

A Regional Guide to Books Published by The Hakluyt Society

INDIA

Compiled by Lionel Knight¹

Introduction

With the choice of Magellan's ship, the *Victoria*, as their logo, the founders of the Hakluyt Society confirmed their international intentions. The authors of the works reviewed below range from Iceland to Russia, and British travel accounts only appear later in the chronological sequence of volumes, and remain, overall, a minority. Since they mainly come from the era of European maritime expansion, it is unsurprising that there are few Asian authors – an Arab / Berber, two Persians and a Chinese – and only one Asian editor. The Society had put the emphasis on 'voyages' rather than exploration. So, this *Regional Guide*, whose subject is India, is open to the objection that it has sliced into the intentions and world-views of many travellers and their promoters.

Since antiquity, the Arabian Sea had been a trading zone, and it was the achievement of the Portuguese to link the old local understanding of the wind systems with those of the more difficult Atlantic. There was another established trading system in the Bay of Bengal and beyond. This, also, was important to the Europeans since they needed Indian goods to buy the south-east Asian spices which were in such demand at home. However, this *Guide* focuses on their understanding and transmission of knowledge about the Indian subcontinent which was the cynosure of most of the voyages. Consequently, some volumes will appear also in other *Guides*, covering Africa and the Far East or, in the case of Vasco da Gama, in *The Southern Voyages and the Antarctic*.

The Society had no master plan and the choice of manuscripts or early printed sources was serendipitous. Because most of these travel accounts date from the era of western exploration, they are heavily slanted towards maritime south India. There is some material on Bengal, where the British later placed their capital, and less still on Upper India whose politics has driven the rise of modern India. Many of the books below were edited by retired members of the Indian Civil Service, and their approach, published in an age of empire, adds another layer of interest to the volumes. For some, the early Portuguese accounts, set against the then decayed state of their colonial enclaves, were a salutary warning or a preview of the fate of British India. But even a cursory glance at the *Introductions* and *Notes* will discomfort a simplistic orientalist interpretation. There were always dissenting voices in the British bureaucracy and they are represented here both in passing critical observations and by wider approaches, such as that of William Crooke, an opponent of the prevailing racial explanations of Indian caste society.

The editing, too, has its own history from the sketchy notes and occasional bursts of mid-Victorian anti-imperialism in the early volumes to the massive and at times otiose erudition in the age of high imperialism and uncertainty about the future of British India in

¹ With the help of Professor Roy Bridges

the era of the viceroy, Lord Curzon. This was the time of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* and its spin-offs, and of the flourishing of Portuguese colonial scholarship, of Sebastião Delgado, for example, which was much admired and used by the British editors. There followed a phase of anxiety when the fine scholarship of W. H. Moreland was shaped by his felt need to answer the charge of economic exploitation levelled by the Indian National Congress. During this period of transition, Sir William Foster had also been setting new standards of accurate and helpful scholarship in Hakluyt Society editing. Finally, there are a few works published in the post-colonial period.

A Whig interpretation of British India is offered in some of the editing of the English East India Company volumes, a suggestion that we should see the early voyages as laying the foundations of later British rule over the sub-continent. But the same editors can be read against the grain as we discover how much of hindsight there is in that judgement. Moreland and Foster, both from the Anglo-Indian establishment, also remind us that Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador, does not even rate a mention in the memoirs of the emperor Jehangir; and, that despite several western accounts of Golconda in the latter part of the same seventeenth century, no Persian chronicle from the contemporary Deccan so much as notices these foreigners.

By contrast with the editors, most of the Hakluyt Society authors whose accounts are heavily concentrated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lived before formal western control, indeed at a time when they were the suppliants. They are a mixed bunch. Many were neither traders nor had official connections, but rather were individuals driven by curiosity about the world who lived in India for years at a time. In some cases their books are here published, or translated into English, for the first time, although a number had an influential clandestine life as manuscripts. Many of those that were published were best-sellers in their day. They made available to western readers a wealth of information about Indian social and religious life which will surprise those whose perspective begins with missionaries and their governments. Like most of those they lived among, they did not have access to a classical textual tradition. Their attempts to describe, understand, empathize with and, sometimes, to put into a comparative framework the vernacular life of the people challenge simplistic contrasts between Renaissance and Enlightenment mentalities. Above all, the writers share their sense of wonder and enjoyment with the reader.

Bibliography for further guidance

Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2007).

H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: the East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833* (Cambridge, 2006).

K. N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1990).

Anthony Disney and Emily Booth, eds, *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (OUP, New Delhi, 2000).

Sir William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (London, 1933).

Raymond John Howgego, *Encyclopedia of Exploration to 1800* (Horden House, Potts Point, NSW, 2003).

Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago, 1965 seq.)

Ram Chandra Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India* (Delhi, 2nd edn 1980).

Joan-Pau Rubies, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge, 2002 edn).

Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge, 1997).

Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Anglo-Indian words and Phrases*, 2nd edn, ed. by William Crooke (London, 1985).

Short titles of the reviews in a roughly chronological order

1. Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth
2. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea
3. Christian Topography of Cosmas
4. Mirabilia Descripta
5. Travels of Ibn Battuta
6. Cathay and the Way Thither
7. Book of the Knowledge
8. Mandeville's Travels
9. Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger
10. India in the Fifteenth Century
11. Three voyages and Journal of Vasco da Gama
12. Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India
13. Travels of Ludovico de Varthema
14. Suma Oriental of Thome Pires
15. Description by Duarte Barbosa
16. Commentaries of Afonso Dalbuquerque
17. The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster. 1/56 and 2/85
18. Voyage of John Huygen van Linschoten
19. Voyage of François Pyrard
20. Hakluyt Handbook
21. Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing
22. Purchas Handbook
23. Hawkins's Voyages
24. Journal of John Jourdain
25. Travels of Pedro Teixeira
26. Relations of Golconda
27. Peter Floris, his Voyage
28. Voyage of Thomas Best
29. Voyage of Nicholas Downton
30. Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe
31. Itinerario of Geronimo Lobo
32. Life of the Icelander Jon Olafsson
33. Travels of Pietro della Valle
34. Travels of Peter Mundy
35. Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique
36. Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal
37. Papers of Thomas Bowry

38. Travels of the Abbé Carré
 39. New Account of East India and Persia by John Fryer
 40. Diary of William Hedges
 41. François Valentijn's Description of Ceylon
 42. Voyage of François Leguat
 43. Bombay in the Days of Queen Anne
 44. Desert Route to India
 45. Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation
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1. *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth. Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846–1996. With a complete List of the Society's Publications.* Edited by R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair, 2nd series, 183, 1996.

This collection is an indispensable source for the history of the Society and, in particular, the editing of its publications. There are several excellent contributions of particular relevance to the India volumes: Tony Campbell, *R. H. Major and the British Museum*; R. J. Bingle, *Henry Yule: India and Cathay*; Ann Savours, *Clements Markham: longest serving Officer, most prolific Editor*; C. F. Beckingham, *William Foster and the Records of the India Office*.

2. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. By an unknown author. With some extracts from Agatharkhides 'On the Erythraean Sea'.* Translated and edited by G. W. B. Huntingford, 2nd series, 151, 1980 (1976).

A system of maritime trading seems to have arisen in the Indian Ocean before any other part of the world. The reason was the pattern of winds, which, once understood, allowed brave mariners to leave their shore-bound courses and take more direct routes across the open sea. The anonymous author, probably an Egyptian-Greek, tells us that this secret was first penetrated by the navigator, Hippalos, about whom we have neither a date nor any further information. But it is likely that he was the first Greek to learn the wind patterns from Indian and Arab seamen. The title of the work may be translated as the 'Circumnavigation of the Red Sea'. The derivation of the enigmatic *Erythraean* / Red is discussed in the *Introduction*. To the Greeks, it referred to the Indian Ocean including the Persian Gulf and what is now called the Red Sea. This is not the only *Periplus* to survive from the Ancient World, but unlike those that deal with the Mediterranean, this text is addressed primarily to merchants rather than navigators, and lists the goods which were traded at the various ports, often with the names of the rulers and a comment on the disposition of the local people.

Half the text is devoted to India reflecting its importance for Roman trade. There is a rough tripartite geographical division of the Indian coast which appears later in medieval and renaissance accounts. The important port on the upper west coast was Barugaza on the estuary of the Nabada river. In the south-west was Mouziris, later Cranganore / Kodungallur, and, then further south, Nelkunda / Kottayam. The exaggerated size of Ceylon / Sri Lanka suggests that it was outside the trading routes with which the *Periplus* was familiar. Information from the east coast concerning the Chola kingdom and up to the Ganges is less specific and may indicate that the voyages were to the west coast and that goods went on to the east coast by smaller ships of the country trade which could pass through the Palk strait.

The translation is from Hjalmar Frisk's edition, published in 1927, of a tenth century manuscript. The language is *koine* Greek with numerous uncertainties and difficulties which have provided classical scholars with many bones of contention. The place names are also contentious, and many of the geographical attributions in this volume have been challenged. Appendices discuss the topography, the history and contemporary commerce of the area, and other matters. *The Extracts from Agatharkhides 'On the Erythraean Sea'* (see Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 172), as epitomised by Photios, do not deal with India. There are several useful indexes.

The editor and translator, G. W. B. Huntingford, an anthropologist with particular expertise in East Africa, had been working on the *Periplus* for half a century. Ill health, however, delayed publication for some years, during which time other important contributions were appearing of which he was not always able to take full account. In particular, the date of the *Periplus* is now, as a consequence of work on the sequence of the Nabataean kings, assigned confidently to the middle of the first century A.D. rather than Huntingford's suggestion of between 95 and 130 A.D. Then, in 1989, Lionel Casson published his *Periplus*, with the Greek text. His translation has been received as an improvement in some important details, and Casson's commentary and notes are on a very much larger scale than those of Huntingford, whose edition, though containing much of value, is overall now considered to have been superseded.

3. *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk. Translated from the Greek, and Edited, with Notes and Introduction by J. W. McCrindle, 1st series, 98, 1897.*

Cosmas, writing in sixth century Alexandria is best known as an important figure in the history of cartography, and also for his strenuously learned attempts to challenge the contemporary spherical orthodoxy with his conviction that the world was flat. His work throws interesting light on knowledge and thinking about the world in the last Christian century of the East Roman Empire. However, it cannot be said to have been influential in European history, because it was only rediscovered in the late seventeenth century and translated into Latin by Montfaucon in the early eighteenth century. This edition is a translation from an 1864 edition of Montfaucon. At the time of publication the only other full translation had been into Norwegian. It is helpfully edited with black-and-white versions of some of the maps and plans from Montfaucon, and an index. J. W. McCrindle was a former member of the Bengal Educational Service and promoter of women's education in India who in retirement as a luminary of the Royal Asiatic Society combined his classical scholarship with his Indian interests to produce numerous scholarly publications.

Some references to India are scattered among the geographical arguments, and chapter XI is devoted to information about India, its flora and fauna, etc. and to Taprobane / Sri Lanka. What comes across strongly is the picture of the west coast from the Indus river estuary down to Sri Lanka as an active trading zone with regular visits by Persian and Chinese merchants. He notes a Christian presence in the region but makes no mention of its foundation by Saint Thomas. His sobriquet of *Indicopleustes / Indian Navigator* notwithstanding, it is not certain that he visited this region personally. In his presumed life as a merchant before he became a monk, we can be fairly sure that he travelled in Abyssinia and the east coast of Africa. However, the term India in antiquity often included this region. His own claim to have visited the subcontinent itself is a little ambiguous. The editor thinks so: some have been doubtful, for example, J. B. Bury in his *History of the Later Roman Empire*.

4. *Mirabilia Descripta. The Wonders of the East, by Friar Jordanus, of the Order of Preachers and Bishop of Columbum in India the Greater (circa 1330). Translated from the Latin Original, as published at Paris in 1839, in the Recueil de Voyages et de Memoires, of the Society of Geography, with the Addition of a Commentary, by Colonel Henry Yule, 1st series, 31, 1863 (1862).*

This small volume runs to no more than 68 pages including text, index, preface and luxuriantly learned notes by the translator, Colonel Henry Yule who, after retiring from the Indian Army, became a dominant figure in the Hakluyt Society and an active presence in the Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Geographical Society. In his preface, Yule discusses the author, a French / Catalan Dominican about whom little is known, and the text where he opines that the coincidence of statement and expression with Jordanus's predecessor, Marco Polo, and with his successor, Ibn Battuta, derives from the traditional yarns of Arab sailors with whom they voyaged.

It seems that Jordanus twice went to the east, in 1321–3 and in 1330. In the latter year, a bull of Pope John XXII appointed him bishop of Columbum which Yule identifies as Quilon in modern Kerala. Jordanus has a wide geographical range of observations and reports from Ethiopia, where he locates Prester John, as well as from the Middle East, Central Asia and the Far East.

The core of his short work concerns Lesser India (apparently the west coast down to a point above Malabar), Greater India (Malabar and eastward) and India Tertia (East Africa). Curiously, there is very little about Christianity in India. He remarks that it was so decayed that there was no knowledge of baptism. Still, he reckoned that 200–300 preaching friars could achieve mass conversions. This appealed to the Victorian editor who thought that India's salvation lay through Christianity. Existing local customs, such as *sati* and self-decapitation, caught his attention. The title notwithstanding, Jordanus is exuberant rather than fabulous. He brings to his readers, whoever they may have been, much interesting information about Indian flora, fauna and society with passing judgements, for example, about Indian justice and truthfulness, which provoke reflections from Yule on changing times.

5. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354... Volume III, Cambridge, 2nd series, 141, 1971.* Covering Turkestan, Khurasan, Sind, north-western India and Delhi, including an account of the reign of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq.

The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354... Volume IV. The translation completed with annotations by C. F. Beckingham, 2nd series, 178, 1994. Covering South India, South-East Asia, China, Morocco, Spain and West Africa.

Ibn Battuta, born in 1304 in Tangier into a family with a tradition of judicial service as *qadis*, arrived in Delhi in March 1334. India clearly made a strong impression on him and his account fills volume III and most of volume IV. He had originally set out for Mecca, but his pilgrimage turned into a desire to 'travel through the earth'.

When volume V was published in 2000, this translation had taken more than twice as long as the author's twenty-eight years of travel. The eminent Arabist, H. A. R. Gibb, who died in 1971, turned to the Islamic scholar, Charles Beckingham, to help him finish volume III. The Indo-Persian world had not been his speciality. His notes, judicious but limited, give

way to fuller assistance in volume IV which Beckingham also completed. There are maps and photographs of relevant sites and pictorial representations.

Despite the attractive fluency of the translation, some critics felt that A. Mahdi Husein's version (Baroda, 1953) with its much fuller annotation had not been totally superseded. Gibb followed the Arabic text, published with a French translation in 1853–8 by C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti. These two scholars had led the modern rediscovery of Ibn Battuta. Unlike the work of his older contemporary, Marco Polo, *The Travels (Rihla)* seem to have dropped out of circulation soon after his death in the Islamic world and were not known to European readers until, in limited form, the later eighteenth century.

It is interesting to turn back to volume I and read the preface by the secretary Ibn Juzay(y) whom the Marinid Sultan Abu Inan, 'who brought back prosperity to the bazaar of learning after it had grown sluggish', ordered to take down the reminiscences. We know from the great philosopher-historian, Ibn Khaldun, that some of the Indian reports evoked scepticism at the court of Fes, but the Sultan's *vazir* sympathetically observed that people find it difficult to conceive what they have not known (trans. Rosental, vol. I, p. 370). Ibn Juzay points out that he hasn't checked the anecdotes because Ibn Battuta had done so, or, where he could not, he had alerted the reader to points of uncertain reliability.

Historians have found the information about the Delhi Sultanate from the time of Qutb al-Din Aybak until 745/1344 valuable and mostly corroborated by other sources. But the journey from Delhi to Gujarat is erratic and, once beyond Cape Cormorin, a lack of consistent clarity has raised the question as to whether he ever visited Bengal, not to mention China. It is known that in earlier volumes there are passages which incorporate accounts by other travellers. It had been intended that problems of dating and possibly conflated accounts of different journeys would be examined in volume V. Sadly, Beckingham's death in 1998 left the final volume as merely a substantial index.

In Volume III, Ibn Battuta approaches India through Sindh, where his brief account of the rebellion of Wunar al-Samiri is an important, if not unique, source. Soon after he arrived in Delhi, he became *qadi* to a city which was a magnet for ambitious men throughout the Islamic world. There are many anecdotes of the ruthless management of these competing elites by that monster of piety, generosity and cruelty, Muhammad Ibn Tughluq. The sultan tried to uphold Shari'a law, and, we are told, that he abolished dues on goods and merchandise, confining his government to the Quranic alms and land tax. With his enthusiasm for talented men from the wider Muslim world, he waived away Ibn Battuta's reservations about accepting the appointment of *qadi*: he belonged to the *Maliki* school of jurisprudence rather than the locally prevailing *Hanafi* school, and he did not speak the language of Delhi.

There are scattered remarks, with vivid examples, of the Indian world that the author had come to: an encounter with a rhinoceros; the contentious matter of cow-killing; the Indian way of sitting with the left foot tucked beneath the body which the sultan had adopted; the custom that guests should not give presents to musicians – which appears centuries later in Satyajit Ray's famous film, *Jalsa Ghor / The Music Room*. His moving and atmospheric account of following a *sati* was surely never surpassed by the numerous later accounts by western travellers. Having survived a temporary eclipse and threat to his life, he was restored

to favour by the sultan and sent, probably in 743/1342 as his ambassador to the Mongol emperor of China.

In Volume IV Battuta sets out for a southern port to depart for China. He later tells us the Dely / Hili was the farthest town reached by Chinese ships, and he has a detailed description of these vessels and notices the custom of growing vegetables in a tank on board. But long before he had even reached the new capital city of Daulatabad, he was ambushed by robbers near Kovil / Aligarh and, before being rescued, endured a nightmarish week as a destitute fugitive. Wherever he went he made a point of enquiring about local Muslim holy men and, if he could, of visiting them.

There are many vivid sketches of his experiences: of levitating yogis in Delhi; of the brave Abyssinian slave, Badr, who would eat a sheep at a meal washed down with a pound and a half of ghee. Hindus are occasionally in the narrative; as where he compares Malabar matrilineal succession with Berber custom in his own Maghrib; or praises the city of Calicut / Kozhikode for its justice and openness to foreigners. But it is a Muslim world that Ibn Battuta is passing through, and nowhere more so than in the Maldivé Islands where there were no unbelievers. However, his attempts as *qadi* there to enforce Shari'a law met with mixed success. Bystanders fainted as hands were chopped off, and he never succeeded in making local women cover up. His information about the islands is as detailed as his political reporting of the Delhi Sultanate.

Battuta then moved on to Ceylon / Sri Lanka and Ma'abar / the Coromandel coast where he is an important source for the short-lived Sultanate of Madurai. Unlike Ibn Battuta, the brutal Sultan Ghiyath al-Din was troubled by his flagging sexual powers. A prescribed dose of iron filings seems to have killed him, and Ibn Battuta passed north to Bengal. Whether he really went there himself is uncertain, but he cites a judgment by people from Khurasan on Bengal —'a hell full of blessings'— which may strike a chord with modern visitors to Kolkata (IV, p. 867). He mentions that commodities are cheaper there than anywhere else he has known, an observation which recurs down the centuries. The last third of the volume recounts his travels through south-east Asia and China and back again via a second visit to the Maldives before finally reaching his Moroccan home in 1354.

6. *Cathay and the Way Thither being a collection of Medieval Notices of China* translated and edited by Col. Sir Henry Yule. New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries, by Henri Cordier... Volume II, Odoric of Pordenone, 2nd series, 33, 1913.

***Cathay and the Way Thither...* Volume III, Missionary Friars: Rashiduddin; Pegolotti; Marignoli, 2nd series, 37, 1914.**

***Cathay and the Way Thither...* Volume I, Preliminary Essay on the Intercourse between China and the Western Nations previous to the Discovery of the Cape Route, 2nd series, 38, 1915.**

***Cathay and the Way Thither...* Volume IV, Ibn Battuta; Benedict Goes; index, 2nd series, 41, 1916.**

The first edition published in two volumes in 1866 (1st series, 36 & 37) was the largest and most scholarly work to have been sponsored by the Society. Its importance was recognized by an update, expanded into four volumes in 1913–16, by Colonel Yule's younger friend, the

eminent French sinologist Henri Cordier. This new edition incorporated more material and augmented rather than replaced the notes which in spite of a further century's scholarship still contain much of interest. The work deals with the land routes to the Far East particularly but by no means exclusively in the heyday of the *Pax Mongolica*.

India appears tangentially at several points. In the first volume there is a condensed review of Chinese communication with India, drawing principally on Chinese sources, from Chang K'ien in 122 BC through the Buddhist era to an embassy from Bengal to the Ming court. In volume II there are very brief references to the Nicobar islands and to Ceylon / Sri Lanka from the *Travels of Friar Odoric of Pordenone*, 1316–30. Two letters of Friar Jordanus are reproduced in volume III. However, the Hakluyt Society had already published his *Mirabilia*, but the editor adds a few comments beyond what he had provided for that full, though short, work (Hakluyt Society 1st series, 31). Ibn Battuta's *Travels* are excerpted in volume IV. They, too, had appeared in Hakluyt Society vols. III and IV, 2nd series, 141 and 178. In the same volume the editor reprints from missionary letters an account of the remarkable journey to China of the Jesuit Father Benedict de Goes. He was part of a delegation which in 1594 en route visited the emperor Akbar and tried to enlist his religious curiosity in the cause of Christianity.

7. *Book of the Knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships that are in the World, and the Arms and Devices of each Land and Lordship, or of the Kings and Lords who Possess them.* Written by a Spanish Franciscan in the Middle of the fourteenth century. Published for the first time with notes by Marcos Jimenez de la Espada in 1877. Translated and Edited by Sir Clements Markham, 2nd series, 29, 1912.

Sir Clements Markham, for decades the great panjandrum of the Hakluyt Society, took this manuscript of a very short work written in the middle of the fourteenth century from the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. In earlier times it had been known and had had a certain influence. It is profusely illustrated with flags for all the European territories it notices. In the Introduction, Markham discusses this and the relative proportions in its composition of travel experience, literary compilation and sheer imagination. There is only a page or so devoted, apparently, to India, which is represented as a land of ancient wisdom. Markham also thinks that here is the earliest European reference to Tibet.

8. *Mandeville's Travels / Texts and Translations* by Malcolm Letts, F.S.A. Volume II, 2nd series, 101, 1953 (1950). The text of British Library Egerton Ms 1982, with an essay on the cosmographical ideas of Mandeville's day by E. G. R. Taylor.

***Mandeville's Travels...* Volume II, 2nd series, 102, 1953 (1950). The Paris text (French with translation), the Bodleian text, and extracts from other versions.**

These two volumes were the fruit of many years work on Mandeville by Malcolm Letts, a solicitor who became president of the Hakluyt Society and a luminary of both the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Geographical Society. In Mandeville's day the *Travels* was the most popular secular book in circulation, and though it soon faded in Europe, its appeal remained in England. Richard Hakluyt included it in the first edition (1589) of the *Principall Navigations*, but excluded it from the second (1598–1600). Notwithstanding Hakluyt's doubts about its reliability, new editions appeared as late as the eighteenth century.

