in the Cittie of Goa, is the inquisition [house], and a place which standeth betwéene the great Church and the same house, is as yet called the Pallace<sup>5</sup> of Sabayo.

<sup>1</sup> "Nayque", i.e., Nāyak, i.e., Naik. A Telugu title, and chiefly used by the Vidyā- (or Vijaya-) nagara dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and when they will greatly honour".....

<sup>3</sup> "Sabayo". This name has always given rise to doubts and conjectures. So far as I know, it has been explained in three ways. 1. By Barros (ii, v, 2) as an adjective formed from Saba or Savà, the name of a town in Persia, from whence he came. He says that he was of low origin, and the son of a dealer in edibles, and afterwards a merchant's servant and agent. 2. By G. de Orta as a corruption of "Sāhib" (*Colloquios*, f. 36): "Saibo in Arabic means lord." This is the meaning given here by V. Linschoten. 3. By Capt. Burton (*Lusiads*, iii, p. 290, note) as a corruption of *Sipahdār*—military governor. Maffei (*H. I.*, p. 55) strangely writes: "Sabaius, que Idalcanem genuit, præcipuus Decaniorum tyrannus".....

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. Barros, *Dec.*, ii, v, ch. 2, and also Castanheda, iii, ch. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "place". The Inquisition was abolished in 1812 at Goa, and nothing remains now but ruins (De Kloguen, *Hist. Sketch*, p. 107). Della Valle (*Viaggi*, iv, p. 382) mentions it.

This chapter is a mass of confused and incorrect details which De Orta heard from ignorant natives. It would take too much space to correct it fully.

## THE 28. CHAPTER.

Of the towne and Ilande of Goa, chiefe Cittie of India.

The Citie of Goa, is the Metropolitan or chiefe Cittie of all the Orientall Indies,<sup>1</sup> where the Portingales have their traffique, where also the Viceroye, the Archbishop, the Kings Councel, and Chauncerie have their residence, and from thence are all [places in] the Orientall Indies, governed [and ruled]. There is likewise the staple for all Indian commodities,<sup>2</sup> whether all sorts of Marchants doe resort, comming thether both to buy and sell, as out of Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Cambaia, Bengala, Pegu, Sian, Malacca, Iava, Molucca, China, etc. The Cittie and Iland of Goa lyeth under 15. degrés, on the North side, and is distant from the Equinoctiall, (by the way that the Portingales shippes do come thether from Mossambique)<sup>3</sup> 400. miles. It is an Iland wholly compassed about with a river, and is above thrée miles great, it lyeth within the coast of the firme lande, so that the Iland, with the Sea coast of the firme land, doe both reach as farre each as other into the Sea.<sup>4</sup> It is only seperated from the firme land, by an arme of the Sea, or of the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....of all India and the Oriental countries"..... "Goa" represents the native name "Gōva", which appears in inscriptions of a time before the arrival of the Portuguese, as has been shown by Mr. F. Fleet, as "Gopaka". There is not the least reason for supposing that the place was of any importance before the arrival of the Portuguese, though it was known to the Arabs, as has been proved by Col. Yule (*Cathay*, ii, p. 444). Much trash has, however, been published about it, chiefly based on the silly lucubrations of a native priest—L. Paes (*Promptuario*, 1713).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....all goods and Oriental wares".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....(reckoning the way that the Portuguese ships come hence from Mosambique)"... .. French (1698), p. 54: "Comme on a pu remarquer au voyage de Mozambique à Goa."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "so that the Iland comes out like and even with the sea coast."

ryver, that runneth in by the North side of the towne, and so round about the Iland to the South side, where it entereth [again] into the Sea, and is in forme almost like a halfe Moone. The ryver [runneth even] unto the Towne [and] is indifferent broad, there are betwéene the firme land and the Iland,<sup>1</sup> certaine small Ilandes that are all inhabited by the naturall borne countrimen, and on the other side of the town the ryver is there<sup>2</sup> so small, that in Summer [time, by wading] to the knées [in water], a man may passe [it over on foote]. On the which side the Iland hath a wall with [certaine] Bulwarkes, which ye Portingales of late yeares have caused to be made, to defend them from the firme land in time of warre, as it often happeneth, for it hath divers times béene besieged by Dialcan or Hídalcam, at the mouth and the entrie of the ryver. On the North side lyeth the land of Bardes, which is high land, under which land the Portingales doe Anker safely out of all danger, and there they have a place to lade and unlade<sup>3</sup> their wares. This lande of Bardes is also under the Portingall subiection, and is full of Villages inhabited with people that are of the firme land,<sup>4</sup> lying above it, called Canarijns,<sup>5</sup> who for the most part are Christians,<sup>6</sup> but observe their owne manner of apparell, which is to goe [all] naked, their privie members onely covered. This land is full of Indian Palme trées, whereon the Indian Nuts called Cocos doe grow, as also all the other Ilands lying in the ryver. This land of Bardes, is seperated from the firme land by a small river, which is so little, that it cannot almost be

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....the island of Goa".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....in some places".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....under which shelter the Portuguese ships have to anchor and unload."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....inhabited by people that occupy themselves with agriculture. <sup>5</sup> Konkanijs. They generally have Portuguese names.

<sup>6</sup> At present all are nominally Christians. De Kloguen (*Hist. Sketch*, p. 153) put the Christians at 380,000, the Pagans and Muhammadans at about 100,000, in c. 1830.

discerned from the firme land.<sup>1</sup> On the South side of the Iland of Goa, wher the river runneth againe into the Sea, there commeth even out with the coast a land, called Salsette, which is also under the subiection of the Portingales, and is inhabited, and planted both with people and fruite, like the land of Bardes, and is likewise parted with a little ryver from the firme land. Betwéene this land of Salsette, and the Iland of Goa, lie also some small Ilands, all full of Indian Palme trées, and by the mouth or issue of the ryver, lyeth an Iland which is called Goa Velha, that is old Goa, from whence there commeth no speciall thing, neither is it much inhabited. Those lands of Bardes and Salsette, are by the Kings of Portingale let out to farme, and the rents therof are employed to the payment of the Archbishop, Cloysters, Priests, Viceroy, and other the Kings Officers, yearely stipends,<sup>2</sup> which is graunted them, by speciall Priviledges and Patents from the King. The Iland is verie hillie, and in some places so desert [and rough], that on some sides men can hardly travell over land (but with great labour) to<sup>3</sup> the towne of Goa, the Iland [even to the Sea side] is full of Villages, [and] inhabited by the Canarijns,<sup>4</sup> which are the naturall borne people of the land, and doe altogether live by working upon the land, and by their Palme trées. The villages and dwellings of these Canarijns, are most rounde about the Iland, and on the water sides, or by small

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : " which is so small, that one cannot observe it, nor distinguish it from the firm land."

<sup>2</sup> These are to be found in the valuable translation of an account by Duarte de Menezes, which Purchas (vol. ii, pp. 1506-33) gives. The Archbishop (Linschoten's master) in 1584 received about £1500 a year, openly and nominally (*Purchas*, ii, p. 1528). About 1830, his pay was 8000 rupees per annum (*De Kloguen, Hist. Sketch*, p. 95), a comparatively small sum. The Viceroy received (p. 1523) £4587:4:4, but now hardly £1000. Pyrard (ii, p. 83) puts the income at 30,000 "croisades" or 60,000 "pardaos".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... from the town of Goa .....to the mouth of the river, and sea-coast."

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, Konkants. See ch. 38.

Lakes, whereof there are some fewe, within the Iland, and the cause why they dwell thus, is for that the Palme trées will not grow in any other place but upon low ground, by the waters, specially in sandie ground: so that there are no Palme trées [to be found] on the high land within the countrie unlesse it bee upon sandie groundes on the Sea coast, or ryvers sides. On the East side of the towne of Goa upwards, into the ryver, about thrée miles from [the towne of] Bardes, lyeth a place wher the Portingals ships doe Anker, the ryver hath some créekes, and a ship of 200. Tunnes<sup>1</sup> or thereabouts, may easily discharge before the Towne, but the Portingales great ships<sup>2</sup> must discharge [themselves] at Bardes: which being done, they may if they will fréely goe [and lie] before the town. The towne is well builte with [faire] houses and stréetes, after the Portingall manner, but because of the heate they are somewhat lower. They commonly have their Gardens and Orchards at the backe side of their houses, full of all kinde of Indian fruites: as also the whole Iland through, they have many pleasant Gardens<sup>3</sup> [and farmes], with houses to play in, [and trées of Indian fruites], whether they goe to sport themselves, and wherein the Indian women take great delight. The towne hath in it all sortes of Cloysters and Churches as Lisbone [hath], onely it wanteth Nunnes,<sup>4</sup> for the men cannot get the women to

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....of a hundred last, little less or more." A last = about two tons.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Kraken", i.e., "Karaaken" = merchant ships of a large kind (Kilian and Oudemans). The word is originally Romance. Sp., Port., "carraca"; Ital., "caracca"; Fr., "caraque"; but the etymology is not clear (Diez). Admiral Smyth says: "a large ship of burden, the same with those called galleons" (*Sailors' Word-Book, s.v.*)

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "gardens of Indian fruits".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....except beguins and nuns"..... A famous convent of Augustinian nuns was founded by the illustrious archbishop, Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, in 1606, and dedicated to St. Monica. The nuns were nearly all natives of India, and more or less coloured. "There are in it commonly thirty nuns ..... the generality are natives" (C. De

travell so farre,<sup>1</sup> where they should be shut up, and forsake Venus, with whome (so that they may enioy and fulfill their lustes) they had rather loose their lives, whereof they make small account. The Iland is both winter and Summer<sup>2</sup> all alike gréene, and hath alwaies some kinde of fruite<sup>3</sup> in season, which is a greate pleasure,<sup>4</sup> the towne lyeth upon some hils and dales like Lisbone, it hath in times past béene verie small, and walled, with a drie Ditch round about it, wherein there is no water, but when it rayneth, the walles are yet standing, but no Gates remaining, and the towne is now built round about<sup>5</sup> [with houses], so that it is, at the least twice as big without the walles, as it is within, and lyeth open without walles or closures, saving onely that the Iland hath a wal on the East side, which beginneth<sup>6</sup> over against the land of Salsette, and so [runneth along] untill [you come at] Bardes, and is onely to defend them from the firme land where the Portingales have no commaundement. The whole Iland hath no other defence,<sup>7</sup> but onely upon [the corner of] the land of Bardes, at<sup>8</sup> the mouth of the ryver, where there standeth an olde ruinous Castle, wherein lyeth two or thrée Iron péeces, and one man that in the night time

Kloguen, *Sketch of Goa*, 1831, p. 140). It soon decayed, and, in 1835, the nuns were transferred to another building (C. da Graça), as their original convent was ruinous. In 1879 the Archbishop of Goa told me that there was only one nun besides some lay sisters in the convent; that it had proved, on the whole, a failure, and would not be kept up. So far as S. Maria's history (1699) of the convent goes, nothing remarkable occurred besides several silly miracles.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....for they cannot get the women so far as to let themselves be shut up, and forsake Venus."

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of winter and summer as applied to Goa, see note 2 on p. 39. Also ch. 34 below.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....one or other tree in season".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....that is a pleasure to see."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....about and inhabited."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....stretches."

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".... .fort nor defence."

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....on the height at".....

kéepeth the watch, the Iland<sup>1</sup> on the Sea side is verie high, full of stonie Cliffes, but the land of Bardes hath on the Sea side a verie faire white Sand, about halfe a mile long, and [somewhat] more: the defence of the Ilande consisteth [herein], that on the East side there are thrée or foure passages or Gates, that stand upon the water side, on the uttermost [part] of the Iland, right against the firme land, Salsette and Bardes, everie gate [or passage] hath a Captaine and a clarke, which kéepe watch, that no man may passe into the other side, but by their licence. And the Indians, Decanijns, and other Moores and heathens, that are resident in Goa, and [therein] have their habitation, when they goe into the firme land to fetch their necessarie provisions, comming to those places<sup>2</sup> which are called Passos, they must everye man have a marke, which is Printed on their naked armes, and so they passe over to the other side, and at their returne againe they must shew the same marke, whereby they may fréely enter, for the which they pay two Basarukes, which is as much as a [Hollanders] Doit, and this is the profit that the Captain and Clarke of the said Passos [doe make]. In the night they have a Boy, that kéepe watch, and hath a small Bell, which hangeth over the gate, which Boy lyeth downe, and tieth the string of the Bell at his foote and so ringeth it often times, to shew that hee watcheth, which is all the watch<sup>3</sup> [they hold] thoroughout the whole Iland. There are five of these Passos, one upon the South side of the Iland, where men passe to the firme lande, and to the land of Salsette, and is called Benesterijn, commonly named Passo de Saint Iago, because the Parish of Saint Iacobs standeth ther: The Tebe de Passo is on the East side of the Iland where men doe onely passe into. The firme land called O Passo Secco, which is the drie passage, for in that place the ryver is

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....island of Goa".....

<sup>2</sup> "gates."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....watch and defence."

at the narrowest and shallowest.<sup>1</sup> The third Passo on the South side of the Iland, ioyneth almost to the Towne, called O Passo de Daugijn, or of Madre de Deus, and so farre goeth the wall, beginning at Passo de Benesterijn, or S. Iago, and from thence the whole Iland is without any wall or closure : from this Passo, right over [against it], they passe over to an Iland, which is hard by the firme land, where is also a Passo called O Passo de Norwa : the fift or last Passo lyeth<sup>2</sup> in the middle way of the River downwards towards Bardes, which is the strongest of them all, and best looked unto, but no otherwise made then all the rest,<sup>3</sup> and is called O Passo de Pangijn, from thence they passe to Bardes, and also all the boates and ships that passe in and out of the river, must stay there and be searched, and this is all their watch and strentgh (*sic*) in the Iland.

Touching the Portingales iustice and ordinances, as well in worldly as spirituall [causes], they are [al one] as [they are] in Portingale. They dwell in the towne among [all sorts of nations], as Indians, Heathens, Moores, Iewes, Armenians, Gusarates, Benianes, Bramenes, and of all Indian nations and people, which doe all dwell and traficke therein, everie man holding his owne religion,<sup>4</sup> without constrayning any man to doe against his conscience,<sup>5</sup> onely [touching] their ceremonies

<sup>1</sup> This passage is wrongly punctuated. It should be "The Tebe de Passo is on the east side of the island; where only, people pass to the mainland, and is called 'O passo seco', which is".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....from the town in the".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....but in the manner of all the rest."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "each in his law and belief." This passage is of much importance, as it shows that the common belief that the Portuguese used much tyranny at Goa, is unfounded, so far as religion was concerned.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : for "conscience", read "will". It is clear that the precepts of the Canon Law were followed: *e.g.*, as regards Jews : "Judæi .....nec ad fidem Christianam cogi; nec in personis, nec bonis violari; nec in festivitibus molestari...debent." (Arn. Corvini *Jus Canonicum*, 16mo., Elzevier, 1663, p. 283.)



of burning the dead, and the living, of marrying and other superstitious and develish inventions, they are forbidden by the Archbishop<sup>1</sup> to use them openly, or in the Iland, but they may fréelie use them upon the firme land, and secretly in their houses, [thereby] to shunne [and avoid] all occasions of dislike<sup>2</sup> that might be given to Christians, which are but newlie baptised: but touching the wordly policie or good government of the countrie, and executing of iustice, as also for the ruling of the townes men in the citie: it is common to them all, and they are under the Portingales law, and he that is once christened, and is after found to use any heathenish superstitions, is subiect to the Inquisition, what so ever he be, or for any point [of Religion] what so ever.<sup>3</sup>

The Iland hath nothing of it self to nourish it withall, but onely some cattle, hennes, goates, doves, etc. but very fewe, because of the barrennesse and evil situation of the place, which is most hillie, barren, and wild [countrie], and full of wast ground: all their necessaries, as beastes, hennes, hogges, egges, milke, etc. come from Salsette and Bardes, but most part out of the firme land, Corne, Rice, and other grayne: also Oyle, and all other necessaries come from other countries, [and are brought] in by the River, as from Cambaia on the North side, and from the coast of Malabar and other places, as in the description of the coast we have in part declared:<sup>4</sup> of wyne called [wyne] of palme [trées], they have inough, and so much that they have to spare for other places. They have

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....by the bishops".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....scandal".....

<sup>3</sup> As to the law on this point, see Corvinus, *u.s.*, pp. 290, 291. What V. Linschoten says, is in accordance with it. The Inquisition was introduced into Goa in 1557 because there were many converted Jews there, and others of doubtful orthodoxy (Sousa, *Or. Conq.*, i, p. 135). What a farce its proceedings eventually became, when native priests were appointed members of the tribunal, is evident from Dellon's *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* (Paris, 1688, and translated into English).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 59, ffg. This is confirmed by Della Valle and many others.

but little fresh water, but only one Well called Banganiin, which standeth about a quarter of a mile without the Cittie, wherewith the whole towne is served, which the slaves fetch in pots and sel [it] in the towne, and is verie good to drinke : [for] water to dresse meat, wash, and doe other thinges withall, they commonly have Wels within their houses: the land of itself is verie stonie and drie, [having] a kinde of red earth,<sup>1</sup> so that some Italian Alchymistes have promised to get Copper and Gold out of the same, which neither ye King nor Vice-roy would ever consent unto, fearing least the report of such treasure would be occasion of greater troble unto them by their enemies that are round about them, through the desire [that they have] of riches, and therefore they have deferred to séeke for it ;<sup>2</sup> by the mappe hereafter following you may sée the situation of the Iland and Towne of Goa, with all the stréetes, Churches, and places lively described.<sup>3</sup>

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#### THE 29. CHAPTER.

Of the customes of the Portingales, and such as are issued from them called Mesticos, or half countrimen, as wel of Goa, as of all the Oriental countries.

The Portingales in India, are many of them marryed with the naturall borne women of the countrie,<sup>4</sup> and the children procéeding of them are called Mesticos,<sup>5</sup> that is, half countrimen. These Mesticos are commonlie of yelowish colour,

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, laterite. It owes its reddish colour to iron.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : " .....to seek and dig for it."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : " .....drawn from life."

<sup>4</sup> It is generally asserted that D'Albuquerque encouraged this; but this is partly an error. The native women married to, or kept by, the Portuguese at Goa, were the cause of much trouble by their treachery.—Cfr. Castanheda, etc.

<sup>5</sup> "Mestico." Should be "mestiço" = hybrid, or as now is usual, "half-caste".

notwithstanding there are manie women among them, that are faire and well formed. The children of the Portingales, both boyes and gyrls, [which are] borne in India, are called Castisos, and are in all things like [unto] the Portingales, onely somewhat differing in colour, for they draw towards a yealow colour: the children of those Castisos are yealow, and altogether [like the] Mesticos, and the children of Mesticos are of colour and fashion like the naturall borne Countrimen or Decaniins of the countrie, so that the posteritie of the Portingales, both men and women being in the third degré, doe séeme to be naturall Indians, both in colour and fashion.<sup>1</sup> Their livings and daylie traffiques are to Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, Cambaia, China, and everie way, both North and South: also in Goa there is holden a daylie assemblie [or méeting together], as wel of the Citizens and Inhabitants, as of all nations throughout India, and of the countries bordering on the same, which is like the méeting upon the burse in Andwarpe, yet differeth much from that, for that hether in Goa there come as well Gentlemen, as marchants [and others], and there are all kindes of Indian commodities<sup>2</sup> to sell, so that in a manner it is like a Faire. This méeting is onely before Noone, everie day in the yeare, except Sondayes and holie dayes: it beginneth in ye morning at 7. [of the clocke], and continueth till 9. [of the clocke], but not in the heate of the day, nor after Noone, in the principal stréete of

<sup>1</sup> This is the foundation of a common statement as to the deterioration of the European races in the tropics, but as given here is hardly correct. It seems, however, true that a white race cannot subsist long in the tropics; the mixed races become gradually assimilated to the natives, and this occurred readily in Portuguese India, where the natives were mostly Christians. Cfr. Broca's *Treatise on Hybridity*, and De Gobineau's *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*. But these authorities arrive at different conclusions. The question must be treated in a more scientific way than has been done as yet, and statistics, if possible, will settle the matter.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and they have there an auction of all things, of all goods, and Indian wares."

Citie, named the straight *stréete*, and is called the *Leylon*,<sup>1</sup> which is as much to say, as an outroop: there are certain cryers appointed by the Citie for ye purpose, which have of al things to be cryed and sold: these goe all the time of the *Leylon* or outroop, all behanged about with all sorts of gold chaines, all kindes of costly Iewels,<sup>2</sup> pearles, rings, and precious stones: likewise they have running about them, many sorts of [captives and] slaves, both men and women, young and old, which are daylie sould there, as beasts are sold with us, where everie one may chuse which liketh him best, everie one at a certaine price.<sup>3</sup> There are also Arabian horses, all kinde of spices and dried drugges, swéet gummes, and such like things, fine and costly coverlets, and many<sup>4</sup> curious things, out of *Cambaia*, *Sinde*,<sup>5</sup> *Bengala*, *China*, etc. and it is wonderfull to see in what sort many of them get their livinges, which every day come thether to buy [wares], and at an other time<sup>6</sup> sel them again. And when any man dieth, all his goods are brought thether and sold to the last pennieworth, in the same outroop, who soever they be, yea although they were the *Viceroyes* goods: and this is done to doe right and iustice unto *Orphanes* and *widdows*, and that it may be sold with the first,<sup>7</sup> where everie man may see it, so that everie yeare there is a great quantitie of ware sold [within that Citie], for that there die many [men] within the *Towne*, by meanes of their disordered living, together with the *hotenes* of the country: the like assemblie is holden in all places of *India*, where the *Portingales* inhabite. There are some married *Portingales*, that get their livinges by their

<sup>1</sup> *Leylon*, *i.e.*, *Port.*, “*leilão*” = auction. This word has been adopted in *Malayālam*, etc. [Also in *Hindustani* as *nilām*.]

<sup>2</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: “..... jewels, trinkets, pearls.”

<sup>3</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: “each at his price.”

<sup>4</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: “thousands of curiosities.”

<sup>5</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: “*Sunda*”, for “*Sinde*”?

<sup>6</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: “and, at this time, again to sell”.....

<sup>7</sup> *Orig. Dutch*: “..... at the dearest”.....

slaves, both men and women, whereof some have 12, some 20, and some 30, for it costeth them but little to kéepe them. These slaves for money doe labour for such as have néede of their helpe, some fetch fresh water, and sell [it for money] about the stréetes: the women slaves make all sorts of confections and conserves of Indian fruites, much fyne néedle worke, both cut and wrought workes, and then [their maister] send the fairest and the youngest of them well drest up with their wares about the stréetes to sell the same, that by the neatnes and bewtie of the said women slaves, men might be moved to buy, which happeneth more for the affection they have to the slaves and to fulfill their pleasure with them, then for any desire to the conserves or néedle workes: for these slaves doe never refuse them, but make their daylie living thereby, and with the gaines that they by that meanes bring home, their maisters may well kéepe and maintaine them. There are others that use exchanging of moneyes, and to buy money [when it cometh], as tyme serveth to sell it againe, for they buy the Rials of eight, when the shippes come from Portingale, whereof some buy at the least 10 or 12 hundreth,<sup>1</sup> and kéepe them till the Moneth of April, which is the time when the shippes sayle to China, for then are the Rials of eight sought for to carry thether, and are commonly worth 25 or 30 in the hundreth [profite], and then they receive for them a certain money, which at the same time is brought from Ormus, called Larriins,<sup>2</sup> that come out of Persia, which they buy for 8 or 10 in the hundreth [profite],

<sup>1</sup> There is a curious error in the translation here. Orig. Dutch: "en Kryghen die dan tot 12. ten hondert,"—"and then they get as much as 12 per cent." So the French version (p. 58 of 16th ed.) has: "Autres tirent grand profit au change des monnoyes, de sorte que quand les navires de Portugal arrivent, ils achèptent les grandes reales, donnant douze pour cent de profit d'icelles jusques au mois d'Auril, auquel temps les marchands allant à la Chine en font telle recherche qui en ont, en tirent bieu vingt ou vingt cinq pour cent de surcroist."

<sup>2</sup> See note 2 on p. 48. See also ch. 35 on the coins mentioned on the next page. According to Chardin (*Voyages*, iii, p. 128) Larins were obsolete about 1680.

and kéepe them til the Portingales<sup>1</sup> on the moneth of September come thether, and so deliver them againe for 20 or 25 in the hundreth [profite], in exchange for Rials of eight, as I said before, for they must have these Larriins [with them] to Cochin, to buy pepper and other wares, for that it is the best and most profitable money. There are yet other sorts of money called Pagodes, Venetianers, and Santhones, which are gold, al which they doe likewise buy and sel, so yt there are manie that doe nothing els, and become rich, specielle he that hath a good stocke. This exchange commeth most commonlie from the Spiritualltie, who do secretly use it, by other mens meanes, without any let or hinderance. Some there are that live upon their rents which they have by their palme trées, whereon the Indian nut called Cocus doth grow, whereof they may very well live and have well to maintaine themselves, for that it is the principall commoditie of that Iland.

There are some that let out their trées, and have every day for each trée half a Pardawe or more, which is as much as a Carolus Guilderne, and some have 300 or 400 trées and more upon one ground,<sup>2</sup> which they let out unto the Canariins, as we let out our pastures, medowes and corn grounds. The Portingales and Mesticos in India never worke, [if they doe, it is] but [very little, and that] not often, but the most part of them live in such sort, as I have shewed you, although there are some handie crafts men, as Hat-makers, Shoemakers, Saylemakers, and Coopers: but most of them have

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Ships from Portugal".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Op een erf". This is the word now used in Java for what is termed in British India "compound", i.e., the garden or enclosure surrounding a house. It is supposed to be a word peculiar to Java (*Max Havelaar*, ed. 4, 1875, p. 105), but this passage shows that it is an old Dutch term. Kilian, indeed, has: "*Erf erf-goed, erue. Hæreditas, hæredium, prædium: et Fundus, res soli: ædes, agri, fundi, et ceteræ res immobiles solo conjunctæ: mobiles autem hanc dicuntur.*"

their slaves to worke in their shops, and the maisters when they walke up and downe the stréetes, goe as prouddie as the best: for there one is no better than an other, as they think, the rich and the poore man all one, without any difference in their conversations, curtesies and companies.<sup>1</sup> All other handie crafts men and workmen, are most Indians, Heathens, and Christians of the land: no man is permitted to the liberties of being a free Citizen of the towne, but such as are married and resident therein.

There are among them but two manner of people,<sup>2</sup> that is, married men and soldiers, for that all young men unmarried are named soldiers, which is the best<sup>3</sup> name that a man can have, not that the soldiers are any waies bound or under the commandement and regiment of any Captain, which throughout India, is not used but when the Portingalles come into India out of Portingall, and are arived there, every man goeth where hee thinketh best, although in Portingall every mans name [that goeth in the shippe] is written and registred,<sup>4</sup> which is done in this sorte: every man is written up, both his name and sirname, with [a note] what pay they receyve of the King, whereof some beare the tytle of Fidalgo da Caza del Rey nossas Senor, that is, a Gentleman of the Kinges house, which is the chiefest title: there are others named Mozos Fidalgos, which is also an honorable title, and they are commonly Gentlemens sonnes, or by the kinges favour advanced thereunto: There are yet others that are named Cavalhiero Fidalgo, which is not so much as the other two, yet it is an honorable title, and is the title of a knight, who for some valiant act by him done is made<sup>5</sup> knight, which

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "the least is as good there as the best; a common man as the noble or rich, without any difference".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "or kinds of people".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "most honourable".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "is written and entered in a register that is yearly sent by the same ships to India, which is".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Gheslaghen", i.e., "dubbed".

they do for a small matter : for that if he do any act to be accounted of, or bee in a manner at such an action doing,<sup>1</sup> presently he is of a Captaine or a Gentleman made a knight whereof they much boast themselves : and it is [nowe growne] so common [among them], that very Cookes boyes and others as meane as they, are made knightes : there are others also that are named Mosos da Camara, do Numero, e do Serviço, which is servantes to the King, [some] of his chamber, some of his accounts, and some for his service, this is the first title or degré of credite, whereby through their good service they attaine unto better, and are more glorious of their titles, then of all the riches in the world. There are also that are named Escuderos Fidalgos, that is Esquires, which is likewise a degré of credit : Others are named Hommes honorados, which is men of honor, and the poorest among them (which are not named by any title) are set downe for soldiers, which are the common and rascall sort : these are every man paide their wages according to their titles, and may each man in his qualitie (by long service, or some good action, but most by favour) rise to higher degré : for that according to their tytles their service is rewarded. The Portingalles which saile for India, being thus registred and written downe, the said Register at their arrivall there, is delivered to be kept by one of the kinges Officers thereunto appointed, which every thrée years is likewise changed, as other [offices are], and is called the chiefe Clearke of the Matricula Generall, and hath thrée or foure under Clearks at his commandement. Now in India when summer time commeth, and that it is néedefull [or necessary] to send out an armie for some expedition to be done, or for to kéepe the coast, to convoy and safe-conduct the travelling Marchants that [dayly] sayle to and from [India], thereby to defend them and to let the Malabares their enemies from issuing

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "for where they once make an expedition or see from afar, at once they are dubbed by a".....



forth to hurt them (as notwithstanding they yearly doe): then against September (which is the beginning of their Sommer)<sup>1</sup> the drum is stricken up, [and it is proclaimed], that whosoever will serve the King in his fléete by sea, let him come to the Matricula<sup>2</sup> Generall to receyve [his] money, and then by the Viceroy there is ordained a chiefe Captaine, and other under Captains for every Fuste and Galley: and in every galley there is about a hundreth men, and in every Fuste thirtie men, little more or lesse. These are all paide by the Matricula, according to their tytles every man as they are registred, when they come out of Portingal: and this pay is made every quarter, each quarter [contayning] thrée monthes that is, the common soldier seven Pardawen, called Xeraffins<sup>3</sup> (every Pardawe thrée testones Portingall money), and a man of honor nine Pardawen. The Moso da Camara [or servant of the chamber] eleven Pardawen, and so by degrés: which done the Captaines bidde their soldiers to a basket, and of their own purses give them something beside their pay, for that every Captaine séeketh to have the best soldiers, and buy much victuailes and other thinges at their owne charges, thereby to have their soldiers good willes, and to use them wel. They sit altogether at one table in the Fustes or Gallies, where the Captaine useth the soldiers with great favour and curtesie, for otherwise they woulde not much estéeme him, nor yet obay him. The fléet being out, it sayleth backwarde and forwards along the coast, and sometimes into some havens till the Month of Aprill, and about the last of that [Month] they enter againe into the river of Goa, where they winter,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the end of the rains and the beginning of the fine weather.

<sup>2</sup> From Latin "matricula"=register.

<sup>3</sup> "Xarafim" is the Portuguese adaptation of the Arabic "shariff" or "ashrafi"—a "dīnār" or 300 reis (Moraes).

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "winter and lay up". Ships on the W. Coast are hauled ashore for the rains, and thatched to preserve the decks from the damp.

then the soldiers are frée, and every man goeth his way, without any further pay of the king. Then the Viceroy maketh a certificate for the Generall of the fléete, wherein he testifieth that such a Captaine by his commaundement hath béene so many Monthes in the kings service [at sea], and<sup>1</sup> having done any matter of importance, it is therein set down at large, and how that hee out of his owne purse hath spent [and laid out] much [money] for the service of his Maiestie, and according to this certificate the Captaine Generall maketh certificates for every one of his under Captaines and soldiers, in the same sort. There are likewise some Gentlemen that in winter time kéepe open houshold for all soldiers that will come thether to meate,<sup>2</sup> whereof also they have certificates, and for all things that they doe, which certificates they kéepe till they be some ten, twelve, or twentie, and with the Vice-royes licence go therewith to Portingall, asking some recompence for their services, according to their certificates: withall they must bring a certificate from the<sup>3</sup> Matricula General of that<sup>4</sup> their residence in India, and that there hath not any [devise or] subtilty béene used about [setting down] their titles. The like must they have from all other officers, receivers and accountants both for munition and armour wherewith they served in warre, for victuails also and such like, whereof many times the captaines and soldiers doe make but badde accounts, [and many of them are aforehande with the king], which is presently registred under the title of him that hath committed the fault :<sup>5</sup> from these Officers also they must have certificates, that there is no such thing committed by them : with these certificates they sayle to Por-

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "clearing the coast and sea".

