

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,

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## APPENDIX.

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### A.

#### EARLY NOTICES OF THE MALDIVES.

THE race which now inhabits the Maldivian archipelago, and which has occupied it from the earliest times of which we have any record, is unquestionably of the same stock as the Sinhalese. This conclusion is borne out by evidence of language, physical traits, tradition, folk-lore, manners, and customs, which has been in part adduced or referred to in these volumes. It does not appear that the atolls were inhabited before they were colonised by the Sinhalese, no traces existing of any race, such as the Veddas of Ceylon, which the settlers may have conquered or gradually displaced; and the recognised admixture of foreign blood in the northern atolls being attributable to intercourse within the historical period with merchants from India and Arabia, and with negro slaves from Africa. While, as has been seen, the local tradition of Pyrard's time asserted a colonisation from Ceylon, it was silent as to any war accompanying the settlement, or any intermarriage of the conquerors with the daughters of the land.

The colonisation must be assigned to a period not anterior to that of Ceylon by the Sinhalese, an event which probably occurred about the fifth or sixth century B.C. It is improbable that the Maldives would have any attraction for the adventurers from Bengal at a time when the broad lands of Ceylon were still untilled, offering a more ample return to their enterprise than the tiny coral islets and lagoons of the West. On the other hand, it is more likely that the Maldives were discovered long after the settlement of Ceylon, and perhaps at first by some belated fishermen from Galle or elsewhere on the western coast. The first dis-

coverers would be able to return to their villages on the change of the monsoou, bearing the intelligence of this strange cluster of islands, which, though presenting no attractions of an agricultural character, had riches of its own in fish, tortoise-shell, cowries, and ambergris. For a considerable time, it may be that the Galle fishermen made annual voyages, and maintained a dual home. If they sojourned at the Maldives for the period of a monsoon, the transportation of wives and families, which would be a condition of the system, would eventually lead to a permanent settlement of some portion at least of the adventurers.

But whether we assume a single original occupation in force, or a gradual settlement such as is surmised above, we are met by an argument which seems to tell, if at all, in favour of the latter hypothesis. Neither the Mahavanso nor any other Sinhalese record as yet discovered throws any light upon the original occupation of the Maldives or upon the early relations of the Maldivians with their Sinhalese cousins.<sup>1</sup> If the conquest had been effected by any warlike operations, it is only likely that the credit would have been attributed to the Sinhalese king of the period. On the other hand, we can imagine the gradual progress of a fisher colony from occasional visits to a permanent settlement, and latterly to the status of a constitutional government. Nor, considering the distance of the atolls, the troubled condition of Ceylon arising from periodical invasion, and the bijou character of the new possession, need we feel any surprise that this distant colony was allowed to work out its destiny unaided or unchecked by Sinhalese proconsuls. The Maldivian tradition, as recorded by P'yrard, was that the atolls were colonised from Ceylon some 400 years before his time, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. No reliance can,

<sup>1</sup> "In the Sultan's palace at Málé is said to be preserved a national record styled *Tárikho* (Ar. *tárikh*) or *Muskulí foi*, in which all important events and matters of State have been faithfully noted for centuries in the old Maldivian character (*dives akuru*), in Arabic, and in the modern native character (*gabali tana*)" (*Bell*, p. 41). These archives contain the list of the Sultans, which will be found on a subsequent page, but are believed to contain no information as to the pre-Mahomedan times.