Letts's work on the identity of the author, presented in the Introduction, was recognized as carrying the debate further but not to a sure conclusion. It seems that it was written in French shortly after 1360 and that the principal English versions date from the fifteenth century. One of these, the Egerton text, first published for the Roxburghe Club in 1889, fills the first volume. It is presented in modernized English with notes which can be used for the versions in the second volume, where there are only brief notes to language points in the Paris text. Here, the reader feels the lack of help with place names, still a difficult challenge and often as baffling to modern readers as they must have been in Mandeville's time. There is, however, a glossary, a map, and an index. Since the Hakluyt volumes were published, Mandeville scholarship has been greatly advanced by the work of M. C. Seymour. He has published edited original texts with substantial commentaries, notes and glossaries. From the Cotton version in 1967 to the Egerton in 2010, he has made available all four of the Middle English manuscripts. Though admired, his work has only partially satisfied scholars in the field and the Hakluyt editions are considered not entirely superseded.

Most of this second volume is taken up with the untranslated Paris text from a Bibliothèque National manuscript, dated 1371, the earliest known version of the *Travels*. Following this, there is the Bodleian version, in a less modernized English than the Egerton text, which is from a fifteenth century manuscript. A great deal is omitted in this short text, but, as Letts assures us, the best stories are here. An appendix has translated extracts from von Demeringen's German version of 1484 and extracts from the vulgate Latin version (1484) and, more briefly, from a Brussels manuscript. Here, in von Demeringen especially, Ogier the Dane, one of Charlemagne Twelve Paladins makes repeated appearances. Apart from the comparative interest of the texts, they throw light, as the editor explains, on the thorny question of Mandeville's identity. In the Egerton and Paris texts, Mandeville provides us with alphabets for the countries his itinerary passes through. This had been the practice of some medieval authors and appears later in More's *Utopia*. Some are real, but whether others are invented or distorted by copyists beyond comprehension is unclear.

The second volume closes with translated passages from *Prester John's Letter*, which Letts thinks Mandeville must have read. The *Letter* comes from an anonymous manuscript of the second half of the twelfth century addressed, with propagandist intent, to the Byzantine emperor, Manuel Comnenus. Though it is concerned with hard-pressed Christians in the Holy Land, it also refers to old traditions of Christians and their martyred apostle, St Thomas, in India. The Indian and eastern part of the *Letter* is full of wonders and no doubt strengthened the idea of the East as a storehouse of marvels. This volume has a glossary for the English texts.

Mandeville's book is clearly an accumulation of travellers' reports, stories and fantasies, some descended from Hellenistic writers. The editor stresses that it is not an itinerary, but a literary compilatory journey: 'when he appears most vivid... he is most derivative.' (p. xix) Letts discusses some of the most important sources: the encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais; Odoric of Pordenone; and Marco Polo, from whom he lists some parallel passages. The fabulous element in the *Travels* obscures much sound sense. For example, he introduces India as a land of variety, a microcosm; he attributes the name of the country to a river flowing through it, and links St Thomas's Christians with Mesopotamia. After Letts' Introduction, the distinguished geographer, E. G. R. Taylor, provides an interesting essay on 'The Cosmographical Ideas of Mandeville's Day'. Mandeville is

presented as a highly educated man in touch with contemporary scientific thinking. But, ‘less than half a century was to elapse before the Great Age of Discovery began, which was to put Mandeville’s *Travels* on the shelf with the Arabian Nights’ Entertainments and the fairy stories.’(p. lix)

The Travels purports to be a guide to the Holy Land. But although the writing is coherent, the journey to Jerusalem wanders down many geographical and literary byways. Later, India appears in the itinerary. A Christian link is provided by St Thomas, whose hand had touched Christ’s side after the resurrection, and later we are told, reached out from his own tomb. Mandeville records many of the things that were to attract later western visitors: the cultivation of pepper; the ‘worship of the ox’; cremation, *satis* and other religious suicides; the self-harming hysteria at the Juggernaut procession. The name of India then had an imprecise geographical connotation, sometimes including Abyssinia as well as the islands of South-east Asia and beyond. As Mandeville’s account moves on to these areas, the stories for which he is now best remembered grow taller.

9. *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427.* Translated by Commander J. Buchan Telfer... With Notes by Professor P. Bruun of the Imperial University of South Russia, Odessa, and a Preface, Introduction and Notes by the Translator and Editor, 1st series, 58, 1879 (1878).

Earlier references to India are often so scanty that it may be worth noting a couple of references by Johann Schiltberger. His famous memoir tells of his capture by the Turks at the disastrous battle of Nicopolis in 1396. He later fell into the hands of the great conqueror Timur. He has a short account of what he calls Timur’s conquest of Lesser India — west and north India — which does not mention the atrocities normally attributed to the victor. Probably he is repeating what his Mongol captors told him. There is another short chapter on pepper in Greater — eastern and southern — India, where he explicitly says that he has not visited the region.

10. *India in the Fifteenth Century. Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the Century preceding the Portuguese Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; from Latin, Persian, Russian, and Italian Sources, now first Translated into English.* Edited, with an Introduction, by R. H. Major, 1st series, 22, 1857 (1858).

Four short itineraries are preceded by a lengthy *Introduction* in which R. H. Major, the indefatigable secretary of the Hakluyt Society and Keeper of Maps at the British Museum, reviews western knowledge of India from antiquity until the end of the fifteenth century. Notwithstanding shortcomings in the translations and attribution of place names, this collection has remained much in demand since its publication in the year of the great Indian rebellion and has been twice reprinted in modern times, in 1974 and 1992. The narratives come from a period between the Middle Ages and the onset of Western imperialism. The Persian Abd al-Razzaq provides a non-European perspective. It is striking that he, too, like the three European Renaissance travellers, feels able to make a distinction in his account between the religious beliefs and the civil customs of the societies he encounters.

The *Narrative of the Voyage of Abd-er-Razzak* (Kamal al-Din Abd Al-Razzaq ibn Ishaq Samarqandi) is translated from a French version of the Persian account of the author’s embassy to south India. Representing Shah Rukh, he left his native city of Herat in 1441/2

and returned in 1444. It is often said that he was the Shah's ambassador to Vijayanagar. In fact, he was sent to Calicut / Kozhikode and it appears that only after he had reached that city that the desirability of going on to Vijayanagar appears in the *Narrative*.

Confident in his Muslim identity, he described temple worship, polyandry and other local customs with disdain, but conceded that the great entrepot of Calicut offered security and justice to all comers. Even stronger was his admiration for the wealth, size and craftsmanship of the inland cities of Belur and Vijayanagar, 'whose inhabitants have no equals in the world'. Here, perhaps, Persian traditions of the 'great king' shaped his *Narrative* in a way that paralleled western approaches, even though his descriptions may have had a veiled reference to his home country. While he was in Calicut there was a failed but bloody coup to overthrow the ruler of Vijayanagar of which he gives a vivid report. Although the *Narrative* may have been written two decades after his return, the writing has a compelling immediacy whether he is describing such incidents or the habit of betel-nut chewing or the role of elephants in peace and war. As mentioned above, his religious scruples are balanced by an acknowledgement of the civil achievements of south India society.

The Travels of Nicolo Conti in the East in the Early Part of the Fifteenth Century, tell how the Venetian merchant spent some time in Damascus before moving on to Cambay / Khambhayat. From there he followed the west coast of India turning inland to cross the empire of Vijayanagar to the Coromandel shore. Next, he passed to Ceylon / Sri Lanka and Sumatra, before turning north to Bengal and sailing up the Ganges. Then, he crossed into Burma, to Ava and Pegu, before travelling south to Java and back to the west coast of India. He finally returned home via Ethiopia after twenty-five years absence in 1441. The *Travels* have been translated by John Winter Jones of the Hakluyt Society and the British Museum.

Conti had travelled as a Muslim merchant and subsequently sought absolution for his apostasy from Pope Eugenius IV. Conti told his story to the humanist scholar and Papal Secretary Poggio Bracciolini whose account in Latin was first published in 1485–6 and appeared in English in 1579. This version by John Winter Jones of the Hakluyt Society and Panizzi's successor as Principal Librarian at the British Museum is translated from the French edition published in Paris in 1723 (which has been subsequently improved by L. D. Hammond's *Travellers in Disguise*, 1963).

Conti's geographical precision in the first half of his *Travels* had an important influence on mapmaking. His account of Burma, the eastern coastline of the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Islands broke new ground for western readers. The second half has many interesting observations, of bananas growing on the banks of the Ganges, of Nestorian Christians — he visited the tomb of St Thomas at Mailapur — and of local customs. He is able to describe practices which are reprehensible in his eyes, *sati*, polyandry, self-decapitation, yet remain respectful of south Indian society. He mentions ships built much larger than was the case in Europe and regards Vijayanagar as 'equal to our own country in the style of life and in civilization'.

In the *Travels of Athanasius Nikitin*, the author, a merchant of Tver, recalls how in the years 1466–72, having suffered losses in the Caspian region, he pushed on, hoping for recompense, to Hormuz and beyond to India. In this he was not successful. He is the first Russian known to have travelled to India, having arrived thirty years before Vasco da Gama. Nikitin stayed at Bedar, capital of the Bahmani state when it was at war with the Vijayanagar empire. He

lived, dressed and spoke as a Muslim. Whether he converted to Islam has been a matter of debate, but he conveys a strong sense of cultural assimilation. Hindu culture astonished and shocked him.

This translation, the first into English, was based on a copy of Nikitin's journal which had been discovered in the early nineteenth century in a Russian monastery, notwithstanding its uniquely secular character for its time. Parts of the text were corrupt and a few passages are left in garbled Turkish, particularly where the translator felt obliged to bowdlerize references to some Hindu customs. Nikitin's reputation was revived in Russia in the 1930s and an imposing statue of the traveller was raised in Tver. His representation as a cultural ambassador also struck a chord in India and in 2002 Russian and Indian politicians gathered for the unveiling of a monument to Nikitin in Maharashtra.

The fourth and very short account is *The Journey of Hieronimo di Santo Stefano*, a Genoese merchant, as told to Giovan Jacobo Mainer. He recounts his travels in the year 1494–9 along the coast of south India from Cambay down to Calicut and Ceylon and up the Coromandal coast. He crossed to Pegu in Burma where his intention to proceed to Ava was blocked by civil war. He went south by sea to Sumatra and from there homewards, surviving shipwreck in the Maldive Islands.

11. *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his viceroyalty. From the Lendas da India of Gaspar Correa. Accompanied by original Documents. Translated from the Portuguese, with Notes and an Introduction, by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, 1st series, 42, 1869.*

A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497–99. Translated and Edited, with Notes, an Introduction and Appendices, by E. G. Ravenstein, 1st series, 99, 1898.

The first voyage to India (1497–9) of Vasco da Gama poses some challenges to the historian and to the reader. There is a relative paucity of contemporary evidence, a lack of depth in our understanding of Gama's personality and uncertainty about royal intentions in the decade or so before the departure. Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da India*, here translated, offers some insight into these questions, but as it does so, it raises fresh questions of its reliability. Modern historians have cited many discrepancies of dates and details compared with Castanheda and the other sixteenth century works, especially in the early part of the *Lendas*. The editor, the Hon. E. J. Stanley, gives reasons for his preferred choice of manuscript, and for his general confidence in Correia. Though the *Lendas* were known in Portugal from the late sixteenth century, they did not appear in print until the middle of the nineteenth. Correia went to India probably in 1512, initially as the scribe of Afonso de Albuquerque, and died there more than half a century later. He cites as his sources a few men who were on the 1497 voyage, the work of Duarte Barbosa, and, strikingly, the memoirs of unnamed local Muslims and Hindus. His absence from Lisbon removed him from potential official sources but also from the pressure to write official history. Stanley's defence of the reliability of the earlier part of his history, has received some modern support.

The reasons for the selection of Gama as admiral perhaps remain a matter of speculation. In Correia's account, Gama walks into the king's field of vision as the command was being discussed. There is also the theory of the great cartography expert, Armando Castelão that Gama had been employed on secret voyages of exploration in the unaccounted

ten years of his life before his departure for India. More to the point, perhaps, was the influence of the Jewish astrologer, Abraham Zacut, on the messianic dreams of King Manuel. This memory may not have been acceptable to the Portugal of the Counter-Reformation and the Inquisition, introduced by his successor, João III, thus explaining the failure to publish the *Lendas* in book form.

In recent decades, the once accepted historic importance of the first voyage has been called into question. 1497 is no longer the universally accepted watershed in trade and in the history of the Indian Ocean. Gama's personal reputation is now often represented rather as part of the Portuguese national story, the response to Spain's pride in the voyages of Columbus, and sung in the immortal verses of a great poet, Luis de Camões. Attention, too, has focused on the atrocious cruelty of Gama's men. Stanley, an eccentric linguist who was also a Muslim, completes his *Introduction*, which recounts the moral lessons of the *Lendas* and its story of imperial decay, with a burst of mid-victorian anti-imperialism on the subject of British India.

Gama's first voyage can be compared in these two translations of contemporary accounts. In both, the reader is taken through the narrative of events from the epic navigational achievement in the Atlantic to the arrival on the East African coast. The time spent there is different in the *Journal* from Correia's history, one of many discrepancies which Stanley records in his notes. There is broad agreement on the general picture: the arrival in Calicut / Kozhikode; the inadequacy of Gama's presents for the *Zamorin* (ruler); the dangerous hostility of the Muslim traders who foresee the loss of their dominance in Calicut's foreign trade; the importance of brokers in the negotiations. The *Journal* does not mention the stop on the return journey at Cannanore / Kannur, where the Portuguese found a future ally. But it gives more prominence to Gama's belief that he had found on the Malabar coast a decayed survival of Christianity. His first act on landing had been to enter a Hindu temple to pray before what he took to be an image of the Virgin Mary.

The *Journal (Roteiro)* purports to be by an unnamed member of the group of thirteen which Gama first took ashore with him. This anonymous manuscript, first published in Portuguese in 1838, is here admirably translated into English for the first time by the eminent geographer E. G. Ravenstein. He discusses in an Introduction the history and status of the manuscript, provides helpful notes and maps, and several appendices of translated documents of contemporary relevance.

Correia's history of Gama's second voyage of 1502–03 has been extremely influential because of his descriptions of Portuguese atrocities. His ships' guns reduced Calicut, we are told, to all but rubble. Eight hundred Muslims were butchered in the vilest ways. Before this, the *Miri*, a richly laden merchant ship returning from Mecca, had been captured. Gama rejected its surrender and the offer of massive payment in return for the lives of the passengers. He ordered the atrocious slaughter of more than two hundred and forty men and, in addition, the women and children who were with them. The memory of these events has been revived by modern Indian nationalist writers and appears in standard histories, for example, Stanley Wolpert's *New History of India*. The historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam has drawn attention to the short story, *Rakta Sandhya/Bloody Twilight* by the famous Bengali writer of the inter-war years Saradindu Bandhyopadhyay, where an apparently senseless murder in contemporary Calcutta is interpreted as in some sense a revenge for the *Miri*.

The reputation of Gama for extreme violence was the subject of an important article by Anthony Disney (*Indica*, 32, 2, 1995). He points out that there are at least ten other published contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of the Gama's second voyage. Although they don't exonerate him, their descriptions of Portuguese violence are on a much more limited scale than that of Correia, who was not in India at the time. The violence seems to have been selective, targeting *pardesi* (Middle Eastern) Muslims. This may have been related to King Manuel's intentions for the voyage. An immediate objective was probably revenge for the death of Aires Correia, the factor established by Cabral at Calicut. He and between forty and fifty Portuguese died when *pardesi* Muslims had sacked their factory. Disney argues more generally that the selective violence against Muslims of Middle Eastern origin was part of the messianic dream of King Manuel who seems to have believed he had been chosen by God to free Jerusalem from Muslim control and become the new emperor of the Holy Land. Gama, himself, apparently had a more limited and commercial view of Portugal's destiny, but he carried out his orders.

Correia's account of Gama's third voyage is both vivid and likely to be more reliable, since he was present himself at the time. Gama had the reputation as the strong man at the court of João III. With the title of viceroy, he arrived at Cochin / Kochi with a large fleet and extensive powers which he immediately used. His severity was now directed at the Portuguese. By contrast with the pomp and grandeur of his court, austerity, discipline and retrenchment were the order of the day. He inspired fear and respect, but factional rivalries were soon apparent. Many problems were unresolved; with the different local populations; and with Calicut. The Portuguese did not have sufficient cash to buy spices and so had to try to force cheap sales. After three months, however, Gama died on Christmas Eve 1624. Correia's account of his death is a calm one as he tried quietly to settle personal accounts. Other observers stressed his anguished concern for his family and clients and for the state of Portuguese India.

12. *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives.* Translated with Introduction and Notes by William Brooks Greenlee, 2nd series, 81, 1938.

Cabral's voyage has seemed more momentous in retrospect than it did at the time. The Introduction discusses the various modern explanations for his discovery of Brazil in 1500. Until relatively recently scholars had followed Alexander von Humboldt's belief that it was the accidental consequence of following ocean currents. In addition, after leaving the Atlantic, one of Cabral's captains made the first recorded European landfall on Madagascar. These discoveries, important in themselves, had great future significance for the navigation of the sea route to India in the age of sail.

The editor, William Brooks Greenlee, was a private American scholar who, through travel in the old Portuguese empire and a huge book collection, later deposited in Chicago's Newberry Library, acquired an immense knowledge of Portugal overseas. Since Cabral did not leave an account of his voyage, it has been necessary to assemble and translate a number of relevant documents, some published for the first time, and some from Greenlee's own collection. These have been very thoroughly edited, with excellent notes, plates, maps, charts, and an index.

It seems that Cabral was expected to establish close relations with the kingdoms of Calicut / Kozhikode and Cannanore / Kannur, which King Manuel believed were Christian. On board was the factor Aires Correia who was to head the new Portuguese base at Calicut. There was also the intention to disrupt Muslim trade in the Arabian Sea. Cabral's method of negotiating through hostages was not well received, and the new *Zamorin* (ruler) was less welcoming than his predecessor and perhaps more responsive to local Muslim hostility to the newcomers. That soon manifested itself in an attack on the factory in which Aires Correia and fifty-four Portuguese were killed. Cabral then moved off to a more friendly reception at Cochin / Kochi and Cannanore before returning home. As a result of various mishaps at sea, only five of the thirteen ships that had set out reached Lisbon. All this set the agenda for Vasco da Gama's second voyage.

Only a couple of letters from those who were on Cabral's voyage have survived, and both concern Brazil. The editor, however, has assembled a number of contemporary documents which throw interesting light on the Indian section. One detail concerns the description of betel chewing (cf. Hakluyt Society, 1st series, 32, *The Travels of Ludovico de Varthema*)

Three documents, in particular, might be picked out. There is the extraordinary letter which King Manuel sent with Cabral to the *Zamorin* of Calicut. Its messianic tone reflects the king's millenarian preoccupation; it was drafted by the leading Manueline ideologue, Duarte Galvão. What the *Zamorin* made of it we do not know. But on his return Cabral was able to correct the assumption that Calicut was a Christian state. Then, there is Cabral's 'Instructions', believed to have been drafted by or on the advice of Vasco da Gama. The recommendation to steer south-west after passing Cape Verde is highly relevant to the debate about the discovery of Brazil. In making hostage taking a preliminary to negotiation at Calicut, Cabral followed his 'Instructions' with contentious consequences. Finally, there are extracts from the diary of the Venetian Girolamo Priuli. His record of the response in the city to the Portuguese achievement of establishing a direct trade with the spice growers ranges from stupefaction to hopes that the Ottoman Sultan, facing the loss of tax revenue himself, will somehow keep the Middle Eastern route open, to despair: 'some very wise people are inclined to believe that this thing may be the beginning of the ruin of the Venetian state...' (p. 136).

13. *The Travels of Ludovico de(i) Varthema in Epypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508. Translated from the Original Italian Edition of 1510, with a Preface, by John Winter Jones, and edited, with notes and an introduction, by George Percy Badger, 1st series, 32, 1863 (1864).*

This translation of the original Italian edition of *The Travels*, published in Rome in 1510, was made by John Winter Jones of the Hakluyt Society and soon to be Principal Librarian at the British Museum, whose preface provides a guide to the early editions in Italian, Latin, German, Spanish, French and Dutch. The only previous English version had been taken from the Latin edition of 1511 and published in 1577. The rarity of the first Italian edition seem to have led to recycled error in some later translations. *The Travels* were astonishingly successful, notably in the German lands, and ran to thirty-six European editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It met, and helped to create, a demand for information about the eastern lands just being revealed by Portuguese discovery at a time when Portuguese were forbidden to publish. The editor of this Hakluyt Society version was George

Percy Badger, who had been a government chaplain in the Presidency of Bombay and had written on Nestorian Christianity. Since he had been part of the establishment of British India, it is interesting to see elements of an anti-colonial reading in his Introduction. Varthema's description of south Indian society made him question by contrasts the benefits of British rule.

Some of Badger's editing may seem otiose. Parts also dated rapidly. Hence the appearance of a reprint beautifully published by Argonaut in 1928, for which another retired Indian scholar-official, Sir R. C. Temple, provided an introduction — *A Discourse on Varthema and his Travels*. Though both the editor, N. M. Penzer, and Temple were Hakluyt Society stalwarts, this did not come out under the aegis of the Society. It is not easy to find, but is worth the effort for Temple's seventy-eight pages of concise scholarship which update and enlarge Badger's apparatus and offer convincing solutions for many place names; though Temple's identification of the great city of Banghella with Satgaon on the old bed of the Hugli river is still contested. In particular, Temple persuasively vindicates Varthema's general reputation for credibility which for several centuries had been put in doubt by Garcia da Orta, a Portuguese in Spanish employ.

Next to nothing is known of Ludovico di Varthema beyond what can be gleaned from *The Travels*. A gentleman of Bologna, he left Venice for Cairo in 1502. Moving on to Damascus, he enrolled as a soldier in the Mamluk garrison, presumably converting to Islam, a subject about which he is understandably reticent. He provided the first detailed account by a European of the *Hajj* and of Medina and Mecca. By 1504, he had arrived in Cambay / Khambhayat in India and, after travelling down the west coast and passing into the Bay of Bengal, reached Java and Sumatra, returning to Rome in 1508. It is worth recalling that for most of his Indian sojourn, he was travelling in Muslim company and this, in addition to his residual (and later recovered) Christianity, no doubt filtered his perception of Hindu society.

Varthema proclaimed his motive to be a spirit of adventure, hoping to achieve the renown of the great travellers and geographers of the past. Not being studious, he wanted to achieve direct experience of the world, and his writing conveys this sense of immediacy, that he is telling us just as it happened. But we have no knowledge of his method of composition and there appear to be limits to his reliability. His verbatim recording of snatches of conversation in transliterated Arabic are approximately comprehensible, but those in Malayalam are not. We know that in his own day and in the immediately succeeding generations he had a huge readership, including probably Rabelais. He was not a systematic thinker, but he opened horizons and for future authors set a standard of direct observation only occasionally distorted by speculation or credulity.