<sup>2</sup> This is corroborated by the "Primor e Honra".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....from the clerk of the".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....of the time of their residence".....

<sup>5</sup> Much the same as occurs under the red-tape system of the present day in British India.

tingall, where there is an office of remembrances, to aske their rewardes by, as their qualities and services are or shal be rewarded : but if they have any friend in the court to speake for them,<sup>1</sup> and by greasing their hands [to procure dispatch]: then doe they obtaine those offices for thrée yeares as Cap-taynes, Factors, Clearkes, Iudges, etc. and all other offices and places in India, but they must serve the place themselves in person. Some of them by favour get licences to passe them away, to sell them, or to give them with their daughters in marriage, and then the patent for such offices are registred in the Kings Chancery, and sent into India where they must be confirmed by the Viceroy. These offices are alwaies given in reversion after him that hath it promised before them, and then the Register is searched, to sée how many are before him [that asketh the said places], and when their time is out, or that they chaunce to die before they come to it, or be absent (as many times it happeneth) then he which is next in reversion hath the place, and is ready [to receyve it]. And this in briefe is the manner of their government and policie for martiall affaires : their other government for iustice and equitie is as they use in Portingall. By the table hereafter following you may sée [the description of] the strait streete in Goa, with the dayly méeting<sup>2</sup> therein, which they call Leylon, lively<sup>3</sup> portrayed.

<sup>1</sup> Nowadays, if they are politicians.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....daily trade and gathering there".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "Naer't leven", i.e., "after nature".

## THE 30. CHAPTER.

Of the Portingalles and Mesticos,<sup>1</sup> their houses, curtesies, mariages, and other customes and manners in India.

The Portingalls, Mesticos,<sup>1</sup> and Christians, kéepe worshipfull and bountifull<sup>2</sup> houses, having commonly (as it is said [before]) five, sixe, ten, twentie, some more, some lesse slaves, both men and women, in their houses<sup>3</sup> every man according to his estate and qualitie, I meane married men. They are very cleanly and swéet in all things belonging to their houses, specially in their linnen, for that every day they change shirtes and smockes both men and women, and<sup>4</sup> [their slaves and servants] likewise with other thinges that they weare, which they doe because of the great heat in that land. The Portingalls are commonly served with great gravitie, without any difference betwéene the Gentleman and the common Citizen, [townesman] or soldier, and in their going, curtesies, and conversations, common in all thinges<sup>5</sup> when they go in the stréetes they steppe very [softly and] slowly forwards, with a great pride and vaine glorious maiestie, with a slave that carrieth a great hat or vaile<sup>6</sup> over their heads, to keepe the sunne and raine from them. Also when it raineth they commonly have a boy that beareth a cloke of Scarlet or of some other [cloth] after them, to cast over them:<sup>7</sup> and if it bee before noone, hee<sup>8</sup> carrieth a cushin<sup>9</sup> [for his maister] to

<sup>1</sup> "Mesticos"—should be "Mestiços". This misprint is perpetual.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "honourable and very magnificent".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "for their service".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "even their female slaves".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "all, one with another, in one way".

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "hoet ofte heuvel"=hat or?

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "they have behind them a youth that carries a scarlet or other long mantle, to put on (his) master if it rains".....

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch: "The youth also".....

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Een leerē ofte fluweelen kussentgien"..... i.e., a leather or silk cushion.

knéele on when he heareth Masse, and their Rapier is most commonly carried after them by a boy,<sup>1</sup> that it may not trouble them as they walke, nor hinder their gravities. When they méete in the stréetes a good space before they come together, they beginne with a great Besolas manos, to stoope [with] their bodies, and to thrust forth their foot to salute each other, with their hattes<sup>2</sup> [in their hands], almost touching the ground: likewise when they come into the Church [where] they have their stooles ready, which their slaves have prepared for them: all that are by him that commeth in do stande [up], and with the same manner of bowing [of their bodies] doe him great reverence, and if it chaunceth that any doeth him reverence (as the manner is) and that he to whom it is done doth not greatly estéeme thereof, so that he doeth him not the like [curtesie], they do altogether for that cause go after him, and cut his hatte in péeces, saying that he had disgraced the partie, wherein it is not for them to aske wherfore they shold so do,<sup>3</sup> for it would bee the greatest shame [and reproch] in the world unto them if they should not revenge [so great an iniury]: and when they séeke to bee revenged of any man that hath shewen them discourtesie, or for any other cause whatsoever it bee, they assemble ten or twelve of their friends, acquaintance or companions, and take him where-soever they find him, and beat him so long [together], that they leave him for dead, or very neare dead, or els cause him to be stabbed by their slaves, which they hold for a great honor and point of honestie so to revenge themselves, whereof

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "by a slave or youth".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "met die Bonet ofte hoet",..... i.e., with cap or hat.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "which they will not endure". The French translation has: "Que si quelcun ne resaluoit pas de mesme, ils reputeroient une telle incivilité à mespris duquel ils ne voudroyent faillir de se venger tout outre. Pour cet effect ils appellent et employent tous leurs amis, pour meurtrir tel qui n'y avoit point pensé, reputant tel exploit fait en telle maniere brave et glorieux" (p. 60, ed. 1638).

they dare boast [and bragge] openly [in the stréetes], but if they desire not to kil him, they baste him well about the ribs and all his body over with a thicke réede, as big as a mans legge,<sup>1</sup> which is called Bambus, whereby for eyght dayes after and more he hath inough [to do to kéepe his bed], and sometime in that manner they leave him for deade. This is their common custome, and is never looked unto or once corrected.<sup>2</sup> Also they use long bagges full of sand, wherewith [they will give such blowes each upon other, that therewith] they will breake each others limmes, and [for ever after] make them lame.<sup>3</sup> When any man goeth to visite an other in his house, although he which is visited be one of the principal Gentlemen [of the Citie], and the visitor but a simple soldier, or some other man, it is the manner that hee which is visited commeth unto the doore of his house, with his hatte in his hand, and with great curtesie to receyve him that commeth to visite him, and so leadeth him up into his hall or chamber, wherein he will speake with him, where hee offereth him a chaire to sitte downe, and then hee himselve sitteth [by him], then he asketh him what hee woulde have, which having understoode<sup>4</sup> hee bringeth him downe againe to

<sup>1</sup> Few bamboos in India can be said to be anything like as large as is here said. (See note 1 on p. 92 above.) Pyrard (*Voyage*, ii, ed. 1619, p. 24) tells a story of such an assault: "..... Il y eut entr' autres vn Capitaine Castillan..... Vn mois apres cela il y eut l'esclave d'vn avec qui il auoit disputé, qui luy donna par derriere vn grand coup de bambou sur la teste, c'estoit vn Cafre : mais luy sans s'etonner, et perdre temps, tira son poignard, et le tua, et gaigna aussi tost l'Eglise. Il eut sa grace au bout de deux heures. Mais d'autant que les Espagnols ne sont pas fort bien venus là il fut contraint de s'en reuenir en Espagne."

<sup>2</sup> It is a pity that Schopenhauer had not seen this before he wrote his admirable remarks on the vulgar notions of "honour", etc., which depends on fear caused to others by use of violence. The text is a complete picture of the "honour" of mediæval chivalry.

<sup>3</sup> This is a common method of torture in S. India at the present day, and is originally Indian.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... what his desire is, and having finished their talk".....

the dore in the like sort, and so with a Besolas manos biddeth him farewell, and if he should not doe so, or [when hee giveth him a stool], shold give him one unlined,<sup>1</sup> or one yt is lesse or lower then that he taketh for himselfe, he that visiteth him woulde take it in evil parte, estéeming it a great scorne, and séeke to be revenged on him for the same.

When they have any weddinges and are married, whosoever they be if they have any wealth, all the friendes and neighbours<sup>2</sup> come together, [every man] on horsebacke, and hee that hath not a horse wil borrow one, and are [every man] very costly apparelled, at the least some 50. or 100. [horses little] more or lesse, as the person is [of qualitie], and so they ride altogether in good order unto the Church with their seruantes, and [every man his] hatte for the Sunne, the parentes and friendes in the hinder part, and in ye last row the bridegroome betwéene two [of them], whom they call gossops:<sup>3</sup> after them followeth the bryde between two Commeres, each in their Pallamkin, which is most costly made, and after them followe the slaves both men and women going in troupes, as if they ranne to hunt,<sup>4</sup> and so comming to the Church, and being married according

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... sonder leyn",..... i.e., without a back. The Latin of 1599 does not give this, nor is the word (leyn) in Kilian. The De Bry Latin has: "Quod non haberet retro fulcrum cui recumbens iuniteretur".....(pp. 80-1). The French has merely: "..... un siege trop bas ou qui fust moins brave que le sien"..... This part is also omitted in Saeghman's edition. It is, however, plain that "eene cleyne stoel sonder leyn" is the contrary of what is now termed "leunstoel", i.e., an armchair.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "friends, neighbours, and acquaintances".

<sup>3</sup> Pyrard (ii, p. 103): "Elle (la mariée) est conduite par deux des ses proches parentes, et luy (le marié) de mesme par deux des siens, iusques à l'Eglise deuant le Prestre. Ces quatre sont appelez *Comperes* et *Commeres*."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "which run after like hunt-dogs"..... The Latin of 1599 has here: "Post mancipia passim sequuntur". The De Bry translation is more accurate: "Famulae pone per pedes more canum venaticorum insequuntur" (p. 81).

to the order used in the Church of Rome :<sup>1</sup> they are in the same order brought home again, and passing [through the streets], the neighbours leaning upon Indian Carpets looke out of the windowes,<sup>2</sup> and throwe Rose water upon the Bryde and Bridegroome, and other swéet smelling waters, with Roses and Sugar Comfets, or corne. In the mean time their slaves play upon Shalmes and Trumpets most pleasant [and melodious] to heare, and comming to the house where [the Bride and Bridegroome] dwel, with great reverence and curtesie bowing downe [their bodies], they take their leaves of all the company, which are all on horsebacke about the dore. And so the Bride, the Bridegroome, and the Commeres goe up and sit with great gravitie in a window, and then beginne the [horsemen] that led them [to Church], in honor of the married couple, one after the other to runne a course, the gossops<sup>3</sup> beginning first, and the rest following twice or thrice [one after the other], with continuall playing on Shalmes, which are very common in India, for that he which is of any wealth hath them of his own within his house. This being ended, they all passe before the window where the Bride and Bridegroome sit, with a [great] reverence, and so passe on all saving the Gossoppes,<sup>4</sup> [for] they go up to the Bride and Bridegroome, and bid [God give] them ioy, then is there some Comfets, and Marchpane brought forth, to drinke [a cuppe of] water withall, and after some [curteous] salutations [and congratulations] to the new married [couple, they take their leaves and] depart: so there remaineth with the Bride and Bridegroome but thrée or four of their nearest friendes and kinsemen, for whome there is a dinner prepared,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "according to the usages and ceremonies of the Romish Church".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "the neighbours and nearest friends lie on rich Indian carpets in the windows".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "the godfathers or *Comperos* beginning first". See note 3 (last page) for the meaning of this word.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "godfathers or *Comperos*"..... Cfr. last note.



with little meate, yet [very] costly, which they passe over [very] lightly, and not many wordes,<sup>1</sup> [which done] they presently bring the Bride to bed, without any other ceremonies or charges, wherewith the mariage is done and ended. Oftentimes it chaunceth that they go to bed [at ye least] two houres before Sunne setting, not having the patience to stay so long as [we do] in these countries.<sup>2</sup> When a childe is to be christened, it is likewise in the same sorte led to Church with horses, and last of all commeth the father alone, after whom followeth two men<sup>3</sup> on foote, the one with a great silver or guilt vessell full of bread baked like cracklinges, which in Portingall are called Rosquilhos,<sup>4</sup> and in the middle a great Waxe candle, well made and gilded, thrust through with some peeces of money of golde and silver, for an offering to the Priest that baptiseth the childe, and all over strowed and covered with Roses: the other carryeth a great silver or gilt<sup>5</sup> saltseller in one of his handes, and a lampe of the same stufte in [his] other hande, each with rich and costly Towels on their sholders: after that followeth two Pallamkins, on the one [side] ye Commere, on the other [side] the Midwife with the child,<sup>6</sup> covered with a costly mantle,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Remoer"="bother" or "fuss". Kilian has: "Rumoer, j. rammoer. Rumor, turba."

<sup>2</sup> Pyrard (ii, pp. 102-3) describes marriages at Goa in much the same way.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Knechts"="servants".

<sup>4</sup> Moraes (s. v.) gives only the form "Rosquinha" as a diminutive of "Rosca", which means, he says: "Bolo de farinha feito em argola torcida". The Dutch has: "Krakelinghen". The French: "Panis (sic) blancs qui s'esmient aisement". The Latin of 1599: "Crustulis spicisque". De Bry's Latin: "Panibus albis friabilibus, non absimilibus Lusitanicis, quos *Rosquillos* vocant". Pyrard (ii, pp. 103-4) has: "Un grand plat d'argent doré plein de *rosquillos*, c'est à dire, massepains, biscuits", etc. "Tout cela est pour le Curé, excepté le plat."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Een groot ende verheven"="a great and chased". Kilian has: "*Verheuen icerck*. Anaglyphum, anaglyptum, coelatum opus, vulgo releuatum".

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... in the one sits the Comere, and in the other the midwife with the child". It is clear from this mis-translation (above) that the translator had never been in India, or seen a Palankin.

made for the purpose,<sup>1</sup> and so the ceremonies of baptisme being ended in the Church, it is againe in the like sort brought home, and beeing there<sup>2</sup>, they have the like manner of musicke [and] shalmes, running and leaping with their horses before the window where the Commere sitteth with the same ceremonies as at the wedding.<sup>3</sup> This is the manner and custome<sup>4</sup> of those that are married and kéepe house.<sup>5</sup>

But concerning the souldier that is unmarried<sup>6</sup> [thus it is]. They goe in the summer time into the Armado [lying] on the water, and being within the townes and on the land, they are very stately apparrelled, and goe verie gravely along the stréets with their slaves or [men] hired [for the purpose], that beare a hatte over them for the sunne and raine: for there are [many] Indians that are [daily] hired for the purpose, and have 12. Basarucos the day, which is as much as two stivers or a stoter, and they serve such as have no slaves, and that will not kéepe any to that end.

The souldiers dwell at least ten or twelve in a house, where they have among them a slave or hired Indian or two which serveth them, and washeth their shirts,<sup>7</sup> and have foure or

<sup>1</sup> Cfr. p. 96 above.      <sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and coming home".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... as above".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "manners, usages, and customs".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "those that have house and family". The description by Pyrard (ii, pp. 103-4) is much the same as the above.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, the largest number of the Europeans at Goa, but who had less privileges than the "Casados" or married settlers. They were mostly criminals or boys. Sasseti (*Lettere*, p. 280) gives a miserable account of them: "Every year there came from Portugal 2500 or 3000 men and boys, of the most abandoned that are there; a quarter, or a third and perhaps a half (die on the voyage and) are cast into the sea; the rest who arrive alive are stationed on land; comes death or knavery and gathers all, and, for the most part, they come to a bad end, except a few nobles or others who, by interest of their parents, or by their own ability, rise in some way." Pyrard (ii, p. 7) says that there were 1500 soldiers in hospital when he was there; he calls them "gens de fortune" (*ib.*, p. 4).

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "shirts and clothes".....

five stooles with a table, and every [man] a Bedde. Their meate is Rice sodden in water, with some salt fish, or some other thing<sup>1</sup> of small value (without breade) and cleare fountaine water for their drinke, wherewith they are well pleased.<sup>2</sup> They<sup>3</sup> have amongst them all one or two good sutes of apparell, [all] of silke as the manner is there, and when one goeth abroad, the others stay at home, for in the house they have no néede of clothes (but sit whosoever they bee) in their shirts and a paire of linnen bréeches,<sup>4</sup> and so [as it were] naked by [reason of] the great heate, for if some of them [have occasion to] goe out twenty times in one day, they must so often lend him their apparell, and hee must [likewise] put off his clothes, as often as he commeth home againe. Some souldiers have a Gentleman or Captaine [to their friendes] which lendeth them monie to apparell themselves withall, to the end when summer time commeth, they may be ready to goe with

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... other sauce".....

<sup>2</sup> It seems very likely that their miserable diet was the cause why many soldiers deserted to native sovereigns or turned renegades. The *Primor e Honra da Vida Soldadesca no Estado da India*, published by Freyre in 1630 (f. 9b), tells them that if they abecond to native princes, they will only get rice ("bringe", i.e., the Persian word "birinj") from the Muhammadans, and curry and rice ("Arros caril") from the Hindus. Pyrard (ii, p. 132) says: "S'ils sont en mer, ils vsent des viures de l'ordinaire du nauire, qui est riz avec beurre, sucre, lentilles et mangas.....et ne boiuent que de l'eau; ils mangent aussi d'un poisson salé nommé *pesche cauato* avec du riz. Mais quand ils sont à l'ancre en quelque port, comme ils sont le plus souuent, on leur donne de toutes sortes de viures qui se recourent en ces lieux, aux despens du Roy."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "As for their clothes, they have".....

<sup>4</sup> "*Paijāmas*" as would now be said. It is evident that this kind of dress (still used by Europeans in India as a night-dress) was copied by the Portuguese from the Muhammadans, and that it has been thence adopted by other Europeans. Della Valle (*Viaggi*, iv, p. 288) also describes this article of dress, and remarks (iv, p. 301) several customs evidently copied from the natives. Pyrard (*Voyage*, ii, p. 11) says: "Ils ont force calsons sans quoy ne couchent iamais tous les Portugais des Indes, et leur vont iusques aux pieds, a cause que toutes leurs chemises sont forte courtes".....

them in Fléet to sea,<sup>1</sup> as also to have their friendship, by night and [at] other times to beare them company, or to helpe them to bee revenged of any injury by them received, as [I] said before: for that he which in India hath most souldiers to his friends, is most regarded and feared. So that to bee short, in this manner they doe maintaine themselves in common,<sup>2</sup> [whereby they are able to come in presence] of the best of the countrie. Manie and most of them have their chiefe maintenance from the Portingales and Mesticos wives, as also the Indian Christians [wives], which doe alwaies bestow liberall rewardes and giftes [uppon them] to satisfie [and fulfill] their unchaste and filthy desires, which they know very well how to accomplish, and secretly bring to passe.<sup>3</sup> There are some likewise that get their livings by their friends, travelling for them from place to place with some wares and marchandises, they are called Chattiins.<sup>4</sup> These doe give over [and leave] the officer of a souldier in the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : " ..... in the summer armada".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "honourably in common.....without difference".....

<sup>3</sup> Pyrard (ii, p. 135) says : " La plupart font amitié avec filles et femmes, qu'ils appellent *solteras*, qui veut dire femmes impudiques, et non mariées, et demeurent ensemble fort librement, comme s'ils estoient mariez. Ces filles ou femmes veufues, se tiennent bien honorées quand vn homme blanc, s'entend de l'Europe, les recherche par amitié. Car elles l'entretiennent et nourrissent du mieux qu'ils peuvent, et le blanchissent de tout linge necessaire. Aussi les soldats ou *amigos*, comme ils les appellent, les maintiennent, et supportent en toutes choses, mesmes ils en sont jaloux comme si c'estoient leurs propres femmes, et pour cela se batroient et tueroient fort librement en duel."

<sup>4</sup> *Chattijns*, i.e., Chetties or traders (Hind., Sethah, Mahr. Çet, supposed to be from the Sanskrit "Çreshtha" = best or chief), as appears from what Pyrard (ii, p. 123) says : "Nauires et Galientes marchans, qu'ils nomment *Nauies de chatie*, à la difference des autres qu'ils appellent *Nauies d'Armada* ..... la plupart des soldats qui ont dequoy, ne laissent de faire commerce en faisant leurs voyages pour le service du Roy ; cela leur estant permis, voire mesme necessaire pour le peu de butin et gages qu'ils ont." Della Valle (*Viaggi*, iv, p. 305) makes a statement that, "Captains of Forts, and Captains General, and the like" did not think it below them to trade.

Fléete, and the Kinges service: for as [it] is said there is no man compelled thereunto,<sup>1</sup> although their names be registred in the office,<sup>2</sup> yet doe they still kéepe the name of souldier, as long as they travaile abroad and are not married. The souldiers in these dayes give themselves more [to be] Chattiins, and to deale [in Marchandise] then to serve the King in his Armado, because the Captaines and Gentlemen begin to be slacke in doing good unto them, as in times past they used to doe. Also they give themselves to rest and pleasure: wherefore if they can devise any meanes for it they had rather travaile and deale in trade of Marchandise,<sup>3</sup> and to marie and be quiet, in respect that the common souldiers in these dayes are but slackely paide:<sup>4</sup> for that when they

<sup>1</sup> If this was the case when V. Linschoten was at Goa, the "soldiers" were soon after compelled to go in the fleets. Cfr. Della Valle, iv, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "though they come in the register from Portugal".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "had rather engage in trade to go from one place to another, and to".....

<sup>4</sup> A. Hamilton, in his *New Account* (ed. of 1744, vol. i, p. 252), gives a similar account of the condition of the soldiery about 1700: "And the Soldiery, Fishers, Peasants and Handicrafts feed on a little Rice boiled in Water, with a little bit of salt Fish, or *Atchaar*, which is pickled Fruits or Roots, and drink fair Water, when they can get it. This fine spare Diet never loads them with superabundant Flesh on their Bones, and, without the Church, it is rare to find a corpulent Man among them. They are generally very weak and feeble, but whether that proceeds from their Diet, or from their too great Inclinations to Venery, or from both, I am not Physician enough to determine. Their Soldier's Pay is very small and ill paid. They have but six *Xerapheen* per Month, and two suits of Calico, striped or chequered, in a Year. Their two Suits may amount to forty *Xerapheen*; and a *Xerapheen* is worth about sixteen Pence Half-peny *Sterl.* Out of these six *Xerapheens* in Money that they are to receive, their Captain, who is Barrack-master and Victualler to his Company, detains five, and the other one is paid in small Money to discharge the Accounts of the Shoemaker, Taylor, Barber, Washerman and Tobacconist, so that Frugality is no great Virtue among them, tho' Theft is, and really they are very dextrous in that Art, as well as in Murder, for if they are detected in committing such innocent Crimes, the very next Church is a Sanctuary for them, and neither divine or human Laws can affect them after they get in there."

have at the least ten or twenty certificates [to shew] for their [former] services, then have they not the meanes to [furnish themselves with provision to] make a voyage into Portingale, or to take any presents with them there to bestow [them]: for without such [meanes] they are neyther heard nor [yet] regarded, and if [it fall out that] they doe procure [the reversion of] any offices,<sup>1</sup> it is so long before the time commeth that they doe enioy them, beeing many in reversion,<sup>2</sup> that oftentimes they die before they can obtaine them. Againe the long travaile and great voyage<sup>3</sup> maketh many to stay in India, and to employ [their time to other trades], as they can best provide [themselves]. By these meanes<sup>4</sup> the wars in India are not so hot,<sup>5</sup> [nor so thoroughly looked into], neyther any other countries sought into or founde out, as at first they used to doe. Now they doe onely strive to get praise and commendation, and to leave a good report behinde [them]: and now likewise they are all given to scraping [and catching], as well as the Viceroy, Governours, and others,<sup>6</sup> as also the [Church men and] spiritualtie, little passing [or esteeming] the common profit or the service of the King, but only their particular profits, making their account, that the time of their abode is but threé years: wherefore they say they will not doe otherwise then those that were before them did, but [say that] others which come after them shall take care for all: for that the King (say they) gave them their offices, [thereby] to pay them for their services [in times past], and not for the profit of the commonwealth: therefore there is no more [countries] in India won or new found out, but

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... if they get any office or post according to their quality".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... and one is provided after the other, that".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... the distance of the way and the peril of the tedious sea-voyage makes many".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... causes".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... are not pursued so warmly".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... all others".....

rather heere and there some places lost, for they have enough to doe, to hold<sup>1</sup> that they have already,<sup>2</sup> [and to defende it from invasion], as also that they doe scoure the Sea coastes, and yet many Marchants have great losses every years, by meanes of the sea rovers,<sup>3</sup> and, together with the evill government of the Portingales,<sup>4</sup> and it is to be feared, it will bee worser every day [then other], as it is evidently séene. This shall suffice for the manners and customes of the Indian Portingales, and their war[like governments], which is commonly by sea, for by lande they cannot travaile, by reason of the different kingdomes, and nations [consisting] of divers [severall] sortes of people which are alwaies [enemies, and] never [live] in peace, and some of them being friends, other enemies to the Portingales: for the Portingales have only some Townes, places and fortresses, with their Havens on the sea coast, without holding any thing within the land, as in the description of the coast wee have [already] declared.

By the pictures hereafter following may be séene [the formes and portraitures of] the Portingales that are married, and of the souldiers in India, as they walke in the stréetes: as also howe they ride,<sup>5</sup> not onely gentlemen, but every man that hath the abilitie to keepe a horse, as well Marchantes as handicraftes men of what sort soever they bee, and

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: " ... .. to hold and protect" .....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: " ..... which they possess and have had for many years in their power".....

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle says much that shows that the expeditions to defend the traders from pirates were very badly managed.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: " ..... through the insecurity of the sea and negligence of the Portuguese and their government".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "ride on horses". Pyrard (ii, p. 74) says: " Les hommes de qualité Portugais ne marchent iamais qu'à cheual, ont grand nombre de cheuaux, qui leur viennent de Perse et d'Arabie..... Les harnois de ces cheuaux viennent de Bengale, de la Chine et de Perse, tous en broderie de soye, et enrichis d'or et d'argent, et de perles fines. Les estriez d'argent doré.....s'ils ne vont à cheual ils se font porter en vne litière ou *Palanquin*." Cfr. also p. 79 as to the way these horses were kept.

howe they cause themselves to be carried in Palamkins,<sup>1</sup> in the stréetes and throughout the townes, when they will not ride nor goe on foote. [You] may likewise see their fustes<sup>2</sup> wherwith they go to warre upon the water which the Malabares their enimies doe likewise use, (for they have no other [sorts of] scutes nor shippes) [and] doe much mischief therewith: they are verie light, as well to saile as to row, they use them also for Marchandise, because of the fitnes of the same, to passe [from place to place].

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### THE 31. CHAPTER.

Of the maner and customes of Portingale and Mesticos<sup>3</sup> women in India.

The Portingales, Mesticos,<sup>3</sup> and Indian Christian women in India, are little [séene abroad], but for the most part sit still<sup>4</sup> within the house, and goe but seldome forth, unlesse it be to Church, or to visit their friends,<sup>5</sup> which is likewise but verie little, and when they goe abroad, they are well provided not to be seene, for they are carried in a Pallamkin covered with a mat or [other] cloth, so that they cannot be seene.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle (*Viaggi*, iv, p. 167) says: "Going in a Palankin is prohibited to men in the Portuguese territory in India, for, in truth, it is too effeminate: anyhow, as the Portuguese are very little observers of all their laws, firstly on account of the rains, and by favour or for gifts, they began to use them; and then, little by little, it was extended, so that at last all use them and all the year." (Cfr. Pyrard's statement in the last note.)

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... the fashions of their fustes".....

<sup>3</sup> Should be *Mestigos*. The original has "Mestisen".

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... concealed in (their) house".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... to visit one another".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... so that they cannot be, anyhow, seen"..... A practice copied from the natives.



When they goe to church, or to visit [any friend], they put on very costly apparrell, with bracelets of gold, and rings<sup>1</sup> upon their armes, [all beset with] costly Jewels and pearles, and at their eares hang laces full of Jewels.<sup>2</sup> [Their] clothes [are] of Damaske, Velvet, and cloth of gold, for silke is the worst [thing] they doe weare. Within the house they goe bare headed with a wastcoate called Baju,<sup>3</sup> that from their shoulders covereth [their] navels, and is so fine that you may see al their body through it, and downewardes<sup>4</sup> they have nothing but a painted cloth wrapped thrée or foure times about [their] bodies. These clothes are very faire, some of them being very costly [wrought] with [loome worke, and] divers figures and flowers<sup>5</sup> of all colours, all the rest of the body is naked without any hose, but onely bare footed in [a paire of] moyles<sup>6</sup> or pantofles, and the men in like sort. This is their manner<sup>7</sup> in the house both old, and young, rich, and poore, none excepted, for they goe forth but very little, and then they are [both] covered and carried, and what they néed abroad that the slaves both men and women doe fetch in. The women eat no bread or very

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Manilias", i.e., Port. "Manilhas"=bracelets.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "vol Juweelen ende Cleynodien", i.e., full of "jewels and ornaments".

<sup>3</sup> "Baju", i.e., Hind. "bāzū"—"a kind of short shirt, reaching down to the hips, with very short (if any) sleeves; sometimes open at the upper part of the chest in front". (*Qanoon-e-Islam*, ed. 1863, p. xv.) "Jupe ou Bajus." Pyrard (ii, p. 117).

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "below the navel".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "figuren ende loof-werck", i.e., "figures and foliage".

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Inde muylen ofte Pantoffelen"....., i.e., "clogs or slippers". Kilian has: "*Muyl*. Mullens, sandaleum: calcamenti genus alto solo. *Gal. mule*: *Ital. mulo*: *Hisp. mula*." Pyrard (ii, p. 106) says of the women at Goa: "Ces Dames entrans en l'Eglise, sont aydées par la main par vn homme ou deux, car elles ne peuvent marcher seules pour la hauteur de leurs patins, d'vn demy pied de haut le plus souuent, et qui ne sont serrez par dessus".

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... dress".....

little, nor yet the slaves,<sup>1</sup> not that they refuse it for the dearenes [or want of bread, (for they have enough and great abundance) but they are so used to eate rice, that they desire no other, which they séeth with water and eate it with some salt fish, or a [kinde of] salt fruit called Mangas,<sup>2</sup> or with some other composition<sup>3</sup> [both] of fish and flesh, with pottage<sup>4</sup> which they powre upon it, and [so] eate it with their handes: for there they eate nothing with spoones, and if they should see any man doe so, they would laugh at him.<sup>5</sup> When<sup>6</sup> they drinke they have certaine pots made of blacke earth very fine and thin, much like those<sup>7</sup> that we use in Holland for flower pottes,<sup>8</sup> having in the necke thereof a partition full of holes [with a spout], (and these cruses<sup>9</sup> are called Gorgoletta), to this end, that when they drinke, they may hold [the potte] on high, and touch it not with their mouthes, but the water running from the spout<sup>10</sup> falleth into their mouthes, never spilling drop, which they doe for cleanlinesse, because no man should put it to [his] mouth, and when any man commeth newly out of Portingall,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... male or female slaves".....

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, pickled fruit of the mango.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, curry.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, pepper water (mulligatawny), *i.e.*, Tamil, "mila<sub>u</sub>-tannir".

<sup>5</sup> They used to throw their spoons overboard on passing the Cape. Pyrard (*Voyage*, ii, pp. 126-7): "Ces honneurs et titres que les soldats se donnent entr'eux, ce n'est que depuis qu'ils ont passé le Cap de bonne Esperance, car lors ils quittent presque toutes leurs modes et coutumes, et iettent toutes leurs cuilliers en la mer." Della Valle (*Viaggi*, iv, p. 301) makes some very severe remarks on the way of eating used by the Portuguese in India: "The Indians eat all things with their hands alone, and even the Portuguese (I don't know whether they have learnt it in India from the Indians, or whether it is their custom) also for the most part eat mostly with the hand alone without a spoon, very dirtily".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "In the like way when".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "pullen", *i.e.*, "pots".

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch: "to put flowers in".

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch: "cruycxken", *i.e.*, "pots".

<sup>10</sup> Orig. Dutch: "gaetgiens"....., *i.e.*, "holes in the partition in the neck"..... These pots were, probably, Arabian.

and then beginneth to drinke after their manner,<sup>1</sup> because he is not used to that kinde of drinking, he spilleth it in his bosome, wherein they take great pleasure and laugh at him, calling him Reynol,<sup>2</sup> which is a name given in iest to such as newlie come from Portingall, and know not how to behave themselves in such grave manner, and with such ceremonies as the Portingales use there in India.<sup>3</sup> so that at the first they are much whooped and cried at in the stréets, untill by use [and practise] they have learned the Indian manner, which they quicklie doe. The men are very iealous of their wives, for they will never bring any<sup>4</sup> man into their houses, how special a friend [soever] hee bee, that shall see their wives or [their] daughters, unlesse it bee some gossip or any other married man with his wife in companie. When they will goe together to some place<sup>6</sup> to sport and solace themselves, they are alwaies well guarded by their slaves, both men and women both for their safety and service. If any man commeth to the doore to aske for the master [of the house], presently the wives and their

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... manners, as is said".....