however, be placed upon this traditional date, in the face of the evidence of Ibn Batuta, who, in the middle of the fourteenth century, found the present Maldivian race in full possession, with a well-developed and apparently ancient system of government. This traveller, as will be seen, while giving no traditional account of the colonisation, records as a historical fact that the islands were converted to Muhammadanism at a period synchronising with that assigned by Pyrard to the original settlement. The probability is that the present race were the first colonists, but if we are right in assuming that the Maldives were peopled by a gradual emigration of Sinhalese, it will be impossible to do more than approximately suggest the period at which the discovery was made; and that at which the Maldivians became independent of Ceylon in regard to population, government, and religion. Now, if the indications of Buddhism which are already described<sup>1</sup> are to be trusted—and I do not conceal my belief that an archæological survey of the Maldives will furnish further reliable evidences of the fact—we shall have to bear in mind that the Sinhalese themselves were only converted to Buddhism about the middle of the third century B.C. The conversion may have been rapid, but was probably not so rapid as the Sinhalese epics allege. If, therefore, the evidence justifies us in concluding that Buddhism flourished at the Maldives before the advent of Islam, either it was brought thither by the colonists, probably not before the first century B.C., or it was subsequently introduced by missionaries from Ceylon. If the latter had been the case, it would probably have been matter of record in the Sinhalese chronicles; and on this point, as has been said, the chronicles are silent. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the emigration was not concluded until after Ceylon was wholly converted, and that the Buddhist religion was part and parcel of the civilization conveyed by the colonists beyond the sea.

Of the notices extracted below, I do not myself regard any as furnishing clear proof of the peopling of the Maldives until we arrive at Suleiman, the Arab traveller of the ninth century. And if

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i, p. 123, *note*.

subsequent investigation of the islands leads to the discovery of Buddhist remains, the character of those remains may afford evidence that the colonisation took place so late perhaps as the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Periplus.

2. The author of the *Periplus* [A.D. 90?], in describing the trade of the Malabar coast, mentions "tortoise-shell, both that called *Chrysesiotikè*, and the kind from the islands off Limurikè", the latter being the name given to Malabar, or a particular portion of it.

Ptolemy.

3. Ptolemy (circa A.D. 150) says:—"Over against Taprobane lie a multitude of islands, said to number 1,378. The following are some of the names given:—*Vangalia* (or *Vangana*), *Kanathra*, *Aigidion*, *Orneon*, *Monachè*, *Amminè*, *Garkos* (or *Karkos*), *Philikus* (or *Phelikus*), *Eirenè*, *Kalaiadua* (or *Kalandradrua*), *Abrana* (or *Arana*), *Bassa*, *Balaka*, *Alaba*, *Gumara*, *Zaba*, *Bizalu* (or *Zibala*), *Nagadiba* (or *Nagadena*), and *Susua*." The position assigned to the islands named shows that, according to his information, they lay round about Taprobane on all sides. Mr. Bell has bravely, and in some instances, I think, successfully, identified certain of these islands. In his view the list includes some of the group off the north-west coast of Ceylon, and some of the Laccadives, while none of the names can be satisfactorily assigned to the Maldives. The following suggestions have some appearance of probability:—*Kanathra* = Kavarathi; *Aigidion* = Agathi, or perhaps Angediva; *Orneon* = Underu; *Monachè* = Minikai; *Amminè* = Amini; *Kalaiadua* = Karativoe.

Ammianus  
Marcellinus.

4. Ammianus Marcellinus (A.D. 320-390) records that in the year 362, ambassadors came to the Emperor Julian from the *Divi* and the *Serendivi*. The passage<sup>1</sup> runs thus:—"Legationes undique solito ocuis concurrebant; hinc Transstigritanis pacem obscrantibus et Armeniis, inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus, ab usque Divis et Serendis." The name Serendivi—a form so similar to the *Serendib* of the long

<sup>1</sup> Lib. xxii, c. 3.

subsequent Arab period—is linked to it by the intermediary *Sielediba* of Cosmas. The Serendivi were no doubt the Sinhalese. But whether the Divi (*Divi* = Mald. *divehi-mihun*), “the islanders” (see above, vol. i, p. 83), were the Laccadivians or the Maldivians, or both, or neither, must remain uncertain.

5. Moses Chorenensis, on the supposed information of one Pappus of Alexandria, writes<sup>1</sup>:—“Taprobane is the greatest of all islands . . . it has also smaller islands round about it, to the number of 1,372.” The number here is only six less than that given by Ptolemy, and is evidently a mere variation.

6. Fáh Hian, the Chinese traveller, who visited Ceylon early in the fifth century, adds to his description of the island the following<sup>2</sup>:—“On every side are small islands, perhaps amounting to one hundred in number. They are distant from one another ten or twenty *li*, and as much as two hundred *li*. All of them depend on the great island. Most of them produce precious stones and pearls.” This passage has been taken to refer to the Maldives, but the small number, the allusion to pearls, and the dependence upon Ceylon, would seem more applicable to the islands at the north and north-west of Ceylon, in the neighbourhood of the pearl fishery.