In the *First Book concerning India* in *The Travels*, Varthema tells us about a gathering of yogis he met in Cambay, and provides interesting information about the Jains. Engaged with all the local details of diet and of social life as he moves down the coast, he expressed the belief that the inhabitants of Onor (Honawar) tended to live longer than Europeans. After an inland diversion to the great city of Bijapur, he returned to the coast with a reference, which may not be first hand, to a Goa before the Portuguese. When he did encounter the Portuguese in Cannanore / Kannur, he stuck to his Muslim merchant friends and had little to do with them. This was a major port of entry for the Persian horse trade, and Varthema followed this route inland for a brief visit to mighty Vijayanagar, with a

disquisition on elephants which aims to tell his readers everything and more that they might have wished to know about these animals.

In the Second Book the emphasis is on the *entrepot* of Calicut / Kozhikode: the *Zamorin* (ruler); his palace; the conduct of war; medicine; religion; and the administration of justice which so impressed this volume's editor. Varthema writes about six classes of Hindu society, explaining the importance of pollution in this ranked hierarchy. Here the state succession rules are related to the polyandrous customs of the dominant Nayar community. However much Varthema may have disapproved of these customs — and of similar practices later encountered across the Bay of Bengal in Tenasserim — he was writing in a less inhibited age as, in the words of the Victorian editor, 'he reveals a state of social depravity as revolting as it is lamentably true' (p. lxvii). The flora and fauna receive the same exuberant attention with especial reference to the economically valuable plants — rice, and the all-important pepper. The editor notes a first reference in a European language to the betel nut; the mention in *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral* (Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 81) had not been published at the time. He explains that in wholesale trade brokers are always used. There is an interesting description of a system of silent bargaining which circumvented the language barrier.

Once into the Bay of Bengal in *Book Three*, Varthema's geographical reliability falters, though Sri Lanka, Pulicat / Pazhaverkadu and Burmese Pegu and Tenasserim are recognizable. The location of the great city of Banghella has been identified with Satgaon, now beneath the waves in the Ganges delta. From there he sailed to Malacca, Java, Sumatra and, apparently, Borneo. The captain of a ship told him that further south the day did not last for more than four hours. It now seems unlikely that Varthema was the European discoverer of the Moluccas. If readers are not always sure where they are physically, he keeps up his usual level of detailed reportage, which has been drawn upon by modern historians of Indian Ocean trade and its social dimensions, for example the trade in Javanese slaves and eunuchs.

Late in *Book Three* Varthema returns to the Malabar coast and claims to have been an eyewitness in Calicut to the massacre that led to the rupture with the Portuguese. Now a Christian again, he fought on their side and was knighted by the viceroy Francisco de Almeida. He gives a detailed account of the battle off Cannanore with the ships of Calicut and the relief of the beleaguered Portuguese by the dramatic arrival of Tristão da Cunha's fleet. Throughout *The Travels*, he notices the presence or absence of firearms, but in this section his reference to renegade Portuguese gunners has contributed to a debate as to whether wrought-iron cannon were of indigenous or imported provenance.

14. *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires. An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515 and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues / Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea...* Translated... and Edited by Armando Cortesão. Volume I, 2nd series, 89, 1944.

***The Suma Oriental...* Volume II, 2nd series, 90, 1944.**

These two volumes, written at Cochin / Kochi in 1512–15, are of outstanding importance for two reasons: Pires was the first European to provide reliable information about Asia east of Bengal — he was chosen in 1516 to be the first European ambassador to China; and, Rodrigues's rutters and panoramas, represented here, were enormously influential for map making and navigation in the early sixteenth century. They both remained in manuscript until

their modern discovery in 1937 in the library of the Paris *Chambre des Deputes* by the editor. Armando Cortesão was a world-famous expert on the history of cartography who left his distinguished public career in Portugal during the time of the dictator Salazar for scholarly exile in Paris and London. He is especially known for his belief that Vasco da Gama had been employed on secret voyages of exploration in the unaccounted ten years before his departure for India. Though war-time restrictions limited Cortesão's editorial contribution, the volumes are extremely well produced with valuable illustrations, maps, and index in the second volume, which also has the original Portuguese text.

Although the focus is on the Arabian Sea and Malacca eastwards, India appears in the Second of Five Books in volume I, and briefly in Books One and Three. The Indian itinerary begins with maritime Gujarat, the city of Cambay / Khabhayat in particular. As it moves southward to Goa, there is much on the external trade of the country. Muslims are the opponents. Hindus receive mixed treatment, but Pires believes that some at least are the remnants of an earlier Christianity. Like other visitors, he mentions the custom of *sati*. His threefold division of the west coast had been in geographical use since antiquity. He lists the ports and the types of produces with dry efficiency; there is none of the flamboyant exaggeration of Ludovico de Varthema (1st series, 32) The same applies to his brief, but mostly reliable, account of Malabar — especially Nayar — society: a caste system with distance pollution, matrilineal succession, vegetarianism. His estimate of fifteen thousand indigenous Christians seems very low. Another estimate that between a quarter and fifth of the population suffer from elephantiasis seems high. As with his contemporaries, Barbosa and Varthema, he writes about religious practice rather than belief or theology.

Though the itinerary is mostly coastal, there is an awareness of the great empire of Narsinga / Vijayanagar, where he correctly identifies the dominant language as Kanarese / Kannada. Much economic information is provided about Ceylon / Sri Lanka. He doesn't mention Buddhism by name: 'The island of Ceylon has many religious men, such as friars, monks, beguines, under a vow of chastity.... They are ill-disposed towards Moors and worse towards us.' (I, p. 87)

The itinerary then jumps over the entire east coast of the peninsula. But before moving on to Pegu in Burma and beyond, it pauses in Bengal. There is the usual economic information about external trade with Malacca, especially. The province's appetite for gold is noted and the relative cheapness of goods. He remarks on the Abyssinian eunuchs who serve the Nawab's government: 'They are more in the habit of having eunuchs in Bengal than in any other part of the world.... Most of the Bengalees are sleek, handsome men, more sharp-witted than the men of any other known race.' (I, p. 88) The editor makes a learned contribution to the location of the city of the same name as the province (cf. 1st series, 32. Ludovico de Varthema).

15. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth century, by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese.* Translated from an Early Spanish Manuscript in the Barcelona Library, with Notes and a Preface, by Henry E. J. Stanley, 1st series, 35, 1866. (1865).

***The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An Account of the Countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants, Written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the Year 1518 A.D.* Translated from the Portuguese Text First Published in 1812 A.D. by the Royal**

Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, in Volume II of its Collection of Documents regarding the History and Geography of the Nations beyond the Seas, and edited and annotated by Mansel Longworth Dames, Volume I. Including the Coasts of East Africa, Arabia, Persia and Western India as far as the Kingdom of Vijayanagar, 2nd series, 44, 1918.

The Book of Duarte Barbosa... Volume II. Including the Coasts of Malabar, Eastern India, Further India, China, and the Indian Archipelago, 2nd series, 49, 1921.

Duarte Barbosa left Portugal for India with Cabral's fleet in 1500. Apart from a home visit sometime between 1506–11, he remained in India for the rest of his life working, at least until 1518, as a government official. Some confusion has arisen because of the presence in the Indian Ocean of two contemporaries of the same name: Magellan's brother-in-law who died at Cebu in 1521 (cf. Appendix to *Introduction* to Volume I, 1918); and a pilot in Portuguese India. It appears that his book was finished by 1517–18, but it was not published until 1550 when an Italian version appeared in Ramusio's *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*. It has been widely assumed that the reason for the delay was the Portuguese policy of 'control of information', but J.-P. Rubiès has argued that the lack of a publishing infrastructure was equally significant. However, the manuscript had an active informal life, being translated into Spanish in 1524 and exercising an important influence on European map making. For those who had access to it, it provided for many decades the best guide to what was to be the future arena of western imperialism in the Indian Ocean from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf to the Strait of Malacca.

The first Hakluyt Society version, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century* was published in 1866. It was edited by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, later Lord Stanley of Alderley, an eccentric orientalist who was a friend of Richard Burton and uncle to the philosopher Bertrand Russell. He translated an anonymous Spanish manuscript, attributed to Barbosa on the authority of Ramusio, and compared it with two other Spanish manuscript copies in Munich. It contains a number of obscurities and corruptions which are indicated in the translation. The title, which Stanley took from the catalogue of the Barcelona Library, was not ideal. East Africa accounts for less than twenty per cent of the text in this version and there is much concerning India and the East Indies beyond the Malabar coast. In the footnotes there are parallel passages from the *Lusiads* of Camões and extracts from Plato's *Republic* for comparison with the structure of society in Calicut / Kozhikode. Apart from some references to Ortelius, help with the identification of the Spanish version of place names and other Indian words is meagre. Perhaps this was just as well. Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* describes Stanley's note on 'ganda' as 'a marvel in the way of error'. Stanley's linguistic brilliance was wide rather than deep and his edition preceded the great age of Indian gazeteers and other reference works mostly commissioned by the Government of India, not to mention the Portuguese works of Sebastião Delgado.

Their legacy is evident in the vast and fascinating erudition of the notes for the 1918–22 Hakluyt Society volumes, which a retired Indian civil servant, Mansel Longworth Dames, with some input from the historian W. H. Moreland, edited and chose to entitle *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. Dames was widely learned and a stalwart in retirement at the Royal Asiatic Society. He was the author of a standard textbook on the Baluchi language; and he wrote a paper on the Portuguese and German colonies in Africa for the 1919 Versailles Conference. His Barbosa text was taken from the Portuguese version, published in 1812, which Stanley had rejected on the grounds that Barbosa's authorship of the complete manuscript was

uncertain. Dames incorporated and noted passages that only occur in the Ramusio version as well as material from the Spanish manuscripts lacking in the 1812 edition, including distances between stages in Barbosa's itinerary and, in addition, noting many small differences and errors. These distances are generally incorrect, but they did matter to the Spanish government which was anxious to establish that the Moluccas and the Philippines were on their side of the Tordesillas Line. For all practical purposes, Dames's two volumes superseded Stanley's work and, though there have been scholarly modern Portuguese editions, his English version still stands.

Barbosa's Indian itinerary begins at the prosperous city of Cambay / Khambhayat in Gujarat where he introduces the idea of a caste society living under Muslim rule. He explains how the non-violent beliefs of the traders, among whom Jainism was strong, were exploited by unsympathetic Muslims. He did not assume, as some of his immediate Portuguese predecessors had done, that the local Hindus practised some form of decayed Christianity. But he drew a strong comparison between the Christians' Trinity and the *brahmans*' 'Triune Three' as well as recording their belief in a supreme creator (from *advaita* Hinduism?), noting, too, their readiness to enter churches and reverence images of the Virgin Mary. In this section there appears the legend, which went into wide circulation, of the poison-eating King of Cambay.

The itinerary takes the reader down the west coast of India devoting a paragraph to each town and port, the notes helpfully identifying the place names. The impression is of an affluent world, caught in the description of the front rooms of Muslim merchants in Reynel / Rander — then surpassing its neighbour Curate / Surat — lined with shelves for pieces of rich porcelain in the latest styles. The emphasis is on goods produced and traded but there are snippets of political information, for example, the Portuguese control of Diu after the battle of 1507 or the sack and burning of Dabul / Dabhol in 1509 by Francisco d'Almeida. A short chapter deals with the future Portuguese capital in India, Goa, captured by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1510, but then relatively insignificant.

Further down in Kanara he describes the province of Tolinat (from speakers of the Tulu language), then part of the great empire of Narsynga (Vijayanagar). This is close to where Barbosa lived for some years, and the geographical description is very accurate. 'Forty leagues' inland lay the great capital city of Bisnagua (also, Vijayanagar). The ruler was often at war with the Muslim sultanates of the Deccan and Barbosa notes the types of military equipment with different sorts of archers, some with Turkish weapons, others with long bows in the English fashion. Accompanying the vast army with its core of hundreds of fighting elephants were wives and unmarried women to encourage the troops. The social information is extensive and the examples often vivid: the customs of the *Brahmans*; a live Lingayat burial; the local mode of wearing the *sari*; perhaps the first western reference to a folding umbrella; a maidenhead ceremony; an early account of hook swinging and, unusually, of an impaled bride throwing limes at her husband. Barbosa observes that Vijayanagar is a city where justice is upheld and all may settle and work without question of religion or ethnicity. Though many of the prevailing customs were utterly at variance with those of his upbringing, he generally presents them without comment. The moralizings in the text are later insertions by Ramusio. The first volume ends, a little incongruously, with some information about the Delhi sultanate, learnt from yogi emigrants whose customs he describes.

In the second volume the focus is on Malabar where Barbosa lived for some years and whose language, Malayalam, he apparently spoke fluently. When the Portuguese arrived, Calicut / Kozhikode was at the height of its prosperity. A neighbouring city, Cannanore / Kannur, hoped that the Portuguese would help it escape from Calicut's dominance. The same was true of Cochin / Kochi, then rising in importance as the main outlet from the Backwater shifted away from the prosperous port of Cranganore / Kodungallur. Both Cannanore and Cochin could provide access to the all-important pepper trade.

Barbosa gives a very full and reliable survey of this world, which he represents as prosperous and just, at least within the limits of trial by ordeal. The account of the annual *puram* festival is especially vivid. He begins with the *Zamorins* (rulers) of Calicut, their way of life, funeral arrangements and rule of succession through sisters' sons. Malabar is presented as a caste society with a harsh system of distance pollution. The 'eighteen castes' are sketched in their rank order as it appeared to this European outsider. The emphasis is on the dominant Nayars with their polyandrous customs and *kalari* tradition of physical training. The arrival of the Portuguese, Barbosa thought, had checked the Mappillas (local Muslims) who had been on their way to the control of all the coastal kingdoms. At Coilam / Quilon we read of the mythical foundation of a Christian community by Saint Thomas, and further into the Bay of Bengal, the peacock legend of the death of the saint who lies in the mouldering church of Mailapur. This section also deals with the hundreds of islands known as the Laccadives and Maldives, inhabited by Mappillas and dependent on the astonishingly versatile uses of the coconut. Traders from China passed through the archipelago, which was the principal source of cowries, sent to Cambay and Bengal for use as currency.

Before turning north into the Bay of Bengal the itinerary lingers in Ceilam / Sri Lanka where a Portuguese fort was established in 1518. There is the usual copious economic information — here, gems, pearls, elephants — and a strenuous account of the ascent of Adam's Peak and its importance for Muslim pilgrims. Not far up the Indian coast at Quilicare (Kilakarai) there was the strange tradition, according to our author, of a twelve-yearly festival where the king/priest was succeeded by his killer, as in Frazer's *Golden Bough*:

The priest who slew the slayer,
And shall himself be slain.

Though Barbosa's information from the Bay of Bengal may have been mostly second hand, the economic data from Bengal about sugar, cloth and the up-country eunuch trade is full and useful. The identification of the port city of Bengala provokes a note of great length and learning from the editor (cf. 2nd series, 89: *Summa Oriental*). Interestingly, there is a favourable reference to the musical traditions of Bengal, which most western observers were to ignore or disparage. In this, they differed sharply from their Muslim predecessors. These conquerors had been greatly impressed. Two centuries earlier, the poet, scholar and musician Amir Khusrau had thought that Indian music was superior to that of all other countries.

Moving round the Bay of Bengal, Barbosa's account of Arakan, Pegu, Ava and Siam, though no doubt secondhand, is important because these kingdoms were almost totally unknown in western Europe. By contrast, we may guess that he had been to the *entrepot* of Malacca, which had been captured by Albuquerque in 1511. Among the details of the economy and the society is an early description of running *amok*. Of Java he had no personal knowledge, but it is likely that he had visited the north and east coasts of Sumatra. His survey

of the islands further east was probably based on reports from Abreu's expedition of 1511. There follows information about China told to the author by Muslim and Hindu merchants. The usual economic survey highlights trade in silk, porcelain and rhubarb. He tells us that they do not eat with their hands but with sticks, sitting like Europeans at tables, and that they relish dog meat. The work closes with a detailed summary — of type, value and trading destinations — of the spices of Calicut and of precious stones mentioned in the preceding pages.

16. *The Commentaries of the great Afonso Dalboquerque, second Viceroy of India.*

Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, with Notes and an Introduction, by Walter de Gray Birch, Volume I, 1st series, 53, 1875.

***The Commentaries of the great Afonso Dalboquerque...* Volume II, 1st series, 55, 1877 (1875).**

***The Commentaries of the great Afonso Dalboquerque...* Volume IV, 1st series, 69, 1884 (1883).**

***The Commentaries of the great Afonso Dalboquerque...* Volume III, 1st series, 62, 1880.**

The first chapter of the first volume of this great work of European historiography introduces the themes that characterized Portuguese imperialism during its first dynamic phase in the Indian Ocean: hostility to Muslims; small forces; opportunities offered by local divisions; rapid and ruthless execution. The publication of *The Commentaries* had been designed to enhance Portuguese social memory as well as the reputation, somewhat tarnished in the early days, of a national hero. It was in the reign of King Sebastião, himself intent on reviving national glory and the messianic crusading spirit, that Afonso's son, also Afonso, first published them in 1557 and again, slightly modified, in 1576. The present monumental translation by Walter de Gray Birch, a librarian at the British Museum, is taken from the Portuguese edition of 1774 which follows the 1576 version. This was dedicated to the chief minister, the Marquis of Pombal, who had grandiose ambitions to restore the nation, the Empire and the reputation of Portugal throughout Enlightenment Europe. Birch also expresses the hope that *The Commentaries* will assist his Victorian readers in a better understanding of 'the true position of the English rule in India'. (p. xxi) Indeed, the Hakluyt Society translations of the early accounts of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, mostly edited, though not in this case, by retired men from the Indian Civil Service, were made at a time when there was concern about the trajectory of British rule after 1857 or, in the Curzon era, a sense that it was running out of steam.

The first volume reprints the original dedications to King Sebastião and to the Marquis of Pombal and some biographical details of the subject and of the author from the 1774 edition, with a contemporary plan of Ormuz and map of Arabia. There is a splendid portrait of the long-bearded Albuquerque. The translator's Introduction curiously focuses on two British Museum manuscripts that have a general bearing on the period; and untranslated extracts are included as appendixes to Volume IV. Notes, as in the other volumes, are meagre, some left untranslated from Portuguese or Latin. There is a chronology, also as in the other three volumes. The index to *The Commentaries* is in volume IV.

In 1503 King Manuel sent out six ships commanded by Afonso de Albuquerque and his cousin, Francisco, to build the first Portuguese fort in India on Cochin / Kochi island. On a previous voyage, Pedro Alvares Cabral had already set up a friendly relationship with the

rulers of both Cochin and Cannanore / Kannur who looked to Portugal to help them resist the military threat from the dominant trading port of Calicut / Kozhikode whose ruler (the *Zamorin*) had been ‘corrupted by the bribes of the Moorish merchants from Cairo living in Calicut’. (p. 2) Albuquerque returned to Portugal the next year, but King Manuel sent him out again in 1506 with Tristão da Cunha’s fleet. He was charged with implementing a change of policy which he strongly supported but which came from the king, though *The Commentaries* generally give the impression that policy was Albuquerque’s. In order to secure a Portuguese monopoly of the spice trade, the Muslim trading system in the Arabian Sea would have to be destroyed. Albuquerque set about this with characteristic energy and cruelty, but his captains did not welcome a long hard fight to get control of Ormuz and the commerce of the Persian Gulf. A number deserted him and sailed on to be welcomed by the Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida. When Albuquerque eventually arrived in Cannanore to inform Almeida that he had been appointed to succeed him — as captain of Portuguese forces, not as viceroy, the title of the first volume notwithstanding — he received a hostile reception. A sense of bitterness and failure imparts a tragic end to the first volume.

This draws the reader’s attention to the artfulness of *The Commentaries* which the authoritative fullness of this great narrative and the fluency of the translation can easily conceal, and which has ensured that in historical writing about the Portuguese empire Albuquerque’s version has until recently dominated the field. The author, Albuquerque’s son, tells us that he composed the work from the huge correspondence of his father. It wasn’t until 1884 when Bulhão Pato’s edition of the letters began to appear that it was possible to compare *The Commentaries* with their principal source and to appreciate the transformation effected by the son’s work; and the difference between the difficult and idiosyncratic letters of the father and the narrative of a writer influenced by new humanist currents. The younger Afonso must also have been affected by the implied rivalry of other accounts of the early years of Portugal in the Indian Ocean that were beginning to appear, by Barros and Castanheda, and Correia’s *Lendas da India* which was circulating in manuscript. In the choice of *The Commentaries* for a title, he echoed consciously the model of Julius Caesar and, despite the declared basis of the work in his father’s letters, refers to him at all times in the third person, as ‘the great Afonso Dalbuquerque’. *The Commentaries* are a sustained presentation of character in action. The hero is always dignified and in the many conflicts with colleagues and captains, the fault always lies on the other side.

The second volume opens at a low point for the hero. The viceroy, Almeida, doubted the feasibility of the new policy of building a chain of forts to seize control of the spice trade and inclined to the captains’ view of Albuquerque’s personal unsuitability for supreme rule. He had him arrested and, to strengthen the charge sheet that was being drawn up, put a member of his household on the rack. The dramatic arrival of Fernão de Coutinho, Marshall of Portugal, with fifteen ships changed all this. Almeida sailed home, to his murder at Saldanha Bay, and Albuquerque became the captain of the Portuguese forces. Following an order brought from Lisbon, they all set off for an attack on Calicut. Tensions were already developing between the captain and the marshal, who also warned that he would behead any *fidalgo* who dared precede him on the shore. In the event, a strong current swept the marshal’s boat out of sight. When he reappeared walking along the beach in heavy armour under the blazing sun, he was so exhausted that he needed the support of two men. Still, pressing on to the attack, he chuckled as he saw the approach of the Nayar warriors: ‘Is this your Calicut you terrify us all with in Portugal?’ (I, p. 67) In no time, he had been killed, Albuquerque wounded and the Portuguese were forced to sail away.

Albuquerque understood that the challenge from Calicut lay in the *Zamorin's* links with the Cairene merchants who controlled the spice export trade. He, therefore, took his fleet off to the Red Sea to fight them there rather than allow their ships to reach Malabar. He was diverted from this by a Hindu corsair who alerted him to internal dissensions that made the prospect of the seizure of Goa a realistic possibility. Thanks to *The Commentaries*, this is seen as Albuquerque's greatest contribution to the founding of the Portuguese empire, though there is now evidence that the plan came from Lisbon. At least, Albuquerque understood the advantage for controlling maritime trade on the west coast of a base further north than Cochin and with a well-sheltered harbour five miles up the Mandovi river. He seized it rapidly in March 1510, but a counter-attack by the ruler of Bijapur, who claimed overlordship, drove the Portuguese back into their ships in the estuary where the season detained them for three months. Albuquerque's fortunes were at a very low ebb, with his captains in almost open mutiny.

In his initial seizure of the city he had slaughtered the male Muslim prisoners and forced the women and children to embrace Christianity, rather than sell them into slavery which had been his first thought. But he is remembered in Portugal for the stain on his honour of the hanging of Ruy Dias, a man-at-arms who had been interfering with female Muslim prisoners. *The Commentaries* treat the matter as principally one of the viceroy's authority, but Camões was to have a more lasting word in the tenth canto of the *Lusiads*, (45–7), beginning:

Mais estancias cantara esta Sirena
Em louvor do illustrissimo Albuquerque:
Mas alembrou-lhe uma ira que o contena,
Posto que a fama sua a mundo cerque.

The siren would have continued her song
in praise of the illustrious Albuquerque:
had she not here remembered a deed of anger
that is to weigh heavily on his fame, worldwide though this be.