<sup>2</sup> Pyrard (*Voyage*, ii, p. 128) says: *Quand ils sont nouvellement arrivez aux Indes, on les nomme Raignolles, c'est à dire gens du Royaume, et les anciens se moquent d'eux.*" This word should be written "reinol" and (plural) "reinoes".

<sup>3</sup> Just as English coming to India were, for the first year, laughed at as "Griffins". But this habit has now become obsolete, so far as I know. Pyrard says (ii, p. 128): "*Quand ils sont nouvellement arriuez aux Indes, on les nomme Raignolles, c'est à dire gens du Royaume, et les anciens se moquent d'eux, iusques à qu'ils ayent fait vn ou deux voyages avec eux, et ayent appris les constumes et façons des Indes; et ce nom leur demeure tant qu'il soit venu d'autres nauires l'an d'apres..... Les marchands Indiens sont bien aises de les voir, dautant qu'ils sont plus aisez à tromper.*" It would thus appear that the old Anglo-Indian custom of calling new-comers "Griffins", etc., is copied from the Portuguese.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "any other".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Compere". (See note 3 on p. 196 above.)

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "een spelhuijs ofte elders".

daughters run to hide them,<sup>1</sup> and so leave the man to answer him that standeth at the dore: likewise they suffer no man to dwell within their houses, where the women and daughters bee,<sup>2</sup> howe néere kinsman [soever] he be unto them, being once 15. yeares of age, nor their owne sons, but have certaine chambers and places beneath, or besides [their] house where they lye, and may in no sort come among the women, and thether they send [them] their meate and [other] provisions, for it hath oftentimes béene séene [in those countries], that the uncles sonne hath laine by his aunt, and the brother by the brothers wife, and the brother with his sister: whereof I have knowne some that have bin taken with the manner, and that [both] they and the woman have beene slaine by the husbands. The women are very luxurious and unchaste,<sup>3</sup> for there are verie few among them, although they bee married, but they have besides their husbands one or two of those that are called souldiers, with whome they take their pleasures: which to effect, they use al the slights and practises [they can devise, by] sending out their slaves and baudes by night, and at extraordinary times, over walles, hedges, and ditches, how narrowlie [soever] they are kept [and looked unto]. They have likewise an hearbe called

<sup>1</sup> This is a Muhammedan habit.

<sup>2</sup> A harem after Muhammedan fashion.

<sup>3</sup> Luillier (*Voyage aux grandes Indes*, 1705, pp. 110-1) gives the following account of the half-caste women: "On trouve dans les Indes des femmes mistis, c'est-à-dire, sorties d'un sang Européen et d'un sang Indien; ces femmes sont luxurieuses à l'exces, et se prostituënt d'une maniere honteuse, elles sont tres-laides, d'un air ridicule, et cependant tres-amoureuses, les unes s'habillent à l'Indienne, les autres à la Portugaise. Comme les Portugais sont les premiers de l'Europe qui se sont établis dans les Indes, on y trouve plusieurs de ces Mistis qui en sont sorties." Pyrard (ii, p. 119) says: ".....à Goa les femmes...(sont) fort impudiques"..... The opinion of the older writers about the half-castes is confirmed by modern writers, e.g., Dr. Wylie says (in Dr. Dobell's *Reports* (ii, p. 227, for 1870) that the Malay half-castes are "slenderly built, weak in body and often in mind, small in stature." What V. Linschoten wrote is true now.

Deutroa,<sup>1</sup> which beareth a séed, whereof brusing out the sap, they [put it into a cup or other vessell, and] give it to their husbands, eyther in meate or drinke, and presently therewith, the man is as though hee were halfe out of his wits, and without feeling, or els drunke, [doing nothing but] laugh, and sometime it taketh him sleeping, [whereby he lieth] like a dead man, so that in his presence they may doe what they will, and take their pleasure with their friends,<sup>2</sup> and the husband never know of it. In which sort he continueth foure and twentie houres long, but if they wash his féete with colde water hee presently reviveth, and knoweth nothing thereof, but thinketh he had slept.

*Deutroa* of some called *Tacula*,<sup>3</sup> of others *Datura*, in Spanish

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Dhattūra (*Datura Alta. Nees*), a common weed in India; it may now be commonly seen in gardens in Italy. Garcia de Orta (*Colloquios*, pp. 83-4) mentions the use of datura for criminal purposes, and tells a story of a mistress at Goa who was drugged by a servant in order to rob her. Acosta (*Tractado*, p. 85) also described it. Pyrrard (ii, pp. 118-9) has: "..... ils l'appellent *Dutroa*. Quand les femmes veulent jouyr de leurs amours en toute assurance, elles font boire à leurs maris de ces fruicts destrempez en leur boisson ou en potage, et vne heure après ils deuiennent estourdia, et comme insensez, chantans, rians et faisans mille singeries, car ils ont lors perdu toute cognoissance et iugement, sans sçauoir ce qu'ils font, ny ce qui se fait en leur presence.....Cela leur dure cinq ou six heures, plus ou moins selon la quantité de la prise.....Quand aussi les hommes veulent jouyr d'vne fille ou femme, et qu'ils n'en peuvent venir à bout. ils leur en font prendre tout de mesme, et quand elles sont en ceste folie, ils en font ce qu'ils veulent, sans qu'elles s'en apperçoient après." This poisonous drug is, now-a-days, much used by thieves who frequent highways and attach themselves to parties of native travellers to whom, on some pretence or other, they administer some of it, and then easily rob them. Large doses often cause death, but the criminals are not often hanged, as the lawyers in India consider that the intention is not to cause death. Europeans are also, no doubt, often drugged by their servants in India with datura (??).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... paramour".....

<sup>3</sup> *Tatula* is the Turkish corruption of *dhatura*, through Persian; *dhattūra* or *dhustūra* being the Sanskrit and Indian name, though this seems to be a foreign word. *Tacula* is a misprint for *Tatula*.

*Burla Dora, in Dutch Igell Kolben, in Malaba Vumata Caya,<sup>1</sup> in Canara Datura, in Arabia Marana,<sup>2</sup> in Persia and Turkie Datula. Of the description of this hearbe and fruit you may read in the Herballes, if any man receaveth or eateth but halfe a dramme of this seed, hee is for a time bereaved of his wits, and taken with an unmesurable laughter.*

There are<sup>4</sup> many men poysoned by their wives, if they once be mooved: for they know howe to make a [certaine] poyson or venome, which shall kill the person that drinketh it, at what [time or] houre it pleaseth them: which poyson being prepared, they make it in such sort, that it will lye sixe yeres in [a mans] body, and never doe him hurt, and then kil him,<sup>5</sup> without missing halfe an houres time.<sup>6</sup> They make it also for one, two, or thrée yeares, monthes, or dayes, as it pleaseth them [best], as I have seene it in many, and there it is very common. There are likewise many women brought to their ends by [meanes of] their husbandes, and slaine when soever they take them in adulterie, or that they doe but once suspect them, [if they doe presently] they cut their throats, and bring three or foure witnesses to testifie that strange men entred into their houses by night, at unaccustomed times, or els by day, [and had their pleasures] of their

<sup>1</sup> Malm. (and Tamil) ummatta-kkây. The first part of; this word (=datura-fruit) is clearly a derivative of the Sanskrit *umatta*=intoxicant; the plant, therefore, is probably an importation into Malabar, and not indigenous in the west coast of India.

<sup>2</sup> An error. The Arabian name is *Jauz masal*.

<sup>3</sup> Annotation by Dr. Paludanus (Orig. etc.)

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "There are also".....

<sup>5</sup> This notion also obtains in Java. Pyrard also tells it of the women of Goa (ii, p. 135): "Car si elles scauent que quelqu'vn ait frequentation avec d'autres femmes ou filles, ou qu'il eust volonté de se marier, ou les quitter.....elles l'empoisonneront avec vne certaine drogue, qui le pouurra faire encore durer six mois, mais au bout il faut qu'il meure."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "without doing any hurt, and when the hour approaches, for which they have made it, it will act without".....

wives, or in other sort as they will devise it, whereby they are presently discharged [of the crime] according to the lawes and ordinances [both] of Spaine and Portingall, and presently may marrie with another [wife]. This [notwithstanding] is no meanes to make the women feare, or once to leave their filthie pleasures, although there are everie yeare manie women without number so dispatched [and made away] by their husbands, and it is so common with them, that no man thinketh it strange,<sup>1</sup> [or once wondereth thereat] because of the costume. The women also for their part say [and] flatly [affirme], that there can be no better death, than to die in that manner, saying that so they are sacrificed for love, which they thinke to be a great honour [unto them]. The women are by nature very cleanelie and neat, as well in their houses as in apparell,<sup>2</sup> for that although all whatsoever she putteth on her bodie every day, is [both white, cleane and] fresh: yet they have a manner everie day to wash [themselves] all the body [over], from head to foote, and some times twyse [a day], in the morning and at evening: and as often as they ease themselves or make water, or [else] use the companie of their husbands, everie time they doe wash [themselves], were it a hundreth times a day and night: they are no great workers, but much delighted in swéet hearbs, and in perfumes and frankincense, and to rub their bodies and their foreheads with swéet sanders<sup>3</sup> and such like woods, which with water they doe stéep or breake in peéces:<sup>4</sup> also the whole day long they [doe nothing, but sit and] chawe leaves [or hearbes],

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "that no one wonders at all at it, as it is usual."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "as their persons and body."

<sup>3</sup> A habit copied from the Hindus, as the author says on the next page. The object seems to be to alleviate "eczema" and "lichen tropicus", and similar irritations of the skin produced by the heat, as well as for perfumery.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Malen ofte wryven", i.e., "grind and rub."

called Bettele,<sup>1</sup> with chalke and a [certain] fruit called Arrequa, whereof in an other place among fruites and hearbs I wil speake more. This Arrequa, some of it is so strong, that it maketh men almost drunke, and wholly out of sense,<sup>2</sup> although in shewe and in taste it is almost like wood or rootes: these 3 thinges they sit all the whole day chawing [in their mouthes], like oxen or kyne chawing the cud: they let the sap goe down in[to their throats], and spit the rest out [of their mouthes], whereby they make their mouthes so red and blackish, that to such as know it not it is strange to see: all which, with [their] washing, frankinscence, and rubing with sanders, they have [learned and] received of the Indian Heathens, which have had those customes of long time, and yet till this day [use them]: they say it preserveth the téeth, and kéepeth them sound, good for the mawe, and against a stincking mouth and evill breath,<sup>3</sup> insomuch as they are so used to chaw it, that wheresoever they goe or stand, they must alwaies have [of] those leaves carryed with them, and the women slaves do likewise goe alwaies chawing,<sup>4</sup> and are so used thereunto, that they verily thinke, that without it they can not live, for their common worke is to sit all day,

<sup>1</sup> Pyrard (ii, pp. 17-8) says: "elles (les femmes) vsent aussi jour et nuict du bettel comme font les Indiens."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "ende gauts ginder en weer suyselden".....*i e.*, "and reeling to one side and the other".....

<sup>3</sup> A Sanskrit verse in the *Hítópadeça* (98, 15 = iii, 103) attributes thirteen virtues to betel:

"Tāmbūlam katu tiktam ushnam madhuraṃ xāram kashāyāuvitam  
 Vi-taghnam kaphanāçanam krimiharam durgandhanirñāçanam  
 Vaktrasyābharanam viçuddhikaranam kāmāguisandīpanam  
 Tāmbūlasya sakhe trayodaça guṇāḥ svarge 'pi te durlabūḥ."

*I.e.*, "Betel (is) sharp, bitter, warm, sweet, alkaline and astringent; destroys flatulence and phlegm, removes worms, removes evil breath, (is) an ornament to the mouth, a purifier, a kindler of the flame of love. These thirteen virtues of betel (are), O friend, hard to be found even in heaven" (*Cfr.* v. Böhthlingk's *Indische Sprüche*,<sup>2</sup> ii, p. 65, No. 2536).

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "go in the streets chewing where they go."



when their husbands are out [of doores], behind the mat, which hangeth at the winndow, alwaies chawing the [hearbe] Bettlele, séeing those that passe by in the stréetes, and no man séeth them: but as any man passeth by which liketh them, and they will let them have a sight, they lift up the mat, whereby they doe the passinger<sup>1</sup> a great favour, and with that manner of shewing themselves and casting lookes, they make their beginnings of love, which by their slavish women they bring to effect: to the which end they have all develish devises [that possible may be invented], for that both night and day they do practise nothing else, but make it their [onely] worke, and to make nature more lively [to abound and] move them thereunto,<sup>2</sup> they do use to eat those Betteles, Arrequas, and chalk, and in the night it standeth by their bed [sides, this] they eat whole handfults of Cloves, Pepper, Ginger, and a baked kind of meat<sup>3</sup> called Chachunde,<sup>4</sup> which is mixed [and made] of all kindes of Spices and hearbs, and such like meates,<sup>5</sup> all to increase their leachery.

*Cachunde in my opinion is made of the mixtures<sup>6</sup> called Galixè Moscatø, with the sape of sweet wood: [they] are blacke cakes whereon certaine characters are printed,<sup>7</sup> at the first very bitter of taste, but in the end verie pleasant and sweet, they strengthen the hart and the marve, and make a sweet breath.<sup>8</sup>*

And they are not content therewith, but give their hus-

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... the passer by".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "fiery desires."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... spice".....

<sup>4</sup> *Chachunde*. This seems to be much the same as the ma'jün of the Muhammedans. The name appears to be Hind. mahr. Khājā (=sweetmeat, Hind. khājā, from Sanskrit khādyā), undī (=a ball of rice or dough). *Ma'jün* is made of extract of *ganja* (or hemp) boiled down with sugar and spices, and made into cakes (Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 2nd ed. p. xci). The Orig. Dutch has "cachunde".

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "spicery and hot herbs mixed together, and other such spices".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... spices".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "stand."

<sup>8</sup> Note by Dr. Paludanus.

bandes a thousand hearbs for the same purpose, to eate, they not knowing thereof, thereby to fulfill their pleasures, and to satisfie their desires, which can not by any meanes be satisfied. They are likewise much used to take their pleasures in Bathes, by swimming therein, which they can very well doe, for there are very few of them, but they would easilie swimme over a river of halfe a myle broad.

This shall suffice for [their] women, now I will procéed to other matters. And the better to understand the shapes and formes of their women, together with their apparell, you may behold it here, when they goe to Church and els where,<sup>1</sup> both wives, maids, and widdows,<sup>2</sup> [everie one by themselves], as also how they goe in their houses, with their dish of Bettele in their hands, being their daylie chawing [worke]: also how they are carried in Pallankins through the stréet, with their women slaves round about them:<sup>3</sup> also with their husbands and slaves by night, going to anie sport, or els to Church, which they use after ye manner of pilgrimes, for then they go on foot, whereby they thinke to deserve greater reward, which by day is not permitted them, for they are not so much trusted: these visitations or night pilgrimages they hold and estéem for a great recreation and frédome, for that they hope, watch and looke for the same, as children doe for wake-dayes<sup>4</sup> and other playing times: likewise the women slaves doe make some account thereof, because they doe never go abroad, but only at such times,<sup>5</sup> or to Church on festiuall dayes behind their Pallamkins, upon the which dayes they advertise their lovers, and leave their mistresses in the Churches, or slip into some shoppe or corner, which they have redie at their fingers endes, where their lovers

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : " as they go to church or out."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : " that can be each distinguished by their clothes."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : " before, behind, and by their side"... ..

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch :..... " kermissen" .....i.e., " fairs."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : " bevarden", i.e., " excursions."

méet them, and [there] in hast they have a sport, [which done] they leave each other : and if she chance to have a Portingal or a white man to her lover, she is so proud, that she thinketh no woman comparable unto her, and among themselves doe bragge [thereof], and will steale both from master and mistresse to give them,<sup>1</sup> with the which manie Soldiers doe better maintaine themselves, then with the kinges pay ; and if [it chaunceth that] these slavish women be with child, they are their maisters [children], who are therewith very wel content, for [so] they are their captives, but if the father be a Portingale, or [some] other frée man, when the childe is borne, he may within 8 dayes challenge it for his, paying the maister a small péece of money [for it], [as much] as by law is thereunto ordeined, and so [the child shall ever after] be frée, but not the mother : but if he stay above 8 or 10 dayes, and within that time no man cometh to challenge it, although it be a free mans [child], and he after that shall come to aske it, then it is the mothers maisters slave, and he may hold it at as high a price<sup>2</sup> as pleaseth him, without constraint to sell it,<sup>3</sup> and it falleth out verie little, or [else] never that the mother destroyeth her child, or casteth it away, or sendeth it to the father, be she never so poore, frée or captive, for they delight more in [their] children, and take more pleasure in carrying them abroad,<sup>4</sup> specially when it is a white mans [child], then in all the riches of the world, and by no meanes will give it to the father, unlesse it should be

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ to give to their lovers and paramours.”

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ as high or low price.”

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ without that any one can compel him to sell it.”

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : “..... en haran roem op draghen principelijck alst van een wit man is”.....i.e., “glory in it, especially if it (be) a white man’s (child)”.....Latin of 1599, “ Nam ex peculiaris sexus gloria est imprimis si ex albo viro mater pregnans sit” (p. 41)—of De Bry : “..... pluriusque faciunt infantem, præsertim si ex viro albo susceptus fuerit, quam thesauros totius mundi”..... (p. 87). French : “..... tiennent pour gloire non petite d’avoir esté engrossiés d’un homme blanc” ..... (p. 65).

secretly stolen from her, and so conveyed away. The nursing [and bringing up] of the Portingales Mesticos<sup>1</sup> children is, that from the time of their birth they are kept naked onely with a little short shyrt (like the womens Bain,<sup>2</sup> [which they weare] about their bodies), and nothing else, till they be of yeares to weare breches, or other clothes. Some of them are nursed by their slaves, and some by Indian women, which they hire, whose shape and forme you may see, following the Palamkin wherein the wife is carried, even as they goe bearing their children.<sup>3</sup>

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### THE 32. CHAPTER.

Of the Viceroy of Portingall, and of his government in India.<sup>4</sup>

Everie 3. yeares there is a new Viceroy sent into India, and some time they stay longer, as it pleaseth the King, but verie few of them,<sup>5</sup> hee continueth<sup>6</sup> in Goa (which is the chiefe Cittie [of India]) where he hath his house and continuall residence, and from thence all other townes in India: have their direction and government. [From Goa] everie yeare the Portingall armie is prepared and sent out, as [I] said before, he hath his counsell, Nobles,<sup>7</sup> Chancerie, and Justices, as they use in Portingall, and all lawes and Justice, are by him executed and fulfilled in the Kings name, yet if there be [any] matter of importance, which concerneth

<sup>1</sup> Read "Mestiços". The original has: "Mestises and other Christians' children".....

<sup>2</sup> A misprint for "baju". See above, p. 206 n. 3, = shirt.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "all done after the life....."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "in Goa."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "but very seldom."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "he has his residence in Goa....."

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "tribunals."

the Civill lawes, they may appeale to Portingall, but in criminall [causes] no man [may appeale],<sup>1</sup> but such as have the degree of a Gentleman, such the Viceroy may not iudge,<sup>2</sup> but being prisoners, send them into Portingall, unlesse it be by the Kings commaundement, he is verie magnificent in his estate, and goeth little out, but sometimes on Sundaies, or holy daies, when hee goeth to Church, and when hee goeth out [of his house], the Trumpets and Shalmes, [standing] in the Gallerie of his house do sound,<sup>3</sup> he<sup>4</sup> is accompanied by all the Gentlemen and townes men of Goa, that have [or kéepe] horses, with [a Garde of] Halbardiers on foote, both on each side and behinde him, and being in the Church, hee hath his seate<sup>5</sup> in the Quier, lyned with Velvet, and nayled with gylt nayles, and a cloth with two Velvet cushins, under his féete and knées, and before him a bench,<sup>6</sup> with a Velvet Cushen to leane his armes upon, his Gentlemen sit by him, but without the Quier, and by him standeth his Chaplen, that prayeth for him. The Archbishop (when hee is at the Church) sitteth on his left hand, in the same manner, upon Carpets, Cushens, and bench of Velvet,<sup>7</sup> where they are served in all ceremonial [order], as the Kings of Portingall

<sup>1</sup> This is the case at present in British India.

<sup>2</sup> Pyrard (ii, 77-8) says: "Ce Vice-Roy est là obey comme le Roy d'Espagne, et a la mesme autorité, pouant donner graces, ou condamner à mort sans appel, si ce n'est en l'endroit des Gentils-hommes, qu'ils appelleut *Fidalgos*. Car ceux-là es'ans appellans de chose ou criminelle, ou ciuile, ils les enuoyent les fers aux pieds prisonniers en Portugal." The Royal warrants about the administration of justice in the Portuguese possessions are given in full by Purchas (ii, pp. 1512-1521).

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... make pleasant music in the gallery of his palace."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and riding out he is escorted and accompanied".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "arm chair".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "a small stool like a bench".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "on the same kind of stools and cushions".....

in their Churches use to be, and when he commeth home<sup>1</sup> againe, the Trumpets and Shalimes doe sound, as when he went out. In the hall of his Palace stand the Gard, and in the great hall, where his Councill sit, are painted<sup>2</sup> all the Viceroyes, that have governed in India since the first discovery and conquest thereof, and as they new come, their pictures are likewise placed there. Also in<sup>3</sup> the entrie of the Palace are painted al the ships, that since the first discoverie of India,<sup>4</sup> ever came out of Portingall [into those countries], every yeare by it selfe, and the names and surnames of their Captaines,<sup>5</sup> with a note over everie shippe which was cast away, or had any mischaunce, all lively<sup>6</sup> set forth, for a perpetuall memorie, and everie yeare as any ship commeth thether, they are set by the rest.

The Viceroyes in the last yeare of their government, do use to visite the Forts lying round about [the countrie], fiftie, sixtie, or eightie miles long, on the North and South side of Goa, to see how they are governed, they looke well unto them, but commonly an other supplyeth their place, and if they doe it themselves, it is more to fill their purses, and to get presents, then to further the commonwealth, these Viceroyes have great revenewes,<sup>7</sup> they may spend, give,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "to his palace".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "painted after the life". ....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "in the outermost gallery in the entry".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....of India to the present day".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....of the captains of the same ships".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... truthfully"

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... revenues, and do all that they will." In 1580, the Governor-General received £4587: 4: 4 pay a year (Menezes, in Purchas, ii, p. 1523). Now he has about £1250 salary. In earlier times, they had many irregular sources of revenue, as Van Linschoten states further on. Apart from the difference of the value of money now and in the sixteenth century, the Viceroyes must have made the large fortunes they are said to have taken home with them out of something else than their pay. Pyrard (ii, p. 83) says: "Pour les gages et appointemens du Vice-Roy, c'est peu de chose au prix des grands profits qu'il peut faire durant les trois ans de sa charge; ce qui

and kéepe the Kings treasure, which is verie much, and [doe with it] what pleaseth them, for it is in their choyse, having full and absolute power from the King, in such sort, that they gather [and horde up] a mightie quantitie of treasure,<sup>1</sup> for that besides their great allowance<sup>2</sup> from the King, they have great presents and giftes, bestowed upon them.<sup>3</sup> For it is the custome [in those countries], when any Viceroy commeth newly over,<sup>4</sup> that all the Kings bordering about Goa, and that have peace and friendship with the Portingales, do then send their Ambassadors unto him, to confirme their leagues with great and rich presents,<sup>5</sup> therewith likewise to bid the Viceroy welcome, which amounteth to a great masse of treasure:<sup>6</sup> these presents in this sort given, the Jesuites by their practises had obtained of the King, and for a time enioyed them at their pleasure (looking verie narrowly unto them, that they might not bee deceived) untill long time since, a Viceroy named Don lois de Taide<sup>6</sup> Earle of Atougia<sup>7</sup> [came

se monte quelquefois à pres d'un million d'or. Son appointment est de trente mille Croisades, qui valent chacune deux perdos ou enuiron. Ce qui n'est suffisant pour son entretien, n'estoit les presens, profits et autres pratiques qui montent à beaucoup." On p. 87 he adds: "..... toutes les richesses des Vice-Roys viennent de pillerie et de larcin" .....

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "much money and jewels that is unspeakable" .....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "income and fixed salary".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... from all sides".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... to his government".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... presents of jewels and trinkets."

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, the tenth Viceroy, Dom Luiz de Ataide, who governed from the 10th of September 1568 to the 6th of September 1571. He did not succeed in getting the approval of the Jesuits, *e.g.*, De Sousa (*Or. Conq.*, ii, p. 39) gives the orders this Viceroy received from King Sebastian. He was directed to promote Christianity, but also to take care of the royal estate. Sousa says that he put the last first, and, by a false economy, nearly caused the loss of the Portuguese possessions in India. There were some nine Viceroys after Dom Luiz up to the time mentioned, *i.e.*, 1596.

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "lately deceased."

thether, and] refused to let them have them, saying that the King being in Portingall knew not what was given him [in India], and that those presents were given unto the Viceroy and not to the King, and said [the King] had no power to give them to [the] Iesuites: so that hee kept them for himselfe, which the Jesuites tooke in evill part, and said, the Viceroy was an hereticke.<sup>1</sup> Yet from his time [ever since], the Viceroyes have used to kéepe them for them selves. When the Viceroyes have continued out their time, which is assone as an other Viceroy ariveth at Bardes, or any other Haven in the countrie,<sup>2</sup> they doe presently dispatch their Leiuetenants,<sup>3</sup> with full power [and authoritie] in the name of their maisters, to receive possession of the government of India, and prepare<sup>4</sup> the Palace [for him], so that there stayeth not a stoole or bench within [the house], nor one pennie in the treasure, but they leave the house as bare and naked [as possible may be] so that the new Viceroy must make provision for to furnish it, and gather a new treasure. In the same shippe wherein the new Viceroy commeth thether,<sup>5</sup> the old returneth home, and because their time of government is so short, and that the place is given<sup>6</sup> [them] in recompence of their service, and thereafter not to serve any more, there is not one of them, that estéemeth the profit of the commonwealth, or the furtherance of the Kings service, but rather their own particular commodities, as you may verie well thinke, so that the common speach in India is, that they never looke for any profite or furtherance of the common wealth by any Viceroy, as long as the government of thrée yeares is not altered. For they say, and it is found<sup>7</sup> to be

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error ; see note above.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... in India".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... Procureurs".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... vacate".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch adds : "from Portugal."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch : "mostly given".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch : "found by experience."



most true, that the first yeare of the Viceroyes time, hée hath enough to doe to repaire and furnish his house, and to know the manners and customes of the countries, without any further troubling [of himselfe]. The seconde yeare to gather treasure, and to looke unto his particular profits, for the which cause he came into India. The third and last yeare to prepare himselfe and set al things in order, that he be not overtaken or surprised by the new Viceroy when he commeth, but that he may returne into Portingall with the goods which he had scraped together. The same is to bee understoode of all the Captaines in the Fortes, and of all [other] officers in India. Wherefore it is to bee considered, how they use themselves in their places and the Kings service, whereof the inhabitants and married Portingales doe continually speake,<sup>1</sup> but they are farre from the Kings hearing, who knoweth not, but that his Officers doe him good service, whereby there is small remedie or amendement to be hoped for.

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### THE 33. CHAPTER.

Of the heathens, Indians and other strangers dwelling in Goa.

In the towne and Iland of Goa, are resident many Heathens, Moores, (which are Mahometans) Iewes,<sup>2</sup> and all strange nations<sup>3</sup> bordering thereabout, everie one of them using severall customes, and superstitions in Religion. The Moores hold Mahomets law, and the Iewes Moyses law. There are also many Persians, Arabians, and Abexijns, some [of them] Christians, and some [of them] Moores. There is

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "complain."

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese on arrival in India found several Jews from Europe, besides the old colony settled in the Cochin and Travancore territory.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "of Indian and (people of) surrounding lands."

in Goa many Armenians<sup>1</sup> that are Christians, and others that goe and come to traffique there, as Persians, Arabians, Banianes, of Cambaia, Gusarates, and Decanijns, etc. The Moores eat all things except Swines flesh, and dying are buried like the Iewes, but the Heathens, as Decanijns, Gusarates, and Canaras, and other Indians being dead, are burnt to ashes, and some women being alive are burned with them, that is such as are Gentlemen [or Noblemen], and the wives of the Bramenes, which are their Idolatrous Préestes.<sup>2</sup> Also [for the Marchantes] some of them eat all things, except Cowes or Buffles flesh, which they estéeme to be holy. Others eat not any thing whatsoever, that hath either life or bloud in it, as those of Gusarata, and the Banianes of Cambaia, which observe Pythagoras lawe:<sup>3</sup> most of them pray unto the Sunne and Moone, yet they doe all acknowledge a God that made, [created] and ruleth all things,<sup>4</sup> and that after this life there is an other,<sup>5</sup> wherein men shall be rewarded according to their workes. But they have Idoles [and Images], which they call Pagodes,<sup>6</sup> cut [and formed] most ugly, and like monstrous Devils,<sup>7</sup> to whome dayly they offer, and say, that those holy men have béene living among them,<sup>8</sup> whereof they tell so many miracles, as it is wonderfull,<sup>9</sup> and say that they are intercessors betwéene them and God. The Devill often times answereth them out of those

<sup>1</sup> Till quite recently, the Armenians were the chief traders in India and the farther East.

<sup>2</sup> Original Dutch adds: "also of some merchants."

<sup>3</sup> The Jains are probably intended here.

<sup>4</sup> This is only partly correct, as clearly Para-brahma is intended.

<sup>5</sup> This is also not correct. The Hindus believe in future births, more or less desirable, according to their works.

<sup>6</sup> An error. Whatever its etymology be, "pagoda" is a name used by foreigners, except it be a corruption of Sanskrit "bhagavat". But even in that case it is an epithet, not a native name of idols.

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "that men should."

<sup>8</sup> *I.e.*, Râma, Krishna and the avatâras, or incarnations, of Vishnu, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch.

Images whome they likewise know, and doe him great honour by offering<sup>1</sup> [unto him], to keepe friendshippe with him, and that hee should not hurt them. They have a custome, when any maide is to bee married, and that they will honour their Pagode, for the more credite to the Bridegrome, they bring the Bride with great triumph and Musicke<sup>2</sup> before their Pagode,<sup>3</sup> which is made with a Pinne of Ivorie bone, to whom the néerest friends [and kinswomen] of the Bride, together with the Bride doe goe, and by force make [the Image to] take the Brides maydenhead, so that the blood remaineth still upon the Image, for a remembrance [thereof,] and then after other develish superstitions and ceremonies, having made their offrings, they bring the Bride home, where she is delivered to the Bridegrome, he being verie ioyfull and proud, that their Pagode hath honoured him so much and eased him of so much labour. They have for the most part a custome to pray unto the first thing they méete [withal] in the morning,<sup>4</sup> and all that day after they pray unto it, be it Hogge, or any other thing. And if in the morning when they goe out, they chauce at the first sight to see a Crow, (whereof there are great numbers in India) they will not goe forth of their doores all that day, no not for all the goods in the world, for they estéeme it an evill signe, and an unluckie day. They pray likewise to the new Moone, and when shee first appeareth, they fall upon their knées,<sup>5</sup> and salute her with great devotion, there are among them [certaine people] called

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "by daily offerings".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... triumph and company of instruments and music in their fashion to the *pagoda* or idol." There are no such idols as here described.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be an error. Something of the kind is occasionally done with a lingam (?) as a cure for sterility.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... being out of their house".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....on the ground"..... which is correct. The natives do not fall on their knees.