7. Cosmas the monk, surnamed Indicopleustes (A.D. 535-550), who himself visited Ceylon, “called *Sielediba* by the Indians, and *Taprobane* by the Greeks,” adds to his description<sup>3</sup>: “Round about it are a number of small islands, in all of which you find fresh water and coco-nuts (*ἀργέλλια*; corruption of Skt. *nārikelī*, Pers. *nārgīl*). These are almost all set close to one another.” This is a clearer reference to the Maldives, being somewhat more characteristic, and, except as to the “round about it”, correct.

<sup>1</sup> *Geographia*, 367, Whiston's edition, London, 1736.

<sup>2</sup> See Beal's *Buddhist Pilgrims*, London, 1869, 8vo.

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, *Collectio Nova Patrum, etc.*, vol. ii; and see extracts in Yule's *Cathay*, p. clxvii.

**Palladius.** 8. Here may be entered a passage from the tract so-called of Palladius, *De Bragmanibus*, a work of uncertain date and origin. "This island (Taprobane) is the seat of the greatest Indian king, whom all the rest obey as satraps. So Scholasticus relates on the information of another, for he was not allowed himself to enter the island. Round about it (unless the report be false) lie a thousand other islands, through which the Red Sea flows. In these islands, which are called *Maniola*, the magnet-stone which attracts iron is produced; so that if any ship built with iron nails should approach these islands, it will by the virtue of this stone be drawn thither and stayed in its course. Wherefore those who sail to Taprobane employ ships built with wooden bolts specially for this voyage." This tract, though perhaps not genuine, is no doubt very ancient, and gives one of the earliest references to the ships of southern Asia built without the use of iron. This phenomenon had to be explained, and the fable of the magnetic rock served this purpose.

**Suleiman.** 9. The gap between Cosmas, the last of the classical authorities, in the sixth century, and the Arabs of the ninth, is still unbridged. In the collection of notes of Arabian travellers, published first by the Abbé Renaudot, and afterwards by Reinaud, occurs in the portion attributed to Suleiman a notice of the Sea of Herkend, which extended from the Dibajat,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, the Maldives, to Sumatra<sup>2</sup>:—

"The third Sea bears the name of the *Sea of Herkend*. Between this sea and that called *Al-larevy* there are a vast number of islands, amounting, so it is said, to 1,900. These islands separate the two seas, *Al-larevy* and *Herkend*; they are governed by a woman.<sup>3</sup> The sea throws up on the shore of these islands big lumps of

<sup>1</sup> Divehi-raja, "the island kingdom", the Maldivians' own name for the islands.

<sup>2</sup> See Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages, etc.*, Paris, 1845, 12mo., pp. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Maldivians, like the Sinhalese, allowed females to succeed in default of male heirs. So far as is known, only three women have in fact ruled, but the phenomenon was so strange to the Arab traveller that he inferred a regular succession of females. It will be seen that Suleiman is followed by Mas'udi, and partly by Edrisi.

amber: some of these pieces have the form of a plant, or nearly so. Amber grows at the bottom of the sea like the plants; when the sea is much disturbed, it throws up the amber in pieces like pumpkins or truffles. Suleiman.

“These islands, which are governed by a woman, are planted with coco-trees. The distance separating the islands from one another is two, three, or four parasangs. They are all inhabited, and all produce coco-trees. Their money consists of cowries. The queen stores these cowries in her treasuries. It is said that no people are so adroit as the natives of these islands. They make tunics woven of a single web, with sleeves, ornaments, and borders. They build their ships and houses, and load them with their produce in like manner. The cowries come up to the surface of the water, and contain a living creature. A coco-tree branch is thrown into the water, and the cowries attach themselves to it. The cowry is called *Al Kabtadj*.”

“The last of these islands is Serendib, in the Sea of Herkend; it is the chief of all. To these islands is given the name *Dibajât*. Over against Serendib is the pearl fishery.”