In this second volume, the translator provides a long introduction which takes the story of Portuguese India down to March 1510, the first capture, and loss, of Goa. It fleshes out *The Commentaries* by drawing on other sixteenth-century accounts with some contemporary Victorian scholarship. There is a map of India from a *Portolano* of Fernão Vaz Dourado of about 1570, with a plan of Goa and interesting information about the port including a view from a Persian chronicle pre-dating the Portuguese conquest.

Like Julius Caesar, the author sticks to the themes of war and diplomacy, though his father's interests had been much wider. It comes as a surprise in volume II, chapter xvii, to find an ethnographic section on the society of the Malabar coast, which contains references to the polyandry that was to fascinate western visitors and the notion that though the Hindus were not, as Vasco da Gama had thought, practising a decayed Christianity, still they had some analogous conceptions, of the Trinity, for example. This volume, like the first, ends on a note of tragic failure. Having sent off three elephants to Lisbon, Albuquerque had to face the opposition of his captains who had only very reluctantly voted for a renewed attack on Goa. With dignified resignation he refers to the leader: 'This Duarte de Lemos was a noble

fidalgo, and was the largest man in Portugal, and very conceited, and had his front teeth inordinately long.’ (II, p. 242)

Volume III deals with the second capture of Goa in November 1510. These heroic events provoke a rare use of the first person in the narrative. Albuquerque’s aim was to leave only the Hindu population. No quarter was granted to the Muslims and six thousand were killed. This changed the perception of the Portuguese by the Indian powers. The king of Cambay / Khambhayat offered Diu as a site for a fort, negotiations began with Calicut likewise, and for restoring the horse trade to Vijayanagar. At any one time, the importing merchants had 400–500 animals in the city, who could be requisitioned in case of need. A Muslim captain captured at sea was asked why he now risked the Portuguese blockade. He cited the high profits in pepper: one *cruzado* laid out in Calicut made 12 to 13 in Jeddah. There were, however, only about 450 married men in Goa at that time, and to promote population growth, Albuquerque, unmarried himself and ignoring opposition, encouraged his unmarried men to take the daughters of ‘the principal men of the land’. (III, p. 42)

Much of the rest of the volume, dealing with Albuquerque’s wider strategic vision, is outside the scope of this review. Deterred by the late season from a voyage to Ormuz, he turned east and in a major operation succeeded in taking Malacca. There are the usual themes: wide vision, here extending to China; exploiting of local differences; ruthless cruelty. There is an Introduction which goes over the same events as *The Commentaries* using other contemporary sources, and Appendices on Malacca. After his return from the Malay peninsula, surviving shipwreck off Sumatra, he was involved in two well-known episodes. Among the renegade Portuguese he ordered to be severely mutilated was Fernão Lopez, later the first (alone with a slave) inhabitant of St Helena. The other was the embassy to Goa from ‘Prester John’, actually the brother of the Patriarch of Abyssinia. The volume ends with a letter to King Manuel in which Albuquerque defends the seizure of Goa and the construction of forts from his critics ‘who had never donned a suit of armour’. He thought ‘he deserved more thanks from the King Manuel for defending Goa for him against the Portuguese, than he did for capturing it on two occasions from the Turks.’ (III, p. 264)

The early part of volume IV is taken up with the attack on Aden in 1513. At sea, the Portuguese had benefitted from the novelty of armed trading and from the quality of their cannon and their caravels. But Albuquerque’s failure at Aden, despite the scale and ferocity of the attack, set a limit to Portuguese control of the trade of the Indian Ocean. Its capture would have seen Albuquerque in the Red Sea, where he had schemes to seize Mecca and the body of the Prophet in Medina to ransom Jerusalem. He dreamt, too, of dominating Egypt and benefitting Christian Abyssinia through changing the course of the Nile. *The Commentaries* move from a preoccupation with war and violence to peace and diplomacy. After the return from Aden, Albuquerque has to deal with ambassadors to Goa from the country powers, pressuring the still reluctant *Zamorin* to allow a fort at Calicut, and matters concerning Malacca in the east and Ormuz in the west. It was while he was there in the Persian Gulf in 1515 that he fell ill. Dysentery is not mentioned in the dignified account of his decline in *The Commentaries*. On the way back to Goa, the dying captain hears that King Manuel, whose messianic vision was now losing its hold on policy making, has sent out a replacement. He declares that ‘It were well that I were gone’. (IV, p. 195)

17. *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt., to the East Indies, with Abstracts of Journals of Voyages to the East Indies, during the Seventeenth Century... And the Voyage of Captain John Knight (1606) to seek the North-West Passage.* Edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 56, 1877.

***The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies 1591–1603.* A new edition with Introduction and Notes by Sir William Foster, 2nd series, 85, 1940.**

Lancaster's name is indelibly associated with the origins of English enterprise in South Asia, and with the establishment in 1600 of the East India Company of which he was one of the first directors. His voyage of 1591 reached Penang and the Nicobar Islands after terrible privations before a mutiny by the crew forced his return. At least he had demonstrated that the claimed monopoly on eastern trade by the Portuguese was by no means impenetrable. In 1601 he led the East India Company's First Voyage and again stopped at the Nicobars before proceeding the East Indies. He never set foot on the Indian mainland. Sir William Foster expertly re-edited the Clements Markham edition which had gone out of print, adding some new rare material.

18. *The Voyage of John Huygen 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. The Second Volume by Mr P. A. Tiele of Utrecht. Volume I, 1st series, 70, 1885 (1884).

The Voyage of John Huygen van Linschoten... Volume II, 1st series, 71, 1885 (1884).

Jan Huygen van Linschoten lived his adventurous life in a political, and religious, borderland. He was born in Haarlem, a town that Spain recaptured in the Dutch independence struggle after which his parents moved to Enkhuizen, a seaport in the free Netherlands, where Linschoten subsequently retired after his travels. Trade, however, followed its own logic and in 1576, when Linschoten was about thirteen, he joined his brothers in business in Seville, later moving to Lisbon. In 1583, having secured a position in the entourage of the Archbishop-elect of Goa, he sailed for India. The death of the archbishop brought him back to Lisbon, and then Enkhuizen, in 1592, where he wrote *The Voyage*, published, with the permission of the Dutch States-General, in 1596.

This present edition of *The Voyage* is from the anonymous English translation of 1598. It is presented here with modernized punctuation and a re-phrased title. A facsimile of the original title page is included; and nowadays the work is usually called, as it is there, *Discours of Voyages into the Easte and West Indies*. The editor, A. C. Burnell, a retired scholar-official from the Indian Civil Service and co-author of the celebrated compendium *Hobson-Jobson*, died before the work was completed. A Dutch scholar, P. A. Tiele, finished the second volume, maintaining the high standard of the notes, though without Burnell's irascibility. These two volumes, his itinerary, contain the first of four parts of Linschoten's work. Thirty-two plates with maps and plans appeared in the 1598 edition, but, sadly, they are here listed but not reproduced. The work was published in London on the eve of the founding of the English East India Company when interest in long-range trade was attracting official attention, and it is not surprising to learn that Richard Hakluyt had a hand in promoting the translation and publication. The Introduction also discusses Linschoten's influence on Dutch overseas policy, on northern voyages as well as the first Indian voyage, which made Java the focus of attention. *The Voyage* was rapidly translated into German (1598), Latin (1599) and French (1610), and offered European readers a revelation of the

rotten state of Portuguese India. For a generation, *The Voyage* was extraordinarily influential. As time passed, it was superseded by other works, but its enduring value is considered to be its picture of Portuguese India at the end of the sixteenth century.

Linschoten's voyage from Lisbon to Goa took an exceptionally fast five months and thirteen days. He tells us that these big ships had crews of 400 to 500, and that the thirty deaths en route were about average, though mentioning cases of much higher mortality. The itinerary takes the reader down the west coast and, after Ceylon / Sri Lanka, into the Bay of Bengal with passing information about trade and local traditions, for example, concerning the *Zamorins* (rulers) of Calicut / Kozhikode and St Thomas of Mailapur. He has a chapter on Bengal, which previous western travellers had presented sketchily or apparently at second hand. He notes the quality of cotton goods and of rice, and the cheapness of commodities. His unflattering references to the local people seem to prefigure the myth of the 'effeminate Bengali'.

Having provided an account, with economic and other information, of his coastal travels as far as China and Japan, Linschoten returns to provide a number of chapters on western and southern India. There is much about the different groups in Hindu society, though for contemporaries not as informative as the chapters in Ludovico de Varthema's *Travels*. The presence of Christians, Jews, Abyssinians, Arabians and local Muslims is also noticed. However, it is for his depiction of Portuguese and *mestiço* life that his account is famous. He depicts a slave society where almost no one worked, except for those called to summer naval service. All free men regarded themselves as equal, honour was the ruling passion, and life was cheap. He notices a tendency to assimilate to local custom: eating with hands; wearing Indian clothes at home; betel-nut chewing; personal cleanliness; and the relative seclusion of women, all depicted in an atmosphere of luxury and sensuality. The excellent Jesuit hospital at Goa notwithstanding, sick Portuguese from the viceroy and archbishop downwards turned in preference to native physicians. Everybody, it seems, looked to personal profit, rather than the king's service. The tone was set by the viceroy who would find that his predecessor had left 'not a stoole or bench [in the palace], nor one pennie in the treasure'. (I, p. 221) To remedy this in his short term of three years, the first year would be to furnish his house, etc., the second to build up the treasure which was his motive in accepting the appointment, and in the third to prepare to forestall criticism and manage the repatriation of his wealth, reminiscent of Roman provincial governors in Cicero's day.

Many chapters in the second volume are devoted to Indian and South-east Asian fauna and flora with special attention to the economically important fruits and plants. Linschoten then includes a memoir of his time in Goa with many vivid vignettes of Portuguese and *mestiço* life, such as the story of a Dutch craftsman murdered by his wife's Portuguese paramour. Best known is his insider account of the vicissitudes of the two English merchants, John Newbery and Ralph Fitch. Denounced as spies by a jealous Venetian merchant, they were arrested in Hormuz, then under Portuguese influence, and sent to Goa. Before they could be handed over to the Inquisition, Linschoten and a Jesuit priest, Thomas Stephens — said to be the first Englishman to live in India — interceded with the archbishop and found security for their release. Newbery and Fitch then decamped to the territory of the Sultan of Bijapur. The particular interest of the story is that their departure in 1583 from England had marked the first stirrings of serious interest in the east and, in this context, Newbery had connections with Richard Hakluyt.

In this miscellany of recollections, which is continued in the chapter on the return voyage, there are many passing references of interest, to renegade European gun-founders, for example. The topography and recent history of the island of St Helena are the subjects of another disquisition. A passing ship gives news of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. And, there is a famous and opinionated account of the defeat and death in the Azores of the English admiral Sir Richard Grenville. A special feature of this part of the second volume is the concreteness of his evocation of the experience of transoceanic travel. Linschoten's readers could learn how the pepper was loaded, who lived where in the ship, how much a return passage cost, what it was like to be shipwrecked, and much more.

19. *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil*. Translated into English from the Third French edition of 1619, and Edited, with Notes, by Albert Gray, assisted by Harry Charles Purvis Bell. Volume I, 1st series, 76, 1887.

***The Voyage of François Pyrard...* Volume II, Pt 1, 1st series, 77, 1888 (1887).**

***The Voyage of François Pyrard...* Volume II, Pt 2, 1st series, 80, 1890 (1889).**

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the French had not yet joined the Dutch and the English in their drive to break the Portuguese and Spanish monopoly of eastern oceanic trade. With this in mind, a merchant company of St Malo and the inland towns of Laval and Vitre in 1601 sent two ships, the *Croissant* and the *Corbin*, to India. Next to nothing is known about François Pyrard, who sailed with the *Corbin*, except that he was a native of Laval. As he tells us late in the narrative, he had had no previous experience of the sea, something which he had in common with the captain of the *Corbin*. He seems to have believed that this voyage was the first by Frenchmen to India; he was not aware of Jean Parmentier's venture to Sumatra in 1529.

In 1611, the year of Pyrard's return, *The Voyage* was published in Paris and dedicated to the Regent, Queen Marie de Medici. Whether there were ghost writers, and who they may have been, is discussed sceptically in the Introduction. A fuller and re-written edition was published in 1615. The Hakluyt Society translation is of the third edition of 1619, the last issued during the author's lifetime. There was a Portuguese translation in the middle of the nineteenth century taken from the unsatisfactory French edition of 1679. Extracts had appeared in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, and it was only through various European abridgements that Pyrard's lengthy *Voyage* was subsequently known.

Much of the first volume is devoted to the Maldive Islands and the editors are well-placed to provide scholarly guidance. Albert Gray, brother of Effie Millais, formerly John Ruskin's wife, had been a distinguished member of the Ceylon Civil Service, and H. C. P. Bell was likewise a Ceylon civilian, the first to engage in modern scientific archaeology on the island. Like Gray, he was keenly interested in the Sinhala language and its close relative Divehi, the language of the Maldives where he spent years of his official life. They also drew on the work of Lt. W. Christopher of the Indian Navy who was involved in the Maldives Survey of 1834–5 and who published later on Divehi and the customs of the islanders (in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1841, and elsewhere), and was killed at Multan serving in the Indus flotilla in the Punjab War of 1848.

The voyage of the *Corbin* was dogged by crew indiscipline from the start. It had been intended to sail to the north of the Maldives, but through illness, drunkenness and negligence it ran on a reef as it passed through the archipelago. Pyrard avoided the ghastly and protracted fate of his shipmates by acquiring the favour of the ruler which he plausibly attributes to his readiness to study local customs and learn fluent Divehi. Drawing on his nearly five years residence in the islands, he provides a description of the society, government, and current traditions. The practice of Islam, the religion of all the islanders, had some local features. For example, it was not permitted to take more than three wives. Pyrard's comment reflects an attitude found in many early European accounts: 'an ill-considered law for these countries, where three husbands would not suffice for one wife, so lewd are the women.' (I, p. 196)

The monarchic constitution of this scatter of tiny islands was efficiently organized; and their position in the wind system of the Indian Ocean meant that there were frequent visitors, many involuntary. He heard, for example, of the death of the English queen Elizabeth and the birth of the future Louis XIII. Pyrard's account of the foreign trade, especially the cowrie exports to Bengal, is fuller than anything else then available. He notes that there were much larger ships here, some taking two thousand passengers, than was the case in western Europe. He also recounts many of the Maldivian traditions: how the islands were first settled; how a decade of Portuguese rule was thrown off and the compromise that was later reached between them.

Until the modern tourist boom, few Europeans, except shipwrecked mariners, had visited the islands. The Maldives have contributed the word 'atoll' to the English language. However, before Pyrard, knowledge, except of the most sketchy kind, was restricted to those who had read the brief account in Linschoten's *Voyage*. Pyrard lived there until 1607 and was able to provide a survey of a thoroughness that is still regarded as authoritative.

Pyrard longed to leave, but the king, by whose precarious favour he led a privileged life, would not permit him. Suddenly, however, a Bengali fleet arrived, looking, Pyrard heard, for western cannon on the islands. Though the tiny Maldivian state had an admiralty and a standing militia of six hundred men, it was no match for the invaders. The king was killed, the capital Mahé looted, and Pyrard was taken back to Chittagong. Though he has interesting observations on the local slave and eunuch trade, he was not there long before being taken to Calicut / Kozhikode. Like other westerners before him, he was impressed by the wealth, the tolerance and the peculiar divisions of the society, which he rather viewed from the local Muslim *Mapilla* perspective of the people with whom he was staying. Soon after, he was captured by Portuguese who believed him to be a Hollander and a Lutheran. He survived brutal imprisonment in Cochin / Kochi and chained neglect on the sea voyage to Goa.

The Hakluyt Society editor divided the large second book of *The Voyage* into two volumes. The first opens in May 1608 with Pyrard arriving in Goa, which he was not able to leave for twenty months until 1610. The city was enjoying its last phase of commercial prosperity, and Pyrard brings it memorably to life with the pomp of the viceroys, the rich Jews fearful of the Inquisition, gorgeously bedecked women tottering out of their palanquins on pattens half a foot high, chained slaves kneeling at mass. He tells us that when ships round the Cape bringing peasants and artisans hoping for a new life in India, the latter then assume titles and honours and 'throw their spoons into the sea' (II, 1, p. 121). Like Linschoten, he notes the assimilation to Indian customs, not just eating with hands. All this prompts the

editor to observe: ‘Nor is the demeanour of the Portuguese without its lesson for us, who are now treading the same stage.’ (p. xliii)

There are also many memorable personal sketches of contemporaries: the short-lived but great Captain of India, Dom Andre Furtado de Mendonça; the Jesuit father, Thomas Stephens, the first English resident in India and the first westerner to publish on the Kannada language, and whose devotional Christian work in Marathi is still current; and Archbishop Meneses, who against the wishes of the viceroy and the Inquisition and to the displeasure of the King of Spain, ordered the brother of the King of Hormuz to be burnt for sodomy. Pyrard’s account of the Indian custom of silent trading is more detailed than that of some other western travellers.

After recovering his health in the wonderful Jesuit hospital in Goa, Pyrard found that he still lacked his freedom. The arrival of the new viceroy, Dom Ruy Lourenço de Tavora brought some hope. The king of Spain, who now controlled Portugal, had ordered him not to permit the residence of foreigners in Portuguese territories, and eventually Pyrard was put on a homeward bound ship. But in the meantime, he was enrolled as a *soldado* — someone neither married nor domiciled and liable for summer naval service. He recounts a sweep to Diu and Cambay / Khambhayat in the north, and a long voyage east calling at Ceylon / Sri Lanka, Malacca, and the East Indies as far as the Philippines. His Ceylon chapter recounts the recent massacre of Portuguese by, as the Portuguese saw it, the apostate ruler, Vimala Dharma. His view of Portuguese naval power — at least of the ocean-going ships — is as scathing as that of Linschoten and more detailed, with many comparisons between the naval practices of the different European nations. The crews, comprising poor men, criminals and little boys simply would not fight, especially after the Dutch began to offer quarter if they surrendered quickly. In such a short time, the Dutch, we are told — and sometimes, the English — had become kings of the sea. This part of *The Voyage* closes with the return journey, where there is an account of recent sieges of Mozambique by the Dutch. His description of life on board a dangerously overloaded carrack is a fascinating and detailed complement to Linschoten’s treatment of the same subject.

The second part of the second volume traces Pyrard’s journey back to his native Laval in Brittany, with comparative observations about other European maritime practices. In a chapter that may owe something to Linschoten, he describes in detail the island of St Helena: ‘very convenient for the East India voyage, which it were very difficult, nay, almost impossible, to make without fetching it.’ (II, 2, 300). During two months in Bahia in Brazil, he was able to observe the local society and noted that, unlike India, people conducted themselves as in Portugal.

There follows a ‘Treatise of Animals, Trees, and Fruits of India and the Maldives’ where the descriptions, woven into an account of local customs, wonderfully captures the magic of the discovery of a new world. After this, he addresses ‘Advice to those who would undertake the Voyage to the East Indies, etc.’ This is really an epitome of the challenges to be anticipated and endured. As usual, he draws comparisons between the different west European practices, regretfully to the disadvantage of his French fellow-countrymen: ‘I have never seen mariners of such ill, and vicious behaviour as our.’ (II, 2, p. 396). He observes that unlike the French all the other European companies have chaplains in their ships. Pyrard concludes with a substantial Maldivian language (Divehi) vocabulary, to which the editor has appended a note on Maldivian numerals, advancing the view that, for commercial reasons, a

duodecimal system has replaced a native decimal system. The editors' appendices, illustrated and with much fascinating and scholarly material on the history of the Maldives, are followed by an excellent index.

20. *The Hakluyt Handbook*. Edited by D. B. Quinn. Volume I, 2nd series, 144, 1974.

A succinct chapter by M. E. Strachan discusses what Richard Hakluyt knew about India, which was not very much. He had no access to indigenous writing, though he pursued unsuccessfully the manuscript of an Arab cosmographer; and what he learned from Portuguese writers, whose language he knew, he kept out of publication presumably for reasons of state. Since Bishop Sighelm of Sherborne in A.D. 883, no English traveller had recorded their visit. However, Hakluyt was a persistent advocate of trade with India. He encouraged John Newberry and Ralph Fitch and facilitated the publication of Linschoten's *Voyage* in 1598. In the second edition of the *Principal Navigations* he dispensed with Sir John Mandeville and published instead Mandeville's source, Odoric of Pordenone. We know that navigational knowledge in that compilation was useful to East India Company ships, and in 1611 it was included in a consignment of books for the Surat factory.

21. *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, Extra series, 47, 2012.

In this valuable collection there are two chapters of particular relevance. Both place Hakluyt in the context of growing national self-confidence and Protestant assertion. Anthony Payne, *Hakluyt's London: Discovery and Overseas Trade*, discusses the pressures for finding new markets as cloth exports were stagnating and the great *entrepot* of Antwerp was in decline, while the boom in land prices at home was creating a demand for luxury goods. In Nandini Das, *Richard Hakluyt's Two Indias: Textual Sparagmos and Editorial Practice*, there is also reference to Hakluyt as an adviser to the nascent East India Company and his links to the court faction that favoured oceanic enterprise. She discusses the difference, with regard to Indian material, between the two early editions of his great work. In addition, there is a valuable account of John Newberry and Ralph Fitch in India.

22. *The Purchas Handbook. Studies of the life, times and writings of Samuel Purchas 1577–1626. With bibliographies of his books and of works about him*. Edited by L. E. Pennington. Volume I, 2nd series, 185, 1997.

At the time the author's *Pilgrimes* appeared in four volumes in 1624–5 it was the longest work by a single author to have been published in England. This valuable collection explores all aspects of Purchas's life and work and in particular the relationship between his compilation of travel literature and that of his illustrious predecessor Richard Hakluyt. At times Purchas seems to anticipate the reader's short attention span; he frequently uses the word 'tedious' to justify abridgements or the exclusion of second accounts of similar experiences. Michael Strachan contributed an excellent chapter on *India and the Areas Adjacent*, with a discussion of Purchas's editorial methods, opining that some of the cuts may have been at the behest of the government or of the East India Company.

23. *Hawkins' Voyages during the reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I.* Edited, with an Introduction by Clements Markham, 1st series, 57, 1878.

This is a collection of travel accounts of four members of three generations of the Hawkins family. One of them had appeared before as the very first Hakluyt Society publication, but was then out of print: *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Kt., in his Voyage into the South Seas, A.D. 1593*. The material of relevance to India in this volume concerns his supposed cousin, the Devon ship-owner, Captain William Hawkins, who was also nephew of Sir John Hawkins, the Treasurer of the Navy who had flown his vice-admiral's pennant from the *Victory* in the fight with the Spanish Armada. It should be said that his connection with the famous Hawkins family has been questioned and it may be that he was unrelated.

There is a rather fragmentary *Journal* [in the form of a log] of *William Hawkins, Lieutenant-General in Fenton's Voyage, intended for the East Indies, 1582* from a damaged manuscript in the British Museum. The real substance comes from the Third Voyage of the English East India Company in 1607 where Hawkins was the lieutenant-general under William Keeling's leadership. From another British Museum manuscript there is a more coherent journal of the voyage, followed by '*His Relations of the Occurents which happened at the time of his residence in India...*', reprinted from Purchas's *Pilgrimes*.