Iogos, which are such as we call Hermits,<sup>1</sup> and those doe they *estéeme* for holy men, these men live a verie strict life with great abstinence, and make the common people believe many strange things. They have likewise many [Southsayers and] Witches, which use Iugling, and travell throughout the countrie; having about them many live Snakes, which they know how to bewitch,<sup>2</sup> and being shut up in little baskets, they pull them out and make them daunce, turne, and winde at the sound of a certaine Instrument, [wheron] they play, and speake unto them. They winde them about their neckes, armes, and legges, kissing them, with a thousand other devises, onely to get money.<sup>3</sup> They are [al] for the most part verie skilfull in preparing of poysons, wherewith they doe many strange things, and easily poyson each other, their dwellings and houses are verie little and lowe, covered with straw, without windowes, and verie low and narrow doores, so that a man must almost *créepe* upon his *knées* to goe in, their household stuffe is Mats of straw, both to sit and lie upon, their Tables, Table-clothes, and Napkins, are made of the great Indian Figge leaves,<sup>4</sup> they serve them not onely for Tables, Sheetes,<sup>5</sup> and other linnen, but also for Dishes, wherein they put their meate,<sup>6</sup> which you shall likewise see in the Grocers, and Pothecaries shops, to put and wrap in all things whatsoever they have within their shops, (as we doe in paper). They likewise ioyne them together in such sort, that they can put both butter, oyle, and such liquid

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "conventualls and hermits." Yogis are intended, but they little resemble monks, and are, usually, wandering mountebanks.

<sup>2</sup> In reality they extract the poison fangs; a most effectual way of bewitching them."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and all this to charm the people's money out of their purses"

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, plantain leaves. Leaves of the Banian tree, sewn together, are used for the same purpose. <sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, as would now be said—"tablecloths".

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "meat and condiments", *i.e.*, rice and curry.

stuffes therein, and also whatsoever commeth to hand. To dresse their meat they have certaine earthen pots wherein they séeth Rice, and make holes in the ground, wherein they stampe it, or beate it with a wooden pestel made for the purpose, and they are so miserable, that they buy the Rice in the Huskes, as it groweth [on the ground], and some [of them] have Rice sown behinde their house<sup>1</sup> to serve their necessarie use.<sup>2</sup> They use to drinke out of a copper Canne with a spout, wherby they let the water fall downe into their mouths, and never touch the pot with their lippes.<sup>3</sup> Their houses are commonly strawed with Cowe dung, which (they say) killeth Fleas.<sup>4</sup> They are verie cleane on their bodies, for every day they wash [themselves] all their body over,<sup>5</sup> as often as they ease themselves or make water, both

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... behind their doors and houses."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... their family and house."

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, to avoid rendering the vessel impure.

<sup>4</sup> This practice prevents ants from coming into the houses; but for this, houses of the natives in India would be almost uninhabitable. It makes them also ceremonially pure.

<sup>5</sup> An exaggeration. V. Linschoten (as was often done before him, and has been done since) erred in taking the constant dabbling of the Hindus in water to be intended to procure personal cleanliness. The object of the Hindu ablutions is something quite different, *viz.* ceremonial purity; though, no doubt, this contributed eventually, but in a small degree, and aided by the heat of the climate, which rendered immersion in water a pleasure for the greater part of the year, to cleanliness. In the great dispute (between the Jesuits and Franciscans in the xviii<sup>th</sup> and xviii<sup>th</sup> centuries) about the Malabar rites, or Hindu and superstitious practices of the converts in South India, and which Cardinal Tournon went out to India to settle (1702-1710), it was a question whether these ablutions should not be prohibited. The "Constitution" of Gregory XV (1623) has: "Lavacra non aliâ occasione, et sine corporis reficiendi,\* et à naturalibus sordibus mundare permittuntur, rejectis tamen penitùs orationibus, et ritibus, circâ tempus, modum et alia si quæ adhiberi solent, sive ante ablutionem sive post, sive in ablutione ipsâ." The Capuchin Norbert remarks on this: "La Constitution

\* [There seems to be some omission here, but the book is not readily accessible, and we leave the quotation as it stands.—H. Y.]

men and women, like the Moores or Mahometans. They wash themselves with the left hand, because they eat with the right hand, and use no spoones. They doe [keepe and] observe their ceremonies and superstitions, with great devotion, for they never goe forth without praying, when they travaile by the way. They have on every hill, cliffe, hole, or denne their Pagodes and Idols in most divilish and deformed shapes, cut [and hewed] out of the stonnes and rockes, with their furnises<sup>1</sup> hard by them, and a cesterne<sup>2</sup> not farre [from them, which is alwaies full of water,] and every one that passeth by, washeth their féete therein, and so fall downe before their Idoll, some setting before him for an offering fruits, Rice, Egges, Hennes, etc. as their devotions serve, and then commeth the Bramenes their Priest and taketh it away and eateth it, making the common people beléve that the Pagode hath eaten it.

When they will make a voyage to Sea, they use at the least fourtéene dayes before [they enter into their ships, to make so great a noyse with] sounding of Trumpets, and to vient ensuite aux Bains dont les Indiens font un grand usage. Sur les témoignages qui assuroient que ces Bains ne servoient qu'à la propreté extérieure du corps, Grégoire XV les permit..... On voit assez clairement que cette prétendue authenticité des témoignages qu'on fit tant valoir auprès du Saint Siège n'étoit fondée que sur quantité de restrictions mentales. Car comment s'imagineroit-on que .....les Indiens n'employent pas moins les Bains dans la vûe de satisfaire à certaines pratiques superstitieuses de leur Religion, que pour la santé et la propreté du corps ?" (Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques*, i, pp. 44, 65.) This is very just! Any one who has been even a short time in India must have perceived that personal cleanliness is not even now the intention of Hindus in bathing. Nor was it originally with the Muhammedans (Cfr. Pitt's *Account*, p. 53); but they also adopted the baths of the ancients which were used for personal cleanliness (Cfr. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed., pp. 336 ff.). In the Hindu medical books there is not a word about personal cleanliness, such as is to be found in Galen's, and the Greek medical writers' works.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : " Forneysen "; Latin of 1599 : " .....adstant cum fornacibus cisternæ "..... It is hard to explain this statement. ? Niches for lamps.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : " Water-back ", i.e., " spring or fountain, or pool."

make fiers,<sup>1</sup> that it may be heard and seene both by night and day, the ship being hanged about with flagges, where-with (they say) they feast<sup>2</sup> their Pagode, that they may have a good Voyage. The like doe they at their returne for a thankesgiving fourtéene dayes long, and thus they use to doe in all their feastes, affaires, mariages, childbirths, and at other times of the yeare, as sowing, and mowing, etc.

The heathenish Indians that dwell in Goa are verie rich Marchants, and traffique much, there is one stréete [within the towne], that is full of shops [kept] by those Heathenish Indians, that not onely sell all kindes of Silkes, Sattins, Damaskes, and curious works of Porselyne from China and other places, but all manner of wares of velvet, Silke, Sattin, and such like, [brought] out of Portingall, which by meanes of their Brokers they buy by the great, and sell them againe by the péce or elles, wherein they are verie cunning, and naturally subtile.<sup>3</sup> There are in the same stréet on the other side, that have all kindes of linnen, and shirts, with [other] clothes ready made for all sortes of persons, as well slaves as Portingales, and of all other linnen worke that may bee desired. There are<sup>4</sup> Heathens that sell all kindes of womens clothes, and such like wares, with a thousand sorts of clothes and cottons,<sup>5</sup> which are like Canuas for sayles and sakes. There is also another street where the Benianes of Cambaia dwell, that have all kinds of wares out of Cambaia, and all sortes of precious stones, and are verie subtile [and cunning] to bore [and make holes in] all kinds of stones, pearles, and coralls,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Beckens te slaen" i.e., "beat pots." Latin of 1599:....."clangori.....patenarum."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Feesteren". "Festivè excipere aliquem, curare vel tractare aliquem opiparè, splendidè: etc." (Kilian).

<sup>3</sup> I.e., in a bad sense.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "There is another street, the Heathen dwell there that sell".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "of veils and (cloths) called 'Cotonias' (which) is like canvas"..... See note 2 on p. 60 above.

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....and the like."

on the other side of the same street<sup>1</sup> dwell other heathens, which sell all sortes of bedstéedes, stooles and such like stuffe,<sup>2</sup> very cunningly covered over with Lacke,<sup>3</sup> most pleasant to behold, and they can turne the Lacke into any colour that you wil desire. There is also a stréet full<sup>4</sup> of gold and Silver Smithes [that are] Heathens, which make all kinde of workes, also divers other handicrafts men,<sup>5</sup> as Coppersmithes, Carpenters, and such like [occupations], which are all heathens, and every one a stréet by themselves. There are likewise other Marchantes that deale all by great, with Corne, Rice, and other Indian wares and Marchandises, as wood and such like. Some of them farme the kinges rents<sup>6</sup> and renewes, [so that] they are skilfull every way to make their profites. There are also many Heathen Brokers, very cunning and subtill in buying and selling, and with their tongues to pleade on both sides.

The Heathens have likewise their shops with all kinde of spices,<sup>7</sup> [which they sell] by retaile, both by waight and measure,<sup>8</sup> as Grocers<sup>9</sup> and Potticaries [doe] with us, and this is onely used among them. They have likewise of al sorts of wares whatsoever,<sup>10</sup> but yet with lesse curiositie then with us, for it is [mingled] with dust and garbish. These<sup>11</sup> are commonlie the Bramenes, which serve likewise for [Priests and] Idolatrous Ministers, and have their shops throughout the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....there are other streets, there dwell others".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "and such like turned goods."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "with lack (*i.e.*, lacquer) of all colours".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "a whole street full of gold and silversmiths".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : "workmen and artisans".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch : "domeynen", *i.e.*, "domains."

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch : "vegetables and spices."

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch : "which they sell by measure and pence."

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch : "Kruydeniers", *i.e.*, greengrocers.

<sup>10</sup> Orig. Dutch : "They have all for sale that man can think".....

The nastiness of the wares and the filth of the shops which V. Linschoten notices continues just the same at the present day.

<sup>11</sup> Orig. Dutch : "These traders".... ..



Cittie. In everie [place and] corner, [and under pentises], whereby every man may have to serve him at his need.

There are likewise many barbers, which in every end of the streetes doe call to those that have cause to use them. They kéepe no shoppes,<sup>1</sup> but for a small [péce of] money come [home] to mens houses to cut their haire, and make cleane their nailes, as well of their féet as of their handes, as also their eares, and their téeth, and to rub their legs and [their] bodies. They are so importunate to worke, that a man can hardly get them out of his house, so that you have much service of them for a small reward, and sometimes they have blowes of the Portingales [for their labours], and dare not doe any thing against them, but shrink in their shoulders, and be quiet. There are in Goa many Heathen phisitions which observe their grauties with hats carried over them for the sunne, like the Portingales, which no other heathens doe, but [onely] Ambassadors, or some rich Marchants. These Heathen phisitions, doe not onely cure there owne nations<sup>2</sup> [and countriemen], but the Portingales also, for the Viceroy himselfe, the Archbishop, and all the Monkes and Friers doe put more trust in them, then in their own countrimen, whereby they get great [store of] money, and are much honoured and estéemed. The countrimen [in the villages round] about Goa,<sup>3</sup> and such as [labour and] till the land, are most Christians:<sup>4</sup> but there is not much difference [among them] from the other heathens, for that they can hardly leave their heathenish superstitions, which in part are permitted them,<sup>5</sup> and is done to drawe the other

<sup>1</sup> Barbers' shops (or rather sheds) are now common in most Indian towns. These barbers have an exceedingly bad character in Indian books and among the people, as they are always ready to serve as pimps.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... the other heathen".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... in the island of Goa, and places round about".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... christians and baptised".....

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, the so-called Malabar rices, already mentioned (p. 226, note 5 above).

heathens [to be christened], as also that otherwise they would hardly be perswaded to continue in the Christian faith.<sup>1</sup> There is in every place of the stréet exchangers of mony, by them called Xaraffos,<sup>2</sup> which are all Christian Jewes.<sup>3</sup> They are very readie and expert in all manner of accounts, and in knowing of all sorts of money, without whose [help] men dare not receive any money, because there is much counterfet money abroade, which is hard to bee knowne from the good, were it not for these Xaraffos, which can discern it with halfe an eye. The Indian heathens have a custome, that no man may change [nor alter trade or] occupation, but must use his fathers trade, and marrie mens daughters of the same occupation, trade or dealing, which is so nearly looked unto, that they are devided [and set apart], each occupation by it selfe, as Countries and Nations are, and so they call one another: for if they speake to a man, they aske him of what trade he is, whether hee bee a Goldsmith, Barber, Marchant, Grocer, Fisherman, or such like. They give no household stufte with their daughters, but only Jewels, and pay the charges of the wedding. The Sonnes inherite all [their] goods.<sup>4</sup> This shall suffice to shew the maners, customes, and common kinde of life of the Heathens,<sup>5</sup> [and Indian Moores] in Goa.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... to obey."

<sup>2</sup> Now termed "Shroffs", from Ar. "sarrāf", = money changer.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... Indian Christians"..... Why again this mis-translation? Was "Jew" already a term of reproach?

<sup>4</sup> This is a correct statement of the Hindu (Sanskrit) law on this point. Cfr. *Mitāxarā*, ch. i, § vii (of Colebrooke's translation).

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... Indian heathens in general".....

## THE 34. CHAPTER.

Of the times of the yeare in India, and of [their] diseases, &c.

The [times and] seasons of the yeres are, as followeth. Winter beginneth on the last of Aprill, throughout the whole coast which is called India, from Cambaia to the Cape de Comorin, and commeth with a westerne wind, which bloweth out of the sea upon the coast: the beginning thereof is with thunder and lightning, and after that a stedfast [and continuall] raine which lasteth night and day till the month of September, and then Winter endeth with thunder and lightning: and by reason of that continuall raine, it is called Winter, as also because at that time they cannot travaile on the Seas, but in warme weather when fruite time [commeth on]: it is then right Summer for the time, which in India is called Summer because of the clearenes and drines of the weather, is the colder and the holsomer, and then there blowe East windes, so that the nightes are as then very coole and somewhat sharpe, and then there are no speciall kindes of fruites in season, but such as grow [continually] all the yeare. Against the Winter commeth, everie man maketh his provision of victuals and al other necessaries, like as in a shippe that is to make a voyage of five or sixe months, also all [their] ships are brought into the river,<sup>2</sup> and unfurnished of tacklings, and every thing being taken out of them, they are covered with mattes,<sup>3</sup> otherwise they would rot with the raine, [which is so] stedfast [and continuall] all the winter, that many times divers houses by reason of the great moystnes doe fall [unto the ground]: and as soone as Winter beginneth, there driveth into the mouth of the haven great banks [and sholes] of sands, which stop it up, so that.

<sup>1</sup> "Winter", *i.e.*, the rainy season.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... into the river before the town."

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, are thatched over. The original has "with straw covers."

neyther ship nor boate can eyther goe out or in : and the sea both there and along the coast maketh so great a roaring and noyse, that men can neyther heare nor see: also the water of the river of Goa which runneth about the Island in Winter, by meanes of the land waters that by the continuall raine falleth from the Hilles, is cleane fresh water, and of a red colour, which in summer is cleane contrarie and like sea water,<sup>1</sup> by reason of the concourse [it hath] with the Sea. In the Month of September when winter endeth, the bankes [of sand] doe fléete [and vade] away out of the River, so that not onely small shippes may come in and go out, but also the great Portingall ships<sup>2</sup> of 1600. tunnes<sup>3</sup> may fréely enter without a Pilot, for it is déepe enough and without daunger. In winter it is a heavie [and melancholike] being there, for there is no other exercise [to be used], but onely to sitte in their shirtes, with a paire of linnen bréeches, and goe and passe the time away with their neighbours, in playing and such exercises, for that throughout the whole towne there is no other doing. The women and Mesticos<sup>4</sup> take great pleasure in the winter [time] when it rayneth, with their husbandes and slaves to go into the fieldes, or some garden, [whether they carry] good store of victuailles, and there in their gardens have many Cesternes or pondes of water,<sup>5</sup> wherein they take their delightes to swimme and to bath [themselves]. In this time most of their Indian fruit is in season. The summer<sup>6</sup> beginneth in September, and continueth till the last of Aprill, and is alwaies clear sky and fair weather, without

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "for it is then all salt and sea-water".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Kraken", *i.e.*, Caracks. See note 1 on p. 15 above.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Of seven, eight, 100 last", *i.e.*, "fourteen, sixteen, two thousand tons."

<sup>4</sup> Read: "Mestiços". Here, as is commonly the case in Spanish and Portuguese books of the same date, c and ç are not distinguished.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "beautiful of cut stone."

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, the dry season of the year.

once or very little raining:<sup>1</sup> Then all the ships are rigged and made ready to saile for all places, as also the Kinges armie<sup>2</sup> to kéepe the coast, and to convoy Marchantes, and then the East winds<sup>3</sup> beginne to blow from off the lande into the seas, whereby they are called Terreinhos, [that is to say, the land windes.]<sup>4</sup> They blow very pleasantly and coolly, although at the first by chaunging of the weather they are [very] dangerous, and cause many great diseases, which do commonly fall in India, by ye chaunging of the time. These winds blow alwaies in summer, beginning at midnight, and continue till noone, but they never blowe above tenne miles into the sea, from off the coast, and presently after one of the clocke<sup>5</sup> until midnight the west winde bloweth, which commeth out of the sea into the lande, and is called Virason. These winds are so sure and certaine at their times, as though men helde them in their handes, whereby they make the land very temperate, otherwise the heate would bee unmeasurable. It is likewise a strange thing that when it is winter upon the coast of India, that is from Diu to the Cape de Comorin, on the other side of the Cape de Comorin on the coast called Choramandel, [it is cleane] contrarie, so that there it is summer, and yet they lye all under one height<sup>6</sup> [or degrés], and there is but 70. miles by land betwéene both the coasts, and in some places but 20. miles, and which is more, as men travel over land from Cochin to

<sup>1</sup> I have, however, seen in Malabar (Calicut) rain fall every week of the year.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "armadas", i.e., the fleet sent out to put down the piracy of the Malabars, etc.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the result of the N. E. Monsoon on the E. coast of India, which begins in October.

<sup>4</sup> Still called "land winds". They mostly prevail by night; but begin, generally, earlier than is stated (a little below) in the text. The "land-wind" and "sea-breezes" also occur on the east or Coromandel coast, but the last not so strong as on the Malabar coast.

<sup>5</sup> As the season advances, the sea-breeze sets in earlier.

<sup>6</sup> On this term see note 1, p. 15. above.

S. Thomas (which lyeth on the same coast of Choramandel) and comming by the hill of Ballagatte<sup>1</sup> where men must passe over to goe from the one coast unto the other: on the one side of the hil to the top thereof it is pleasant clear sunne shining weather, and going downe<sup>2</sup> on the other side there is rayne, winde, thunder and lightning, as if the worlde should end [and be consumed]: which is to be understood, that it chaungeth from the one side to the other, as the time [falleth out], so that on the one side of the hilles it is Winter, and on the other side Summer.<sup>3</sup> and it is not onely<sup>4</sup> so in that place and countrey, but also at Ormus, on the coast of Arabia Felix by the Cape of Rosalgatte,<sup>5</sup> where the shippes lie: it is very stille, cleare, and pleasant water, and faire summer time,<sup>6</sup> and turning about the Cape on the other side, it is raine and wind with great stormes and tempests, which with the times of the yeare doe likewise change on the other side,<sup>7</sup> and so it is in many places of the Oriental [countries].

The sicknesses and diseases in Goa, and [throughout] India, which are common, come most with the changing of the times and the weather, as it is said [before]: there raigneth a sicknesse called Mordexijn,<sup>8</sup> which stealeth uppon men, [and

<sup>1</sup> This must be here an error for Palghat (Pāla-kkādu'), the gap or pass in the Western Ghats, where the road from Malabar to the East coast passes by Coimbatore.

<sup>2</sup> This is hardly perceptible on either side of the Pass.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "and so again to the contrary."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... not only".....

<sup>5</sup> Arabic "Rās al hadd" (Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr. Arabiens*, § 136, pp. 102-3. Capt. Burton, *Lusiads*, iv, p. 664: the "Frontier Cape").

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "by one side of the Cabo or Cape" .....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "from one side to the other".....

<sup>8</sup> *I.e.*, Cholera. The first European who mentioned this frightful Indian disease was Garcia de Orta (*Colloquios*, cfr. 74*b* fig.) in 1563, but it was known long before in India under the Sanskrit name *visūcikā*. Pyrard says of it (ii, p. 15), "Il regue entr'eux vne autre maladie qui vient à l'improviste, ils la nomment *Mordessin*, et vient avec grande douleur de teste, et vomissement, et crient fort, et le plus souvent en

handleth them in such sorte], that it weakeneth a man, and maketh him cast out all that he hath in his bodie, and many times his life withall. The sicknesse is very common, and killeth many a man, whereof they hardly or never escape. The bloody Flix<sup>1</sup> is [there likewise] very common and daungerous, as the plague with us. They have many continuall fevers,<sup>2</sup> which are burning agues,<sup>3</sup> and consume mens [bodies with extreame heate], whereby within foure or five dayes they are [eyther] whole or dead. This sicknes is common<sup>4</sup> and [very] daungerous, and hath no remedie for the Portingalles<sup>5</sup> but letting of blood: but the Indians and heathens do cure [themselves] with hearbes, Sanders, and other such like oyntments, wherewith they ease themselves. This sicknes<sup>6</sup> consumeth many Portingalles every yeare, some because they have little to eat, and lesse to drink of any meat or drink that is nourishing, and use much company of women, because ye land is naturall to provoke them therunto,<sup>7</sup> as also ye most part of the soldiers by such means have their living and their maintenance, which often times costeth them both life and limme, for although men were of iron or stéele, the unchaste [life] of [a] woman, with her unsatiab<sup>l</sup>e lustes were able to grinde him to powder, and swéep him away like

meurent." "Mordexin" (corrupted into "Mort-de-chien" by the French) is the Mahr. term "mođaçi." The most important result to Europe of intercourse with India is certainly the spread of cholera to the North and into Europe.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, dysentery.

<sup>2</sup> "Fevers" seems to include many disorders, besides the malarious fevers so common in India, and especially so at Goa, which was always considered to be a very unhealthy place.

<sup>3</sup> Orig Dutch: "..... burning fevers or contioued heats".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "common there".....

<sup>5</sup> A. Hamilton (*A New Account*, i, p. 249) says (about 1705) "..... in the city the air is reckoned unwholesome, which is one cause why at present it is not well inhabited." It was, soon after, deserted.

<sup>6</sup> Orig Dutch: "These diseases".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "because opportunities and the land"....

dust,<sup>1</sup> which costeth many a mans life, as the Kinges Hospitall can wel beare witnes,<sup>2</sup> wherein they lodge, whensoever they are sicke, where every yeare [at the least] there entered 500. live men,<sup>3</sup> and never come forth till they are dead, [and they are] only Portingals, for no other sick person may lodge therein, I mean such as are called white men, for the other Indians have an Hospitall by themselves.<sup>4</sup> In this Hospitall they are verie well looked unto by Jesuites, and Gentlemen : whereof every month one of the best is chosen and appointed, who personally is there by them,<sup>5</sup> and giveth the sicke persons whatsoever they will desire, and sometimes spend more by foure or five hundred Duckats of their [owne] purses, then the Kings allowance [reached unto], which they doe more of [pride and] vaine glorie, then for compassion, onely to have the praise and commendation of liberalitie. It is no shame there to lie in the Hospitall, for many men go thether willingly, although they have wherewith to kéepe themselves

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....and destroy him".....

<sup>2</sup> The Hospital for Europeans at Goa (Misericordia) was most admirably managed by the Jesuits, as Pyrdard's account (ii, pp. 6 ffg.) shows. He had been a patient there. He says : "Cest Hospital donc est le plus beau, que je croy, qu'il y ait au monde, soit pour la beauté du bastiment, et des appurtenances ; le tout fort proprement accomodé, soit pour le bel ordre et police qui y est. la netteté qu'on y observe, le grand soin qu'on y a des malades"..... (ii, p. 6). "Les peres Jesuites ont pris cest Hospital à charge, dont ils s'acquient fort dignement"..... (ii, p. 8). He gives a very full and interesting account of the management.

<sup>3</sup> Pyrdard mentions a larger number. Original Dutch : "... fully four or five hundred" ..... Pyrdard says (ii, p. 7) : "L's malades y sont quelques fois en si grand nombre, que du temps que j'y estois, il y en avoit jusques à quinze cents, tous soldats Portugais, et d'autres nations de Chrestiens de l'Europe. . . . qui y sont tous receus."

<sup>4</sup> This is, no doubt, the best plan for India. It is much to be regretted that attempts are now made to have hospitals in common for all classes ; the certain result is that they will be almost useless. Pyrdard (ii, pp. 15, 16) gives an account of these hospitals for different classes of the population.

<sup>5</sup> Original Dutch : "for a whole day."



in their houses, and have both wife and children. These Hospitals in India are very necessarie<sup>1</sup> for the Portingals, otherwise they shold consume away like miserable men, but by ye meanes they are relieved, whatsoever they have, eyther sicknesse, wounds, secrete diseases, pockes, piles,<sup>2</sup> or [any] such like, there they are healed, and sometimes visited by the Viceroy<sup>3</sup> [himselfe], when he thinketh upon them, and that his commodities come in.<sup>4</sup> He that wil not lie there, and hath any woundes or privie diseases, may come [thether] twice every day and be drest, and goe his way againe, without any question or deniall. When they die [therein], they are by two slaves carried into the Church yarde, without eyther singing or ringing, onely one man followeth after [them], and throweth some holy water upon the grave: but if the sicke man chanceth to leave any goods [behind him], and speaketh unto the Priestes to bring him to his grave, and to say Masses for his soule, then they runne [thither] by heapes, and burie him like a man of countenance<sup>5</sup> eyther in the Church or chauncell, according to his will,<sup>6</sup> and then hath hee singing and ringing enough.

<sup>1</sup> This is still true of all parts of India.

<sup>2</sup> Original Dutch: "lempten", *i.e.* rather, "ulcers", but piles are very common in India. Kilian has "lemte = morbus articularis". Oudemans has "lemte" and "lempte" = sore, gout, cramp (!) It is most probable that "ulcers" were intended. Pyrard (ii, p. 15) says: "Quand les Caraques de Portugal arrivent le plus grand nombre des malades est du Scurbut, & des viceres és pieds & jambes."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... Viceroy or Governor".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... visited (to see) if all goes on correctly." Latin (1599): "..... eos Prorex subindè visitat: Num omnia recte ad usum agrorum procedant considerans" (p. 45). Pyrard (ii, p. 14) says: "Quelquesfois ils sont visitez par l'Archevesque, le Vice Roy et plusieurs Seigneurs qui y donnent de grandes sommes d'argent. Et n'y a personne qui ne prenne plaisir à voir vn si beau lieu, où toutes les chambres sont nettes et blanches comme papier; Les galleries bien peintes d'histoires de la sainte Esriture."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... honourably either in".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "testament".....

But returning to our matter of sicknesse, pockes and piles,<sup>1</sup> with other secret diseases, they are [in those countries] verie common and not [hidden or] concealed, for [they thinke it] no shame, more then to have any other disease. They heale them with the roote China :<sup>2</sup> there are [some] that have had them [at the least] thrée or foure times, and are not [any thing] at all shunned or disliked for the same, but dare [both boast and] bragge thereof. It is not anything perillous for the bodie, insomuch that they had rather have them, and feare them lesse than any of the foresaid diseases. The

<sup>1</sup> See note above.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. lxxvii below. This root (of a *smilax*) had great repute in the sixteenth century, but is now not used in Europe. Pyrard (ii, p. 15) says: "Quant à la vérole, ce n'y est point note d'infamie, & n'est honte de l'auoir à plusieurs fois, mesmes ils en font vertu. Ils la guarissent sans suer avec du bois d'*Eschine*; Ceste maladie n'est qu'entre les Chretiens, & la desirent plustost que la fièvre ou le disenterie." The last part is erroneous. Varthema (*e.g.*) found the Zamorin ill of this disease in c. 1505: ".....el Re.....nel tēpo mio staua mal cōtento per respecto che era in guerra col Re de Portogallo & anchora perche lui hauea el mal frāzoso & hauealo ī la gola:" (f. 48) *i.e.*, "The King.....in my time was not content, because he was at war with the King of Portugal, and because he had the French disease, and had it in the throat." This is conclusive, (for if introduced by the Portuguese, the Zamorin could not have been infected), that the disease was not first imported by Columbus's crew into the old world at Naples c. 1493, but that the theory of Fracastorius is more correct, *viz.*, that it was an old disease, but: ..... "in Latium ..... per tristia bella Gallorum irrupit, nomenque a gente recepit". (*Syph.*, i, 5-6.) It had, certainly, long been observed in China before it was noticed in Europe. Littré discovered a mention of this disease in a work of the thirteenth century. It is now certain that a violent epidemic occurred at the end of the fifteenth century, but it is impossible to believe that it was then imported for the first time from the West Indies; it spread too rapidly and too widely to allow of such an origin. (Cfr. Littré et Robin, *Dict. de Médecine*, s. v.) The disease is also clearly mentioned in Sanskrit medical books, which are previous at all events to 1500, under the title of *upadamça*. Wise (who did not know Sanskrit) was misled by his prejudices into denying that this is syphilis.

plague hath never been in India,<sup>1</sup> neither is it known unto the Indians, but poysoning, witchcraft, and such like, whereby some lose their healthes, and some their lives, is their dayly exercise, and very common [with them]. The stone, gravel, and rupture raigneth much<sup>2</sup> [among them], specially among married men, by reason of the great quantitie of water that they drinke, being given to all pleasure and riotousnes, enioying all what their hearts desire, sitting alwayes with their bellies open in their shirtes in a gallerie, recrcating themselves with the wind which cooleth them, sometimes having a slave to scratch and pare their nayles and féete, another the head, the third [holds] a Fan to drive away the flées. Their is the common use for two houres after noone, where likewise they take an afternoones sléepe, and ever as they have thirst, they bring him a dish of conserves, or other comfets, that the water<sup>3</sup> should not worke too much in his bodie, but taste the better. With such and the like exercises they do passe the day til night comes on, so that commonly they have all swollen bellies like Bacchus, whereby<sup>4</sup> the soldiers and other Indians call them Barrigois, that is, bellies, or great bellies.

The day [both] Summer and Winter is there all of a length,<sup>5</sup> not much difference, onely in the change they have about an houres difference. The sunne riseth at sixe, and setteth at sixe. When it is noone, commonly they have the Sunne [in the middle of the element iust] over [their] heades, and it giveth no shadowe, although it stretcheth somewhat out as

<sup>1</sup> Correct. The plague seems never to have extended beyond Scinde.

<sup>2</sup> Except as regards the last, this seems questionable. Bernier and others found the contrary to be the case as regards the first two disorders. I have, however, heard of many cases in S. India. [In the N W. stone is very common.]

<sup>3</sup> The great drink at Goa seems to have been water from the spring at Banguenin. (Pyrard, ii, p. 8.)

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "wherefore they are commonly called by the soldiers".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "throughout the year are almost of the same length".....

the Sunne taketh his course. In Goa you may see both the Poles of the world, the North and South starres stande not farre above the Horizon. And this shall suffice for the times [and seasons] of the yeare, sicknesses and other diseases in India, as brevitie requireth.

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THE 35. CHAPTER.

Of the money, waight and measure of India, and Goa.

The principall and commonest money is called Pardaus Xeraphiins, [and] is silver, but very brasse,<sup>1</sup> [and] is coyned in Goa. They have Saint Sebastian on the one side, and thrée or foure arrowes in a bundle on the other side,<sup>2</sup> which is as much as thrée Testones, or thrée hundred Reijs Portingall money, and riseth and falleth little lesse or more, according to the exchange. There is also a kinde of reckoning of money which is called Tangas,<sup>3</sup> not that there is any such coined, but are so named onely in telling, five Tangas is one Pardaw, or Xeraphin<sup>4</sup> badde money, for [you must understande] that in telling they have two kinds of money good and badde, for foure Tangas good money are as much as five Tangas bad money. Wherefore when they buy and sell, they bargaine for good or badde money. There is likewise a reckoning of Vintiins, which is not likewise in coyne, but

<sup>1</sup> "Brasse" (*sic!*) This is clearly a misprint. The original Dutch has: "is van silver: maer van quade alloy"; = "is of silver, but of base alloy". Probably the translator wrote "basse" for "base", and this was thence misprinted "brasse".