10. Abu'l Hasan Ali, called El Mas'udi, who himself visited Mas'udi. Ceylon in A.D. 916, gives a detailed account of the Maldives<sup>1</sup>:—

“Between the third sea, or that of Herkend, and the Sea of Lar, there are, as has been said, a great number of islands, forming, as it were, a separate group. There are counted of them 2,000, or more exactly, 1,900. They are all very well peopled, and are subject to a queen: for from the most ancient times the inhabitants have a rule never to allow themselves to be governed by a man. The amber (gris) found on these shores, thrown up by the sea, attains the size of large pieces of rock. Many navigators, and also the traders of Siraf and Oman, who have made the voyage to these islands, have assured me that the amber grows at the bottom of the sea, and is formed like the different kinds of white and black bitumen, as mushrooms and other substances of like sort. When

<sup>1</sup> *Les Prairies d'Or*, trad. par de Meynard et de Courteille, 2 vols., Paris, 1861; also in English, *Meadows of Gold*, by Sprenger (Or. Trans. Fund), London, 1841.

Mas'ndi. the sea is troubled, it throws up from its bosom fragments of rock and shingle, and at the same time pieces of amber. The inhabitants of these islands are all subject to one government. They are very numerous, and can put an innumerable army in the field. Each island is separated from its neighbour by a distance of a mile, or one, two, or three parasangs. Coco-nuts flourish there, but they have not the date palm."

[Here follows a discourse on the coco-tree.]

"To return to these islands: there are none whose natives are more skilful artisans, in the manufacture of stuffs, instruments, etc. The queen has no other money but cowries, which are a kind of molluscs. When she sees her treasure diminishing, she orders her islanders to cut coco-branches with their leaves, and to throw them upon the surface of the water. To these the creatures attach themselves, and are then collected and spread upon the sandy beach, where the sun rots them, and leaves only the empty shells, which are then carried to the treasury. From these islands, which are known by the name of *Dabihat*,<sup>1</sup> a large quantity of *Zandj* or coco is exported."

Alberuni. 11. Alberuni<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 1030) classifies the islands of the ocean which stretches from Africa to China in three groups:—

"The eastern islands in this ocean, which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the *Zábaj*, called by the Hindus *Suvarna-Dvīpa*, that is, the gold islands. The western islands in this ocean are those of the *Zanj* (Negros), and those in the middle are the islands *Ramn* and the *Dīva* islands, to which belong also the *Kumair* islands. It is peculiar to the *Dīva* islands that they rise slowly: first there appears a sandy tract above the surface of the ocean; it rises more and more, and extends in all directions, till at last it becomes a firm soil, whilst at the same time another island falls into decay and melts away, finally is submerged, and disappears in the ocean. As soon as the inhabitants become aware of this process, they search for a new island of increasing fertility, transport there their coco-nut palms, date palms, cereals, and

<sup>1</sup> More probably *Dibajāt*.

<sup>2</sup> *Alberuni's India*, by Dr. Edward C. Sachau (Trübner's Or. Series), London, 1888, 2 vols.

household goods, and emigrate to it. These islands are, according <sup>Alberuni.</sup> to their products, divided into two classes—the *Dīva Kūdha*,<sup>1</sup> the islands of cowries, because there they gather cowries from the branches of the coco-nut palms, which they plant in the sea; and *Dīva-Kanbār*,<sup>2</sup> the islands of the cords twisted from coco-nut fibre, and used for fastening together the planks of their ships.”

This is a very accurate description of the Maldives and Laccadives, the groups being distinguished by their chief exports.