There are no maps and, the index apart, help for the reader is extremely limited. The editor, Sir Clements Markham, was a man of titanic energy, but, as a consequence of the range of his activities, spread himself thinly. To the general public, he may be best known for bringing the cinchona plant to India and thus making an immense contribution to the fight against malaria. He was a relentless autodidact; his initial training had been as a naval officer. He served the Hakluyt Society as honorary secretary and president for nearly half a century, and edited thirty volumes. In exploration his special interests lay in Peru and the Arctic. Inevitably, his time and expertise for editing the Indian part of this volume were limited.

The object of the Third Voyage was to open up trade in the Red Sea and at Surat. Hawkins, who was one of the captains, had a letter from James I asking for the grant of liberty of trade and the right to build a factory at Surat. To circumvent obstruction from the local port official and the jealous Portuguese, he set off for a two-month journey to present the letter to the emperor Jehangir at Agra, arriving in April 1609. His knowledge of Turkish — a form of Turkish was the family language of the Mughals — was welcomed by the emperor who called him inside the red rails that surrounded the throne.

For two years he was a favoured figure, being given a rank with four hundred horse and an Armenian Christian wife. Jehangir even granted the Company the much sought-after *farman*; though, as was to be discovered with later grants, the possibilities of varied interpretation by subordinate officials made it fairly useless. At all this, the Portuguese were as 'madde Dogges' and also many courtiers resented such privileges being granted to a Christian. But Hawkins's position only unravelled when news arrived that the *Ascension*, part of the Fourth Voyage, had been wrecked. Some of the crew who had been saved came up to Agra 'whom I could have wished of better behaviour, a thing pryed into by the King.' (p. 406) The prospect of presents for the emperor had been dashed, and Hawkins in November 1611 began his journey home. Hawkins had hoped to take a letter back from Jehangir to

James I, but the vizier Abul Hassan told him ‘it was not the custome of so great a Monarch, to write in the kind of a Letter, unto a pettie Prince, or Governor.’ (p. 412)

He presented a vivid picture of the court and Jehangir’s way of life and personal tastes, which in also depicting cruelty, corruption and the emperor’s possible lack of religious conviction may have corrected a vague sense then prevalent in England that India was a sort of paradise. Similarly, his miscellany of information about the Mughal government was the first account available in English.

24. *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608–1617, describing his experiences in Arabia, India, and the Malay Archipelago.* Edited by William Foster, 2nd series, 16, 1905.

John Jourdain was the chief merchant, sailing in the *Ascension* with Alexander Sharpeigh, the general of the Fourth Voyage of the English East India Company. The *Journal*, which was taken from a contemporary manuscript copy now in the British Library, has been expertly edited by William Foster (2nd series, 183: *Compassing the Vaste Globe*). There are maps, an excellent index and some supporting appendices.

There is much here of interest which does not concern India directly. Apart from the first English encounter with the Seychelles (in 1609), the subject of an appendix, there is the first English trading voyage to Aden and into the Red Sea. After difficulties at Aden, Jourdain travelled overland to Sana’a to meet the ruler of Yemen, and then rejoined his ship at Mocha. The latter part of the *Journal* concerns Jourdain’s onward voyage to Bantam, Macassar and the Moluccas before returning home. Another appendix deals with Jourdain’s death at Patani in northern Malaya with thirty-nine of his men, shot in a fight with the Dutch in 1619 on a later venture to the East Indies.

The Fourth Voyage ran into difficulties in the Gulf of Cambay. A small boat which came out to the *Ascension* (now on its own) brought the encouraging news that Captain Hawkins was at the Mughal court in Agra, and also the advice to take a pilot for the last stage — ‘at which our master stormed very much, that he had brought the ship so farre and nowe must have a pilot to carry him 20 leagues.’ (p. 114) Soon the *Ascension* struck the Malacca Banks and lost her rudder. The master ‘beganne to curse the Companye at home, that had not sought beter smithes.’ (p. 116) In small boats the crew managed to reach the coast at Gandevi fifteen leagues away, still short of the goal of Surat, where they were kindly received and met the English merchant William Finch.

It was decided that it would be best to join Hawkins in Agra, but by now the crew were out of control, a sailor caused uproar by cutting off a cow’s tail, and their drunken antics reached the disapproving ear of the emperor Jehangir. The general Sharpleigh had become ill on the march and was robbed of his belongings and of his letter from James I to Jehangir. Jourdain spent about five months at Agra and his account of the court, the emperor and the government is rather similar to that of Hawkins. He found, however, that Hawkins, who was not easy to get on with, was losing his influence; Jourdain mentions his insensitive treatment of a senior noble, his giving offence to the Queen Mother and his drinking habits. Jehangir had been disappointed to find that with the loss of the *Ascension* there would be no present for him. Jourdain, therefore, decided to head for Surat via Ahmadabad. En route he seems to have engaged in some private trading, but the circumstances are obscure.

As he came to the coast, he heard of the approach of a new English fleet led by Sir Henry Middleton. Portuguese ships in vicinity of the Tapti estuary seemed to make contact impossible. Finally, a disguised Jourdain reached Middleton. He brought with him a vital piece of information from the Surat governor, Nizam Khwaja, who was interested in trading with the English: 'he would shewe us a place where the ship might ride within musket shotte of the shoare, in eight fathome water, and might land their goods att there pleasure without danger.' (p. 177) this was Swally Roads (Suvali), an anchorage seven miles long and one and a half miles broad between the shore and a sandbank. Midway, was the cove called Swally Hole. The accounts of the voyages to the east usually began in the Downs, between the Kent coast and the shoals in that part of the English Channel. For many years afterwards most of them would end in the riverine equivalent of Swally Roads, some twelve miles from Surat city.

25. *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his 'Kings of Harmuz', and Extracts from his 'Kings of Persia'*. Translated and Annotated by William F. Sinclair, with Further Notes and an Introduction by Donald Ferguson, 2nd series, 9, 1902 (1901).

Teixeira's *Travels* record two journeys, the first very brief, from Malacca via the Philippines to Europe and a longer account from Goa back to Europe. Only a couple of lines concern India. This is perhaps worth pointing out because readers will see 'India' in the author's subtitle, and the Contents are uninformative. Teixeira, though Portuguese, published his book in Spanish six years after his return, in 1610, at Antwerp. The principal value of his work is considered to lie in the translated Arabic chronicles, especially the 'Kings of Harmuz'.

26. *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century*. Edited by W. H. Moreland, 2nd series, 66, 1931 (1930).

These three short *Relations*, or descriptive accounts of Golconda were written between 1608 and 1622. Golconda was a successor state to the south-eastern part of the Bahmani sultanate, and at this time was in its last precarious phase before its conquest by Shah Jehan and incorporation into the Mughal Empire. The *Relations* all focus on the principal port of the kingdom, Masulipatam / Machilipatnam, situated in the Krishna (often Kistna) estuary on the Bay of Bengal.

The first is by William Methwold, nephew of a lord chief justice of Ireland and a factor in the English East India Company. He took up his position as head of the Company operations on the Coromandel coast in 1618. His *Relation* was written at the request of Samuel Purchas but, arriving too late for inclusion in his *Pilgrimes*, was published a year later in 1626 in the supplementary volume, the *Pilgrimage*. Unlike the *Pilgrimes* which was much reprinted, the *Pilgrimage* is rare. Methwold's *Relation* is here reprinted with modernized spelling.

The second *Relation* by Antony Schorer was written in 1615 or 1616 for the directors of the Dutch East India Company, and had never been published. The third relation, formally anonymous, was also written for the Dutch company's use, probably in 1614. The editor thinks the author was probably Pieter Gielisz. van Ravesteyn, who later became Dutch company chief in Surat. It appeared in a Dutch collection of voyages published in 1644–6. Both the Dutch accounts were translated by W. H. Moreland, a retired Indian civil servant

and economic historian of Mughal India who has edited the volume with great distinction. There are two maps and an excellent index.

In the editing, we may see political fires burning through the screen of fine scholarship. Moreland had been shaken by the intensity of the nationalist upsurge in India in the years immediately following the Great War. The leaders, including Gandhi, had been influenced by the writings of Dadabhai Naoroji and the economic historian Romesh Chandra Dutt, whose 'Drain' theory accused British policy of having impoverished a wealthy country. Moreland's early writing in economic history tended to give support to the contrary view that Britain had rescued India from the debilitating chaos of the eighteenth century. By the end of the decade he had recovered his balance and his work was not overtly polemical. But, as he writes in his Introduction, the inclusion of the two very short corroborating accounts by authors who were not English and were not writing for publication strengthens the veracity of Methwold, where India does not always appear as an earthly paradise.

Methwold was a man of ability as can be inferred from his writing. He later became president of the Company base at Surat (1633–9) and negotiated the important settlement with the Spanish in 1635. Despite provoking suspicions of his private trading, he became Deputy Governor of the Company and steered it through the years of civil war, dying in 1653. He provides a wealth of social and economic information about the coastal plain of Golconda, describing the caste arrangements with a possible reference to the Left Hand / Right hand division, and discussing the custom of *satis* at some length. There is an account of a visit to the open-cast diamond mines at Kollur. What drew the westerners to Masulipatam / Mechilipatnam were the fine calicoes which could be traded for spices in the East Indies. Further south, around Pulicat / Pazhaverkadu, the cloth was patterned, but in Masulipatam, as Moreland explains, it was plain. He has been criticized for over-simplification here, on the grounds that Masulipatam also produced fine chintzes. A reference to tobacco production also appears in the *Relation*. His review of trading around the Bay of Bengal contains an unflattering reference to Bengal, which, in the light of stereotypes that circulated in the British era, may be of some interest: 'Bengala bona terra, mala gens; it is the best country peopled with the worst nation, etc.' (p. 41). He also refers to the extreme cheapness of Bengali goods, which has interested economic historians, including Moreland. Cloth from Bengal was brought to the textile centre of Masulipatam, 'as we say of coals carried to Newcastle, yet [nevertheless] here they sell them to contented profit.' (p. 40)

Both the brief Dutch accounts remark, as does Methwold, on gentle aspects of life: freedom of religion; rare use of the death penalty. But both also notice the gulf between a wealthy and rapacious Muslim ruling class and the impoverished masses. Schorer was based mostly a little to the south at Nizamapatam (sometimes Petapoley / Peddapalle). Van Ravesteyn, the probable author of the third *Relation*, recounts a visit to Golconda, five miles to the west of the later local capital, Hyderabad, with references to the haughty Persian rulers. Moreland, in his Introduction, after discussing what the European merchants thought of Golconda, asks what Golconda thought of them. His trawl through Persian chronicles failed to discover a single mention.

27. *Peter Floris, his Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611–1615. The Contemporary Translation of his Journal.* Edited by W. H. Moreland, 2nd series, 74, 1934.

Peter Floris was a Dutchman who led the English East India Company's Seventh Voyage, 1611–15. His vessel, the *Globe*, was the first English ship to trade in the Bay of Bengal and Siam. Floris was the name he adopted in the English service, entry to which broke the oath which he had previously taken when employed by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). A motive for his change of allegiance may have been the opportunity for private trade. Both companies prohibited it, but in practice the English approach was relaxed, and part of the importance of Floris's journal is the light it throws on private Company trade in the east.

This translation was made by another Dutchman, probably in 1615, the year of the author's death, who sometimes struggled with both English idiom and the author's handwriting. This Hakluyt Society edition is the first publication, though the manuscript had been accessible by Purchas who included condensed extracts in his *Pilgrimes*. The editor was the distinguished economic historian of Mughal India, W. H. Moreland, who also provided notes which are full and focused without antiquarian indulgence. The forensic quality of his Introduction, reflects, no doubt, his original training in law and his twenty-five years in the Indian Civil Service, nearly half as Director of Land Records and Agriculture in the United Provinces. His attempts to understand the roots of the land revenue system led him to Persian-language archives and, as his economic enquiries widened, to the records of the VOC.

The aim of the voyage was to head for the Coromandel coast to buy cotton goods which could then be exchanged for pepper and spices at Bantam in Java and other South-east Asian ports. On arrival at Pulicat / Pazhaverkadu, Floris found that the Dutch had already been granted monopoly trading rights by the Vijayanagar overlord. Calculating that an appeal might be spun out till the arrival of the monsoon put a temporary stop to sea travel, Floris moved north to the more promising ports of Petapoli / Peddapalli and Masulipatam. The journal is concerned with trading conditions, profit and loss, and relations with other Dutch and English merchants, and not with the Indian world whose fringes alone they were touching. The only significant local information occurs later after the *Globe* had passed through the Sunda Strait to Bantam and then further to the north Malay state of Patani and beyond to the Menam estuary. Here, there are numerous references to the wars which were convulsing Siam at this time. Floris returned to Masulipatam by the Johore-Malacca Straits, calling briefly at Penang where they carved into a tree 'Globo van London 1613, 29 November', and then sailed back to Bantam by his original route. On such a long voyage there were many human problems of errant and drunken crew members, and we read of seamen being keel-hauled and nailed to a mast by their hands. When it was time to leave for London, Floris found that his crew had shrunk through death to thirty-eight, and, to enable him to leave, another dozen or so had to be found by reorganizing the crews of other English ships then in the port of Bantam. Commercially, the voyage was a success. In retrospect, it marked the beginning of a long and fateful English presence in the Bay of Bengal and, more immediately, it was the precursor of fierce Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East Indies.

28. *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East India, 1612–14*. Edited by Sir William Foster, 2nd series, 75, 1934.

Thomas Best led the English East India Company's Tenth Voyage from February 1612 to June 1614. There were two ships, the *Dragon* of 600 tons and the *Hosiander* of 213 tons, supported by a capital of £46,000. The choice of a seaman, Thomas Best, rather than a merchant, as 'general' of the voyage may have been a response to the loss of the *Ascension* on the Fourth Voyage and to the prospect of further fighting with the Portuguese. His instructions are not known because the Court Minutes are missing between January 1610 and December 1613, but the general object was to find Indian goods which could be sold for the spices of the Malay archipelago. The difficulty was not only the armed hostility of the Portuguese but the continuing lack of permission to trade from the Mughal authorities. William Hawkins had thought too optimistically he had succeeded with the emperor Jehangir on the Third Voyage and Sir Henry Middleton had tried without definitive success on the Sixth in 1611.

The scholarly editing of Sir William Foster has a timeless value. His researches elucidated the genealogy and previous careers of Best, the two masters, the influential chaplain and the leading merchants, one of whom, Paul Canning, was the ancestor of a British prime minister and his son, a viceroy of India. None of them had been to the east before. Unlike some editors who append supporting material which throws general light on the subject of the texts, Foster makes his sources support a close reading of his authors.

The main text, with modernized spelling, is from a contemporary manuscript copy of Best's log and, except for extracts in Purchas, had never been published. More light on Best's personality and on things Indian is thrown by the daily journal of Ralph Standish, surgeon of the *Hosiander*, completed after his death by, probably, Ralph Croft, the purser. Standish can be both prolix and vivid; an interesting couple of pages records Best's articles of conduct for the voyage. There are also the logs of the two masters and extracts from a narrative by one of the factors and by the chaplain, Revd Patrick Copland, who benefitted so much from private trading in the east that he became a benefactor of his alma mater, Marischal College, Aberdeen University. There is a Portuguese account from Antonio Bocarro's *Decadas* of the fight with the four galleons off Surat. Finally, some selected correspondence and extracts from later Court Minutes add further information and perspectives and, in particular, throw light on Best's private trading and on his contentious but notable subsequent career.

The ships reached India and anchored in Swally Roads, down the Tapti estuary from Surat. They were delighted after their long voyage by what they found: as the chaplain put it 'another Egypt, or, to say better, a terrestrial Paradise such is the abundance of all earthly things.' (p. 239) But a Mughal *farman* which would authorize regular trading and allow the establishment of a factory at Surat proved elusive. Best's *Journal* hints at a difference of opinion as to the best tactics to follow. From the other extracts and the *Correspondence*, we gather that the English merchants favoured making the best of an unsatisfactory situation and attempting to trade anyway. Thomas Aldworth, who held this view, was dismissed as 'a very honest man, but no ways fit to be an Agent and Chief Factor in Suratt.' (p. 243) Best, following Sir Henry Middleton on the Sixth Voyage, believed that the local powers would respond best to maritime violence. This came sooner than expected with the arrival of four great Portuguese galleons and other supporting vessels.

So as not to be caught in the estuary, Best put out and engaged the enemy, inflicting massive damage at trifling cost. A few weeks later, the Portuguese returned with similar results. ‘The *Dragon*... steered from one to another, and gave them such banges as maid ther verie sides crack.’ (p. 135). The apparent triumph of David over Goliath is given a more realistic explanation in Bocarro’s account of the fighting, attached as an appendix. As the editor comments, it was the Armada over again. The galleons, packed with swordsmen and lacking the experienced seamen and skilled gunners of the manoeuvrable English ships, depended upon being able to board the enemy.

The threat of further Portuguese aggression troubled Best, especially since his ships had expended most of their ammunition. Then, on 6 January 1613 the *farman* at last arrived. Immediately, it was clear that the Gujarati authorities interpreted it in a much vaguer way than Best expected. So, leaving the tenacious Aldworth behind in Surat, Best left for Achin and the spice islands.

29. *The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies 1614–15 As Recorded in Contemporary Narratives and Letters*. Edited by Sir William Foster, 2nd series, 82, 1939 (1938).

Nicholas Downton, who had been deputy to Sir Henry Middleton on the Sixth Voyage, was ‘general’ of the voyage sent out by the English East India Company to consolidate the achievements in western India of his predecessor, Thomas Best. Sailing in the *New Year’s Gift* with three other ships, Downton left in March 1613/1614 and died near Bantam in August 1615. In retrospect, these were important years in the Company’s history. The method of financing each voyage with a separate subscription was abandoned in favour of a series of joint stocks, each spread over several years. And, Downton’s voyage was followed in 1615 by that of William Keeling which took Sir Thomas Roe on his memorable embassy to the Mughal emperor.

Before Downton’s apparently lengthy journal had been lost, Purchas had extracted a section which covered the period up to March 1615 when the fleet left India for Bantam, and it is this which is here republished. The editor decided to leave out Downton’s Persian entries, some of his sea records and all his biblical quotations. The rest of the volume is a collection of materials designed to throw further light on the voyage and the issues it raised for the Company and for later historians. There is another extract by Purchas from another missing journal, of Thomas Elkington who succeeded Downton on his death as admiral, and yet another Purchas extract for the return voyage. From a manuscript, there is a brief, though full journal of a merchant, Edward Dodsworth, in the *New Year’s Gift*. Also from the flagship is an anonymous log kept until September 1615. The few patriotic pages by Purchas about the sea fight at Swally are included. A rare, short book, *An East-India Colation*, published twenty years after these events, is here reprinted, though without its Spanish material. The author, Christopher Farewell, was a factor who went out with Downton and spent some years in Gujarat; Foster has appended a note on his sad later history. Finally, there are relevant extracts from *Company Correspondence*. Through all this the reader is guided with erudite clarity by the editor Sir William Foster who, as in his other Hakluyt Society volumes, has provided an excellent index.

When Downton arrived at Swally Roads in October 1614, he discovered that though Thomas Aldworth at Surat was trying to make the emperor’s *firman* more effective, the

malign influence of the Portuguese was too strong. A new letter with presents from King James was sent to the imperial court, and the outbreak of war between the Portuguese and Mughals seemed to offer opportunities for the English. Hope was soon dashed by the conclusion of peace, though Jehangir would not agree to the Portuguese request to formally exclude the English.

This, as Downton recognised, left the future of the English merchants in their own hands. In a skilful encounter, which greatly increased English prestige, he saw off several Portuguese galleons without damage to his own ships. He then managed to load one of them, the *Hope*, with a valuable cargo of calicoes, bought, no doubt, with the Spanish *rials* of eight that had constituted two-thirds of the ships' outward cargo. The *Hope* having been sent home, he left with his other ships for Bantam, where he found John Jourdain as agent (2nd series, 15: *Journal of John Jourdain*), and his own death. Downton comes over as a capable and decent man with a talent for conveying his sensitive observations.

However, readers will probably find the most memorable writing in this volume in the *East-India Colation*. Christopher Farewell found Gujaratis 'a mixt people, quiet, peaceable, very subtill, civill, and universallie governed under one king, but diversly law'd and governed.' (p. 143) And what better than his memory of Indian women who 'sing most melodiously, with such elevated and shrill voices, strayed unto the highest, yet sweet and tuneable, rising and falling according to their art and skill that I have been ravish in those silent seasons with the sweet echo or reflection thereof from a faire distance, and kept waking hours together, listening to them; anticipating (in my desires) the new moones, which they constantly thus celebrate... '? (p. 144)

30. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul. 1615–1619. As Narrated in his Journal and Correspondence. Edited from Contemporary Records by William Foster. Volume I, 2nd series, 1, 1899*

The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe... Volume II, 2nd series, 2, 1899.

In older British historiography, Sir Thomas Roe's embassy has been seen, with the benefit of hindsight, as a founding moment in the history of the *Raj*; in the editor's words, 'the first step in a march of conquest which has only of late years reached its limits.' (p. ix) Thomas Best, on his return in June 1614 had brought glowing reports of the Indian possibilities as well as the assurance that a permanent representative would be allowed to stay in the Mughal emperor's capital of Agra. Even though Nicholas Downton's ships were still at sea, a new fleet, the best yet equipped, was prepared, and King James I agreed that for the first time an ambassador should go out with the merchants. Thomas Roe had the right connections and qualifications. From an old city family and a member of the 1614 parliament, he was on friendly terms with two of the royal children, Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth. He had also been on an adventurous journey to Guiana. Like many future proconsuls, he was anxious to replenish a depleted family fortune. He was to prove himself a man of great character and resource, and undoubtedly made a favourable personal impression in India, not least with the emperor himself. But it is worth noting that Jehangir makes no direct mention of Roe in his memoirs. The English at that time did not feature in the wider calculations of the Mughal state.

This is the first of nine Hakluyt Society volumes to which William Foster brought his meticulous and finely judged erudition. This set a new standard for Hakluyt Society editing, in line with the very best in contemporary scholarship. Foster spent a lifetime as a civil servant in the India Office records, published a vast scholarly output on the early history of the East India Company, including thirteen volumes of *The English Factories in India*, and was president of the Hakluyt Society for nearly twenty years.

Despite extracts in Purchas which were recycled and paraphrased in Dutch, French and eighteenth-century English works, Roe had mostly remained anonymously in manuscript. Two thirds of his diaries were here published, with modernized punctuations, for the first time from Roe's own manuscript copy in the British Library. Unfortunately, only the first two years, up to February 1616/17 with further letters until October, have survived. The editor has added Purchas's extract until January 1618. Documents and letters from Company Correspondence and the India Office Records, which are also interpolated in volume I, guide the reader to the end of the embassy.

When the four ships, the *Dragon*, the *Lion*, the *Expedition*, and the *Peppercorn*, under the command of William Keeling who had been on the First Voyage, arrived at Surat, they found Portuguese influence so strongly in the ascendant that the very presence of the English there was in the balance. If it were possible, as Roe wrote home in November 1615, he would fight: 'It is a rule in war: the offensive is both the nobler and the safer part.' (I, p. 99) He also wrote a letter, unanswered, to the viceroy in Goa declaring 'that the English entend nothing but free trade, open by the lawes of Nations to all men...' (I, p. 6) He was, however, enmeshed in diplomatic and practical difficulties with Zulfiqar Khan, the local governor, as he tried to get his presents and other goods through the Surat customs.