<sup>2</sup> There is an engraving<sup>g</sup> of this coin in De Bry.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Persian "tangaḥ" ("numus aureus vel cuprinus valore variante..... monetæ species..... hodie *gen. pecunia omnis*." (Vullers). There is also an Indian word, "Tanka", which seems to have been applied to copper, or small coin.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch has: ..... "Xeraphijn, that is to say, bad money."

onely [named] in telling : of these foure good, and five badde doe make a Tangas. The lowest and smallest money is called Bazaruco, these are fiftéene badde and eightéene good to a Vintiin, and three Bazarucos<sup>1</sup> are as much as two Reiiis Portingal money : It is molten money of badde Tinne, so that 375 Bazarucos are one Pardaw or Xeraphiin. There is also a [kind of] money out of Persia, called Lariins, which are long,<sup>2</sup> very good [and] fine silver, without any allay. These are worth<sup>3</sup> 105. and 108. Bazarucos, as the exchange goeth, little more or lesse. They have a [kind of] money called Pagodes, which is of Gold, of two or thrée sortes,<sup>4</sup> and are above eight Tangas [in value]. They are Indian and Heathen-

<sup>1</sup> Erroneously translated. The orig. Dutch has : "The lowest and least money is called Bazaruco. These make 15. bad and 18. good coin : A Vintijn and 3. Basarucos, are as much as 2. Reis, Portuguese money." The Latin of 1599 agrees with this : "Minuta pecunia *Basarucorum* nomen habet. Hi 15. bonæ at 18. pravæ monetæ computantur." A. Hamilton (about 100 years later) says : "1 *Vintin*..... 15 *Budgeroocks*. 1 *Tango*.....5 *Vintins*. 1 *Xerephin* or *Pardoa*..... 5 *Tangos*. 1 *Gold St. Thomæ*. 5 *Xeraphin*. These were the coins, but accounts were then kept in *Rayes*, i.e., Reis" (vol. ii, p. 316).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "lanwerpigh", i.e., "oblong". Latin of 1599 : "..... longiore formâ"..... They were horse-shoe shaped pieces of wire. De Bry gives a picture of them (ii, p. 96). These coins were current about 1700 at Bombay (A. Hamilton, *A New Account*, ed. 1744, ii, p. 315). According to C. Lockyer (*An Account of the Trade in India*, 1711, p. 241), the *Larin* (was) used about Ispahan at much the same time. They appear now to be obsolete and unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "worth the piece".....

<sup>4</sup> I.e., according to the dynasties that coined them. Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, pp. 43-4 of Mr. E. Thomas's edition) mentions thirty-five kinds ! They weighed about 50 grains, though some were as low as 45 and some as high as 52½. They were usually reckoned as each=3½ rupees. They are now never seen except as curiosities. The Vijaya=(or Vidyā) nagara pagodas, had the figures as described in the text on them. Sonnerat (*Voyage*, ed. Paris, 1782, i, pp. 257, fig.), describes several of these coins minutely. In Hakluyt's translation of *Censure de' Fedrici* ii, p. 219), a pagoda is said to be a gold coin, worth six shillings and eightpence sterling (at Goa) The original Italian (p. 32) puts a pagoda at 8 lira "of our money" (i.e., Venetian).

ish money, with [the picture of] a Divell upon them, and therefore are called Pagodes. There is another [kinde of] gold money, which is called Venetianders:<sup>1</sup> some of Venice, and some of Turkish coine, and are commonly 2. Pardawes Xeraphins. There is yet another [kind of] golde called S. Thomas, because Saint Thomas is figured thereon, and is worth about 7. and eight Tangas:<sup>2</sup> There are likewise Rialles of 8. which are brought from Portingal, and are called Pardawes de Reales: Other money of Portingall is not currant [there]. They are worth at their first comming out of Portingall 436. Reyes of Portingall, and after are rayسد by exchange, as they are sought for when men travell for China,<sup>3</sup> but they are worth neither more nor lesse.<sup>4</sup> They use in Goa in their buying and selling a certaine maner of reckoning or telling. There are Pardawes Xeraphins, and these are silver. They name likewise Pardawes of Gold, and those are not [in kinde or] in coyne, but onely so named in telling and reckoning: for when they buy and sell Pearles, stones, golde, silver and horses, they name but so many Pardawes, and then you must understand that one Pardaw is sixe Tangas: but in other ware, when you make not your bargaine before hand, but plainly<sup>5</sup> name Pardawes, they are Pardawes Xeraphins of 5. Tangas the péece. They use also to say a Pardaw of Lariins, and are five Lariins for every Pardaw. This is the money and reckoning of Goa, where-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Sequins, which still exist in great numbers in South India. They are called "Shanar cash" by the natives, who have invented fictions to explain this name. It has arisen out of the natives taking the Doge's sceptre for a palm-tree, and the Doge for a Shanar about to climb it! The Shanars being of a low caste that cultivates Palmyra palm-trees, and makes intoxicating drink and sugar, etc., out of the sap. Cabral found Venetian gold coins at Calicut in 1501 (see p. 12 of my reprint of the *Copia de una Littera*, etc.)

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....over 7. and sometimes 8. Tangas."

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. note above.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "are never worth less."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....merely".....

with they buy,<sup>1</sup> [sell, receive, and pay]. Many of them know wel how to gaine by these kind of moneys, by exchanging, buying and selling of them. There is great falshoode in the Pardawes Xeraphins, which is the principallest and currantest money: wherefore there are in every stréete and corner of the Cittie, Jewes that are Christians,<sup>2</sup> called Xaraffes, who for [verie] small profit looke upon the moneyes, and are so perfect [therein], that as they let the money passe through their handes in telling, they knowe the false péeces without once looking upon them, or taking them up: yea, although it lay among a thousande [péeces]: and if another should take it in their handes and tell it a thousande times, yet coulde they never perceive it, but in ringing it, [a man may know it very well]. These are coyned in the firme lande by the Heathenish Indians, to deceyve the Portingalles withall, wherefore no man dares receive money, were it but halfe a Pardaw, except he shew it to those Xaraffes. They tell money very readily [and swiftly], and telling it do looke [upon it to sée] if it be good, and do give their promise that if it be found too short, or [any] false [money] therein after they have told it, they will make it good<sup>3</sup> [howe much soever it be]. They are also very ready<sup>4</sup> to exchange money, or [to doe] whatsoever men néede touching the same. They sitte at the corners of the stréetes, and before [mens] houses, and a table with heapes of money [standing before them], every heape being a Tanga, which is 75. Bazarucos, and when any man will change a Pardaw, they give him two or thrée, sometimes 8. or 10. Bazarucos more then the 375. Bazarucos, for they know how to make it up againe,<sup>5</sup> and so do they with all other money according to the rate.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... do their business."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Indians that are Christians"..... This is the second time that this mistranslation occurs. Cfr. p. 231, above.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "but it seldom occurs that any is found deficient."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....serviceable".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... with which they know how to live".....

The waight of Goa is also in divers kinds, as in Portingal, with Quintales,<sup>1</sup> Arrobas,<sup>2</sup> and poundes. They have likewise another wayght called Mao,<sup>3</sup> which is a Hand, and is twelve poundes, with the which they weigh Butter, Hony, Sugar, and all kind of wares [to be solde] by waight. They have likewise a waight wherewith they weigh Pepper and other spices, called a Bhar,<sup>4</sup> and is as much as thrée Quintales and a halfe Portingal waight. They have a measure called Medida,<sup>5</sup> that is to say, even waight. It is about a spanne high, and halfe a finger broade, whereof 24. measures are a Hand, and 20. Handes<sup>6</sup> are one Candiil, and one Candiil is little more or lesse then 14. bushels, wherewith they measure Ryce, Corne, and all graine, or other commodities [to be sold] by measure, and the ships are freighted after [the same rate], for they say a shippe or scute of so many Candiils or so many Bbars. There is Rice, which they sell by the Farden : it is broght in round bundels,<sup>7</sup> wrapped in strawe, and bounde about with cordes : Everie Fardo is commonly thrée Hands<sup>8</sup> and a halfe. This Rice is better then that which commeth not in Fardens, and is called Girasall,<sup>9</sup> Ryce, which is the best, and [beareth]

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the Arabic "qintār."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Arabic "al rob", = quarter.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, "maund" as it is now written ; V. Linschoten has confounded the Mahr. "māna" with the Port. mao (*i.e.*, manus) of nearly the same sound. This is in the Latin (of 1599) : "Aliud tamen præterea pondus habent *Mao* dictum, quod manum significat, 12. pondo habet, ac ad Butyrum, mel, saccarum, aliasque materias usurpatur."

<sup>4</sup> *Bhar*, *i.e.*, Mahr. bhāra = a load or burthen, and hence a weight.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, the Portuguese word "medida" = measure.

<sup>6</sup> *Handes*, *i.e.*, maunds. See last note but one. According to A. Hamilton (*A New Account*, ii, p. 315), about 1700 at Goa : "24 *Rotullas* to 1 *Maund*, 20 *Maund* is 1 *Candil* of 520 *lb. Averdupois*". Lockyer's statement (*An Account of the Trade in India*, 1711, p. 269) agrees with this.

<sup>7</sup> This is still done in Canara, but these bundles are there called "corge."

<sup>8</sup> *Hands*, *i.e.*, maunds.

<sup>9</sup> *Girasall*, *i.e.*, Mahr. "jiresāl" = cummin-(like) rice. This kind of rice is so called after the smell which it has. The name is also in use in the Tamil country. It apparently first occurs in Castanheda (Bk. ii, ch. 102) in Canarese.



the highest price : and [there is] another [sorte], which is of a lesse price and slighter<sup>1</sup> called Chambasal.<sup>2</sup> Ther are [also] divers other sorts of Rice, of a lesse price and slighter then the other Ryce, and is called Batte,<sup>3</sup> and is almost like Barley ; it hath but little huske.<sup>4</sup> This is commonly the dayly foode of the countrey men [in the villages called] Canariins, and of the common and poorer sort which stampe and beate it themselves. It serveth also for Hennes and Doves to eate in stead of Barley. There are divers particular [sortes of] moneyes in many<sup>5</sup> places of India, and inwards in the lande among the heathens, which are currant onely among them, [every coine] in their several places : For by Bengala they have in place of Bazarucos a small kinde of money [called] Amandeles,<sup>6</sup> wherewith they get their livings, and buy [and sell] therewith, and divers others such like coines in severall

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ ..... worse”.....

<sup>2</sup> Chambasal, *i.e.*, sambāsāl. This name (for a kind of white rice, sown in July and harvested in January), is common in all the countries of South India ; it is not clear what its origin or meaning is.

<sup>3</sup> *Batte*, *i.e.*, Mahr. “Bhakta”, Hind. “bhāt”, properly “cooked rice”. There are hundreds of kinds of rice, each of which has its name ; but these have not, as yet, been collected or explained. The only book (Ludovici’s *Rice-Cultivation*, Colombo, 1867) which might be expected to give information is of no value. It is a native political tract, full of diffuse and superfluous matter.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ There are many other kinds of rice which are cheaper. While the rice is still in its husk, like it grows, it is called *Satte*, and is much like barley ; it has little husk.” The misprint *Satte* of the original has somehow been corrected by the translator. Perhaps he saw an early copy of the Latin version of 1599 (“suntque et alia orise genera viliora, quando etiamnum corticibus continetur *Batte* vocatur, hordeo persimilis”), where it is corrected.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ ..... other”.....

<sup>6</sup> *Amandeles*, for Portuguese : “Amendoas” = almonds. The Latin of 1599 has : “Amygdali”. Strange as it may seem, these seeds were used for coins at Surat about a hundred years later than Van Linschoten was in India. Thus, A. Hamilton (*A New Account*, ii, p. 314, ed. of 1744) says : “The current money in Surat. Bitter-Almonds go 32 to a *Pice*, 1 *Annoe* (*i.e.*, Anna) is 4 *Pice*.”

places of the Orientall [countries], but the money waights and measures aforesaid, are those which they doe generally and ordinarily use throughout all India, and principally in Goa, being the heade towne and stapell of [all] the Orientall countries.

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THE 36. CHAPTER.

Of the Indians called Bramenes, which are the ministers of the Pagodes, and Indian Idoles, [and] of their manner of life.

The Bramenes are the honestest<sup>1</sup> and most estéemed nation amonge [all] the Indian heathens : for they doe alwaies serve in ye chiefest places about the King, as Receyvers, Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like offices. They are likewise [the priestes and] ministers of the Pagodes,<sup>2</sup> or divelish Idoles. They are of great authoritie<sup>3</sup> among the [Indian] people, for [that] the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may be knowne from other men, they weare uppon their naked body, from the shoulder crosse under the arme over their body<sup>4</sup> downe to the girdle, or the cloth [that is wrapped about their middle], 3. or 4. strings like sealing thréede, whereby they are knowne : which they never put off although it shoulde cost them their lives,<sup>5</sup> for their profession and religion will not permit it. They go naked, saving [onely that they have] a cloth bounde about their middles to hide their privie members. They wear sometimes when they go abroad a thinne cotton linnen gowne called Cabaia, lightly cast over their sholders, and

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, "highest in rank": Orig. Dutch : "eerlijkste."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... of the Indian".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... authority and credit".....

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, over the left shoulder, and under the right arm ; the string (or strings) being long enough to reach the middle.

<sup>5</sup> This is an error. The sacred thread has to be changed for pollution, and at certain times

[hanging] downe [to the grounde] like some other Indians, as Benianes, Gusarates, and Decaniins. Upon their heads they weare a white cloth, wounde twice or thryce about, therewith to hide their haire, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up as the women do. They have most commonly rounde rings of golde hanging at their ears, as most of ye Indians [have]. They eat not any thing that hath life, but féed themselves with hearbes and Ryce, neyther yet when they are sicke will for any thing bee let blood, but heale themselves by hearbes and ointmentes, and by rubbing [their bodies] with Sanders, and such like swéet woods. In Goa and on the sea coasts there are many Bramenes, which commonly doe maintaine themselves with selling of spices and [other] Apothecarie ware,<sup>1</sup> but [it is] not so cleane [as others, but] full of garbish [and dust].<sup>2</sup> They are very subtil in writing and casting accounts,<sup>3</sup> wherby they make other simple Indians beleve what they will.

Touching the pointes of their religion, wherein the common people beléeve them to be Prophetes:<sup>4</sup> whatsoever they first meete withal in the stréets at their going forth,<sup>5</sup> that doe they all the day [after] pray unto. The women when they goe forth have but one cloth about [their] bodies, which covereth their heades, and hangeth downe unto their knées: all the rest [of the body is] naked. They have ringes through their noses, about their legs, toes, neckes, and armes, and upon each hand seven or eight ringes or bracelettes, some of silver and gilt, if they be of wealth [and ability]: but the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "by retail."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "but with little cleanliness, and (with) foulness."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and sharpwitted."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Simple Indians and common folk believe strange tricks and lies concerning their religion and superstition, and the common folk believe them as prophets." This is still true, the lower castes look only to imitate the Brahmins, and do not copy Europeans at all.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Whatever they first see of a morning."

common people of glasse,<sup>1</sup> which is the common wearing of all the Indian women. When the woman is seven yeares olde, and the man nine years,<sup>2</sup> they do marrie, but they come not together before the woman bee strong enough to beare children.<sup>3</sup> When the Bramenes die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they throw much wood and other things: and if the man be of any accompt, [they cast in] swéet Sanders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne, and such like, and much oyle, because the fire should burne the stronger. Which done they lay the dead Bramenes in it: then cometh his wife with Musike and [many of] her néerest frends, all singing certain prayes<sup>4</sup> in commendation of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, and encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe<sup>5</sup> with him into the other world. Then she taketh [al] her Jewels, and parteth them among her frends, and so with a chéerefull countenance,<sup>6</sup> she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with wood and oyle: so she is quickly dead, and with her husbands bodie burned to ashes: and if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any [woman] refuseth to be burnt with her husband, then they cut the haire cleane off [from her head]: and while she liveth she must never after wear any Jewels more, and from that time she is dispised, and accounted for a dishonest woman.<sup>7</sup> This manner and custome

<sup>1</sup> This is still the case. The Nambūri women (Brahmans) of Malabar wear brass bracelets.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. *Mānavadharmasāstra*.

<sup>3</sup> Should be: "before the approach of puberty."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "songs or commendations".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....go live with him".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....and laughing".....

<sup>7</sup> This account of the fate of some Hindoo widows is exact, and is the earliest precise account of the horrible rite now called "Suttee." The proper name is *Anugamana* (i.e., following), or *Sahagamana* (i.e., accompanying) the dead husband, or *Sahamriti* (i.e., dying with) the deceased husband. A "Sati" is a "virtuous woman" who thus sacrifices herself. It has often been asserted that this rite is to be attributed to the primitive

of burning is used also by the Nobles and principallest of the Countrey, and also by some Marchantes: notwithstanding all their dead bodies in generall are burnt to ashes, and the women, after their husbands deathes, doe cut their haire short, and weare no Jewels, whereby they are knowne for widowes. The [first] cause [and occasion] why the women are burnt with their husbandes, was (as the Indians themselves do say),<sup>1</sup> that in time past, the women (as they are very leacherous and inconstant both by nature, and com-tribes of India, such as the races of the South, and that it is not a rite of the so-called Aryans. This is, however, quite a mistake, and there is ample proof that it was introduced among the primitive races by the Brahmans. F. W. Ellis (in his splendid edition of the *Kural*, left unfinished in consequence of his premature death in 1819) says: "Though devotion to her lord be accounted among the chief excellences of a woman, the Tamil writers, not only do not encourage, but scarcely ever allude to that enthusiasm which unites her to him even in death, and leads her a willing victim to his funeral pile. Though the Smritis, as many have erroneously supposed, do not enjoin the sacrifice, it cannot be denied that some of them permit it..... It is too frequently practised, by the worshippers of Siva and Sacti chiefly, in various parts of India. Among the Tamil and Teluga nations, however, it has never prevailed to any extent, and may now be said to be nearly unknown ..... the victim [is called] *Safī* from *Sat*, pure; which name, also, is vulgarly given to the monuments erected in commemoration of the event. These will be found in considerable numbers at the principal places of pilgrimage; but elsewhere very rarely below the Ghāts, and on inquiry it will mostly appear that the parties were foreigners, from Hindustan or the centre of the Peninsula..... The aboriginal castes of Southern India differ considerably in their rules with respect to the state of widowhood....." (p. 169). The Hindoo (Sanskrit) texts regarding it, are to be found in Colebrooke's essay "On the Duties of a faithful Hindu Widow (*Essays*, i, pp. 14, fig.) This revolting practice is, however, very ancient, as M. A. Barth has proved (*The Religions of India*, p. 59). He says: "At first it seems to have been peculiar to the military aristocracy, and it is under the influence of the sectarian religions that it has especially flourished." P. Teixeira (*Relaciones*, 1610, p. 9), mentioned Telugus, etc., as chief adherents of this rite; he says that when a Naik of Madura (i.e., a Deputy of the Vidyānagara King) died, 400 women burnt themselves. That these bigoted Hindoos from the North chiefly practised it, is also proved by the *Lettres Eelif*.

<sup>1</sup> This story seems due to Strabo (xv, § 30). It is certainly a fiction.

plexion) did poyson many of their husbands, when they thought good (as they are likewise very expert therein :) thereby to have the better means to fulfill their lusts. Which the King perceiving, and that thereby his principal Lords, Captains, and Souldiers, which upheld his estate and kingdome, were so consumed and brought unto their endes, by the wicked practises of women, sought as much as hee might to hinder the same: and thereupon he made a law, and ordayned, that when the dead bodies of men were buried, they should also burne their wives with them,<sup>1</sup> thereby to put them in feare, and so make them abstaine from poysoning of their husbands: which at the first was very sharply executed, onely upon the nobles, [gentlemen, and] souldiers<sup>2</sup> [wives], as also the Bramenes (for that the common people must beare no armes,<sup>3</sup> but are in a manner<sup>4</sup> like slaves.) So that in the ende it became a custome among them, and so continueth: [whereby] at this day they observe it for a part of their law and ceremonies of their divelish Idoles,<sup>5</sup> and now they do it willingly,<sup>6</sup> being hartened and strengthened thereunto by their friendes. These Bramenes observe certain fasting daies in ye year, and that with so great abstinence, that they eat nothing all that day, and sometimes in 3. or 4. daies together. They have their Pagodes and Idoles, whose ministers<sup>7</sup> they are, whereof they tell and shew [many] miracles,<sup>8</sup> and say that those Pagodes have been men [living upon earth], and because of their holy lives, and good workes done [here] in this world, are [for a reward therof], become holy men in

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "that as soon as men died and should be burnt, that they should burn the women alive with (them)."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "regierders", i.e., "governours."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....arms or weapons".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....almost like".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....devilish religion".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....of free and good will".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....whose servants and ministers".....

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch: ".....wondrous histories and miracles"

the other world, as by their miracles, by the Diuel performed, hath béene manifested [unto them], and by their commandementes their formes [and shapes] are made in the most ugly and deformed manner that possible may bee devised. Such they pray and offer unto, with many divilish superstitions, and stedfastly beléeve yt they are their advocates and intercessors unto God. They beléeve also that their is a supream God above, which ruleth all things, and that [mens] soules are immortall, and that they goe out of this worlde into the other, both beastes and men, and receyve reward according to their workes, as Pythagoras teacheth, whose disciples they are.<sup>1</sup>

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### THE 37. CHAPTER.

Of the Gugarates, and Banianes of Cambaia.

The Gugarates and Banianes are of the country of Cambaia : many of them dwel in Goa, Diu, Chaul, Cochin, and other places of India,<sup>2</sup> because of their trade and traffick in marchandise, which they use much with all kindes of wares, as corne, cotton, linnen, anil,<sup>3</sup> Rice, and other wares,<sup>4</sup> specially all kinde of precious stones wherein they have great skill. They are most subtile and expert in casting of accounts, and

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : ".....they say they are"..... No doubt, as we see so often even nowadays, a fiction to please Europeans.

<sup>2</sup> So at the present time.

<sup>3</sup> "Anil" i.e., indigo. The Arabic corruption of the Indian (Sk.) "nīla = blue, plus the Ar. article "al."

<sup>4</sup> Including slaves. They have, of late, been notorious as slave-dealers in Zanzibar, and at other places on the African coast, etc. Like the so-called Hindoos, the Banians are a striking proof that religion and morality have nothing to do with one another [?]. They are excessively religious, and exceedingly immoral, as the Mahārāj trials at Bombay proved, to say nothing of the immorality of their trade, and their cruelty as slavers, etc.

writing, so that they do not only surpasse and goe beyond all Jewes<sup>1</sup> and other nations thereabouts, but also the Portingales : and in this respect they have no<sup>2</sup> advantage, for [that] they are very perfect in the trade of marchandise, and very ready to deceive men. They eate not any thing that hath life or blood in it, neither would they kil it for all the goods in ye worlde,<sup>3</sup> how small or unnecessarie soever it were, for that they stedfastly beleéve that every living thing hath a soule, and are next [after men to be accounted of,] according to Pythagoras law, and know it must die :<sup>4</sup> and sometimes they do buy certain fowles or other beastes of the Christians or Portingals, which they meant to have killed, and [when they have bought them], they let them flée and run away. They have a custome in Cambaia, in the high wayes, and woods, to set pots with water, and to cast corne and other graine [upon the ground] to féed birds and beastes [withal] : and throughout Cambaia they have hospitals to cure [and heale] all maner of beastes and birds [therein] whatsoever they aile,<sup>5</sup> and receive them thether as if they were

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ ..... all other Indians”.....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ ..... much advantage”.....

<sup>3</sup> It is plain that these remarks chiefly refer to Jains. This sentence should be : “ And they will kill nothing in the world that has life, however small and useless it may be”..... Nearly all the Banians (or traders of North-west India) are Jains. Professor Monier Williams writes (*Modern India*, 2nd ed., p. 74) :—“ Great numbers of the Baniyas or traders of the West of India, who claim to be Vaiysas, are Jains.”) But the earlier writers could not distinguish the Hindus proper from the Jains, who are heretical Buddhists, and a very ancient sect. They have so much in common, and the artificial caste distinctions are so perplexing, that it is natural the distinction could only have been made in comparatively recent times.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : “ and they uphold that exactly, and”.....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch adds : “ with great vigilance and diligence”..... The idea of such help to animals has been for about 2,000 years at least current amongst the Buddhists and Jains or heretical Buddhists. Thus the second edict of Piyadasi has : “ le roi Piyadasi..... a répandu des remèdes de deux sortes, remèdes pour les hommes, remèdes pour les animaux. Partour, où manquaient les plantes utiles



men, and when they are healed, they let them flie or run [away whither they will], which among them is a work of great charity, saying, it is don to their even neighbours. And if they take a flea or a Lowce, they wil not kil it, but take or put it into some hole or corner in the wall, and so let it go,<sup>1</sup> and you can do them no greater injury then to kil it in their presence, for they wil never leave intreating and desiring withall curtesie [not to kil it, and] that man shoulde not [séeme to] commit so great a sinne, as to take away the life of that, to whom God hath given both soule and body : yea, and they will offer much money [to a man] to let it live, and goe away. They eate no Radishes, Onions, Garlicke, nor any kinde of hearbe that hath any colour of red [in it], nor Egges, for they thinke there is blood in them. They drinke not any wine, nor use any vineger, but onely water. They are so dangerous<sup>2</sup> of eating<sup>3</sup> [and drinking] with other

soit aux hommes, soit aux animaux, elles ont été importées et plantées,' etc. (Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, i, p. 74, 1881). Fitch (c. 1594, in *Hakluyt*, ii, p. 253) says: "In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have anything killed: in the towne they have hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will give meat to the ants." Lord, a little later, writes: "They disperse their very dung and ordure with a beasome, lest it should generate wormes that bee subiect to destruction: and they keep an hospital of lame and maimed flying fowle, redeemed by a price, which they seeke to restore. They have all things common, but place no faith in outward washings, but rather embrace a carelesse and sordid nastinesse" (*A Display of Two Forraigne Sects*, 1630, pp. 75-6). Ovington gives a very amusing account of this craze. After this, the descriptions of these hospitals are common. The latest visitor to India who has written on Hinduism says: "If a Jain wishes to acquire religious merit, he either builds a new temple.....or a hospital for the care of worn-out animals. No one thinks of repairing the work of his predecessor, though it be that of his own father..... The Jains carry their respect for animal life—even for the life of the most minute infusoria—to a preposterous extreme" (Monier Williams, *Modern India*, 2nd ed., 1878, p. 94).

<sup>1</sup> As many Anglo-Indians have seen their native visitors do; even if they are Hindus, not Jains.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Schon"="schuw", i.e., "shy or careful."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "eating (with) or touching (them)".....

men which are not their Countriemen, that they would rather starve<sup>1</sup> to death then once to doe it.<sup>2</sup> It happeneth oftentimes that they saile in the Portingales ships from Goa to Cochin to sell their wares, and to traffique with the Portingales, and then they make their provisions for so long time as they thinke to stay upon the way, which they take [abroad] with them,<sup>3</sup> [and thereupon they féede], and if the time falleth out longer, then they made account of their water and provision beeing all spent, as [it hapned] when I sailed from Goa to Cochin, they had rather die<sup>4</sup> for hunger and thirst then once to touch the Christians meate,<sup>5</sup> they wash themselves before they eate, as the Bramenes [doe], as also every tyme when they ease themselves or make water. They are of a yellowe colour like the Bramenes and somewhat whiter, and there are women among them which are much whiter and clearer of complection<sup>6</sup> than the Portingale women. They are formed and made both in face, limmes [and all other things] like [men] of Europe, colour [only] excepted. Their apparrell is a thinne white gowne upon their naked bodies, from the head<sup>7</sup> to the féet, and made fast on the side under their armes, their shooes of red leather, sharp at the toes, and turning up [like hookes], their bearded shaven like the Turkes, saving only [their] moustachios, they weare on their heades a white cloth thrée or four times wrapped about like the Bramenes, and under their haire a starre upon their foreheads, which they rub every morning with a little white sanders, tempered with water, and 3. or 4. graines of rice among it, which the Bramenes also doe as a superstitious

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : " rather die of hunger and thirst".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : " than merely touch any food of other people".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch adds : " of water and the vegetables on which they live."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : " die and perish.".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch : " touch and use the food and water of the Christians or of any other."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch : " surpass the Portuguese women in whiteness and beauty."

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch : " .....neck".....

ceremonie of their law. Their bodies are commonly anoynted with sanders and other swéet woods, which they doe very much use, as also all the Indians. Their women are [apparelled] like the Bramenes wives, they eate like the Mahometans, and all other Indians upon the ground. In their houses or assemblies they sit on the ground uppon mattes or carpets, and alwaies leave their shooes without the dore, so that they are alwaies barefoote in their houses: wherefore commonly the heeles of their shooes are never pulled up, to save labour of untying or undoing them, they have a thousand other heathenish superstitions<sup>1</sup> which are not worth [the rehearsall], whereof we have told you the most principall and therby you may well enough understand what the rest are.

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### THE 38. CHAPTER.

#### Of the Canaras and Decanijs.

The Canaras and Decaniins<sup>2</sup> are of the countrie of Decam, commonly called Ballagate, lying behinde Goa: many of them dwell in Goa, where their wares and shops are,<sup>3</sup> of all sorts of Velvets, Silkes, Sattins [and] Damaskes, which they buy by great of the Portingales, also al kinds of cotton linnen, por-selyne, and all [kinds of] wares [and marchandises] of Cambaia, China, Bengalla, etc. which they likewise buy of the Portingales, and other nations, and sell it againe by retaile: for the which [purpose] they have brokers of their owne Countrimen, which looke for<sup>4</sup> all kinds of wares [and

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... a thousand other ceremonies and Heathenish superstitions".....

<sup>2</sup> A confusion of names, from the province where they lived (Canara), and the name of all the South of India (Dakhan).

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "where they have their abodes and shops".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Op loopen" = "search out": "engross" would best correspond with the actual practice of Hindu traders.

commodities]. These bring likewise all victuals and necessaries out of the firme land, into the towne and Island of Goa.<sup>1</sup> They have their Indian ships wherewith they traffique to Cambaia, Sunda,<sup>2</sup> and the read sea. Many of them are gold and silver smithes, and work in Copper, wherein they are very cunning.<sup>3</sup> They have also divers other handicrafts,<sup>4</sup> as Barbers, Phisitions, Carpenters, and such like, as dwell in Goa, so that they are almost as great a number as the Portingale<sup>5</sup> Mesticos, and Christians. Their apparrell is like the Gusurates and Benianes, except their shooes, which they wear like Antiques with cut toes, and fastned above upon [their naked féete, which they call Alparcas.<sup>6</sup> They weare [their] beards and [their] haire long, as it groweth without cutting, but only turne it up, and dresse it<sup>7</sup> as the Benianes and Bramenes [use to doe], and are like them for colour, forme,<sup>8</sup> [and making]. They eate all thinges except Kine, Hogges, and Buffels, flesh and fish. They account the Oxe, Cow, or Buffel to be holie, which they have commonly in the house with them, and they besméere, stroke, and handle them with all the friendship in the world, and féed them with the same [meat] they [use to] eate themselves, and when the beastes ease themselves, they hold their hands under [their tails] and so throw [the dung] away. In the night [time] they sléepe with them in their houses, and to conclude, use them as if they were reasonable creatures,

<sup>1</sup> Goa entirely depended on other places for necessary provisions. Cfr. Della Valle (iv, pp. 324, 354), who states the same fact.

<sup>2</sup> Scinde is probably intended. Sunda is close to Goa.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and are very good workmen."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... and trades."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Portuguese, mestises".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: *Alparcas*. *Alparca* for *Alpargate*. This is a Portuguese word adopted from the Arabic,—"Hempen sandal". (Cfr. Dozy et Engelmann, p. 373.)

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... only twisted up and covered with a veil (turban) like the Banyans"..... Latin of 1599: "Capillum ligant, ac linteo tegunt, ut Benianes"..... (p. 48).