Roe's diary is concerned with the personalities of the court and with the endless diplomatic *démarches* he was involved in. There is a vivid picture of Jehangir's daily audiences; for the emperor, 'a kind of recipocall bondage' with his court. (I, p. 108). 'This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a Theatre — the manner of the king in his gallery; The great men lifted on a stage as actors; the vulgar below gazing on — '. (ibid.) Roe at first failed to appreciate the importance of the emperor's wife, Nur Jahan; in a travelling encounter he had also offended Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan. Later, observing the latter, he wrote 'I never saw so settled a Countenance, nor any man keepe so Constant a gravety, never smiling, nor in face showeing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame Pride and Contempt of all.' (I, p. 329)

Envoys to powerful and cultured courts have often gone native. Roe does not appear to have been subject to that temptation. In three and a half years in India, he did not learn Persian and remained dependent on an interpreter; indeed, he complained of the lack of linguistic support. Unlike his chaplain, Edward Terry, he was not curious about Indian society. His geography is not very reliable; and he was not interested in the Bay of Bengal once his early requests for trading permission there were rebuffed. Despite his focus on personalities, he does not seem to have been inquisitive about or sensitive to the points of view of the Indian rulers. His approach was confidently blunt and he always tried to maintain English customs, refusing what he thought were slavish forms at his audience of Jehangir, asking for a chair, and so forth. He certainly observed King James's instruction: 'First, in your Carriage, to be Carefull of the preservacion of our honour and dignity, as we are a soveraine Prince and a professed Christian...' (II, p. 552)

Reporting to the Company, Roe considered that firmness had produced at least some results. He had early concluded that *farmans* were of dubious value, capricious promises that could be variously interpreted, especially by the local authorities. Pushing for a treaty, he then found that any negotiation that implied equality with the Mughal emperor was impossible: 'You can never expect to trade here upon Capitulations that shall be permanent. Wee must serve the tyme. Some noe I have gotten, but by way of firmaens and Promise from the Kynge. All the Government dependes upon the present will, where appetite only governs the lords of the kingdome.' (II, p. 469) This fundamental insecurity no doubt encouraged him to recommend that the Company rely on sea power and maritime trade, rather than follow the expensive Portuguese and Dutch example of developing land bases.

What then had Roe achieved? In the end, he had to be satisfied with a *farman* from which the position in Surat could be expanded. Perhaps most importantly, he had shifted the Company's focus to the imperial court away from the endless frustrations of the provincial authorities where it had less influence. It should also be noted that he was active in promoting trade with Persia and the Red Sea.

An appendix contains Roe's geographical description of the Mughal territories. Very soon after his return to England, William Baffin produced his *Indolstani ... Descriptio*, now in the British Museum, the first English attempt to map the Mughal empire which is reproduced in volume II in a reduced facsimile. This had great influence on later geographers, and was generally known as Sir Thomas Roe's map, with Baffin as draughtsman. However, the editor remarks that it had not been noticed that Baffin was master's mate on the *Anne*, the ship in which Roe returned to England.

31. *The Itinerario of Jeronimo Lobo*. Translated by Donald M. Lockhart from the Portuguese Text Established and Edited by M. G. Da Costa. With an Introduction and Notes by C. F. Beckingham, 2nd series, 162, 1984.

The *Itinerario* is primarily concerned with Ethiopia, a country on which Lobo, by the time of his death, was the leading European authority. This edition is taken from the original Portuguese manuscript discovered in 1947 by Padre Da Costa and now in the Library of the University of Braga. A French translation had been published in 1728, and it was from this in 1735 that Dr Samuel Johnson produced an English version: *A Voyage to Abyssinia, by Father Jerome Lobo a Portuguese Jesuit*. Lobo's account has also featured in the geographical literature, from James Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (1790).

There is very little about India as such, compared with the richness of his observations about Ethiopia or even of African peoples encountered on his ill-starred voyages to and from Europe. Lobo arrived in Goa for a year's study with his fellow Jesuits before being sent to Ethiopia. In that same year, 1622, the remarkable Pedro Paez had died, having just converted the emperor Susenyos to Christianity (3rd series, 23 & 24: Pedro Paez, *History of Ethiopia, 1622*, vols. I and II). Lobo made two fairly brief return visits to India, during one of which he had an interview with the Portuguese viceroy in Goa, Dom Miguel de Noronha, requesting aid for the Ethiopian mission. There are, however, full and interesting accounts of the oceanic voyages, a sea fight with an Anglo-Dutch fleet, shipwrecks and other tales of endurance.

32. *The Life of the Icelander Jon Olafsson... Volume II: Life and Travels: Denmark, England, The Cape, Madagascar, Cormoro Is., Coromandel Coast, Tranquebar, St Helena, Ascension Is., Ireland, Iceland, 1618–1679.* Edited by the late Sir Richard Temple and Lavinia Mary Anstey, 2nd series, 68, 1932 (1931).

Olafsson's autobiography has several strong claims on the reader's attention. It provides information, in this second volume, about life in the early years of the Danish settlement in India at Tranquebar / Tharagambadi which, with Serampore / Srirampur, lasted until their sale to Britain in 1845. There is also a rare view of early modern Iceland (in the first volume) a country which, with the ending of the age of the sagas at the beginning of the fourteenth century, had dropped out of the European world view. Further, Olafsson's perspective is from the lower deck. He was an assistant gunner from poor peasant stock, yet he had other publications to his credit: a poem; Icelandic translations of two Danish cycles of ballads; and a Greenland chronicle. The editor thinks his direct style and literacy are evidence that in the early seventeenth century, the sagas were still a living tradition. In the Introduction to the first volume, she discusses his life and background, and his reliability — impressive in general, if tempered by vanity and a twenty-five year memory.

The manuscript of *The Life* had been known and appreciated in Iceland and Denmark. A few extracts had appeared, but the first complete publication, in a Danish translation, was in 1908–9 by Sigfus Blondel, the Librarian of the Royal Library of Copenhagen. It is from his scholarly collation of the manuscript sources that Dame Bertha Phillpotts (later Newall) made the Hakluyt Society's English translation and provided some notes for the second volume. She was a Scandinavian scholar, who after a discreet but effective career in the Foreign Office during the First World War, became principal of Westfield College, London and then mistress of Girton College, Cambridge. For the Indian material in the second volume, very thorough editing is provided by the Indian Army scholar-official, Sir Richard Temple and Lavinia Mary Anstey. There is an index and several illustrations, notably an eighteenth-century copy of an older plan of Dansborg, the founding fortress of Tranquebar.

Olafsson's first few chapters recount from hearsay the story of the establishment of a Danish presence in India. The king of Kandy had asked the Dutch to help him against the Portuguese, but on their refusal King Christian IV of Denmark had, to the concern of the English East India Company, taken up the opportunity. Within two years they were expanding from their base in Trincomalee. By 1622 they were building with the permission of the Raja of Tanjore / Thanjavur a base at Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast.

In the same year, the *Christianshavn* left Copenhagen, its crew having sworn an oath of obedience to the king and to the Danish East India Company. Though there is some passing reportage of the affairs of Madagascar, the focus is on life on board the ship. It is not from the usual perspective of an officer or a merchant but conveys how it was actually experienced on the lower deck. The same is true of the unruly and drunken life in the Dansborg fortress, shadowed by the threat of fearsome punishment. A *strappado* is described. He recalls walks in the country where young Danes would slip into temples to play pranks, for example extinguishing the lights, even though they had been warned that their lives could be at risk.

Olafsson devotes chapters to the social life of Tanjore under its ruler Raghunatha Nayak, with some emphasis on the more exotic Hindu customs: conjuring tricks, hook-

swinging and *sati*. Many reports are a little inaccurate, as the editor points out, but they give a sense of life observed rather than enquired into. The perspective is often distinctive. As an Icelander, the only fruits he had previously known were berries. As can be seen from his listed vocabularies, he retained at the time of writing the memory of many Portuguese and Tamil words. Communication with the local Tamil speakers, however, was generally through a corrupted Portuguese. During his time in Tranquebar, the encampment of Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jehan, moved into the neighbourhood. He allegedly showed some interest in these foreigners, perhaps hoping to recruit experienced gunners for the civil war in which he was then engaged. Shortly after, an officer of Raghunatha Nayak demanded a large quantity of lead then held by the Danes, without making it clear whether this was a seizure or a transaction where payment would be offered later. On the Danish refusal, a dangerous confrontation was fortuitously avoided by the arrival of ships from Copenhagen. The editor confidently dismisses it as a bluff characteristic of Indian rulers. Soon after this, Olafsson had both his hands maimed when a cannon he was firing exploded. He then returned to Europe after terrifying experiences at sea. He describes Copenhagen at the time of the Danish entry into the Thirty Years War. Finally, he returns to Iceland, where his professional expertise as a gunner was needed for the defensive arrangements made after the Turkish raids in 1627 on the Eastern Firths and the Vestmann Islands.

33. *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India, From the old English Translation of 1664, by G. Havers. Edited with a Life of the Author, an Introduction and Notes, by Edward Grey. Volume I, 1st series, 84, 1892 (1891).*

The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India... Volume II, 1st series, 85, 1892 (1891).

Pietro della Valle's vivid style has been acclaimed as 'the literary equivalent of Caravaggio's contemporary radical naturalism' (*Bibliography*, J.-P. Rubiès, p. 386). His eight letters from India, here published in G. Havers' translation of 1664, record his experiences from his arrival at Surat in 1623 to his departure from Goa in November 1624. The editor, Edward Grey, retired from the Indian Civil Service, provides a condensed biography of the author, a short account of the Portuguese in India and a history of the text in its different language versions. These letters were part of a longer sequence which he sent back from Turkey and Persia to a Neapolitan friend for publication. In the event, the Indian letters were not published in his lifetime (d.1652) and, though left in an unedited form, have never lost their appeal: CUP reprinted this edition in 2012.

Della Valle has been described as the prince of tourists. Prompted by unrequited love and driven by curiosity, Della Valle left Italy in 1614 for the Middle East. He was not a trader but a Roman aristocrat, as he frequently reminds his readers and his hosts. Acquiring fluent Persian and some Arabic and Turkish, he became well acquainted with Shah Abbas and fought with his army against the Ottomans. Edward Gibbon was later to praise his knowledge and understanding of Persia, which is also said to have influenced Goethe's *West-Östliche Divan*. In Isphahan he had met Gujarati merchants and in 1623 after the death of his wife, a Christian woman whom he had married locally, he left for India. Taking the embalmed body of his wife with him, he embarked on the *Whale*, an English ship captained by Nicholas Woodcock, who claimed to have discovered Greenland.

The Portuguese still dominated the maritime trade of western India but there were signs, noted by Della Valle, that their power was on the wane. He was similarly observant of

other communities, for example doubting that the aggressive tactics of the English would intimidate the Indian land powers. But he approved the English custom of involving many crew members in navigation and describes their Davis Staff (quadrant). He used his own astrolabe to take the latitude of towns he visited ashore. He mentions the European news which filtered through to the Indian Ocean and was often discussed with local rulers, for example the incognito journey of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid. Now back in western dress, he stayed with the Dutch president in Surat and mixed in what was a European community, despite his staunch Catholicism. In the Portuguese capital of Goa, 'a city with more processions than any other in the world' (Letter 8), he joined enthusiastically in the celebrations of the canonization of five new saints, including Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier.

From Surat he travelled inland to the great Gujarati trading city of Cambay / Khambhayat, visiting an animal hospital and enquiring into the religious life of Jains. He reports that in the Mughal empire there is liberty of conscience. At this time news was arriving of the civil war between the emperor Jahangir and his son, the future Shah Jehan. Before returning, there was a brief visit to Ahmadabad: his description of the old — and since demolished — imperial palace is believed to be unique in travel literature. After a short stay in Goa, where he lodged with the Jesuits, he went south stopping at various points on the Malabar coast. His journey up the lower Garsoppa river valley he thought 'one of the most delightful passages that ever I made in my life.' (Letter 5) He talked with groups of ascetics, described religious festivals and drew the ground plan of a temple. Though clear about the mistaken and sometimes malignant folly of other religions, he took an intelligent interest in everything, except perhaps Indian music. Della Valle was himself a minor composer of some distinction, but his response to what he heard recalls Tagore's dismissal of the idea of music as a universal language.

The principal power in the Kanara region was Ikkeri, a small state that had emerged from the disintegration of the Vijayanagar empire. Here, he records a memorable interview with a woman who had decided to become a *sati*, in whose memory he wrote three sonnets. The religion of the ruling family was the Lingayat or Virashaiva faith, and Della Valle provides much information about its practice. After Ikkeri he moved on via Mangalore to the petty kingdom of Queen Olala, whom he encounters standing barefoot in a field directing some labourers. We are provided with a ground plan of her residence. In reply to a question by her son, Della Valle explains that he finances his travels with either ready money or bills of exchange sent on to him by his agents. Further south, there was the great trading port of Calicut / Kozhikode, where the polyandrous customs of the dominant Nayar community attracted his attention. Again, there was a lengthy interview with the *Zamorin* (ruler), and a ground plan of his reception hall. From Calicut, he returned north to Goa and from thence to Rome.

As J.-P. Rubiès has pointed out, Della Valle's frame of reference was taken from ancient authors, such as Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, and he held to a diffusionism that saw pharaonic Egypt as the fount of all culture. He clearly believed that behind the religious and cultural differences of mankind a positive and human quality could be identified. But a firm belief in the rational sense of his own religion excluded the possibility of a sceptical analysis of his own experiences. This and the presence of the Inquisition made him a man of the last confident phase of the Counter-Reformation. His legacy was relevant to the Enlightenment,

however, as a forerunner of the gentleman traveller of the Grand Tour, and in the range and acuity of his accounts of human diversity.

34. The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667. Edited by Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Volume II: Travels in Asia, 1628–1634, 2nd series, 35, 1914.

The Travels of Peter Mundy... Volume III, Part 1: Travels in England, Western India, Achin, Macao, and the Canton River, 1634–1637, 2nd series, 45, 1919.

The Travels of Peter Mundy... Volume V: Travels in South-West England and Western India, with a Diary of Events in London, 1658–1663, and in Penryn, 1664–1667. Edited by the late Sir Richard Carnac Temple and Lavinia Mary Anstey, 2nd series, 78, 1936.

Peter Mundy's journals record a lifetime of travel. Written between 1620 and 1667 they cover sixty years of his itinerant life including three visits to India: 1628–34; 1635–8; 1655–6; with more Indian news recorded in his retirement, 1663–7. He was a Cornishman with family connections to the pilchard trade, and he went to Rouen with his father at the age of eleven, and two years later was sent on to Bayonne to learn French. Beyond that little is known for certain beyond what he tells us himself. Though he was well informed, well read and good humoured, this is scanty, despite, or because of, his living through stirring times. He seems to have been a cautious royalist, and, in the fifth volume, there are more personal glimpses of the man: a tolerant discussion of suicide; and in reference to the admiral, Robert Blake — 'Among other good qualities of this famous commander, it is said hee did not regard the company of weomen, having never married.' (V, p. 94) For a discussion of what may be inferred about Mundy and for the genealogical records of his family and connections, we have the scholarly editing of Sir Richard Carnac Temple, a retired Indian army officer, member of Council of the Hakluyt Society, and editor of the *Indian Antiquary*. He also recounts the history of the Bodleian manuscript which, though occasionally noticed, had never, despite its quality and remarkable range, been published.

At the end of Volume I Mundy had applied to the East India Company to be sent on the next voyage as a factor. He resisted the offer of £20 per annum which was the same as he had been paid during his three years in Constantinople with the Levant Company. Volume II finds him, settled on £25, on his way to the Company's factory at Surat which he describes with his customary clarity. There is an interesting reference to John Leachland, supposedly the first Englishman to marry an Indian woman, and the editor provides more information in an appendix. Many of Mundy's charming and informative sketches have been reproduced. There are also route maps which are important to the reader for Munday was soon posted to Agra which he approached via Burhanpur and Gwalior. At the latter, the sight of the fort impressed him; it 'seemes rather the worke of the Auntient Romaines then of Barbarous Indians, as wee esteeme them,' (I, p. 62) Along the route there was terrible evidence of the famine that gripped Gujarat between 1630–32. Temple, who provides helpful editing and an index to this volume, draws together some scattered famine material in an appendix and discusses it in his Introduction. What gives added interest to Temple's criticism of the inactivity of the Mughal authorities is his father's connection with one of the worst Indian famines of modern times, which began in south India in 1876. Sir Richard Temple senior had been sent as the viceroy's famine commissioner where he tried to cut costs through the 'Temple ration' and uphold the principle of free trade.

From Agra, Mundy was sent on to Patna on what proved a futile attempt to dispose profitably of quantities of quicksilver and vermilion. Stops en route at Allahabad and Kashi / Varanasi are the occasion for many fascinating and vivid descriptions of buildings, people, customs. The same is true for the many encounters he experienced on his journeys: parties of *faqirs*; three hundred rebels staked by the roadside; pillars of human heads; twenty thousand pack cattle crossing his path. At one point, a pretty ten-year-old girl, fleeing from her mistress, tried to join their party, but they dared not take her in, having ‘few frinds in theis parts (to say trueth, none at all)’. (II, p. 88) There are again reproductions of many of Mundy’s own sketches.

Back in Agra, there is a wealth of gossip about Shah Jehan and his court, which he explicitly distinguishes from his direct observations. He is an important witness to the beginnings of the construction of the Taj Mahal. At one time, in this connection European accounts often mentioned Jeronimo Veroneo, an Italian architect then resident in Agra. (cf. 2nd series, 59: *Travels of Manrique*) Mundy knew him personally and does not link his name with the great monument. It is impossible to do justice to the range of Mundy’s observations; buildings; customs; the favoured, mostly Indian, clothes worn by Europeans; local weights and measures; the Indian measurement of time; the scales of Indian music — ‘Noe thirds nor fifts in Musick as I could heere.’ (II, p. 217). Managing a consignment of indigo and saltpetre, Mundy returned to Surat to find that epidemics occasioned by the famine had taken their toll. Of the twenty-one Company Englishmen he had left, fourteen were still alive, and three of those were dying. With his five-year indenture coming to a close, he returned to England.

The particular interest of the first part of the third volume is Mundy’s participation in the voyage to Goa, Malabar and China mounted by the Courteen Association in 1635. Supported by Charles I, Sir William Courteen sent six ships on an ambitious, and, ultimately, not very successful, challenge to the trading monopoly of the East India Company. There was immediate disappointment when they arrived in Goa to find a new Portuguese viceroy who was not keen to cooperate, especially when the English general, John Weddell, refused to join battle against a Dutch fleet. They moved down the Malabar coast to Bhatkal and travelled inland to seek the permission of Vira Bhadra Nayak, the ruler of Ikkeri, to open a factory and trade in pepper. This was granted, and Mundy describes a vegetarian banquet eaten on the ground off banana leaves, and the Lingayat celebration of the festival of Shivratra (end of February 1636/7). Mundy then accompanied the main ships to Achin and on to south China where he has much to report. China impressed him hugely: ‘For Arts and manner of government, I thinck noe Kingdome in the world Comparable to it, Considered altogether.’ (II, p. 303)

The fifth volume has a diary of his third and last journey to India. Employed by a private, ‘separate stock’, company, he went in March 1655 on the *Alleppo Merchant* and returned in September 1656. They arrived at Rajapur in the jurisdiction of the Bijapur sultanate, where they hoped to do business. He records sundry observations, astronomical as well as social, for example cases of *sati* and hook-swinging. On his way home, he found Swally, which he had left in February 1633 now impressively built up, and he renewed acquaintance with some former Indian associates. This last voyage had not been a success and he contrasted the ‘Companies servants [who] live here in a gentle manner, all businesse discreatly regulated with moderation’ with ‘particular [private] voiajes now a daies, each

striving to circumvent another to outbid and outrun one another all in a heedlesse headlong hast...' (V, p. 71)

His journey home was broken at Ascension Island, where he described and sketched the now extinct flightless rail of that island. Much of this last volume is taken up with a short, but valuable, account of his native Penryn, and a longer, wonderful chapter on London between 1657 and 1667. This latter diary has much vivid detail, some unique, on public events as well as other information, some astronomical, or foreign news, for example, that 'the Tartars, having laid waste and destroyed that spacious, rich and well governed kingdom of China' (V, p. 108) have reached Macao in the deep south.

Owing to the death of Sir Richard Temple, volume V was edited by his long-serving assistant, Lavinia M. Anstey who had worked on a dozen Hakluyt volumes over a period of thirty years. It has its own index and reproductions of Mundy's sketches. Anstey's researches, revealed in her Introduction, correct the assertion in the Introduction to Volume I that Mundy was married, an error which is repeated in Mundy's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

35. *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique 1629–1643. A translation of the Itinerario de las Misiones Orientales, with Introduction and Notes by Lt.-Col. C. Eckford Luard, assisted by Father H. Holsten, S.J., Volume I: Arakan, 2nd series, 59, 1927.*

The main interest of the *Travels* is the detailed account of life in Arakan, among the Mogs / Maghs as he calls them. Arakan was conquered in 1785 by Burma, which had older claims of sovereignty. The people, who had moved distantly from western China and were Buddhists with strong Muslim influences, were, and are, little known and studied. Little, too, is known of Sebastien Manrique, the Augustinian friar who was sent as a missionary, beyond what he tells us and what is known of his sad end in retirement in London, murdered and thrown into the Thames. Though a Portuguese from Oporto, he wrote in clunky Spanish loaded with classical allusions which has been attractively translated into English from the 1653 edition (the first was in 1649). There are maps, plans, illustrations and a useful index in volume II. It has been edited to a high standard by Eckford Luard, a retired Indian Civil Servant who had worked in princely states and Father Holsten with experience of Christianity in eastern India. At the time of publication there were criticisms that it had been over-edited, that, as with other Hakluyt volumes of the early twentieth century, the notes mixed great learning with information that would have been obvious to a likely reader. What constitutes general knowledge, however, has changed and acquaintance with Indian geography may no longer be what it was. As a consequence, many readers may be grateful for the exuberant assistance of the footnotes. There are many maps, plans, plates, and an excellent index in volume II.

In several chapters of volume I, Manrique recalls the year or so that he spent in Bengal before leaving for Arakan in 1630. There is an account of the town of Ugulim / Hugli and of the origins of Christianity in Bengal. Hugli is twenty-three miles north of the later city of Kolkata, on the left bank of the Hugli river at the junction with the Bhagirathi. The missionaries had moved there from Satgaon after 1537 when the silting of the Sarasvati river choked the riverine trade. After Manrique had left, Shah Jehan ordered Hugli's destruction in 1632, though within a few years the Augustinians had returned and, despite their efforts to obstruct them, the Jesuits, too. In his strictures on clergy involved in trade, Manrique appears

to implicate the Society of Jesus. There is a thorough appendix in volume II on the fall of Hugli by an eye-witness, the Jesuit Father John Cabral.

The author's account of the province mixes hearsay, for example about the Jagannath temple in Orissa, and the pilgrimage island of Sagor with sharks taking the religious bathers, with his own observations. The editor shows that he makes use of the work of De Laet (*Empire of the Great Mogul*), the geographer and director of the Dutch East India Company. Food and commodities are abundant and cheap, but the people, in his Christian eyes, are nasty. He makes, however, a distinction between the sexes: 'The Bengala women are naturally impetuous, so much so that they sometimes commit suicide by taking poison or drowning themselves. But on the whole they are humane, kindly, and easy to influence, and so more easily accept our true Catholic Faith than the men.' (I, p. 66)

Manrique is not strong on the observation of Indian life. There are a few cameos, as when he saved a Muslim in his entourage from mutilation at the hands of local villagers after he had killed a peacock, a bird treated by Hindus with extra reverence. Again, when passing 'robber-fruit', bunches of thieves hanging from trees, he also observes prominent skull pillars with public notices for corrupt judges. 'Were this custom introduced into Europe, I believe it would do away with many evils, and lessen many ills.' (II, p. 149) Generally, it may be that Manrique's Christian belief gets in the way. Passing a *shraddh* (memorial) ceremony, he writes of 'the wretched memory of a Bramene or Priest to their idols, who had been reputed a saint. Death had, in the preceding year, put an end to the sinful course of his life, and sent him to the abodes of Tartary, there to suffer the penalties due to his idolatry.' (II, p. 121)

There are, however, several things of special interest and quality in volume II. After five years in Arakan, he had been sent back to the East. Travelling in 1637 from Goa to the Far East, he returned almost immediately to the Bay of Bengal and described a landscape that has since been transformed by the northward and eastward movement of the Ganges. His account of the old Bengal capital of Gaur seems to have been the first by a westerner, and his description of the city of Rajmahal, capital of Shah Shuja, the emperor Aurangzeb's brother, is also more thorough than other available references. He travelled wearing Indian clothes — for his own safety, he implies — via the city of Patna to the Mughal capital of Agra which is given the same treatment, thorough and vivid.

Where Manrique has been most influential is his *canard* that the Italian, Geronimo Veroneo, was the architect of the Taj Mahal. The great tomb was building when he passed through Agra and he met Veroneo personally. A substantial *Note* by Father Holsten fleshes out the case for Veroneo's role, while a shorter *Note* by Luard, in keeping with modern opinion, points out that Veroneo was a jeweller not an architect, and politely expresses mild dissent. After a twenty-one day cart journey, Manrique reached Lahore, the second city of the empire, where he was very well received by Asaf Khan, father of Mumtaz Mahal, the favourite wife of Shah Jehan who ordered the Taj Mahal in her memory. The information about this minister and his court is absorbing, but more famous is his wonderfully atmospheric description of a banquet for the visiting emperor, Shah Jehan, which he was allowed to observe from an upper gallery. Asaf Khan interrupted his homeward land journey by sending him on a mission down the Indus to the city of Tatta, then back to Multan. There, in 1641, he learned of the death of his patron and set off for Persia and Europe.

36. *A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679, by Thomas Bowrey.* Edited by Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, 2nd series, 12, 1905 (1903).

Thomas Bowrey was a private trader who had, he tells us, spent nineteen years in India and the eastern islands. As evidence of his professional competence, there is included his chart of the lower Hugli river. He also published in 1701 an English-Malay dictionary which held the field until William Marsden's grammar of 1812. His *Geographical Account* provides a wealth of economic, social and geographical information of the countries around the Bay of Bengal, set in recent historical and political context which he learnt from Bernier's work and other reading and hearsay.

The manuscript, never previously published, had been in private hands. It is here presented with modernized punctuation by the former Anglo-Indian official, Sir Richard Temple and his indefatigable assistant, Lavinia Anstey. There are no maps, but it is profusely illustrated with Bowrey's own sketches, and there is an excellent index. The notes by the editor are on a massive scale. Some provide the usual onomastic and linguistic support; there is much to interest the student of the flow of words from Indian languages into English. Temple explains that his extensive quotations from unpublished documents from the period of the *Account* are designed to show how far Bowrey, a private trader, is substantiated by the Company records, and to provide supporting information about contemporary people and events.

Bowrey begins on the Coromandel coast and works clockwise round the Bay. There are accounts of Company bases, for example, Madapollam, where the Company had ships built, or the textile port of Masulipatam / Machilipatnam. The economic information extends to the elephant trade from Ceylon / Sri Lanka, where the most hardy and intelligent animals came from. In his paragraphs on Golconda there is a valuable account, with sterling equivalences, of the confusing system of money then in use. There is a lengthy discussion of *sati*, with the memory of a woman giving him some white and yellow flowers from her head before she leapt into the flames. He returned in his Bengal chapter to this subject, with his claim to have seen a woman pulling into the flames with her a *brahman* who had been forcing her forward.

The chapter on Bengal presents a view of the province which within a couple of generations was to be the focus of interest for the English Company. From his reading and hearsay he gives an account of the turbulent recent history of the Muslim government. The Danish Company's involvement in Bengal is little known, so Bowrey's information, centring on the 1674 peace after thirty-two years of conflict, is valuable. There is, too, a description with much economic information of the English Company's base at Cosumbazar / Kasimbazar. His Christian perspective is always present and he is consistently critical in his references to rapacious Muslim rulers. Writing of Hindu funeral customs he describes 'kindred and Friends sittinge by howling and cryinge, Even as the wild Irish Used to doe for their parents deceased.' (p. 201). Wealthy Hindus, he notes, generally live very poorly. But he commends them 'for their ready and admirable discourse and civilities to all Europeans and Christians in general; for they will Scorne to do any of us the least Injurie in word or deed, if wee doe not first put Some grosse affront upon them.' (p. 206)

Bowrey's chapter on Patna has details of the famine of 1670 and of Job Charnock, the Company chief there, who had learnt perfect Persian 'and hath live wholly after their Custome (save in his Religion), by which he hath obtained vast priviledges, and love of the Grandees that Sway the Power of the Kingdome...' (p. 224) The last third of his *Account* deals with the Malay coast and Achin.

37. *The Papers of Thomas Bowrey 1669–1713. Part I, Diary of a Six Weeks' Tour in 1698 in Holland and Flanders. Part II, The Story of Mary Galley 1704–1710.* Edited by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, 2nd series, 58, 1927.

When the *Geographical Account* (above) was being prepared for publication, the author's identity was in doubt. Subsequently, a mass of papers belonging to TB came to light and both his full name and professional identity came into focus. It is from this huge collection that the second Hakluyt Society volume has been pieced together. By then Bowrey had ceased to trade as a 'free merchant' or, in the East India Company's eyes, an 'interloper' and was the part owner of 'separate stock' ships as allowed by the legislative change of 1699/1700. The retired Indian Army scholar-officer Sir Richard Temple has provided thorough notes and an index.

India only appears tangentially in this biography of a ship, the *Mary Galley*, which will be of great interest to maritime historians, especially those concerned with navigation in the Indian Ocean and the East Indies. Bowrey was also part-owner of another ship which has attracted historians' attention. The *Worcester* was involved in controversy when its captain and two others were hanged in Scotland for piracy in 1705, when relations with England on the eve of the Act of Union were highly sensitive.

The *Mary Galley* stopped only briefly at Calcutta on her way to Batavia. She had on board some letters to be delivered. That to Sir Elihu Yale, (see 1st series, 75: *Diary of William Hedges*, volume II) is not reproduced. The Yale papers in the Bowrey collection were sent to the university which his will endowed in Connecticut. But there is a very interesting letter to Thomas Pitt (Ibid. 1st series, 78: vol.III) which brings the news of 1704 from the War of the Spanish Succession: the allied victory by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim; the capture of Gibraltar; and Sir George Rooke's naval battle with a French fleet off Cape Malaga.

38. *The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672 to 1674.* Translated from the manuscript journal of his travels in the India Office by Lady Fawcett, and Edited by Sir Charles Fawcett with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn. Volume I. From France through Syria, Iraq and the Persian Gulf to Surat, Goa, and Bijapur, with an account of his grave illness, 2nd series, 95, 1947.

***The Travels of Abbé Carré...* Volume II. From Bijapur to Madras and St Thome. Account of the Capture of Trincomalee Nay and St Thome by De La Haye, and of the siege of St Thome by the Golconda Army and hostilities with the Dutch, 2nd series, 96, 1947.**

***The Travels of Abbé Carré...* Volume III. Return Journey to France with an account of the Sicilian Revolt against Spanish rule at Messina, 2nd series, 97, 1948.**

Abbé Carré's *Travels*, written in the form of a diary, is important not just for its lively reportage from South India, but for the historical moment of his journey. Louis XIV had recently sent a squadron of warships to the Indian Ocean to support the young French East India Company at a time (1672–4) when France and England were allied in a war against the Dutch. The Abbé, who seems to have spent many years travelling as a sort of government agent, had been sent to take despatches to General de La Haye, the commander of French operations in the Indian Ocean, and to report on the work of the French Company. His master was Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis's powerful minister of finances.

Lady Fawcett, only the third woman to appear on the title page of a Hakluyt Society volume, produced a highly readable translation of a previously unpublished holograph manuscript which had come into the collection of the British Library. Remarkably little is known of the abbé, not even his full name with certainty. A short Introduction discusses what can be inferred about him and briefly evaluates the work, taking a favourable view of his veracity despite his being prone to exaggeration. Further information which came to light during publication is included in the Introduction to volume III. There are maps in each volume, a few illustrations and an excellent index in volume III. The editor, Sir Charles Fawcett, was a retired Indian civil servant and historian known for his contentious suggestion that the design of the Continental Colors (1775) and its successor the American Stars and Stripes (1777) were influenced by the flag of the English East India Company. He had continued Foster's work, editing four more volumes of *The English Factories in India*. Here he was helped by Sir Richard Burn who had also served in the Indian Civil Service as editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Later, Burn edited the fourth volume of the *Cambridge History of India* and was a well-known numismatist.

The abbé had an ideal temperament for hazardous travel. He had taken an English boat from Leghorn across the Mediterranean and would continue from the Persian Gulf in a Portuguese vessel to Diu. But by the banks of the Euphrates having been stripped by robbers and then spent a night up a tree 'on account of four or five raging lions... I counted as a mere bagatelle the loss of my money, my baggage, and everything else' — having still the despatches in his possession. (I, p. 72) In Surat, he bemoans the laxity and the quarrelling prevalent in the French Company and compares the 'wonderful discipline in the companies of the other European nations.' (II, p. 147) After an interview with M. Gueston, director-general of the French Company, he drew up a lengthy memorandum of comparisons and recommendations which is included in the text. It is likely that the abbé had been in India on a recent previous trip, and he probably drew on that experience.

His intention was to travel by land to deliver his despatches at St Thomé, then besieged by the army of Golconda. But first he moved down the west coast aware that the forces of Sivaji, the rising Maratha leader and 'like a second Alexander' (I, p. 310), were menacing the back country. He again discussed the different Companies with Gerald Aungier the new governor of Bombay which had recently (1665) passed into English hands and then been transferred (1668) to the English Company. By comparison with Surat, he found the French factory at Rajapur well regulated. At Goa, he notes the departed glories, but not the Portuguese pretensions. There was a difficult interview with the viceroy, Dom Luiz de Mendoza Furtado, who bridled at the mention of another viceroy at St Thomé and was quite unwilling to release Frenchmen in Portuguese employ. The abbé was constantly trying to arrange for the return to the French Company of the scattered French population in south India. From Goa, he struck inland on his journey to St Thomé. At an early stop, at the church

of Bicholim, he found ‘the music was sweet and excellent, which surprised me, as the priests were all dark Canarins. They officiated with as much solemnity in this country place as could have been done in the finest chapter-house in France.’ (I, p. 223)

The rest of volume I is taken up with the journey to and the stop at Bijapur. There is a lengthy comparison between the lives of nuns in French convents and inmates of the harems of Indian kings. Woven with this are his critical remarks about Islam and its followers; though this should be balanced against his close friendship with a Persian. All this is curtailed by what appears to have been a severe attack of malaria which laid him low for weeks and brought him to the gates of death and almost to a live burial. There is much here for anyone interested in the history of medicine, though not for the squeamish.

In volume II, the abbé, sufficiently recovered for travel in a palanquin, left Bijapur for Golconda. Passing through Afzalpur, he gives a slightly distorted version of the famous incident of Afzal Khan’s slaughter of his two hundred wives and his own death at the hands of Sivaji. There is an interesting description of Golconda, where troops were being concentrated and war elephants trained in the noise of battle, all in preparation for the attack on the French factory of St Thomé. Because of the war in Europe, much dissimulation was required on this journey down to the coast at Pulicat / Pazhaverkadu where there was a Dutch fort. There is information about Viranna, the great merchant who dominated trade locally, including the English Company’s operations in Madras.

News having arrived that the Golconda besiegers had been routed by the French garrison, the abbé could easily travel from Madras to St Thomé, three miles to the south. He has much detailed reportage of the dissensions in the French factory at Surat and of the earlier failure by De La Haye to overcome Dutch resistance to the founding of a French base at Trincomalee. The abbé was pained by the neutrality of the English governor of Madras in further fighting with Golconda. But an earlier favour to Viranna was handsomely returned when the merchant covertly sent valuable aid to St Thomé. Historians have found useful his detailed report of the battle off Petapoli between the English and Dutch fleets, and more generally his information about French India in the decades before the great struggle in south Asia between Britain and France.

In September 1673 the abbé left Madras in an English ship for the voyage back to France. This return journey fills volume III, and for the first leg to Bombay we have the corroborating record of Dr Fryer who was in another ship of the fleet. (2nd series, 19) Again, he praises, by comparison with their French counterparts, the good order and cleanliness of the English ships; ‘though they have enough arrogance everywhere, yet they have some ground for it.’ (III, p. 679). By contrast with French ships, all the crew were involved in navigation, as he noted with approval.

Stopping en route at Calicut, the Abbé made a three-day walk to Tellichery / Thalassery where he found the French factory in fine order. At Bombay he again met the governor, Gerald Aungier. Telling, at some length, fascinating human stories was a particular forte of the abbé. There is a long and tragic tale of the marriage of a Frenchman, son of a Mughal physician, to a Portuguese woman, which appears too in the travel writing of Niccolão Manucci. The lesson is the extreme unwisdom of having anything to do with the Portuguese in India, of whom the abbé has the lowest opinion. At Daman he found further proof of this with even more disturbing tales of cuckoldry and heresy. Finally, he left Surat,

after struggling with dissension and dishonesty, in a ship bound for Bandar Abbas and the overland route to France.

39. *A New Account of East India and Persia. Being Nine Years Travels, 1672–1681, by John Fryer, Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by William Crooke. Volume I, 2nd series, 19, 1909.*

A New Account of East India and Persia... Volume II, 2nd series, 20, 1912.

A New Account of East India and Persia... Volume III, 2nd series, 39, 1915.

Dr John Fryer was a near contemporary of both Tavernier and Bernier and Manucci. If he is not quite in the same league of those great travellers, his *New Account*, written between 1672 and 1681 in epistolary form, which covers an immense range of observation in India and Persia, is surely a worthy companion. 1672 was the year in which he was sent as surgeon for the East India Company's factory at Surat. He had graduated from Trinity and then Pembroke Colleges, Cambridge and his *New Account* shows him to be a young man of scientific curiosity and wide reading. He was later elected a fellow of the Royal Society. There is also the pleasure of his prose style, somewhat reminiscent of Sir Thomas Herbert and Sir Thomas Browne whose *Religio Medici* he quotes. Perhaps as a result of this facility coupled with his evident ignorance of Indian languages, he uses many Anglo-Indian expressions which made him a major source for that great compendium, *Hobson-Jobson* (1st edn, 1886).

The editor, William Crooke, was an Irishman who spent a quarter-century as a civil servant working in the (then) North-west provinces of India; he published his four-volume *Tribes and Castes* of that region. In that work he took an occupational view of caste, opposing the racial interpretation then fashionable and held by the immensely influential census commissioner, Sir Herbert Risley. He published other works of an anthropological character and later became president of the Folklore Society. In addition, he had earlier edited the second edition of *Hobson-Jobson*. In this Hakluyt Society volume there are many illustrations and plans taken from the 1698 edition, Fryer's own interesting index and a modern one provided by Crooke.

Fryer left with the annual fleet of ten ships for Madras and then made his way back via several stops to Surat, the whole journey taking about a year. When opportunity arose he made short forays into the interior, praising the local sailors who took him up-river: 'they are a shame to our Sailors, who can hardly ever work without horrid Oaths and hideous Cursing and Imprecations...' (I, p. 145) During his whole time there he never visited any of the great states or cities of India.

In discussing the Indian merchants and brokers who handled the Company's business and took two per cent on all bargains, he wonders what more they squeezed out undetected through a lack of language knowledge by the English merchants. The Company retained a master to teach reading and writing (Gujarati, presumably) and offered 'an Annuity to be annexed when they gain a perfection therein, which few attempt and fewer attain.' (I, p. 218)

The differences between Sunni and Shi'a Islam are explained with an accuracy only occasionally corrected by the editor. The Muslim custom of being married by a 'Cazy or judge' leads to the reflection that it was 'from this, doubtless, our Phanatiks borrowed their Custom of Marrying by a justice of the Peace.' (I, p. 237) Despite his apparent royalism,

Fryer was to marry into the Desborough family who had played an important part in the Interregnum. Fryer always seems most interested in life as he experienced it. Muslims, he tells us ‘drink no Wine Publicly, but Privately will be good Fellows, not content with such little glasses, as we drink out of, but Sack and Brandy out of the Bottle they will Tipple, till they are well warmed.’ (I, p. 235)

There is an excellent picture of Company life with comparisons among the different European nations. He contrasts the English who are peaceable and command no awe with the forceful Dutch, ‘Though a Commonwealth in Europe, find it properest to bear the face of a monarchy here...’ (II, pp. 114–5). Describing the tombs around Surat, he comes to that of the bizarre traveller Thomas Coryat who ‘was so confident of his Perfection in the Indostan Tongue, that he ventured to play the Orator in it before the Great Mogul. In his return from him he was killed with Kindness by the English merchants, which laid his rambling Brains at Rest.’ (II, p. 253)

In February 1677, Fryer left for the Persian Gulf. Before he went, in the first half of volume II he recounts a trip south to Goa and into the coastal fringe of the Kannada-speaking country. He sets the fine buildings of the Portuguese capital against the sense of insecurity from the presence of the very poor and of the unpaid soldiery, ‘so that everyone walks in the City with his naked Sword in his Hand for his own Defence at evening; and now within Doors, and in a Private House, we were forced to make our Arms our Pillows.’ (II, p. 16) A story of the ingenious strangulation of travellers reminds the editor of nineteenth-century *thagi*. His description of food being transmitted in containers — *dubbas* — will probably remind the modern reader of contemporary Mumbai.

As before, everywhere (principally in Gujarat) he goes he enquires into and speculates about health and mortality, the causes and effects of the monsoons, the fauna, flora and food plants. He notices potatoes in some diets and praises mangoes, ‘when Ripe, the Apples of the Hisperides are but Fables to them.’ (II, p. 84) He makes general informed generalizations; about Indian personal cleanliness; and about Indian women — ‘more forward than our in Europe, and leave off Childbearing sooner... Neat, Well-shaped and Obsequious to their Husbands.’ (II, p. 116). As in the first volume, there are detailed reports on different castes and religious communities, for example the Lingayats. He reports Mughal colour prejudice, and notes the poor state of the Parsi community, before their consolidated move to Bombay and rise under British rule. There is a fascinating account of popular conjuring and magic, including the famous ‘mango-trick’ which appears in the memoirs of the emperor Jehangir (see, also, *Hobson-Jobson*). Before leaving for the Gulf, Fryer has tables of coins and weights used where the English Company traded.

Volume III is taken up with his Persian experiences, but there are two Indian chapters at the end as he returns there briefly before leaving for England. Setting out on an excursion to the Company station at Broach / Bharuch, he finds the road clogged with carts and reflects on the contrast with the lack of wheeled transport in Persia. Always, news of the raiding forces of Sivaji heightens the sense of insecurity. He records Newton’s Comet of 1680. Reports reached the west coast of the tidal wave that had swamped Masulipatam and killed 16,000 (half the death toll of a similar event there in 1864: III, 365.n). There is more second-hand news of the demise of Sivaji and the emperor Aurangzeb’s campaigns and persecutions.

40. *The Diary of William Hedges, Esq. (afterwards Sir William Hedges) during his Agency in Bengal; as well as his Voyage Out and Return Overland (1681–1687). Volume I. The Diary, with Index. Transcribed for the Press, with introductory Notes, etc. by R. Barlow, and illustrated by Copious Extracts from Unpublished Records, etc. by Colonel Henry Yule, 1st series, 74, 1887. (1886).*

The Diary of William Hedges, Esq.... Volume II. Containing Notes regarding Sir William Hedges, documentary Memoirs of Job Charnock, and other biographical and miscellaneous Illustrations of the Time in India..., 1st series, 75, 1888.(1886).

The Diary of William Hedges, Esq.... Volume III. Containing Documentary Contributions to a Biography of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St George; with Collections on the early history of the Company's Settlement in Bengal; and on early Charts and Topography of the Hugli River, 1st series, 78, 1889.(1888).

This volume records a difficult time for the English East India Company. The expansion in trade in the Bay of Bengal had attracted the cupidity of the Indian authorities, and an agreement over customs duties was urgently needed. Even more to the point was the indiscipline — for example uncontrolled private trading — of the Company servants, and the growth of ‘free merchants’ or ‘interlopers’ as the Company called those who sought to breach its monopoly. To tackle these problems it was decided to separate the Bay of Bengal operations from the oversight of Fort St George at Madras. William Hedges, a ‘committee’ or director of the Company was sent out to the factory at Hugli as the new chief in Bengal. This *Diary* in volume I records his experiences from his arrival in July 1682 to his dismissal in August 1684.

The *Diary* had been discovered in a Canterbury bookshop by Robert Barlow, a retired Bengal pilot. Colonel Henry Yule, then president of the Hakluyt Society, found when the *Diary* was delivered for publication that the notes and supporting material were disappointingly insubstantial. He only then seems to have appreciated its historical importance. It was too late to do anything about it — except to provide a good index — but he took the project in hand himself. The result is the extraordinary richness of volume II and III which provide documentary support for the *Diary* with reproduced portraits, charts, genealogies and facsimile autographs. There is a very good index to these two volumes in volume III, which curiously uses Arabic numerals to direct the reader to pages which have been numbered in Roman numerals.

Yule is perhaps best known as co-author (actually principal author) of *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (1886). He was a retired Indian military engineer and later an independent minded member of the Council of India: he minuted his opposition to press censorship in the 1878 Vernacular Press Act. He was also president of the Royal Asiatic Society, and at the Royal Geographical Society he served on the council from which he resigned — and published his protest with H. M. Hyndman — over Stanley's ‘Bumbirch Massacre’ of 1875.

Volume I opens with the ship's log of the voyage to Bengal. The *Diary* then provides a detailed account of the work of the Company in Bengal and the life of its servants and, increasingly, of the frustrations of William Hedges. His notice of the ruined city of Gaur is rather the exception; the palace there ‘in my judgement, considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Seignor's Seraglio at Constantinople, or any other Pallace that I

have seen in Europe.’ (I, p. 89) This he saw on the way to Dacca / Dhaka where he pressed the Nawab to cancel the three and a half per cent customs duty. Shaista Khan, recently preoccupied with military defeat in Sylhet, commended Hedges’ knowledge of Arabic and Turkish, but returned a bland reply.