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... form of body and limbs".....

whereby they thinke to doe God great service.<sup>1</sup> In their eating, sitting in the house, washing, making cleane, and other ceremonies and superstitions, they are altogether like the Bramenes, Gusrates, and Banianes. In their mariages they contract ech with other at 7. yeres,<sup>2</sup> and at 11. or 12 yeares they are married, and dwell together. When they are to be married, they begin fourteene dayes before<sup>3</sup> [to make] a great sound with trumpets, drummes and fires, which continueth day and night for all [those] fourteene dayes,<sup>4</sup> with so great a noise of songs and Instruments, that men can neyther heare nor see: On the wedding day, [all] the friends [and kindred] on both sides doe assemble together, and sit upon the ground,<sup>5</sup> round about a fire, and goe seaven times about it [uttering] certaine wordes, whereby the wedding is done.<sup>6</sup> They<sup>7</sup> give their daughters no household stuffe, but only some Jewels, as bracelets, eare-rings, and such like of small valew, wherewith their husbands must bee content,<sup>8</sup> for the Daughters are no heires, [but] the Sonnes inherite all, but [they keep and] maintaine their daughters and sisters till they marie: when they die, they are likewise burnt, and some of their wives with them,<sup>9</sup> but not so many as of the Bramenes. Every one of them followeth his father's occupation,<sup>10</sup> and marieth with the daughters of such [like trades], which they name kindreds.<sup>11</sup> They have their fast-

<sup>1</sup> This crazy superstition is the subject of the second book of a Sanskrit poem, the "Raghuvamça", by a Kälidäsa.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... seven or eight".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "..... every day up to the day of the marriage."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "..... after it".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... ground in the house".....

<sup>6</sup> This is done by the bridegroom and bride.

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and it is to be understood that they".....

<sup>8</sup> This is the Hindu (Sanskrit) law.

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch: "being dead, they are also burned, and sometimes the wives alive with them".....

<sup>10</sup> Orig. Dutch: "occupation and the arts of his elders".

<sup>11</sup> Orig. Dutch: "geslachten", i.e., "stirps" (Kilian) or caste.

ing daies, and ceremonies like the Bramenes, for they are as the laytie, and the Bramenes as the spirituality, the Ministers, [Priests], and Prophets of their Idols. They [hire and] farme the customes and rents of the Portingales, and the Kings [renewes] in the land of Bardes, Salsette, and the Island of Goa,<sup>1</sup> so that often times for any question or strife they must appeare in law, where they alwaies come without Counsellor or Attorney, and knowe so well<sup>2</sup> how to place their words, according to the lawes of Portingall, [not onely temporall] but spirituall, that they are able to [set downe, and] shewe where it standeth written, as well as any Counsellor<sup>3</sup> [could doe], and make their petitions and requests without any mans advise, that the Portingales doe wonder at their readie wits, as I have oftentimes found in them. When they are to take their othes to beare witnes [with any man], they are set within a circle<sup>4</sup> made of ashes upon the pavement where they stand, [still] laying a fewe ashes on their bare heades, holding one hand on their heads, the other on their breasts, and then in their own spéech sweare by their Pagode, that they wil tell the truth without dissimulation, whatsoever shall bee asked them, for that they certainly beléeve they should be damned for ever, if as then they should not say the truth, but conceale it.<sup>5</sup> These are their principall customes and ceremonies, yet are there many others, which for brevity I omit.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "which are under the jurisdiction of Goa."

<sup>2</sup> Rather, think they do; a form of conceit still seen in India.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "better than any licentiate in law". This is an exaggeration. The natives of India are talkative and argumentative, but have not an intuitive knowledge of what they have not learnt.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "a circle or a round ring". This seems to be a local superstitious usage." Hindu oaths or rather ordeals are countless.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "if they told any lies then, and concealed the truth."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "we will pass by."

## THE 39. CHAPTER.

## Of the Canarijns and Corumbijns of India.

The Canarijns and Corumbijns<sup>1</sup> are the Countrimen ;<sup>2</sup> and such as deale with tilling the land, fishing and such like labors, to get their livings, and look vnto the Indian Palme trées, whereon the Cocos doe grow. There are some among them that doe nothing els but wash cloathes, which is there used like another occupation,<sup>3</sup> they are called Maynattos<sup>4</sup>: there are others that are called Patamares,<sup>5</sup> which serve onlie for Messengers [or Posts], to carie letters<sup>6</sup> from place to place by land, in winter tyme when men can not travaile by sea. These Canarijns and Corumbijns are the most contemptible, and the miserablest [people] of [all] India, and live very poorely, maintaining themselves with little meate.<sup>7</sup> They eat all [kinds of] things, except Kine, Oxen, Buffels, Hogs, and Hens flesh, their religion is like the Decanijns and Canaras, for they are all of one Countrie and custome, little differing: they goe naked, their privie members onely covered with a cloth. The women go with a cloth bound

<sup>1</sup> *Corumbijns*, i.e., Konk. Kunambi (Mahr. Kunbt) = agriculturist. De Kloguen (*Hist. Sketch*, p. 156) says: "The sixth class (of the Goanese) is that of the inferior Sudras, who follow the profession of fishermen and other viler occupations, called Carombis".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "boeren", i.e., peasants.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "a trade and art".....

<sup>4</sup> *Maynattos*, i.e. mainattu, Malabar, a washerwoman. Mocquet (p. 298) has "un Menate Gentil".

<sup>5</sup> *Patamares*, i.e., Mahr. Konk. patemārī, which Molesworth explains by "pattā" tidings, "mārī", from "maranē", bringer, carrier, conveyer. This term is now exclusively applied to fast sailing vessels—*pattymars*. The older meaning of "Messenger" seems obsolete, though this alone is the sense in the older travellers. Even as late as 1653 there is in Boullayelle-Gouz's *Voyages*, (p. 227): "Patmard est un Messager de pied", and in the vocabulary (p. 535): "Patmart est un pieton qui porte des lettres aux Indes."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... letters and messages".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "met cleyne Kosten", i.e., with small (common) food."

about their middles beneath their navels, [and hanging] downe to the middle of their thighes, and the other end [thereof] they cast over their shoulders, wherby halfe their breasts are covered. They are in a manner blacke, or of a dark browne [colour], many of them are Christians,<sup>1</sup> because their chiefe [habitation and] dwelling places are on the Sea side in the countries bordering upon Goa, for that the palme trées doe grow upon the Sea coasts, or upon ye bankes by river sides. The rice is sowed upon low ground, which in winter time is covered with water, wherewith those Canarijns doe maintaine themselves: these bring hennes, fruit, milke, egges and other such like wares into the towne to sell.<sup>2</sup> They dwell in little straw houses, the doores whereof are so low,<sup>3</sup> that men must créepe in and out, their household stuffe is a mat upon the ground to sléepe upon, [and] a pit or hole in the ground to beate their rice in with a pot or two to séeth it [in], and so they live and gaine<sup>4</sup> so much as it is a wonder. For commonly their houses are full of [small] children, which crall and créepe [about] all naked, untill they are 7. or eight yeares old, and then they cover their privie members. When the Women [are readie to travaile with Childe, they] are commonly delivered when they are all alone, and their husbandes in the fieldes, as it fortunéd upon a time, as I and some other of my friends went to walke in the fieldes, and into the villages where the Canarijns dwell and having thirst, I went to one of the Canarijns houses to aske [some] water, therewith to refresh us, (which they commonly drinke out of a Copper Canne<sup>5</sup> with a spout,

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "baptised Christians."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... from the country into the town, to sell."

<sup>3</sup> The doors of Indian peasants' houses were so low and small to prevent plunderers and marauders from entering. Now that they have no cause to fear anything of the kind, they still follow old customs.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... and support so many".....

<sup>5</sup> Called on the West Coast and in Malabar a *Kindi* or *Gindî*.



[thereat to drinke] without touching it with their mouthes,<sup>1</sup> which is all the mettell they have within their houses,) and because I was verie thirstie, I stooped downe and thrust my head in [at] the doore, asking for some water, where I espied a woman alone within the house, tying her cloth fast about her middle, and before her having a wooden trough, by the Portingales called Gamello) full of water, [where] she stood and washed a childe, whereof as then she had newly bin delivered without any help:<sup>2</sup> which having washt, she laid it naked on the ground upon a great Indian figge leafe,<sup>3</sup> and desired mee to stay and shee would presently give mee water. When I understood by her that she had as then newly beene delivered of that Child without any helpe,<sup>4</sup> I had no desire to drink of her water,<sup>5</sup> but went into another to aske water, and perceived the same woman not long after going about her house, as if there had bin no such matter,<sup>6</sup> and the children are brought up in that manner cleane naked, nothing done unto them, but onely washed and made cleane in [a little] cold water, and doe in that sort prosper and come up [as well as man would wish], or as any child within these countries can do with all the tending [they have] and live many times untill they be a hundreth yeares old, without any headach, or toothach, or loosing any of their teeth. They weare onely a tuske of haire on the toppes of their heades, which they suffer to grow long: the rest of their haire is cut short, they are very expert in swimming and diving, they row [up and downe] the Rivers in boates called Almadias,<sup>7</sup> whereof some of them are hewen out of a

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch adds: "to pour it in from on high".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "or attendance".....

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, plantain or banana leaf.

<sup>4</sup> This could be told of most of the lower castes in India.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "to drink from her hand."

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "as if nothing had happened to her, and she knew nothing of child-bearing."

<sup>7</sup> A Portuguese word, but originally Arabic, "Al ma'diyah". "qui

péece of wood, and só narrow<sup>1</sup> that a man can hardly sit in them, and it chaunceth oftentimes that they turne over and over twice or thrice before they passe the river, and then they leape out into the water and turne them up, and so powring out the water they get into them again. They are so miserable, that for a penny they would [indure to] be whipped, [and] they eate so little, that it seemeth they live by the aire, they are likewise most of them leane and weake of limmes, of little strength and very cowardes, whereby the Portingales doe them great outrage and villanie, using them like dogges and beasts. In their mariages and deathes they observe the manner of the Decaniins and Canaras, as also in their religion and ceremonies. When the man is dead [his body] is burnt, and the woman cuts her haire off, and breaketh all her Jewels,<sup>2</sup> although they be but few and small, for they are most of glasse.

By the pictures following you may see the Decaniins or Canaras, or the Marchantes of Goa, also the Banianes or Gusurates of Cambaia, with the Bramenes and his wife, in what sort all the wômen doe goe, as wel Benianes as Decaniins, Moores, and Indian [women] that inhabite the countrie.<sup>3</sup> How those of Goa and Ballagate kéepe their weddings

désigne un bac pour passer une rivière. Voyez sur ce mot M. Quatre-mère, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, ii, i, 156". (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 148.)

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : "small."

<sup>2</sup> It was owing to this that there was always a great demand in India for ivory, of which the bracelets of Indian women were commonly made. A. Duran (*Cercos de Moçambique*, p. 6) has explained this : "Marfil el qual es la mejor mercaderia que se puede llevar al Reyno de Cambaya, por ser costumbre de aquella naciõ poner todo el cuidado de su ornato en joyas hechas de marfil, las quales hazẽ pedaços, y queman las mugeres en las ocasiones de muertes de sus maridos, y assi aunque sea caso infinito el marfil que viene de aquella costa, para todo ay salida, y cota costumbre de aquallos Gentiles haze continuar las contratacion : de manera, que este uño passade de (1)609. Llegò a valer un bar, quinientis pardaos."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "that live in India."

among the Decaniins and Canaras, with the manner how the living women burne themselves with their dead husbands, what estate the Embassador of Hidalcam holdeth in Goa, and how he is caried in the streets, also a true description<sup>1</sup> of the Canariin with [his] wife, and the manner how the Indian heathenish children are brought up: [also] of the soldier of Ballagate, which is called Lascariin, with the heathenish whore called Balliadera,<sup>2</sup> who is a dancer, because shee is commonly used thereunto in any feast or open playes, and are [ready] to be hired for a small [péece of] mony, [whereof] many of them dwell in Goa, with the maner of the dwellings and houses of the Decaniins, Canariins, and Corumbiins, and how they row in the rivers with their scutes, whereby I have placed the maner of the boats [used by those] of the Malabares in Cochin, so that I shall not neede to make a [severall] Chapter of them by themselves.

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#### THE 40. CHAPTER.

##### Of the Arabians and Abexiins dwelling in India.

There are many Arabians and Abexiins in India. The Arabians observe Mahomets law, and the Abexiins some are Mahometans, some christians, after their manner, for they are of Prester Johns land, which stretcheth behind Mosambique in Æthiopia unto the red sea, and the river Nilus in Egypt, and by [their common traffique and] conference with the Moores and Mahometans, there are divers of them infected with the same sect. There are many of them in India that are slaves and captives, both men and women

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "my picture."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, the Portuguese term, "bailadeira." These women are now commonly known as "Nautch girls" or "dancing-girls."

which are brought [thether] out of Aethiopia, and sold like other Oriental Nations, the Abexiins that are christians have on their faces 4. burnt markes in the manner of a Crosse, one<sup>1</sup> over their nose in the middle of the forehead, betweene [both their] eyes, on each of their cheekes one, betwéene their eies, and their eares,<sup>2</sup> and one under their neather lip, [downe] to the chin: and this is their Baptisme,<sup>3</sup> when they

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "that is to say: one over".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and on both sides, from the eyes to the ears."

<sup>3</sup> This is a mistake. Marco Polo (ed. 2 of Col. Yule, ii, p. 421) was the first to describe this practice, and to confound it with baptism: "The Christians in this country (Abash) bear three marks on the face; one from the forehead to the middle of the nose, and one on either cheek. These marks are made with a hot iron, and form part of their baptism; for after that they have been baptised with water, these three marks are made, partly as a token of gentility, and partly as the completion of their baptism." Col. Yule (*u.s.*, p. 427) shows by ample authorities that it was not really connected with baptism. This is also clear from Alvarez's statement: "... you should know that every child comes to baptism shaved with a razor, and the scars or marks which they bear on the nose, between the eyes, and at the corners of the eyes, are not made by fire nor for anything of Christianity; but with cold iron for ornament, and because they say that it is good for the sight. There are here women who are very skilful at making these marks." (*Narrative of the Port. Embassy to Abyssinia*, translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley, p. 49, Hakl. Soc., lxiv, 1881.) At first sight it might be difficult to understand how burning could be held to have anything to do with baptism. But if the ideas of the mediæval theologians and canon lawyers be considered, it would seem that a vague notion of baptism *fluminis* is the probable source of this curious notion. It was held (and is so still?) that there are three kinds of baptism: 1, *fluminis* or ordinary baptism; 2, *flaminis*: "*flaminis Baptismus est, quando quis per Spiritum Sanctum mundatur, dum fidem suam coram persecutore confitetur, et dum justo errore ductus, credit se fuisse baptizatum..... Hoc Baptismo baptizatos fuisse Apostolos et Discipulos, tradit Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus..... Hoc idem operatur, quod baptismus fluminis; puta liberationem à peccatis originalibus et actualibus..... si quidem fluminis Baptismus non per contentum, sed necessitate, sit omissus*". (Arn. Corvini *Jus Canonicum*, 1672, pp. 58-9.) A misunderstanding arising out of the singular name, might easily give rise to such a notion as is found in Marco Polo. and the text, and also in many other records of early travel (*e.g.*, *Copia de una Littera*, ed. p. 3), espe-

are made Christians, [which they use] in stead of water. These Abexiins, and Arabians such as are free doe serve in al India for saylers and sea faring men, with such marchants as saile from Goa to China, Japon, Bengala, Mallaca, Ormus, and all the Oriental coast : for that there they have no other saylers, nor there are no other because the Portingalles, although they serve for Saylers [in the Portingalles shippes that come] into India, and have never bene other in Portiugale but Saylers, yet are they ashamed to live in that order, and thinke it a great discredite unto them,<sup>1</sup> together with a great diminishing of their authorities and estimations, which they account themselves to hold in India, so that they give

cially if the name of the third kind of baptism, *Baptismus sanguinis*, be also considered. Ludoff questioned the Abyssinian priest Gregory on this matter. He answered : “ Signum Christianismi visibile non habent neque sanguinis neque ignis. Quod autem Johannes de Baptismo ignis dixit, id impletum fuit tempore Apostolorum cum Spiritus S. sederat super illos in figura ignis, sicut scriptum est in Actis Apostolorum.” (Fabricius, *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, 1731, p. 721.)

<sup>1</sup> Mocquet (*Voyages*, p. 303-4) has an amusing story which illustrates this : “ Quand ils arrivent aux Indes ils se font braves en peu de temps, se disans tous *fidalgues* et gentils-hommes, encore que ce ne soient que paysans, et gens de mestier. Eux mesmes me contoient d'un certain d'entri' eux nommé *Fernando*, qui avoit gardé les porceaux en Portugal, et estant venu aux Indes, adioustant trois lettres à son nom, se faisoit appeller *Dom Fernando*, et fut en peu de temps si bien cognu et estimé entre les femmes natives, qu'une l'ayant choisi pour son serviteur, elle le faisoit aller à cheval, la chaine d'or au col, et force esclaves après luy : mais un jour il arriva que le fils du maistre qu'il avoit servi de porcher en son pays, l'ayant rencontré en ce riche et superbe équipage par les rués de Goa, le salua en luy disant en sa langue, *Deos guarda Fernando, como esta* : qui veut dire, Dieu vous gard tel, comment vous portez-vous. Mais l'autre faisant semblant de ne le cognoistre pas, luy demanda qui il estoit : à quoy le jeune fils luy ayant respondu, s'il n'estoit pas celuy qui avoit autrefois gardé les porceaux chez son père, cestui-cy l'ayant tiré à part, luy dit qu'on l'appelloit là *Dom*, et qu'on le tenoit pour gentil homme de bonne race, le priant de n'en dire rien : et mesme luy donnant de l'argent pour cela, et toutefois cela ne laissa d'estre sceu par plusieurs qui en firent bien leur profit.” Cfr. also Della Valle, iv, pp. 141, 152, 316.

themselves out for maisters of shippes, and by their captaines are also called Pilots and chief Botesonnes, but not lower: for if they should descend but one step lower, it would be a great blot and blemish unto them all their lives [after], which they would not indure for anie thing in the world. These Abexijns and Arabians serve for small money, and being hyred are verie lowlie [and subiect], so that often times they are [beaten and] smitten, not as slaves, but like dogs, which they beare very patientlie, not [once] speaking a word: they commonlie have their wives and children with them in the shippe wherein they are hyred, which continually stay with them, what voyage soever they make, and dresse their owne meat, which is Rice sodden in water with salt fish among it. The cause<sup>1</sup> why the women sayle in the ship, is, for that in Summer [and not else, their] shippes goe to sea, when they alwayes have calme water and faire weather, with good windes: they have commonlie but one Portingale or two [for] Captaine, maister and Pilote, and [they have] a chief Boteson, which is<sup>2</sup> an Arabian, which they cal Mocadon,<sup>3</sup> and he is ruler of the Arabians and Abexijns, that are saylers, whome he hath under his subiection, even as if they were his slaves or subiects.<sup>4</sup> This Mocadon is he that [conditioneth and] maketh bargaine with the owners of the ship, to have so manie saylers, and he receiveth the monethlie money for their wages, and accounteth with the saylers particularie, but for government of the ship he hath not to doe, neither troubleth himselfe therewith. The

<sup>1</sup> The real cause was, no doubt, to have ceremonially pure food, and to comply with caste restrictions. In the same way the Sepoys (native soldiers) in S. India always have with them a rabble to cook for them, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... is usually".....

<sup>3</sup> *I. e.*, Arabic "muqaddam". "Mocadão Portg. (patron de barque) de muqaddam. Chez P. de Alcalá *piloto de mar principal*." (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 515.)

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... slaves and private property".

shippes when they sayle, use no caske for water, because there is not any throughout all India, nor [any] made there, save onely such as come out of Portingall, and used in the Portingall shippes : but in stéed of pypes they use a great foure cornered wooden cesterne,<sup>1</sup> [that standeth] by the main maste, [at the very foote thereof], upon the keele of the shippe, which is verie well pitched, and made fast, wherein they lade as much water as they thinke will serve them for their voyage. The captaine, maister or Pilote, Marchants and passingers, have everie man their meat by themselves, and their water in great Indian pots called Martauans,<sup>2</sup> whereof<sup>3</sup> in the description of Pegu I have [alreadie] spoken. These people are so serviceable and willing [to do any thing], that if there chanceth but a hat, or any other thing, to be blown over, or fall into the water, they will presently leape, cloathes and all [into the sea], to fetch it again, for they swimme like fishes, when the ships lie within the haven or river, and that they will all goe on land, then they goe into the boate, [and so row] to shore, which done one of them roweth backe againe with the boate, which he tyeth fast to the ship and swimmeth to land : and when they will goe aboard again, if any of the saylers be unwilling [to swimme to fetch the boate],<sup>4</sup> they are by the Mocadon or the maister, with strokes compelled to [doe it] : but they commoulie never stay till it cometh [so farre], but rather strive who shall be first in the water to shew their diligence : and when

<sup>1</sup> Such wooden cisterns are still commonly in use in the coasting vessels of the East.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 101, note.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "..... whereof in another (place) in the description"..... The reference is to ch. 17 (p. 101, above).

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "in the same way when they want to go aboard again, and if they are unwilling to jump overboard to do some small thing or other, they are compelled"..... Only the De Bry Latin (p. 105) attempts to render this : "Hinc si cursum vltierius instituunt naues, et in hisce renigibus mora ulla sit in insilicndo mari, aut alio quouis officio praestando, *Mocodon* protinus".....

they doe any thing [abord], as hayling [ropes and other things], they sing and answere each other [very sweetlie], for that it seemeth to be [very good] Musick. Their exercise on land is, all the day to drinke,<sup>1</sup> and to sit in tipling houses with [their] wives and children, and then they goe hand in hand through the streets, reeling here and there, making a great noise with singing and gaping [after their manner]: there women weare breeches<sup>2</sup> like the Arabians and Mahometans.

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#### THE 41. CHAPTER.

Of the blacke [people] of Mosambique, which are called Caffares, and of their manners and customes.

The black [people] or Caffares<sup>3</sup> of the land of Mosambique, and all the coast of Ethiopia, and within the land to

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Burton (*Sindh*, 1851, p. 255) gives them much the same character: "The Africans now in Sindh are ignorant and illiterate to the last degree. In disposition they are at once cheerful and surly, merry and passionate; the natives declare that they are as revengeful as camels, and subject to fits of sulkiness so intense, that nothing but the most violent corporeal punishment will cure them..... Brave and remorseless, they are also the most daring and treacherous of villains; nothing, in fact, except the certainty of death can deter them from robbery and bloodshed..... Their fondness for sensual pleasures is remarkable..... Their great delights are eating, drinking, music and dancing. The two latter exercises are usually combined, and present a most grotesque appearance."

<sup>2</sup> Lane says of this Muhammadan article of women's dress: "A pair of very wide trousers (called 'Shintiyán'), of a coloured striped stuff of silk and cotton, or of printed or worked or plain white muslin, is tied round the hips, under the shirt..... its lower extremities are drawn up, and tied just below the knee with running strings; but it is sufficiently long to hang down to the feet, or almost to the ground." (*Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed., p. 41.)

<sup>3</sup> "Cafre (cruel, barbare) de Kâfir qui signifie *un infidèle, un mécréant*" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 245). Boullaye-le-Gouz (*Voyages*,



the Cape de bona Speranza, go al naked, although those of Mosambique, (that is the women) do a little cover themselves, which they do by meanes of the [daylie] conversation they have with the Portingales, who for Gold, silver and Ivory bones, and such like,<sup>1</sup> doe exchange Cotton linnen<sup>2</sup> brought out of India, that within the land,

1653, p. 211) says of them: "Les Caffres, ou Mores en Français, ne parviennent jamais à rien, et sont tous esclaves ou serviteurs affranchis des Gentils-hommes, ou Cuisiniers dans les Couvents, n'aspirans point à la Prestrise." At present there is an African chief in India, at Jinjra near Bombay.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "other things", i.e., Ambergris. Cfr. Mocquet, *Voyages* p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> And beads. Cfr. Mocquet, *Voyages*, p. 258: "*Bretangis* sont certaines toiles de coton teintes en bleu et violet obscur. *Conterie*, ce sont patenostres de verre ou ambre, tant bon que faux, qui est la marchandise propre pour ces Ethiopiens, qui en contr'échange baillent de l'or, ambregris, dents d'Elefant, et autres choses rares qui se trouvent en ces pays de Couama, et au Cap des Courantes, ou vint ces panguis." See also note 3 on p. 31, above. Duran (*Cercos de Moçambique*, 1633, f. 6) says: "Destos rios (los rios da Cuama) no se rescata otra cosa mas que oro, amber, y marfil, a trueque de contezuelas de vidrio, y paños negros de poco porte, que los Capitanes mandan traer de la India en mucha cantidad, los quales se destrubuyen por los Administradores de los Capitanes, y mercadores que passan a aquellos rios, contratando, y comerciando con los Cafres que baxan de la Tierra firme a ciertas ferias que se hazen cerca de los rios"..... The slave trade was, no doubt, continued by the Portuguese, who found the very repulsive Africans useful, and indeed necessary, for their Indian settlements; but it was continued by the other Europeans who came after the Portuguese established settlements in India, and the last merely took advantage of a traffic that existed from immemorial antiquity. Nor was the introduction of slaves into India anything new to that vast country: the low-caste people had always been slaves, and are virtually so at present. Varthema and others prove that Zaila (nearly opposite Aden) was the seat of a great slave trade, including India (Varthema, ed. 1517, f. 28, ed. Hakluyt Soc., p. 86): "Quiui anche se uende grandissima quantita de schiaui..... E. deg se portono nella Persia: nella Arabia felice: et alla Mecha: et al Cairo: et in India." What the slave trade in India at the end of the last century was, clearly appears from the statement of Fra Paolino da S. Bartolomeo, a Carmelite missionary in Malabar (*L'aggio*, 1796, pp. 54-5, 85, 110). He attributed the scantiness of

and to the cape, they use in those countries: otherwise they cover themselves with the [like] apparell that Adam [and Eva] did weare in Paradice. They are all as black as pitch, with curled and singed hayre [both] on [their] heads and beards, which is very little, their noses broad, flat and thicke at the end, great bigge lippes: some have holes, both above and under in [their] lippes, and some times besides their mouthes through their cheekes, wherein they thrust small bones, which they esteeme a bewtifying: there are some among them that have their faces and all their bodies over rased and seared with irons, and al figured like rased Sattin or Damaske, wherein they take great pride, thinking there are no fairer people then they in all the world, so that when they see any white people, that weare apparell on their bodies,<sup>1</sup> they laugh and mocke at them, [thinking us to be] monsters and ugly people: and when they will make any develish forme [and picture], then they invent one after the forme of a white man in his apparell, so that to conclude, they thinke and verily perswade themselves, that they are the right colour of men, and that we have a false and counterfait colour. There are among them hat file their teeth as sharp as nedles, which they likewise esteeme for a [great] ornament. Many of them hold the law of Mahomet, that is to say, such as dwell on the coast of Abex or Melinde, and round about [those places, as also] in Mosambique, by reason the red sea is so neere [unto them], [together with] the Arabian Mahometans, [with whome] they dayly traffique, as they also did in al places, and Ilands throughout the Orientall countries, before the Portingales discovery and conquest of India, whereby all the Orientall

population a great deal to this cause: "La vendita, che si fa di moltissimi schiavi, i quali passano a Goa, all Isola di Francia, al capo di buona speranza, in America, e Batavia, e Bombaino" (p. 110).

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "so that when they see us, and people clothed in white."

countrie where they trafficked, was infected with their develish law,<sup>1</sup> and their poyson [spread and] throwne abroad in all places, which is one of the principall occasions<sup>2</sup> that the Gospell taketh no better effect in those countries, their pestiferous law beeing [as it were], rooted [and ingrafted] in their [mindes].<sup>3</sup> There are some of them that are become Christians since the Portingales came thether,<sup>4</sup> but there is no great paines taken about it<sup>5</sup> [in those countries], because there is no profite to be had, as also that it is an [infectious and] unwholesome countrie: and therefore the Jesuites are wary inough not to make any houses or habitations therein,<sup>6</sup> for they see no greate profite to be reaped there [for them], as they doe in India and the Ilands of Japan, and in other places, where they find great quantities of riches, with the sap whereof they increase much and fill their beehyves, [therewith] to satisfy their [thirsty and] insatiable desires: most part of the Caffares live like beastes or wild men, yet they have their houses in troups or heaps, like [country] vilages, wher they [assemble and] dwel together and in

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... sect".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... and hindrances".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "through the pestilential sickness and Muhammedan opinions which are all rooted in them, and have corrupted the whole body".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... moved thereto by the Portugueses".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... not much trouble taken to acquaint them with the Christian belief".....

<sup>6</sup> This is a calumny. If V. Linschoten had here also followed Camoens, he would have been correct:

"Ve de Benomotapa o grande imperio  
Da selvatica gente, negra, e nua,  
Onda Gonçalo morte e vituperio  
Padecerá pela fê sancta sua"—x, 93.

Capt. Burton:

"Behold the Ben'omatápa's puissant reign  
Of salvage Negros, nude and noisome race,  
Where shall for Holy Faith be foully slain,  
Martyr'd Gonçalo, suffering sore disgrace."

Capt. Burton points out that the Jesuit G. de Silveira, killed A.D.

every Village they have a Lord or King, to whome they are subiect and obedient, they are commonly in warres one with an other, and one place or Village against an other, and have law and Justice among them with some small Policie, con-

1561, is here intended. He was a missionary (under orders of his Superior), and a successful one, till he became a martyr at the hands of the king of these savages. "In the Mozambique Camoens lost a friend and an enemy. His fellow-passenger, Fr. Gonçalo, tenth son of the Conde de Sortilha, was sent, fourteen years after the establishment of the Jesuits, to missionarize Eastward, and became Provincial of Goa in 1556. After baptising many on the Western Coast, he was changed (1560) from the Indian field to Caffraria. He began well, and succeeded in converting the "King of Monomotapa, the Queen-mother, and a host of Kafirs." According to Tellez, the "Moors spread a report that Baptism was a magical rite intended to ruin the country; and obtained leave to strangle the stranger during his sleep (1561). The corpse was thrown into a lakelet drained by the Rio Mossenguese; when it floated ashore, lions and tigers (?) formed a body-guard; birds sang hymns, and supernatural lights flashed through the air" (Burton, *Lusiads*, iv, pp. 512-3). Jarric, *Thesaurus*, ii, pp. 134-148, and De Sousa (*Oriente Conquistado*, vol. i, pp. 849-877) give a full account of Silveira's work in Africa. Jarric gives the following account why this mission was given up: "Nullus deinde Sociorum (Societatis Jesu) in Monomotapam ibidem ut resideret missus est, non quod sterile solum, ut haeretici nonnulli objiciunt, subterfugerint. Loca enim longè steriliora adeunt, ut oram piscariam, aliasque hujusmodi; abundant enim omnia quæ ad victum sunt necessaria, quæ auro, quod hic obvium est, comparari queunt. Neque etiam ob incolarum barbariem feritatemque, cum ad Brasiliis multo etiam immaniores, navigationem instituant. Adhaec accedit, quod plurimi in Monomotapa Lusitani constituentur, qui hic non minori quàm in patria securitate commercia ineunt. Causa igitur haec est, quòd Religiosi D. Dominici hanc Christi vineam doctrina et vitæ exemplo colendam susceperint. Societas itaque ne falcem in messen mittat alienam, Monomotapæ abstinet, ne alios cultores offendat. Quid tamen hactenus præstiterint, compertum nondum habemus, nec de incolarum in fide progressu quidquam inaudiimus" (*Thesaurus*, ii, p. 151). Jarric's last ironical remark seems fully justified. The Dominicans did nothing at Mozambique but build a convent there, in a place they were told by the Captain to leave unoccupied, and which was a great cause of peril to the Portuguese when the Dutch besieged the place in 1607 and 1608 (cfr. Duran, *Cercos de Moçambique*, ff. 186, ff.). Duran describes this convent as: "Para poblacion tan chica, es el edificio demasiadamente grande" (*u.s.*, f 19).