Before seeing the Nawab, he had stopped at Cossimbuzar / Kasimbazar, through which incomparably more trade flowed than any other Company factory in Bengal. The chief there was Job Charnock, and soon he is never mentioned in the *Diary* without some uncomplimentary reference: to his liaison of nineteen years with a Hindu woman; his alleged taking two percent from the weavers; to his servant, James Harding, ‘formerly dismissed ye Hon. Compy’s Service for Blasphemy and Athisticall tennets... of a most unquiet turbulent spirit... having lately been taken in Fornication with a slave wench...’ (I, p. 80) Relations also with his colleagues on the Hugli Council deteriorated. Well-funded interlopers appeared with the resources to pay local officials and challenge the Company. One of these, ‘Alley went [to see the Fousdar / Foujdar] in a splendid Equipage, habited in Scarlet richly laced. Ten Englishmen in Blew Capps and Coats edged with Red, all armed with Blunderbusses, went before his pallankeen, 80 peons before them, and 4 Musicians playing on the Weights, with 2 flags before him, like an Agent.’ (I, p. 123)

By now, Hedges had formed three conclusions which he sent to London: interlopers could only be stopped at home; the Company in Bengal should refuse to pay the customs duty — to do so would only encourage a raised tariff; and the powers of the chief in Bengal, the Agent, over Company servants must be increased. He had also lost patience with Charnock and deeply resented the latter’s aspersions: ‘Such groundless assertions as these are insufferable. I can no more hear them than an honest, virtuous Woman can be questioned for her Chastity. It’s absolutely necessary that one of us two be displaced.’ (I, p. 146) Six months later, he learned that it was to be him. The Nawab in public durbar expressed the view that ‘ye English were a company of base, quarrelling people, and foul dealers.’ (I, p. 153)

In volume II Yule has gathered from mostly previously unpublished sources a mass of biographical information about William Hedges. Yule has discovered that his wife, who does not appear in the *Diary*, died in childbirth during the 1683 monsoon. Hedges carried the remains of mother and child back during his long return journey of two years and three months for burial in a Wiltshire churchyard. The most important discovery is a document revealing that Hedges even at the time of his appointment never really had the confidence of the immensely powerful governor, or chairman of the Company, Sir Josia(h) Child. He also opposed Hedges’s proposed refusal to pay the customs duties and build a fort in Bengal. He thought this would provoke ‘the Mogul’, encourage the Dutch to ‘wind themselves into the quarrell’, believing that in the shoals of the Ganges delta (in contrast to Bombay) ‘the big ships which are our main-stay can’t ride near them.’ (II, xxii–xxiii)

A longer chapter does the same for Job Charnock, a larger-than-life personality who is regarded as the European founder of Kolkata. Once again, it seems, the shadow of Sir Josia Child falls across the proceedings, and it is clear that he was Charnock’s patron. Before Hedges arrived, the Madras governor, Streynsham Master (1675–81) had been censured for not promoting Charnock from Patna to Kasimbazar. The language of the London correspondence consistently puts the Company chiefs in India under the lash, but Charnock is never spoken of without respect: ‘A person that has served us faithfully above 20 years, and hath never, as we understand, been a prowler for himselfe, beyond what was just and

modest...’ (p. xlvi) The documents take the story up to Charnock’s founding a new settlement at Chatanati / Sutanuti, one of the three villages that later fused into the city of Calcutta / Kolkata.

There is also a biographical dictionary of many of the persons mentioned in the diary, some of the entries containing substantial and fascinating extracts from unpublished documents. Sir Josia Child, Streynsham Master, and Elihu Yale, later governor of Madras, 1687–92, are there, the last bequeathing part of his fortune to the college in Connecticut which now bears his name.

The final section in the second volume is a wonderfully interesting miscellany of documents of roughly contemporary interest: English tourists in India, with special reference to the first recorded, the Earl of Denbigh, whose portrait by Van Dyck hangs in the National Portrait Gallery in London; information about slaves and slave purchase in the Bay of Bengal; the appointment of the first chaplain, in the Commonwealth period; a very perceptive and open-minded letter from Surat about Gujarati society. There are elaborate instructions from London on packing tea — ‘you cant be too careful’ — ‘to preserve it from all manner of Scents, which it very Subject to imbibe, and thereby become of no Value here.’ (II, p. ccclviii). Another letter asks the Surat Agent ‘to provide for him [King Charles II] one Male and two Female Blacks, but they must be Dwarfs, and of the least size that you can procure.’ (II, p. ccclvii)

Volume III is mostly devoted to the life of another extraordinary figure, Thomas Pitt. Since he is not especially prominent in the *Diary*, it might seem strange to devote the best part of a volume to his biography. Yule justifies this on the grounds of Pitt’s historical importance and the poverty of reliable information about him in the public domain. He was the grandfather and great-grandfather of two prime ministers of the same name. At the time he was known as ‘Diamond Pitt’ from the huge gem that he acquired — 410 carats uncut — and which he managed to sell to the Regent of France in 1717 and, having been part of the Bourbon and Napoleonic regalia, is now in the Louvre. It was widely assumed, probably wrongly, that he had acquired it dishonestly, and an imputation to that effect appears in Pope’s *Moral Essays*. The edited documents take us through his remarkable life from interloper to governor of Madras and owner of the famous rotten borough of Old Sarum in England where he ended his life.

His appointment as governor in 1698 came at a critical moment in the conflict between the New and Old Companies. It also shows the decline in the influence of the legendary Sir Josia Child who was by no means his supporter. In the event, he showed himself a statesman while never missing a business opportunity for the Company or himself. He is remembered especially for his gem trading, but he did not spurn small opportunities. In the year after his arrival as governor in Madras he was writing home: ‘I made a tryall of making some small neck cloths but coming out very dear made me desist in itt, but... I resolve to make another tryall and will send a parcel by the next Ship, which if you don’t like I’ll pay the loss of ‘em.’ (III, p. lxii)

There are extracts of correspondence about a serious disturbance over a wedding procession in Madras between castes of the Right Hand and those of the Left Hand, a dual organization that has attracted much anthropological attention. Though Pitt is censured for not showing proper impartiality, it is clear that the Company’s interest lay more with the Left

Hand which comprised the weavers and most of the craftsmen. The volume closes with new material on the Company's first settlement in Bengal, and also with documents and a chart on the early mapping, and position, of the Hugli River.

41. *François Valentijn's Description of Ceylon*. Edited by Sinnappah Arasaratnam, 2nd series, 149, 1978. (1975) The first twelve chapters on Ceylon in Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*. (Dordrecht, 1724-6).

A reader familiar with Robert Knox's remarkable *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, in the East-Indies*, 1681, may wonder what more François Valentijn has to offer. Valentijn in fact drew on Knox when he was writing about the interior of the island, the Kingdom of Kandy, where Knox had been a prisoner for nineteen years. But Valentijn was less concerned with peasant society and more interested in the literate traditions of the island. As the editor says it 'is a bookish account, very cartographic and scientific... It is an overview of the whole area, more factual but less colourful.' (p. 33) Then there is the sheer scale of the work: *Oud en Nieuw Ooste-Indien*, was published in 1724-6 in five large volumes. What is presented here is a translation and critical edition of twelve chapters (slightly abridged) from the fifth volume dealing with Ceylon / Sri Lanka. Despite proposals the work had never been republished. Excerpts had subsequently appeared in Dutch and a part was translated in a Hakluyt Society volume of 1859 (1st series, 25: *Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, etc.). Some Indian material was translated for the English East India Company scholar-soldier Colin Mackenzie and appears in his manuscript collection in the British Library, which has been edited and catalogued. An English translation of the Ceylon material was made at the beginning of the nineteenth century but never saw the light of day. It is English mss II, 23 in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The *Description* is profusely illustrated from the original edition. There are maps, including a large folding map of the island produced by Valentijn and of considerable cartographic importance at the time; and there is a good index. The text has been edited to a high standard by Professor Arasaratnam, a prolific scholar whose work focused on Sri Lanka and especially Dutch trading in maritime South-east Asia. His Introduction, as well as explaining the context, provides biographical information about the author who, in 1685 aged nineteen and a graduate of Leiden University, arrived in Batavia as a minister of the Reformed Church in the service of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC). In two spells he spent eighteen years in the East Indies, mostly in Amboina / Ambon. He never, however, visited Ceylon. The confident and vivid detail and all his knowledge of the island is derived from interrogating Dutch colleagues, from the records of the VOC, and from a very large range of secondary sources such as the *Decadas* of Diogo de Couto and João de Barros, Linschoten's *Voyage* (1st series, 70 & 71), Knox (*supra*) and very many more. These sources are discussed and evaluated in the Introduction. His thoroughness put Valentijn's work into a class of its own, and his authority more or less reigned supreme over later Continental and British writers on Ceylon well into the nineteenth century. Modern scholars have noted his selective use of some official sources. On the other hand, some of his citations of now lost material are of unique value.

Valentijn prefaces his work with a detailed explanatory list of the office holders at all levels, and the communities and castes in Ceylon. Many of the sub-castes have subsequently disappeared into larger groupings, and this section has been of great value to scholars. The first three chapters describe Ceylon geographically and socially. He makes such skilful use of

his sources that the reader feels taken on a guided tour by a resident familiar with every path and village, at least outside the central kingdom of Kandy for which information was harder to come by. There is a wonderful sense of the fecundity of the island and the marvellous range of fauna, especially, so much of which has since been lost. As befits a scholar of Malay and Javanese and a Christian missionary, there is a great deal about Ceylon's languages and religious communities.

The fourth and fifth chapters recount the historical traditions of Ceylon down to the arrival in 1505 of the Portuguese Lourenço d'Almeida, blown there off course from an intended naval attack on the Maldives. It seems Valentijn had access to Sinhala chronicles for this earlier period. There is a version of the Vijaya Legend and his daughter and the lion. There are also various accounts of the arrival of the Sinhalese from Tenasserim and elsewhere, and of the coming of Buddhism. There is a good deal of information about the part that the 'Malabars', the Tamils, played in history, including an invasion perhaps promoted from the empire of Vijayanagar. The second voyage (1411) of the Ming admiral, Cheng Ho / Zheng He, appears in a garbled account of his capture of a Sinhala king. Valentijn's remarkable king list, despite a few centuries of uncertainty in the middle, has been found important.

The sixth chapter, concerning the wars by which the Portuguese got control of much of the island, is shaped rather from the Sinhalese point of view. The seventh which deals with Portuguese rule once the wars were more or less over is equally unsympathetic. With the arrival of the Dutch we come to the real theme of the work. Three ships, sent by the Zeeland Company, arrived in 1602, the year in which the VOC was founded in the Netherlands. The admiral, Joris van Spilbergen, was a skilful diplomat whose offer of help against the Portuguese was well received by the ruler who gave him permission to build a fort and embraced him so energetically as to lift him off the ground. Valentijn's character sketch brings the remarkable Vimala Dharma Suriya I (1593–1604) memorably to life. Also included is a little about the ambitions of the Danish king, Christian IV. There is, however, a detailed history of the Portuguese-Dutch wars culminating in the fall of Columbo in 1656 after nearly a hundred and fifty years of Portuguese rule, and their expulsion from the island two years later.

Valentijn's title in English begins: '*Old and New East Indies, embracing an exact and detailed treatment of Dutch power in those quarter....*' Published in 1724–6 as the period of Dutch greatness in the east was drawing to a close, this was an intensely patriotic work. He includes an epitaph by the great poet Joost van der Vondel on the death of Director-General Gerard Hulft at the siege of Colombo in 1656. But the intensity of his interest in Ceylon, prompted as it was by hostility to the Portuguese, and the quality of his scholarship raise it to something of more universal value.

42. *The Voyage of François Leguat of Bresse to Rodriguez, Mauritius, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope.* Transcribed from the First English Edition. Edited and annotated by Captain Samuel Pasfield Oliver. Volume I, 1st series, 82, 1889 (1890). The edition of 1708. This volume covering 1689–1693.

***The Voyage of François Leguat...* Volume II, 1st series, 83, 1891 (1890).** Covering 1693–1698.

This *Voyage* has had a bizarre history; once thought to be bogus, it is now accepted as genuine. There is an excellent brief discussion of the book and its reception in R. J. Howgego, *Encyclopedia of Exploration*, vol. 5: *Invented and Apocryphal Narratives of Travel* and a longer exposition in the Introduction. It was first published more or less simultaneously in English, French and Dutch in 1708. This English edition, with some apparatus from the Dutch, is reproduced here. There are many illustrations of great interest, excellent maps, and an index.

The two volumes are not concerned with India, but they are noted here because of their importance for the regional study of the Indian Ocean. The editor, who complains of some interference by the secretary of the Hakluyt Society, had appropriate experience. Captain Oliver's duties as an army officer had allowed opportunities for intrepid travel in the Far East and Central America. From his station in Mauritius he went as a member of an official delegation to Madagascar in 1862 to congratulate King Radama II on his coronation, and his subsequent publications made him the leading British authority on the island.

François Leguat was a French Huguenot who had fled to Holland in 1685 after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had required all French to be Roman Catholics. He ended his days in London, and there is very interesting material about the Huguenot migration to Britain (not just England). Once in Holland, he joined a visionary scheme by the exiled Marquis du Quesne to found a Huguenot colony under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the island of Mascaregne / Reunion, which he proposed to name Eden. When it was discovered that the French viceroy in India, Jacob de La Haye, had re-annexed the island in 1674, the expedition was diverted to the uninhabited island of Diego Ruys or Rodriguez / Rodrigues. After a year in which they did not see a single ship passing, the isolation and lack of women began to pall on the young men. In 1693, after two years, the small group dared to sail in an open boat the three hundred miles to Mauritius. Leguat thought that the ease there of living off potatoes had made the settlers lazily abandon other forms of agriculture. The new arrivals were harshly treated by the governor of the Dutch penal colony, accused of selling ambergris in defiance of the VOC's monopoly, and sent for trial to Batavia, before eventually returning to Europe.

What has made Leguat's work so important is his account of the natural history of Rodriguez. There are vivid descriptions of the abundant sea life, the tortoises, turtles, the now extinct owl and pigeon and the 'solitary', the dodo of Rodriguez, not to mention the vermin or the millions of land crabs. The editor has added in volume II some learned and informative appendices about the extinct wild life of the island, especially its flightless birds and giant tortoises. Though Leguat's *Voyage* had attracted European interest, there was no scientific investigations until 1874 when a British expedition was sent to observe the transit of Venus. The Royal Society had arranged for naturalists to accompany the astronomers, but it was too late, and they could only examine the remains of extinct creatures. Because of the island's out-of-the-way position, it had been neglected during the early age of western colonialism.

Admiral Boscawen had claimed it for Britain at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession (1748). French scientists arriving to observe the 1761 transit of Venus found it abandoned. But the Seven Years war was encompassing the globe, and they quickly found themselves taken over by Captain Kempenfelt of the Royal Navy. The French East India Company had on and off used Rodriguez as a tortoise breeding base for their sailors' food, but the French government annexed the again abandoned island in the name of King Louis XV in 1764. Finally, there was a British annexation of all the Mascarene Islands in 1809–10.

43. *Bombay in the Days of Queen Anne. Being an Account of the Settlement written by John Burnell. With an Introduction and Notes by Samuel T. Sheppard. To which is added Burnell's narrative of his adventures in Bengal. With an Introduction by Sir William Foster and Notes by Sir Evan Cotton and L. M. Anstey, 2nd series, 72, 1933.*

Burnell's account of Bombay, which takes the form of two letters written in 1710–11 to his father, is taken from a copy of a previously unpublished manuscript in the Orme Collection, now in the British Library. The fragments of biographical information about the author and his relation to the East India Company are pieced together and interpreted in the Introduction by Samuel T. Sheppard, formerly editor of the *Times of India*, and himself a writer about Bombay's topography and place names. He also provides full notes; there are three useful maps and an excellent index to the whole volume.

There had been four previous English descriptions of Bombay — by Aungier, Fryer, Ovington and Hamilton — but Burnell's is fuller and superior to these. Bombay had been going through a depressed period with internal dissensions and threats from without, Shivaji, the Mughals, pirates, and anxieties about the Portuguese, the French and the Danes. As Burnell was writing, however, things were on the turn. By 1709 the Old and New East India Companies had formed a union, and, after forty years of discussion, the first 'Breaches' were closed and the process by which the seven islands of Bombay eventually became a peninsula was inaugurated.

It is possible that Burnell may have assisted his friend Captain Euclid Baker who conducted a survey in 1710. Though some of his place names are now incomprehensible, he is an invaluable guide to the buildings and layout of an older Bombay, now mostly over-built. There are only a few references to the civil life of the Europeans. Death seems to have been ever-present in that unhealthy place. Just why it was so lethal exercised two visitors in the few years before Burnell. Frye and J. Ovington were inclined to blame the weather, the latter quoting a local English proverb: 'Two Mussouns are the Age of a Man'. (*A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, London, 1929, ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, p. 87) Burnell dwells on the European cemetery: 'a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives, but is still gaping for more...' (p. 25) There is a little more about the military. The militia, we are told, exercised once a month 'with as much grace as a cow might make a curtsy' (p. 13) A simple style enlivened with occasional figures of speech conveys a huge amount of information about the islands and their flora and fauna. The work and customs of the Indian inhabitants appear too. There is some implied interaction as when he notes the sense of Indian music's 'confused harmony and unintelligible to us', they 'as much laugh at on the other side.' (p. 104)

Burnell's very brief and lively *Adventures in Bengal* is also in an epistolary form. They had been published previously, in 1923, by Sir Evan Cotton in *Bengal Past and*

Present, when the author was unknown. There are two appendices contributed by Cotton who had been a prominent Calcutta barrister and was president of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1922–5. The galaxy of distinguished editors includes Sir William Foster (see 2nd series, 183: *Compassing the Vaste Globe*) who contributed an Introduction to the Bengal letter.

In 1712, after he had been cashiered from the Company's military service in Madras, from where he had moved from Bombay, and lacking the money to pay for the voyage home, Burnell sought a fresh career in Bengal. He seems to have followed the example of his friend Captain Hercules Courtney. After the latter's dismissal from the Madras Army for drink-fuelled 'Irish impudence', he had served as a mercenary in Bengal for the Holy Roman Emperor's Ostend Company and then in an Indian Army. There is an interesting appendix about Courtney, perhaps to compensate for the lack of biographical information about Burnell. The latter's appeal for Company employment in Calcutta was courteously declined by John Russell, president and governor of Fort William and Cromwell's grandson, about whom there is another appendix. The death of the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah I in 1712, however, triggered a civil war which opened possibilities for military employment. The complexities of the situation are explained with clarity in the Introduction by Sir William Foster. After trying both the Danish and Dutch Companies, Burnell found employment with an Indian warlord. In dealing with Europeans, the latter used as go-between and paymaster an Augustinian friar at the Portuguese base of Bandel. Burnell soon fell out with this extraordinary and sinister figure. The narrative breaks off as Burnell sets out for Mushidabad (then Maqsudabad) to appeal to the *de facto* ruler of Bengal, Murshid Quli Khan.

44. *The Desert Route to India. Being the Journals of Four Travellers by the Great Desert Caravan Route between Aleppo and Basra 1745–1751.* Edited by Douglas Carruthers, 2nd series, 63, 1929 (1928). The Journals of William Beawes, Gaylard Roberts, Bartholemew Plaisted, and John Carmichael.

Though the subject of these readable *Journals* is exclusively the Euphrates route between Aleppo and Basra, readers interested in western links with India should find them worth their time. For nearly two centuries protecting the routes to India was a prime concern of British foreign policy. But the Euphrates route had been used for generations. Even after the maritime European powers had established bases in India, it was often the fastest way for people and messages until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when these authors travelled, a local horseman could pass between Aleppo and Basra in thirteen to eighteen days, European parties taking about twice as long. The first modern European traveller was probably Antonio Terreiro in 1523, and the Portuguese continued to make great use of the route for urgent communications. It seems that in the seventeenth century it became less secure, but that by the middle of the eighteenth it was again being used heavily.

All this is discussed in the Introduction by the editor. Douglas Carruthers, having established his own reputation as a traveller in the Congo and Outer Mongolia, had been employed by the War Office during World War I in mapmaking for the Middle East. His writing and species collecting for the British Museum made him a stalwart of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Royal Central Asian Society. There are many illustrations, a map and an index.

The volume contains four short accounts. Little is known of William Beawes, who does not seem to have been a Company employee. He travelled in 1745 from Aleppo to Basra, and wrote an account which remained as a manuscript in the British Library. It was, however, used by the great geographer, James Rennell, for his *Treatise on the Comparative Geography of Western Asia*. The other authors are also extremely informative of the topography and, especially, the archaeology of the route. Least is known about Gaylard Roberts who returned in 1748 from Basra to Aleppo. He was not in the East India Company's service, but he had earlier been given permission by the directors to join his father, a naval captain in Madras.

Bartholemew Plaisted passed in 1750 from Basra to Aleppo. He had received Company permission to travel to Bengal to work as captain in a ship engaged in the country trade. He took part in 1742 in the surveying of Calcutta and, had his advice on fortification been taken, the loss of the city in 1757 might have been avoided. But his ability was counterbalanced by his quarrelsome personality. This ruined his career and he was sent home. He seems to have hoped to recoup some of his losses by publishing his *Journal*. It appeared in 1757 and was reprinted in 1758. The editor records a report of his sad end on a later visit to Bengal: 'Mr Plaisted, while surveying some parts of the *Sunderbunds*, was carried away by an alligator, which he mistook for the rotten trunk of a tree.' (pp. 55–6). John Carmichael's journey in 1751 from Aleppo to Basra was necessitated by his dismissal from the service of the East India Company and the refusal of the Indian authorities to let him return in one of their ships. His *Journal* had been previously printed in 1772 as appendix to the second edition of *A Voyage to the East Indies* by John Henry Grose.

45. *Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764–1766*. Edited by Robert E. Gallagher, 2nd series, 122, 1964.

On 18 June 1764 the Hon. John Byron was appointed 'Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed and to be employed in the East Indies'. From this it might be inferred that the volume would contain interesting information about South Asia. In fact, there is none. The designation was not designed to mislead the reader but Britain's maritime rivals, Spain and France. Unknown even to the Cabinet, Byron's secret orders sent him in one of the first copper-bottomed warships in the opposite direction, first into the South Atlantic to find the (non-existent) Pepys Island and the Falklands, 'the key to the whole Pacific Ocean' (p. xxxix). Passing the Patagonian coast he confirmed earlier reports of the existence of a population of human giants.

Byron entered the Pacific following his Admiralty instructions to look for trading opportunities, 'the one thing necessary in Politicks; and if we study and pursue this, all Things else will be added unto us' (p. xxxiii). Perhaps to energize him, Byron was reminded of the fate of Genoa, once a city-state of prodigious wealth and power, but now 'the most contemptible state in *Europe*.' (p. xxxiv) This had come about because she had forsaken trade, dealing in Money instead of Goods; her Merchants become Bankers...' (p. xxxv). These instructions show the range and ambition of the Admiralty's global vision in the years after the Seven Year's War. Byron was to help integrate the Pacific into Britain's world trading system: 'If we search [for commercial opportunities], we shall find; if we knock, it will be opened' (p. xxxvi).