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cerning their worldly affaires and government: but as concerning Religion and faith, they know not what it meaneth, but live like beastes without any knowledge of God, or any likelyhoode or shadow thereof, they maintaine themselves by hunting, which they doe in the woods, where they take all that they finde, they eate Elephants flesh and [all] other [kind of] wild beastes, and of the Elephants teeth, they make their weapons, instéede of Iron and Steele, they doe commonly make warre one against the other, and some of them eate mens flesh, and some there are also that eate it not, but such as deale with the Portingales. When they take any man prisoner in the warres, they sell him to the Portingales [or exchange and barter him] for Cotton linnen, and other Indian wares.<sup>1</sup> They have a custome among them, that when they goe to warre against their enemies, if they win the battaile, or overthrow each other, he that taketh or killeth most men, is holden and accounted for the best and bravest man among them, and much respected, and to witnesse the same before their Kinges, of as many as they have slaine or taken prisoners, they cut off their privie members, that if they bee let goe againe, they may no more beget children, which [in processe of time] might mischiefe them: and then they drie them well, because they should not rot: which being so dried, they come before their Kinges with [great] reverence, in the presence of the principall [men] in the Village, and there take these members [so dried] one by one in [their] mouthes, and spit them on the ground at

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... there are some also that eat it not; but sell one another, if any one is taken in battle, that is, those that have intercourse with the Portuguese, to whom they come to trade, for some barthers of cotton linnen, and other things from India." This and some similar passages would make it appear as if the slave trade had been originated by the Portuguese, but it existed (as Egyptian monuments prove) in full force thousands of years before the Portuguese came to E. Africa. It prevailed also in India till the English put it down quite recently.

the Kings féete, which the King with great thankes accepteth, and the more to reward [and to recompense] their valour, causeth them all to be taken up and given to them againe,<sup>1</sup> for a signe and token of honour, whereby [ever from that time] forwards they are accounted as Knights, and they take all those members, wherewith the King hath thus honoured them, and tie them all upon a string like a Bracelet or Chaine, and when they marrie, or go to any [wedding, or] feasts, the Bride or wives of those Knights doe weare [that Chaine of] mens members about their neckes, which among them is as great an honour, as it is with us to weare the golden Fleece, or the Garter of England, and the Brides<sup>2</sup> of such Knightes, are therewith as proude, as if they were [the mightiest] Queenes in all the world.

From Mosambique great numbers of these Caffares are caried into India, and many times they sell<sup>3</sup> a man or woman that is growne to their full [strength], for two or three Ducats. When the Portingales ships put in there for fresh water and [other] necessaries, then they are dearer, by reason of the great numbers of buyers, the cause why so many slaves and Captaines of all nations are brought to sell in India, is, because that everie ten or twelve miles, or rather in

<sup>1</sup> There is a picture of this in De Bry (*Pet. Voy.*, ii, pl. iv). Mocquet *Voyages*, pp. 265-6) has: "Les sujets du Monomotapa lors qu'ils ont tué ou pris leurs ennemis en guerre, leur coupent le membre viril, et l'ayans fait dessecher le baillent à leurs femmes à porter au col, et elles bien parees de cela en font comme un colier d'ordre. Car celle qui en a le plus est la plus estimee, d'autant que cela monstre que son mary est le plus brave et vaillant: et faut apporter cela devant le Roy pour sçavoir où et comment ils ont tué leurs ennemis. Celles qui n'en portent point ou bien peu on ne fait conte d'elles comme ayans des maris poltrons et cotiards." I cannot find any mention of this practice by the Anthropologists. A summary of other customs of these "Cafres" is to be found in the *Oriente Conquistado*, i, pp. 843-4. The way they traded with the Portuguese (without talking) is described by C. Dei Fedrici, *Viaggio*, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... brides or women".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... sell at Mosambique".....

every Village and town, there is a severall King, and ruler of the people, one of them not like an other, neither in law, speech, nor manners, whereby most part of them are in warres, one against the other, and those that on both sides are taken [prisoners] they kéepe for slaves, and so sell each other like beastes: hee whose evill fortune is such that hee is one of the captives, must be patient, wherein they shew not much dislike, for when they are asked, how they can content themselves [with that yoke of bondage], they answer that they can beare it well [enough], seeing their Planet will have it so, and for that their friends and neighbours shall revenge their cause against those that have done it. Also in time of povertie or dearth the fathers may sell their children, as it happened in my time, that there was such a dearth, and scarcitie of victualls in the firme lande, and countries bordering uppon Goa, that the men of India came to Goa (and other places where the Portingales are resident) to sell there children in great numbers,<sup>1</sup> and for small prices, to buy them victualls. I have seene Boyes of eight or ten yeares, given in exchange for five or six measures of Rice, and some for three or foure Ducats the peece, and some came with their wives and children to offer themselves to be slaves, so that they might have meate and drinke to nourish their bodies.<sup>2</sup> And because the Portingales have traffique

<sup>1</sup> This has occurred, or been attempted, repeatedly during the late famine in India. C. de' Fedrici (*Viaggio*, p. 17) had noticed this in the Cambay country, where he was during a famine: "I saw heathen fathers and mothers beg the Portuguese to buy their sons and daughters; and sold them to them for six, eight, and ten *larins* each, and one *larin* in our money would be worth about a *mocenigo*."

<sup>2</sup> Slavery was very early an institution among the Hindus, and the Sanskrit Law-books contain most elaborate provisions respecting slaves. Slaves who reduced themselves to that condition in consideration of their keep, are mentioned in the *Nānava-dharma-çāstra* (viii, 415). "The captive, a slave for keep, (a slave) born in the house, (one) bought or given, an ancestral (slave), a slave by punishment—those seven (are) slaves." Cfr. also *Nārada*, v, 23-26: ".....slaves, whereof there are fifteen

in all places (as we have beene in many) it is the cause why so many are brought out of all countries to be solde, for the Portingales doe make a living by buying and selling [of them] as they doe with other wares. What concerneth the Caffares in Mosambique, I have in another place declared, in the description of Mosambique. Hereafter followeth the pictures of the Arabians and Abexijns with their wives, as they goe in India, also the pictures [and manners] of the Caffares, both men and women, as they goe in Mosambique, all lively portracted.

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#### THE 42. CHAPTER.

Of the Malabares and Nayos<sup>1</sup> in India, [with] their manners and customes.

The Malabares are those that dwel on the Sea caost between Goa and the Cape de Comorijn Southward from Goa, where the Pepper groweth. They have a speech by themselves,<sup>2</sup> and the[ir] countrie is divided into many kingdomes, as in the description of the country, we have already

kinds: "24. One born in the house; one bought; one received by *donation*; one got by inheritance; one maintained in a famine; one pledged by a *former* master. 25. One relieved from a great debt; one made prisoner in a war; one obtained through a wager; one who has offered himself, saying, 'I am thine', an apostate from religious mendicity, a *slave* for a fixed *period*. 26. One maintained in reward of the work performed by him, a slave for the sake of his wife; and one self-sold, are the fifteen kinds of slaves declared by the law..... 29. One maintained in a famine is released from slavery on giving a pair of oxen; for what has been consumed in a famine is not discharged by labour *alone* (Nāsada, by Jolly, pp. 63-4). The views of the later authors may be found in Colebrooke's *Digest*, iii, L, xxix.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Nayros*, as in the original Dutch.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Malayālam, one of the Dravidian languages, nearest allied to Tamil. It begins a little north of Mount Dely, [and extends S. to Trivandrum].



declared, these are the greatest, and worst enemies that the Portugales have, and by Sea doe them great mischief,<sup>1</sup> they are strong and very couragious, they goe [all] naked onely their privie members covered, the women likewise have a cloth from their Navell downe to their knees, all the rest is naked, they are strong of limmes, and verie arrogant and proude, of colour altogether blacke, yet verie smoth both of haire and skin, which commonly they annoint with Oyle to make it shine;<sup>2</sup> they wear their haire as long as it will grow, tyed on the top or crowne of [their] heads with a Lace,<sup>3</sup> both men and women: the lappes of their eares are open, and so long that they hang downe to their shoulders, and the longer and wider they are the more they are esteemed among them, and it is thought to bee a beautie [in them]. Of face, body, and limmes they are altogether like men of Europ, without any difference, but onely in colour, the men are commonly verie hayrie,<sup>4</sup> and rough upon the breast, and on their bodies, and are the most leacherous and unchast nation in all the Orient, so that there are verie few women children among them of seven or eight yeares olde, that have their maiden-heads: They are very readie to catch one from an other, though it bee but [for] a small penie. In their houses they are not verie curious, their houses and household stufte differ not much from the Canarijns and Corumbijns of Goa. Their Idolatrie, ceremonies, and superstitions are like the other heathens. Of these Malabares

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "mischief and cruel war by water."

<sup>2</sup> This is an error: the baths in oil are taken, to furnish nourishment by absorption. After awhile, the oil is washed off; but though it has, naturally, an effect on the skin, it does not make it "shine".

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "a knot".....

<sup>4</sup> Nowadays they shave off all except a tuft on the top of the head, if they are not in mourning, as we should say, for a relative; or do not shave on account of a religious ceremony, when they are "dixā".

there are two manner of people<sup>1</sup> [the one is] Noblemen [or Gentlemen], called Nayros, which are souldiers that doe onely weare and handle armes, the other [is the] common people called the Polias, and they may weare no weapons, [nor beare any armes], the Nayros must [in all places] where they goe or stand, weare such armes as are appointed for them, and alwaies bee readie at the Kings commaundement,<sup>2</sup> [to doe him service], some of them doe alwaies beare a naked Rapier or Courtelas in their right hands, and a great Target in their left hand, those Targets are verie great, and made of light wood, so that when they wil they

<sup>1</sup> This is not exact. The first account of the castes of Malabar is that by Varthema, which is much better (1510): "The first kind of Gentiles that are in Calicut are called Bramins. The second are Nairs, who are as gentlemen with us; and these are obliged to bear sword and shield, or bows, or lances. When they go along the street not carrying arms, they would no more be gentlemen. The third sort of heathens are called Teua, who are artizans. The fourth sort are called Mechua (read *Mechua*), and these are fishermen. The fifth sort are called Poliar, who gather pepper, wine, and nuts. The sixth sort are called Hisaua, and these sow and reap rice" (*Itinerario*, ed. 1517, p. 43*b*). But even this cannot be taken literally; and it, obviously, does not give the conventional fourfold castes. The highest in Malabar are the different kinds of Brahmans; the Nambūris or Malabar Brahmans being the first. Some of the rājās and the Nāyars pretend to be Xattriyan, but the next chief tribe is that of the Nāyarmār or chiefs of the Čūdras. They are, however, a mixed race, and the father of a Nair (Nāyan, pl., -ar) is generally some kind of Brahman. The Tiua (*i.e.*, Tiyar) come next. They are also of a very mixed race now. They are, properly speaking, the toddy-drawers, and are said to have come with the cocoa-palm from Ceylon (hence, Tiyar or Tivan, plur., -ar = "Islanders"). The Mukkuvan (pl. -ar) are fishermen and sailors. The Poliar (Puliyar-, pl. -ar) are called, in Malabar proper, Ceruman, (pl.) -ar. They were (and are) agricultural slaves (cfr. Fr. Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 111, where a curious picture of people of this caste is given). The Puliyar are also "the ruling tribe of the fourteen castes of jungle-dwellers" (Gundert, *s.v.*). The Dravar (sing. -an) are a hill-tribe of basket makers, etc.; in Malabar they are the same as "Cerumar". These names are generally local, and between these castes there are many others; *e.g.*, fourteen castes of the hill-tribes are reckoned.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "command and will".....

can cover their whole bodies [therewith], they are [so] well used thereunto [that they esteeme it nothing to beare them], and when they travell on the way, they may be heard a great way off, for they commonly make a great knocking with the Hilt of their Rapier against the Target, because they would bee heard. There are some that carrie a bow and a venomous arrow uppon their shoulder, wherein they are verie expert, others carrie long Pikes, some Péeces, with the Match readie lighted, and wound about their armes, and have best lockes that possible may bee found in all Europe, which they know so well how to use, that the Portingales can have no advantage [against them]. Wheresoever they goe, they must alwaies have their armes with them, [both] night and day. Not any of them are married, nor may not marrie during their lives,<sup>1</sup> but they may freely lie with the Nayros daughters, or with any other that liketh them, what women soever they bee [yea], though they be a married women. When the Nayro hath a desire thereunto, hee entreth into a house where he thinketh good, and setteth his armes in the streete<sup>2</sup> without the doore, and goeth in and despatcheth his businesse with the good wife or the daughter, the doore [standing wide] open, not fearing that any man should come in to let him, for whosoever passeth by and seeth the Nayros armes standing at the doore, although it be the good man himselfe, hee goeth by, and letteth him make an end, and having done, he taketh his armes and departeth [thence], and then the husband may come to the house, without making any wordes, or once mooving question about it. In that manner they goe where they will, and no man may denie them. As these Nayros goe in the streetes, they

<sup>1</sup> This is an error.

<sup>2</sup> This is erroneous. The houses of Nairs and others in Malabar are never in streets, but each is in its garden or "compound" as Anglo-Indians say.

[use to] crie Po, Po,<sup>1</sup> which is to say, take heede [looke to your selves, or] I come, stand out of the way, for that the other sort of people called Polyas, that are no Nayros, may not once touch [or trouble] one of them, and therefore they alwaies crie, because they should make them roome, and know that they come, for if any of the Polyas should stand [still], and not give them place, whereby hee should chaunce to touch [their bodies] hee may freely thrust him through, and no man aske him why he did it. And when they are once touched by any Polyas, or by any other nation except Nayros,<sup>2</sup> they must (before they eate, or converse with other Nayros), wash and clense [their bodies]<sup>3</sup> with great ceremonies and superstitions. Likewise they must not bee touched by any Christian, or any [other man]. And when the Portingales came first into India, and made league and composition with the King of Chochin, the Nayros desired that men shold give them place, and turne out of the way, when they mette in the streetes, as the Polyas and others [used to doe], which the Portingales would not consent unto, thinking it to be against their [credits and] honors, for them to be compared to the Polyas and unprofitable [sort of] people, whereas they esteemed themselves better then the Nayros, both in person and armes: therefore they would have the Nayros to give them place, whereby they could not agree, in the end it was concluded (to pacifie the matter, [and to keepe peace and quietnes among them]), that two men should be chosen, one for the Nayros, and the other for the Portingales, that should fight body to body, and he that should be overthrown that nation should give place unto the other, this was done in the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Malayalam, "pō"!=Go! (*i.e.*, Get out of the way!) This is to let the low-caste people know that a high-caste person is coming, and they must go a certain distance out of the way to avoid causing pollution. The Brahmins also call out for the same reason.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, except by Nairs, who are ceremonially pure.

<sup>3</sup> They use water, as stated; but hardly "to wash or cleanse their bodies". Cfr. the description below of the places they wash in.

presence of both nations, and the Portingall overcame the Nayro, whome hee slew, whereupon it was agréed, that the Nayros should give place unto the Portingall, and stand a side until hee be past, where soever they meete.<sup>1</sup> The Nayros weare the nayls of their hands very long, wherby they shew that they are Gentlemen, because the longnesse of the nayles doth let and hinder men from working or doing any labour. They say likewise that they do it,<sup>2</sup> the better and faster to gripe a thing in their hands, and to holde their Rapiers, which some Portingales and Mesticos doe likewise use, and hold the same opinion with the Nayros, whereof there are many in India, which let their nayles grow for the same cause. The principallest [or chiefest] of those Nayros, which are leaders or Captaines of certaine numbers of Nayros, weare a Gold or Silver bracelet, or ring about their armes, above their elbowes : as also their Governours, Ambassadors, and Kings, whereby they are knowne from other men, for otherwise they goe all naked.<sup>3</sup> Also their Kings, rulers, and other Captaines and leaders, when they goe abroad, are garded and accompanied by other Nayros. They are verie good and stout souldiers, and wil set upon a man verie fiercely, they are [also] verie full of revenge, so that whensoever they fight against their enemies either by water or by lande, and that they chaunce to bee thrust into the body with a Pike, they are not presently therewith content to lie downe, but if they cannot speedily plucke the Pike forth, they will [not spare to] pull it forth with both [their] hands, and draw it through their bodies, therewith to set upon them that gave them the wound, and to be revenged on them.

<sup>1</sup> This story is told of many disputes in Europe ; *e.g.*, in regard to the Mozarabic ritual.

<sup>2</sup> This is, of course, a fiction. The reason for letting the nails grow long is barbarous pride, as just explained above, and as is found also in China.

Orig. Dutch : "for all alike, as is said, go naked."

The King may not iudge nor execute those Nayros openly, for if they have deserved death, he causeth them by other Nayros to be put to death. The daughters of the Nayros may not have the companie of any man but onely of Nayros, although secretly they have the company of many Portingales and Christians,<sup>1</sup> but if the Nayros once perceived it, or find them in the deede [doing], they might kill them without further question. In everie place where they dwell, they have a pit [or Well] digged wherin they doe holde water, which standeth openly in the way, where everie man passeth by, wherein every morning when they ryse, they wash themselves all over, beginning first at the foote and so rying up to the head, as well men as women, without being ashamed to be seene of such as goe by, or looke upon them, and the King himselfe likewise: which water is so gréene, slymie and stincking, that a man can [not chuse] but stop his nose as he goeth by it: and they certainlie beléeve, that when [soever] they should forget to wash themselves in that water, that they should then be whollie uncleane and full of sinne: and this washing or making cleane must not be done in any running water, but it must be in a place where the water standeth in a pit [or Well], and by their Bramenes coniured with many words and ceremonies, otherwise it were of no vertue but whollie unprofitable, for their Idolatrous services. They are like the other Heathens,<sup>2</sup> and are burned when they are dead: their sonnes may not be their heyres [because they have no wives, but use al women where and when they will],<sup>3</sup> doubting which is their owne soune: for

<sup>1</sup> This is not the case, at present at least. Nayr women are, however, frequently put out of caste for intercourse with men of lower caste.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is mistranslated. The original has: "Otherwise it would be of no worth or use; in their idols, services, and other absurdities, they are like the other heathen Indians".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "because they have the women in common".....

the Bramenes also have the Kings wyves at their pleasures,<sup>1</sup> and doe him great honour when it pleaseth them to lye with [their Queene]. Their heyres are their sisters sonnes, for they say, although they doubt of their fathers, yet they know their sisters are the mothers [of them].<sup>2</sup> This much touching the Nayros and Gentlemen or Soldiers.

The other common people of the Malabares, called Polyas, are [such as are] the cuntry husband men and labourers, men of occupations, fishers, and such like; those are much contemned and dispised, they live very miserably, and may weare no kind of weapon, neyther yet touch or be conversant with the Nayros, for as the Nayros go on the stréetes, and they heare him call,<sup>3</sup> they step aside, bowing their armes, and stooping with their heades down to the ground, not daring so much as [once] looke up before the Nayros<sup>4</sup> be past: in other things they observe the customes of the other Indians, for that every man followeth the occupation of his Elders, and may not change it for any thing.

<sup>1</sup> A fact! They are called "husbands" of the princesses. The Report of the Commission (in 1792-3) to Malabar says: "their (*i.e.*, the Malabar Râjas) sisters..... do not marry according to the usually received sense of that term in other parts of the world, but from connections of a longer or shorter duration, according to the choice of the parties, for the most part with Malabar Brahmans (called Namboories ..... ) by whom are thus propagated the heirs to all the Malabar principalities"..... (811).

<sup>2</sup> The fact is correct, but the explanation is imaginary, and not one given by the people of Malabar. It is, however, a very old one. Cfr. *Copia di una Lettera*, p. 12. *Anâcâranirâya*, v. 26: "dâyam tu bhâgineyeshu", *i.e.*, sisters' sons inherit. This system of heirship is termed marumayatâyam in Malayâlam. It obtains in many parts of India, besides Malabar, and seems to have been the original primitive system of all South India. The real explanation was first given by that very eminent *savant*, the late Mr. M'Lennan, in his most valuable work, *Primitive Marriage* (pp. 154, ffg.). He proves: "That the most ancient system in which the idea of blood-relationship was embodied, was a system of kinship through females only."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and these Polyas see them come from far, and hear them call".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: Nayro (*i.e.*, singular).

## THE 43. CHAPTER.

## Of the Moores and Jewes in India.

There are great numbers of Moores<sup>1</sup> and Jewes<sup>2</sup> in all places of India, as at Goa, Cochin, and within the land, some coming out of other places, and the rest [borne of Jewes and Moores in that country, and so] by birth right Indians, who in times past by conversation and company of those Jewes and Moores, have bene brought to their sect and opinion.<sup>3</sup> In their houses and apparell they follow the manner of the land wherein they are resident:<sup>4</sup> amongst the Indians they have their Churches, Synagogues, and Mesquitas, wherein they use all ceremonies according to their law:<sup>5</sup> but in the places [where the] Portingales [inhabite and govern], it is not permitted [unto] them [to use them] openly, neither to any Indian, although they have their families and dwelling houses, and get their livings, and deal one with the other: [but] secretly in their houses they [may] doe what they will, so that no man take offence thereat: without the townes [and] where the Portingales have no commandement, they may freely use and exercise their ceremonies and superstitions, every one as liketh him [best], without any man to let or deny them: but if they be founde openlie [doing it] in the Portingales townes [and iurisdictions], or that they have any point of Christian [ceremonies] mingled among [theirs],

<sup>1</sup> The invasions and settlements of Muhammadan races in India are fully given in all histories worthy of the name.

<sup>2</sup> All the information about the Jews in Malabar (their chief settlement in India) has been collected by Ritter, *Erdkunde, Asien*, iv, pp. 594-601.

<sup>3</sup> The Muhammadans made many converts, but the so-called "black Jews", if converts, and not of mixed descent, are very few comparatively. As is known, the Jews do not now make converts in India or anywhere else.

<sup>4</sup> This is only partly correct.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "according to their law and will."



both men and women die for it,<sup>1</sup> unlesse they turne unto the christian faith, as it oftentimes happeneth without the towne of Cochin, where the King keepeth his Court: there the Jewes and Moores have free libertie to use their sects and ceremonies openlie, for there the Jewes have [made and] built very fair stone houses, and are rich marchants, and of the king of Cochins nearest Counsellors: there they have their synagogue with their hebrue Bible, and Moses Lawe, which I have had in my hand: they are most white of colour, like men of Europa, [and] have [many] faire women.<sup>2</sup> There are manie of them that came out of the country of Palestina and Jerusalem thether, and speake over all the Exchange [verie perfect and] good Spanish:<sup>3</sup> they observe the Saboth [day], and other iudicall ceremonies, and hope for the Messias to come.

The Moores like wise have their Mesquitos,<sup>4</sup> wherein they pray, and above the Church [they have] manie sellers and galleries, where they learne their children their principles of Religion before they goe to Church: They wash their feet,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "or that they have any mingling with the Christians, both men and women, are punished with death".....

<sup>2</sup> These are the Jews of Mattanc̄eri, a suburb to the south of Cochin. They were obliged by the Portuguese to leave Cranganore (where they had originally settled) in the xvth century.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, are "Sephardim", or Spanish Jews (expelled from Spain, etc., in 1493). There are very few "Ashkenasim" or German Jews in India. The most eminent Sephard who ever came to India was Pedro Teixeira, who wrote the *Relaciones* (1610). Cfr. *Estudios..... sobre los Judios de Espana*, by S. Amador de los Rios, 1848, p. 554, ff. As this writer remarks, there was not at the end of the xvth and beginning of the xvith century a region where the Spanish and Portuguese had not reached. In 1501 Cabral had already found a Seville Jewess in Malabar (*Copia di una Lettera*, p. 8).

<sup>4</sup> *Mesquitas*, *i.e.*, Mosques. "Mesquita, *Ital.* meschita, *Fr.* mosquée, de *mesjid* qui désigne un lieu où l'on se prosterne (*sadjada*)" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 314).

<sup>5</sup> "Cleanliness is required not only in the worshipper, but also in the ground, mat, carpet, robe, or whatever else it be, upon which he prays. Lane (*u.s.*, p. 72).

for the which purpose [they have] alwaies a cesterne with water standing without the Church, and leave their Alparcos<sup>1</sup> [which are their] shoes standing at the Church dore before they goe in, and being in [the Church] they fall flat [on the ground] upon their faces, and so with their armes and handes lifted up, make manie counterfeit faces.<sup>2</sup> They are also circumcised like the Jewes, and eate no hogges flesh, [and when they are] dead they are buried. In their churches they have not any Images, but onelie some stones or round pillars standing upright with [certaine] Chaldean letters (out of their Alcaron) graven upon them.<sup>3</sup> As I and a friend of myne, chanced to go out of the town,<sup>4</sup> we were desirous to see their Mahometicall Church, and their manner of service, which was denyed us by the keeper of the dore, that bad us put off our shoes, but because wee would not, he said it was not lawfull for us to enter in that sort into the Church: but to let us see it, he suffered us to stand within the dore, and opened some of the windowes, that we might see what was within it: then the Portingale asked him [for] their God and their Saintes which they used to pray unto, because he sawe the Church emptie, as [I] sayd before: then the Moore answered him, that they used not to pray to stockes and stons, but to the living God, which is in Heaven, and

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 257 above. The *alparcos* are a kind of slipper or sandal made of hemp, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, the "rak'ah", or gestures at prayers of the Muhammadans, respecting which see Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed.), pp. 75-7.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, the Qiblah or direction of Mecca marked by the Mohrab or niche. "The walls are generally quite plain, being simply white-washed; but in some mosques..... the other part (is) ornamented with various devices executed in stucco, but mostly with texts of the Qur-an (which form long friezes, having a pleasing effect), and never with the representation of anything that has life." "The Throne-verse (the 256th of the 2nd chapter of the Qur-an) is one of the most common." (Lane, *u.s.*, p. 81).

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "as I once by chance passed thereby with a Portuguese".....

said that the proude Portingale Christians, and the Heathens were all of one Religion,<sup>1</sup> for that [they] prayed to images made [of wood and stones], and give them the glorie which onely appertaineth to the living God: with the which answer the Portingal was so angrie, that he began to chide [and make a greate noyse, and to give] him manie hard words, wherewith manie Jewes<sup>2</sup> and Moores assembled about them, so that there had growne a great quarrell, had it not bene for me, that got him to hold his peace, and [so] brought him away, and [let] the matter rest in that sort. These Moores traffique much with spices to the red sea, and other places, both by water and by land. And although manie of them dwell among the Portingales, and traffique [much] with them, yet secretly they are their most deadly enemies, and doe them much mischief, and are the principal occasion that there are no more Christians converted to the faith of Christ, seeking all [the wayes and] meanes they can to withdraw [and diswade] them from it, whereby the Indians doe [both] use and] followe their customes and Religion.

By the Picture following you may see the state and maiestie of the king of Cochin sitting upon an Elephant, when he rydeth abroad with his Nayros or Gentlemen and soldiers that guard and conduct him, also the other Malabares, both men and women, called Polyas, which<sup>3</sup> the Mores and Mahometans that dwell in Cananor, among the Malabares, as [I] said [before]. You shall also see the Christians that are called S. Thomas [Christians], whereof many dwell among the Malabares, with one great legge, as they are borne,<sup>4</sup> as in the description of the coast I have [alreadie]

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "You proud Portuguese Christians and the Heathen are all the same."

<sup>2</sup> Orig Dutch: "Indians".

<sup>3</sup> Read: "with".

<sup>4</sup> This is incorrect. The disease (*Elephantiasis Arabum*) is not congenital, though it sometimes attacks mere children. It is peculiar to residents in certain places; the so-called Christians of St. Thomas do not suffer more than others. Muhamnadans, *e.g.*, and Hindus, suffer as

shewed<sup>1</sup> likewise the picture of the men of Pegu, and the Isles of Molucos.

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THE 44. CHAPTER.

Of the Pagodes and Indian Idoles forming, keeping ceremonies and superstitions in generall, brieflie described.<sup>2</sup>

The Pagodes and<sup>3</sup> Images are many and innumerable throughout the Orientall countries, whereof some are holden in great reverence and estimation, more than the common [sort] and from all places are sought unto, [and visited both] by Indians and Heathens, in manner of pilgrimages to purchase pardons, which above all others, are verie costly made and richlie set forth : of those onlie doe I meane to speak as need requireth, that you may know them from the rest. By the towne of Bassaym, which lyeth northwards from Goa, upon the coast of India, [and] is inhabited by Portingalles, there lyeth an Island<sup>4</sup> called Salsette.<sup>5</sup> There are two of the most renowned Pagodes, or temples, or rather holes wherein the Pagodes stand in all India, whereof one of their holes is cut much as any; Europeans are seldom, if ever attacked. Low-caste Hindus seem most subject to it. It is found at Moçambique and other parts, out of India.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 89, note i, above.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Of the Pagodes or Indian Idols indulgences, pilgrimages, ceremonies, and other superstitions generally, and in brief described."

<sup>3</sup> Read: "or".

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, near Bombay. Ritter has an excellent account of this large island and its cave-temples. *Erkunde*, vi, pp. 1095-9.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "there lies an island close by the coast called Salsette"..... Ritter (*u.s.*, p. 1095), points out that the name is derived from salt-pans on the east side of the island, which was taken from the Portuguese by the Mahrattas in 1750, and from them by the English in 1773. [The derivation is very doubtful.]

out from under a hill of hard stone, and is of compasse within, about the bignes of a village of 400. houses: when you come to the foote of the hill:<sup>1</sup> there is a Pagodes house, with Images therein cut out of the [very] rockes of the same hill, with most horrible and fearefull [formes and] shapes,<sup>2</sup> whereat this day the Gray Fryers have made a Cloyster called S. Michaels: and as you goe in under the hill, in the first circle you may see many Pagodes, and stepping<sup>3</sup> somewhat higher it hath an other [circle or] Gallerie of Chambers and Pagodes, and yet higher it hath such an other Gallerie of Chambers and Pagodes, al cut out of the hard rockes: and by these chambers standeth a great cesterne with water, and hath certain holes above, whereby the rain water falleth into it: above that it hath an other Gallery with Chambers [and Pagodes], [so that] to be briefe, all the chambers and<sup>4</sup> houses within [this compasse or] foure Galleries, are 300,<sup>5</sup> and are al full of carved Pagodes, of so fearefull, horrible and develish formes [and shapes], that it is wonderful<sup>6</sup> to behold. The other temple or hole of Pagodes in this Iland is in another place, hewed also out of hard rockes, and very great,<sup>7</sup> al ful of Pagodes, cut out likewise of [the same] stones, with so evill favored and uglie shapes, that to enter therein it would make

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "and coming on in the hill".....

<sup>2</sup> "New forms of fear, by every touch displayed,  
Gleam, pale and passioned, through the dreadful shade,  
In wreathed groups of dim, distorted life,  
In ghastly calmness, or tremendous strife ;

\* \* \* \*

Yet knew not here the chisel's touch to trace  
'The finer lineaments of form and face ;  
No studious art of delicate design  
Conceived the shape or lingered on the line."

Ruskin, *Salsette and Elephanta*.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "climbing".....      <sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... or".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "above 300".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... an abomination to see."

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... great and spacious".....

a mans hayre stand upright. There is yet an other Pagode, which they hold and estéem for the highest and chiefest Pagode, of all [the rest], which standeth in a little Iland called Pory :<sup>1</sup> this Pagode by the Portingalls is called the Pagode of the Elephant. In that Iland standeth an high hill, and on the top thereof there is a hole, that goeth down into the hill, [digged and] carved out of the [hard rock or] stones as big as a great cloyster: within it hath [both] places and cesterne for water, very curiously made,<sup>2</sup> and round about the wals are cut and formed,<sup>3</sup> the shapes of Elephants, Lions, tigers, and a thousand other such like [wilde and] cruel beasts: also [some] Amazones and [many] other [deformed] thinges of divers sorts, which are all so well [and workmanlike] cut, that it is strange to behold. It is thought that the Chinos (which are verie ingenious [workemen]) did make it, when they used to traffique in the Countrie of India. These Pagodes and buildings are now whollie left overgrowne, and spoyled, since the Portingales had it under their subiections.<sup>4</sup> By these places may it bee coniectured, that<sup>5</sup> their Pagodes are still

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Ghārāpurī, the native name of Elephanta, close to Bombay. (Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 465.) It was called Elephanta by the Portuguese, from a large stone elephant on the south side of the island, which fell down in pieces in 1814 (*cfr.* Ritter's *Erdkunde, Asien*, iv, p. 1092, ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... made and cut out".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... full of carved figures of elephants".....

<sup>4</sup> This is very questionable. The decay of these temples was, probably, owing to the decay of the Çaiva religion in that part of India, to which they had been adapted. It is certain that they were originally Buddhist. The first printed description of these excavations is that in the text, but Couto followed soon after. For a long while these caves were the subject of absurd exaggerations, and many defective accounts appeared; but it is only in recent times that they have been studied scientifically, and this is due to Mr. J. Fergusson (*Rock-Cut Temples of India*, 1845; *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1876, etc.) *Cfr.* also: Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iv, 1861, pp. 865 ff.; and Benfey's general remarks in his article, "Indien" (pp. 301 ff.), in vol. xvii of Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "how".....

within the land, even till this day, speciallie where the Kings and governours are all of that [Religion], and keepe their Courtes [and Palaces].

In the Iland of Seylon, whereof I have [alreadie] spoken,<sup>1</sup> there is a high Hill called Pico d'Adam, or Adams [Hill], upon the top whereof standeth a [great] house, as big as a Cloyster: wherein standeth a Pagode of great account.<sup>2</sup> In this place in time past there was a Toothe of an Ape,<sup>3</sup> shrined in Gold and precious stones, and therein was kept this Toothe,<sup>4</sup> which for costlynes and worthynes was esteemed the holiest thing in all India, and had the greatest resort unto it from all the countries round about it: so that it passed both S. James in Galisia, and S. Michaels Mount in France, by reason of the great indulgences [and pardons] that were there [daylie] to be had: for which cause it was sought unto with great devotion by all the Indians within 4. or 500. miles round about in great multitudes: but it happened an. 1554,<sup>5</sup> [when the Portingales made a road out of India and entred the Iland of Seylon, they went up upon the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 78-9 above. The following is the first printed account of the so-called tooth of Buddha. It is, however, very incorrect. Couto, who wrote a little later, also made many mistakes. Sir J. E. Tennent (*Ceylon*, ii, pp. 198, ffg.), has given the best modern account.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... account and estimation".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... ape or monkey"..... There can be no doubt that the relic was supposed to be a tooth of Buddha, as the Pali *Dathavamso* proves. The notion that it was an ape's tooth probably arose from confusion with the fetish-worship in India of the loathsome Hanūmān. Couto (vii, ix, 2 f. 179b. of the original edition of 1615), is much more correct, and says it was a tooth of Buddha, which (it was said), he pulled out and sent to Ceylon when near death! According to the *Dathavamso*, when Buddha's corpse was burned, seven pieces of bone, including four teeth, were preserved, and this tooth was one of the four. Faria y Sousa *Asia Port.*, ii (1674), p. 350, ffg., says it was a tooth of a white monkey!

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "which was its safe or ciborium."

<sup>5</sup> Should be 1560 as Couto states. Dom C. de Braganza arrived only in 1558 as Viceroy.

hill, where they thought to finde great treasure, because of the fame that was spread abroad of the great resort [and offering in that place], where [they sought] the Cloyster and turned up everie stone thereof,<sup>1</sup> and found nothing but a little Coffer, made [fast] with many costly [precious] stones, wherein laye the Apes toothe. This bootie [or relique] they tooke with them unto Goa, which, when the Kings of Pegu, Sion, Bengala,<sup>2</sup> Bisnagar, and others heard of, they were much grieved that their [so] costly Jewel was in that manner taken from them, whereupon by common consent they sent their Ambassadors unto the Viceroy of India, desiring him of all friendship, to send them their Apes tooth againe, offering him for a ransome (besides other presents, which [as then] they sent [unto him]) 700. thousand Ducats in Golde,<sup>3</sup> which the Viceroy for covetousnesse of the money was minded to doe. But the Archbishop [of Goa called] Don Gaspar, my Lords predicessor, dissuaded him from it, saying, that they being Christians, ought not to give it them againe, being a thing whereby Idolatrie might be furthered, and the Devill worshipped, but rather [they were bound by] their profession,<sup>4</sup> to roote out and abolish all [Idolatrie and superstition],<sup>5</sup> as much as in them lay. By which meanes the Viceroy was perswaded to change [his mind], and flatly denied the Ambassadors [request]: having in their presence

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... Wherefore (they) raised the cloister to the ground"..... This is an error; the tooth was taken at Jaffnapatam (Couto, *Dec.* vii, ix, 2, f. 179b. of edition of 1615), not at Adam's Peak. All authorities agree about this.

<sup>2</sup> The King of Pegu, alone, sent an embassy (Couto, *Dec.* vii, liv, ix, cap. 17). The King of Bisnagar, being a Hindu, could have had no interest in the preservation of the tooth, except he took it to have been one of Hanūmān's.

<sup>3</sup> Couto (*u.s.* f. 207b.) says: "what the (Viceroy) would like..... and 300 or 400 thousand *cruzados*." Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.*, ii, p. 352), says: "300 thousand *escudoa*."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "profession required."

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... all such".....



first burnt the Apes tooth, the Ashes whereof hee caused to bee throwne into the Sea.<sup>1</sup> Whereupon the Ambassadors fearing some further mischief, [tooke their leave and] departed, being much astonished that hee refused so great a summe of money, for a thing [which hee so little esteemed that] hee burnt [it],<sup>2</sup> and threw [the Ashes] into the Sea. Not long after there was a Beniane (as [the Benianes] are full of subtiltie), that had gotten an other Apes tooth, and made the Indians and Heathens believe, that hee had miraculously found the same [Apes tooth that the Viceroye had], and that it was revealed unto him by a Pagode in a vision, that [assured him] it was the same, which [hee said] the Portugales thought they had burned, but that he had beene there invisible [and taken it away], laying an other in the place. Which the Heathens<sup>3</sup> presently believed, so that it came unto the King of Bisnagars eares, who thereupon desired [the Beniane] to send it him, and with great ioy received it, giving the Beniane a great summe of Golde for it, where it was againe holden [and kept] in the same honour [and estimation], as the other that was burnt [had beene].

In the kingdome of Narsinga, or the coast called Choramandel, there standeth a Pagode,<sup>4</sup> that is verie great, exceeding rich,<sup>5</sup> and holden in great estimation, having manye Pilgrimages and visitations made unto it from all the countries bordering about it, where everie yeare they have many faires, feastes, and processions, and there they have a Wagon

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... and the ashes scattered in the air, and thrown into the sea."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... burnt to ashes".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... the people".....

<sup>4</sup> There are twenty pagodas at least which might be intended here. Conjeveram, Sídambaram, Tanjore, etc. Rogerius (*Open-deure*, p. 157) mentions some ten eminent pagodas on the Coromandel coast.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... rich and ornamented" ..... "Rich" cannot be taken in the sense of "richly endowed"; the Muhammedan invasion, and civil wars had, by the xvith century, plundered all the pagodas.

or a Carte, which is so great and heavie, that three or foure Elephants can hardly draw it, and this is brought forth at faires, feastes, and processions. At this Carte hang likewise many Cables or Ropes, whereat [also all the countrie people, both] men and women of pure devotion doe pull [and hale]. In the upper part of this Carte standeth a Tabernacle or feaste,<sup>1</sup> wherein sitteth the Idoll, and under it<sup>2</sup> sit the Kings wives, which after their manner play on all instruments, making [a most] sweete melodie,<sup>3</sup> and in that sort is the Carte drawne forth,<sup>4</sup> with great devotions and processions: there are some of them,<sup>5</sup> that of [great] zeale and pure devotion doe cut peeces of flesh out of their bodies, and throwe them downe before the Pagode: others laye themselves under the wheeles of the Carte, and let the Carte runne over them, whereby they are all crushed to peeces, and pressed to death, and they that thus die, are accounted for holy and [devout] Martyrs, and from that time [forwards] are kept [and preserved] for great and holy Reliques, besides a thousand other such like beastly superstitions, which they use, as one of my Chamber fellowes,<sup>6</sup> that had séene it, shewed me,<sup>7</sup> and it is also wel knowne throughout all India.

Upon a time I and certaine Portingales, my friends, having licence from the Viceroy were at a banquet and meeting,<sup>8</sup> about five or six miles within the firme land, and with us wee had certaine Decanijns, and naturall borne [Indians],<sup>9</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "verhemelt" = "canopy."

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... this tabernacle sits" .. ...

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... sweet accord and melody of music" .. ... It is difficult to understand this commendation.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... forth, as is said, with great" .. ...

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... many that of" .. ...

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "cammeraden." Latin (of 1599): "Ita a meis sæpe sodalibus audivi."

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... told me orally" .. ...

<sup>8</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... a party of pleasure and recreation" .. ...

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... and had in our company some acquaintances, Deccanis and natives" .. ... The Latin (of 1599) has: "Ipse autem

were acquainted with the cuntry, the chiefe cause of our going, was to see their manner of burning the deade Bramene, and his wife [with him] being alive because we had been advertised, that such a thing was to be done. And there among other strange devises that we saw, wee came into some Villages and places inhabited by the Indians, where in the way and at everie hil, stonie Rocke or hole, almost within a Pater noster length, wee found a Carved Pagode, or rather Devils, and monsters in hellish shapes. At the last wee came into a Village, where stooode a great Church of stone, wherein wee entered, and found nothing in it but a great Table<sup>1</sup> that hung in the middle of the Church [with the Image of a Pagode painted therein] so mishaped and deformed, that more monstrous was never seene, for it had many hornes, and long teeth that hung out of his mouth down to the knees,<sup>2</sup> and beneath his Navel and belly it had an other such like face, with many hornes and tuskes. Upon the head thereof stooode a [triple Crowned] Myter, not much unlike the Popes triple crown, so that in effect it seemed to be a monster [such as are described] in the Apocalips. It hung before a Wall which made a partition from an other Chamber, in manner of a Quier, yet was it close made up without windowes, or any place for light, in the middle whereof was a little narrow close doore,<sup>3</sup> and on both sides of the doore stooode a small Furnace made within the wall, wherein were certaine holes [or Lattisses], thereby to let the smoke [or savor of the fire] to enter into that place,<sup>4</sup> when quodam tempore in contubernio Lusitanorum et quorundam Decaninorum indigenarum, impetrata a Prorege licentia animi causa, et visendi rogam Bramenis voluntariamque mulieris mortem, more eo quem supra retulimus, continentem petebam" (p. 53).

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : " painted picture " (" geschildert tafareel "), of so ugly a figure that one could not" .. ...

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : " that came out of his mouth over his chin " .....

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, the " garbhagriha," or shrine.

<sup>4</sup> A curious mistake ; the niches in which lamps are put are clearly intended.

any offering should bee made. Whereof wee found some there, as Rice, Corne, Fruites, Hennes, and such like things, which the Indians dayly offered, but there came so filthie a smoke and stincke out [of the place] that whosoever went neere it, was almost readie to choke, the said place being all black, smerie, and foule therewith.<sup>1</sup> Before this doore being shut, in the middle of the Church, there stode a Calfe of stone,<sup>2</sup> whereon one of our companie leaped, and laughing began to crie out, which the Bramene that kept the Church perceiving, began to call and crie for helpe, so that presently many of the neighbours ranne thether to see what the cause might bee; but before the thrung of people came we dealt so well with the Bramene<sup>3</sup> (acknowledging our fault, and saying it was unadvisedly<sup>4</sup> done) [that he was well content],<sup>5</sup> and, the people went home againe. Then wee desired the Bramene to open us the doore that stode shut,<sup>6</sup> which after much intreatie he yeilded unto, offering first to throw certaine Ashes upon our foreheads, which we refused, so that before hee would open us the doore, wee were forced to promise him that we would not enter further in then to the doore. The doore of their Sancta Sanctorum, or rather Diabolorum,<sup>7</sup> being opened, it shewed within like a Lime kill, being close vaulted round about [over the heade] without either hole or window to cast in light, but onely [at] the doore, neither was ther any light in al the Church, but that which came in at the doore [we entered by]. Within the said cell or vault there hung at the least 100. burning lamps,

<sup>1</sup> This is no exaggeration; the filth of Hindu temples is inconceivable. Mr. Grant Duff (*Notes of an Indian Journey*, p. 196), says: "The temples of Benares filled me with something nearly akin to disgust."

<sup>2</sup> This makes it plain that it was a temple of Çaiva.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "the Bramene that he was satisfied".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "through ignorance".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... therewith all was at one".....

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... shut, to see what there was therein".....

<sup>7</sup> Orig. Dutch: "Duvelorium"!!!

in the middle whereof stode a little Altar<sup>1</sup> and covered over with cloth made of cotton wool, and over that with pure golde, under the which (as the Bramene told us) sat the Pagode [being] of [cleane] golde of the bignes of a Puppet [or a Baby solde] in faires: hard by the Church without the great doore, stood within the Earth a great foure cornered [or square] Cesterne hewed out of [free] stone, with staires on each side to goe downe into it, full of greene, filthie and stinking water, wherein they wash themselves when they meane to enter into the Church to pray. From thence we went further; and still as we went, in every place wee found Pagodes<sup>2</sup> hewed out of hard stones, and standing in their holes, of such lively shapes [and figures] as wee tolde you before. These stand in the waies under certaine covertures, without the Churches,<sup>3</sup> and have hard by [each of them] a small Cesterne of water, cut out of the stone to wash their feete, with halfe an Indian Nut, that hath a handle and hangeth there to take up water withall. And this is ordained for the travellers that passe by, who commonly at everie one of those Pagodes do fall downe and make their praiers, [and wash their feete in those Cesternes]. [By the said Pagodes], commonly doe stand two little Furnaces, with a Calfe or Cow of stone, before the which they set their offerings, [which are of such things] as are to be eaten,<sup>4</sup> everie man as his devotion serveth, which they think the Pagode eateth in the night, but it is taken away by the Bramene. We found in everie place such offerings standing, but we had little desire once to taste thereof, it looked so filthily, and as we had sufficiently beholden their [mishapen figures and monstrous Images],<sup>5</sup> we returned againe unto the village, wherein we saw the stone

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... tabernakel".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch:

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... stand by the ways without churches or covers".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... eaten and fruits".....

<sup>5</sup> Orig. Dutch: "their devilry".....

Church, because the Bramene had advertised us, that the same day about Evening the Pagode should be caried in procession to sport it selfe in the fieldes, and to fetch a circuite, which we desired to see. And about the time [which he appointed], they rung a little Bell, which they had gotten of the Christians, wherewith all the people began to assemble, and tooke the Pagode out of his [diabollcall] Cell<sup>1</sup>, which with great reverence they set in a Palamkin borne by the chiefe men of the towne, all the rest with great devotion following after, with their usual noyse and sounds of Trumpets and other instruments,<sup>2</sup> wherewith they went a reasonable way round about a field, and then brought him to the stone Cestern, where washing him verie cleane (although he were verie filthy stinking) they caried him againe into his Cel, leaving him shut herein with all his Lampes, to make good cheare, and having made a foule smoke and stincke about him, and every man left his offering behind him, they went home to their houses leaving the Bramene [alone], who in steede of the Pagode, made good cheare at their costs, with his wife and family.<sup>3</sup>

This is [the maner of] their ceremonies and daily superstitions, worshipings of false gods, wherein the Devill hath so blinded them, that thereby they are without all doubt perswaded to obtaine eternall life, and tell many miracles of their Idols, whereby wee are moved [and put in mind], to call to remembraunce how much herein we are bound to God, and to give him thankes, that it hath pleased him to illuminate us with the truth of his holy Gospel, and that we are not borne [or brought up] among those Heathens, and

<sup>1</sup> This is an error. The idol is not taken in procession, being far too heavy. A small metal image is used.

<sup>2</sup> The translation of all this passage is very paraphrastic, but gives the sense sufficiently nearly.

<sup>3</sup> This seems questionable. Brahmins are very scrupulous about ceremonially pure food.

divelish Idolaters, and to desire God that it would please him of his gracious goodnesse to open their eyes and to give them the truth of his holy word among them, as hee is our onely trust, for they are in all things like us, made after Gods owne Image, and that when his good pleasure is, hee will loose them out of the bands of Sathan, and give both them and us that which is most necessarie for our soules, Amen. The better to understand the maner of their divelish shapes and figures of Pagodes, I have hereunto annexed the picture hereof, even as they openly stand in the high wayes or hilles, with a Cow or Calfe of stone by them, also their Church called Meskita, belonging to the Mahometans and Moores, dwelling in Malabar, with the Cesterne of water wherein they wash themselves.<sup>1</sup>

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#### THE 45. CHAPTER.

Of all the kinde of beastes, cattell, and foules in India.

There is over all India great store of Cattell, as Oxen, Kine, Sheepe, Hogges, Goates, Kids, and such like, and verie good cheape, [and] in great abundance, although the flesh is not of so good a tast as that in Europe, which proceedeth from the heate of the countrie, and therefore it is not much esteemed.<sup>2</sup> A man may buy the best Cow in Goa for five or

<sup>1</sup> This last part is much improved on in the English transl. of c. 1598. But it is not of use to give an exact version of the original. The picture of the *Mesquita* is a very fair representation of a Mappila mosque in Malabar. The Hindu temples, etc., are very inaccurately given.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, the breeding of cattle is not in the least understood in India. There is no attempt made to provide food for them, so the wretched animals are often forced to eat ordure or filth. Beef is little used [in S. India] now except in military stations; mutton is the most common. In Java the reverse is the case.

sixe Pardawes. Oxen are there little killed to eate, but are most kept to til the land ; all other things as hogges, sheepe, and goates are [sold] after the rate. Mutton is little esteemed of, and not much used to be eaten, for it is forbidden to [such as are] sicke, and the Hogs flesh is much better and sounder, which is rather permitted unto sicke persons<sup>1</sup> then Mutton.<sup>2</sup> Ther are sheepe [in that countrie] of five quarters [in quantity], for that the taylor is as great, and hath as much flesh [upon it] as any of the quarters ;<sup>3</sup> there are many Buffles, but nothing good to be eaten,<sup>4</sup> unles it be by poore people, but their Milke is very good, and is very well solde and [ordinarily] eaten, for you shall see the slaves and Canarijns in great numbers all day going about the streetes to sell the Milke of Buffles<sup>5</sup> and Goates, and excellent [sweete] Creame and fresh butter<sup>6</sup> in small peeces. They make likewise some small white Cheeses, but they are very salte and drie : wilde Bores, some Hares, Conies,<sup>7</sup> Harts and Hindes are there also to be found, but not many. Cockes, Capons, Pheasantes,<sup>8</sup> and Doves are there in great abundance, and good cheape. In the Island of Goa and there about are Sparrows,<sup>9</sup> and some other small birdes, yet not many ; but, on the coast of Cochín and Malabar, there are very few<sup>10</sup> Sparrows, nor any such like small birdes.<sup>11</sup> There are in India many

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch : “..... persons to eat than”.....

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. p. 26, n. 1, above.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, the fat-tailed sheep. See p. 25 above, and n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : “..... but few killed to eat”.....

<sup>5</sup> This is still the case. Europeans, however, object to buffalo-milk, as the animals are very foul-feeders.

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Dutch : “..... fresh unsalted butter”.....

<sup>7</sup> An error. There are only hares, and no rabbits in India proper.

<sup>8</sup> An error. The original has “Velt-hoenderen”, by which partridges are intended. (Cfr. Kilian, *s.v.*)

<sup>9</sup> Orig. Dutch : “Mussen” = musschen (of Kilian).

<sup>10</sup> Orig. Dutch : “there are no sparrows, nor such small birds”.....

<sup>11</sup> Sparrows, just like those of Europe, are as common everywhere in the East as in Europe.



Battes, and some of them so great that it is incredible to tell. They doe great mischiefe to trees, fruites, aud hearbes, whereby the Canariins are constrained to set men to watch in [their] trees,<sup>1</sup> and yet they can hardly ridde them away. The Indians eat them, and say they are as good meat as a Partridge. There is a most wonderfull number of black Crows which do much hurt, and are so bold that oftentimes they come flying in at [their] windowes, and take the meat out of the dish as it standeth upon the table before them that are set downe [to eate]:<sup>2</sup> and as I myselfe sate writing above in a chamber of the house, the windowes being open, [one of] those Crowes flew in at the window, and picked the cotton out of [mine] Inke horne, and blotted all the paper that lay on [my] table, do what I could to let [him]. They sitte commonly uppon the Buffles [backes], and pecke off their haire,<sup>3</sup> so that you shal find very few Buffles that have any haire [upon their backes], and therefore to avoide [the Crowes] they get themselves into marishes and watrie places, [where they stand in the water] uppe to the neckes, otherwise they could never be rid of them. There are likewise great numbers of Rattes,<sup>4</sup> and some as bigge as young Pigges, so that the Cattes dare not touch them. Sometimes they

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... trees by night".....

<sup>2</sup> The boldness of the crows in India, is, no doubt, owing to the balls of rice, etc., which they get at the funeral ceremonies (*Crâddha*) of the Hindus.

<sup>3</sup> They sit on the backs of cattle to feed on the vermin which they find there.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, the Bandicoots (*Mus. Bandicota*). "Length of a large individual, head and body 15 inches; tail, 13 inches; weight, 3 lb..... In the fort at Madras it is exceedingly numerous, living during the day in drains, and entering houses at night. During my residence in Fort St. George I killed a great many in my own house, some of which were of large size, and showed great fight. It is found in all towns and large villages in the south,..... and is very destructive to the stores of grain, on which it chiefly feeds. It burrows under walls, and often injures the foundations of houses..... It is eaten by some classes of natives." (Jerdon, *Mammals of India*, 1874, pp. 193-4.)

digge downe the houses, for that they undermine the walles and foundations through and through, wherby many times the houses fall downe and are spoyled. There is another sort of Rattes that are little and reddish of haire: They are called sweet smelling Rattes,<sup>1</sup> for they have a smell as if they were full of Muske. Of Ants [or Pismires] there is so great abundance throughout al India, and so noysome that it is incredible to such as have not séene it: for that men may set nothing whatsoever it be that is to be eaten, or fattie, nor yet their clothes nor linnen, but you shall presently find at the least a thousand upon it, and in the twinckling of an eye they wil presently consume a loafe of bread: wherefore it is the manner throughout India to make all the Cubbords<sup>2</sup> wherein they keep their victualls,<sup>3</sup> and chests, where their linnen and apparrell lyeth, with foure feete of pillars, and under every foot or piller a stone or wooden Cestern full of water, and place the Cubbord or chest in the middle of the roome, not neere the wall, whereby they cannot come at it, otherwise it would be spoyled, and if they do never so little<sup>4</sup> forget to powre water into the Cesternes, [if it be but a Pater noster while], presently ther will be so many Pismires crawling all over it, [that it is wonderfull:] so that it seemeth to bee a curse or plague [of God sent upon that countrey]. There are some likewise that use such Cesternes of water under their bedsteed, because they wold not be troubled with

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the so called musk-rats, which are not really rats, but shrews (*Sorex cærulescens*). "This appears to be the common musk-rat of almost all India, frequenting houses at night, and hunting round rooms for cockroaches or any other insects, occasionally uttering a sharp, shrill cry..... It is popularly believed in India that the musky odour emitted by this shrew is so volatile and penetrating, that if it pass over a corked bottle of wine or beer, it will infect the fluid within; and certainly many bottles are met with in this country (*i.e.* India), quite undrinkable from the musky odour." (*Jerdon, u.s.*, p. 53.)

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "... .. treasuries or chests".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... eatables, or any other fatty things"

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... a pater-noster".....

them as they lie<sup>1</sup> [in their beds,] and also under their tables. Some men which kéepe Canary birds, or such small fowles (that are brought thither from Portingall, or out of Turkey and Persia for their pleasures) are forced to set them on a sticke or perch made for the purpose, with a Cesterne of water under it, otherwise it would presently be killed by the Pismires: and though it hangeth in the top of the house,<sup>2</sup> yet they will come at it if it have a string [to hold it by]. The soldiers and poore people that have not the meanes to buy Cubbordes with Cesternes put the bread and [other] victuailles which they leave (which is not over much<sup>3</sup>) into a cloth tyed on knots, and hang it on a nayle against a wall, and make a circle<sup>4</sup> about it of Charcoale, so that the Pismires cannot get over nor come at it. There is another sorte of Pismires which are almost a finger long, and reddish of colour: they runne in[to] the fields and do great hurt to the herbes, fruites, and plants.<sup>5</sup> Moathes and wormes which [creepe and] eate through [mens] cloathes are there in great aboundance, whereby men must use no more cloathes nor linnen in those countries then that he necessarily and dayly weareth on his back, otherwise they are presently moath-eaten and spoyled. They can hardly kepe any paper or bokes from wormes,<sup>6</sup> which are like eare wormes,<sup>7</sup> but they do often spoyle and consume many papers and evidences of [great] importance. There are also many Wall-lyce.<sup>8</sup> There is a kind of beast that flyeth, twice as bigge as a Bee, and is

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... in their sleep".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... in the air".....

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... which is in excess to them (which little, or very seldom happens)".....

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch: "..... circle or ring".....

<sup>5</sup> These especially frequent Mango trees.

<sup>6</sup> This is quite correct.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.*, the so-called "silver-fish." (*Lepisma niger* or *L. niveo-fasciata*), but these destroy the acari, etc., which feed on books.

<sup>8</sup> *I.e.*, bugs, which swarm in India.

called Baratta.<sup>1</sup> These creatures also do much hurt, and are commonly in Sugar, Hony, Butter, Oile, and al fatte wares and sweet meats. Many of them likewise come into [their] chestes among their clothes and linnen, which they doe also spoyle and spot. They are in great numbers, and verie hurtfull. There can bee nothing so close shut [or made fast], but they wil get in and spoile it, for where they [lie or] be, they spot all things with their egges, which stick as fast as sirop [upon a paper], so that they may bee esteemed as a plague like to the Pismires.

Within the lande there are also Tigers: other cruell beastes, as lions,<sup>2</sup> beares,<sup>3</sup> and such like there are [fewe or] none: but venimous beastes, as Snakes, Lizartes, and such like, there are many, for the Lizardes will clime [and creepe] upon the wals in [their] houses, and oftentimes fall uppon men as they lie in [their] beds and sleepe, and therefore many men that are of abilitie doe hang testers [and curtines]

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, cockroaches. The Port. name ("Barata"), is from the Latin "Blatta". Some naturalists (*e.g.* the eminent White of Selborne), have asserted that the cockroach was imported into India by shipping from America. But this cannot be the case, as the Sanskrit name for it occurs in Sanskrit books which are of a date several hundred years before the discovery of America. There can be little doubt that these most repulsive and mischievous insects are indigenous to India.

<sup>2</sup> Lions (*Felis leo*) were formerly found in the North of India pretty generally, as the trite allusions to this animal in the Sanskrit books prove; it is now very uncommon in most parts of India. "The lion is found in various parts of India, chiefly the north-west, from Cutch to Hurriana, Gwalior and Sangor, but it is now only at all common in Guzrat and Cutch..... In former years, lions were much more common in the eastern portion of their present habitat. Little is recorded of the habits of the lion as found in India. It is said to prey chiefly on bullocks and donkeys..... Later and more authentic accounts of the habits of the lion in Africa than those usually found in the older works on natural history, do not quite confirm those accounts of its noble character." (Jerdon, *u.s.*, p. 92.)

<sup>3</sup> Bears are chiefly common in the Himalayas; the "black bear" (*ursus labiatus*), however, occurs throughout India. (Jerdon, *u.s.*, p. 72, etc.)

over [and about their] beds. There are likewise many Came-  
lions, which are sayd to live by the ayre, but they are not  
hurtfull.

*The Camelion (saith Plinie) is like a little Lyon, in bignes  
like a Lyzarde : the length of it from the head to the point of  
the taile<sup>1</sup> is about 7. or 8. fingers. The height of the body about  
5. fingers : the length of her feete 3. fingers and a halfe, verie  
rugged, full of knots, with a sharpe backe, she changeth her  
colour into euery thing that toucheth her :<sup>2</sup> most of them are  
bleake<sup>3</sup> and blackish, and haue a thinne and cleare<sup>4</sup> skinne  
which doeth easily change into all colours, except redde. It  
turneth the eyes rounde about very swiftly, and hath no eye-  
lids. Among all other beasts this onely neuer eateth nor  
drinketh,<sup>5</sup> but liveth by the ayre, and dew of the earth.<sup>6</sup>*

There are many Monkeys [or Marmosets] that do great  
hurt to the Palme trees, wherin the Indian Nut or Cocus  
doth grow. In those trees you shall commonly see certaine  
little beastes, called Bichos de Palmeyras, that is, beastes of  
the Palme trees :<sup>7</sup> They are much like Ferrets, wherewith  
men use to hunt and catch Cunnies, and have a taile like the  
Penner of an Inkehorne, and grayish speckled haire : they

<sup>1</sup> A mistranslation ; should be : "..... from the head to the begin-  
ning of the tail".....

<sup>2</sup> Orig. Dutch : "they change their colour according to the form of  
things near them."

<sup>3</sup> Orig. Dutch : "bleeck", i.e., "pale-coloured."

<sup>4</sup> Orig. Dutch : "transparent."

<sup>5</sup> This was an opinion of the ancients, and it is stated by many  
ancient authors, e.g., by Ovid (*Met.* xv, 411) : "Id quoque quod  
ventis animal nutritur et aura." So also Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii,  
cap. 51).

<sup>6</sup> Annotation of Paludanus.

<sup>7</sup> I.e., squirrels (*Sciurus palmarum*), called "rat palmier" by the  
creole French of Pondicherry. This little animal even ventures into  
houses, and is so noisy as to be quite a pest. The Hindus have many  
foolish myths about it (e.g., that it helped to build Rāma's bridge over to  
Ceylon, by carrying dust on its tail), and, though it is most destructive,  
will not injure or molest it !

are pretie [beastes] to keepe and to passe the time [withall]. Parrats are there in great numbers, and flie abroade in the woods. There commeth into India out of the Island of Molucas beyond Malacca a kind of birdes called Noyras :<sup>1</sup> they are like Parrattes, but they have many red feathers, and speake like Parrates : they are worth in India 20. or 30. Pardawes [the péeece] : they are very faire to looke on, and speake sweetly : they clawe or tickle men with their tongues uppon their heades and beardes, and make them cleane at the rootes, as also [their] ears and [their] teeth, so that they are very pleasant to keepe in a house, for that both in colour and beauty of feathers they surpasse all birds and Parrats [whatsoever] : but there could never yet bee any of them brought living into Portingal, although they have sought [and used] al the means they could to bring them for a present to the king, which he greatly desireth : but they die uppon the way, for they are very delicate, and wil hardly be brought up.

<sup>1</sup> *Noyras*. This is the correct form of the Malay name of the parrots usually termed "Lory". Crawford (*Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, 1856, *s.v.* "Loory") has : "Loory, but correctly Nuri in Malay, and Nori in Javanese, is the generic name for 'parrot'." The corruption, "Nori", began to be common in the seventeenth century. (So in B.'s MS., but perhaps the corruption *lory* is meant.)

END OF VOL. I.



# The Hakluyt Society.

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REPORT FOR 1884.

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THE fourth and last volume of the "COMMENTARIES OF D'ALBOQUERQUE" has been issued during the present year, which completes the work ; and the volume of the "VOYAGES OF LINSCHOTEN" is nearly ready for issue.

The next volume to be delivered to Members, part of which is already in the printer's hands, will comprise the "VOYAGES AND TRAVELS OF ANTHONY JENKINSON", edited by Mr. Delmar Morgan, and Mr. Coote, of the British Museum. The text of the work of the Eastern geographer, Ibn Jubair, will also be printed in the course of the coming year ; and the Council have decided upon the preparation of a volume containing an account of the MALDIVE ISLANDS, by Pyvard della Val, to be edited by Mr. Albert Gray. Another work which is under consideration is a new edition of the "VOYAGES OF THE EARL OF CUMBERLAND", edited by Mr. de Gray Birch.

The Council are glad to be able to report that the number of Members is increasing, there being now 252 on the list, and that the finances of the Society are in a satisfactory state.



The following Three Members retire from the Council :—

ADMIRAL SIR ALFRED RYDER, K.C.B.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.

B. F. STEVENS, ESQ.

And the following gentlemen are proposed for election :—

EDWARD HAILSTONE, ESQ.

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, ESQ.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR ANTHONY H. HOSKINS, K.C.B.

*Statement of the Accounts of the Hakluyt Society for the year 1884.*

	£	s.	d.
Balance at the Bankers', January 1884 ...	503	14	8
Received by the Bankers during the year ...	282	1	6
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Illustrations, Index, and Transcriptions for the "Commentaries of D'Alboquerque" ...	42	0	0
Messrs. Whiting, for Printing ...	134	17	6
Illustrations for the "Voyage of Anthony Jen- kinson" ...	28	11	4
Loss on an Irish Draft ...	0	0	6
Cheque Stamps ...	0	2	6
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Balance at the Bankers ...	205	11	10
	580	4	4
<hr/>			
	£785	16	2
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