12. Our next authority is Edrisi [A.D. 1099-1186]. His <sup>Edrisi.</sup> account, which is altogether compiled from previous authorities and the information of others, is as follows<sup>3</sup> :—

“To this section belong the islands indicated in their place, amongst others, those called *El Roibahat* [read *Dībajāt*], which are very close to one another, and innumerable. The greater part of these islands are desert. The largest of them, however, which is called *Anberia*, is flourishing and peopled with a great number of inhabitants, who cultivate both it and the neighbouring islands, *El Comor*. All the inhabitants of these islands are subject to a chief, who convokes them, and protects and defends them to the best of his power. His wife administers justice, and speaks in public unveiled, after an established custom from which they never vary. The name of this queen is *Demhera*; she wears for ornaments a robe of gold tissue, and on her head a crown of the same metal, enriched with pearls and precious stones. She wears gold slippers, such as none other may use under pain of having their feet cut off. This queen, on solemn feasts and other great occasions, appears in public, along with her maids of honour, with a great array of elephants, trumpets, and flags. Her husband and the viziers follow her at a certain distance. This queen has wealth deposited in cellars, to be distributed in due course to the poor of her dominions. No

<sup>1</sup> Or *Kaudha*, cf. Hind. *Kaudī*, *Kaurī*. This passage is referred to above, vol. i, p. 237, but there the word is misprinted *Kandha*.

<sup>2</sup> This form, which appears also in Ibn Batuta and other Arab writers, is considered by Col. Yule (*Gloss.*, s. v. Coir) to arise from some misreading of the Indian term, Malayāl. *Kāyar*. The explanation is correct, *Kāyar* being from *Kayaru*, to be twisted.

<sup>3</sup> *Géographie d'Edrisi*, par P. A. Joubert, 2 vols., Paris, 1836.

Edrisi.

distribution of alms is made but in her presence and under her eye. The inhabitants of the country suspend silk stuffs along her path, and at places which she is to pass, for she keeps up great state, as we have explained. The king and queen of these islands reside at *Anberia*.

“The principal production of these islands is the tortoise-shell called *zabl*,<sup>1</sup> which can be parted into seven pieces, of which four weigh a *mina*, that is, 260 drachmas. The heaviest weigh half a *mina* each. With these shells are made divers ornaments for the women’s dress, also combs, seeing that it is thick, transparent, and very varied in colour.

“The women of this island wear the head uncovered and the hair plaited, and each of them uses ten combs (more or less) in her hair; it is their principal adornment, as with the women of *El Sahab*, whose inhabitants are without religious belief, as we shall tell hereafter.

“The islands known by the name *El Roibahat* [*Dibajot*] are peopled. They cultivate there the coco-tree and the sugar-cane. Commerce is carried on by means of shells. They are distant from one another about six miles. Their king preserves these shells in his treasury, and he possesses the greater portion of them. The inhabitants are industrious, adroit, and intelligent. They manufacture wide tunics, open at the neck and supplied with pockets. They build ships with very slender timber. Their houses and other important buildings are of very durable stone, but they also employ, in the construction of their dwellings, timber which comes over sea, and also scented woods. They say that the shells which compose the royal treasure are found on the surface of the water in calm weather. They throw into the sea pieces of coco-wood, and the shell-fish attach themselves thereto. They are called *El Kendj* [probably *Kaudha*]. In some of the islands is found a substance resembling liquid pitch-resin, which burns the fish at the bottom of the sea and is extinguished at the surface. The last of these islands is over against Serendib, on its most northern side, in a sea called *Herkend*.”

<sup>1</sup> Mald. *Kahabu*, tortoise-shell.

13. Marco Polo does not speak of the Maldives by name, but the number which he assigns to the Indian islands collectively is evidently a mere variant of the Maldivians' traditional number of their own islands, of which Polo must have heard on the Malabar coast. Comparing Polo's few lines, and the equally vague notices of John of Montecorvino and Friar Jordanus (given below), with the accounts of Mas'udi and Edrisi, we see that while the knowledge of the Maldives attained by the Arab geographers and travellers had long been circumstantial, if not correct, that of the Christian travellers of this period showed no advance upon the information of Ptolemy.

The passage from Polo<sup>1</sup> runs as follows :—

“You must understand that, in speaking of the Indian Islands, we have described only the most noble provinces and kingdoms among them ; for no man on earth could give you a true account of the whole of the Islands of India. Still, what I have described are the best, and as it were the Flower of the Indies. For the greater part of the other Indian Islands that I have omitted are subject to those that I have described. It is a fact that in this Sea of India there are 12,700 Islands, inhabited and uninhabited, according to the charts and documents of experienced mariners who navigate the Indian Sea.”

14. John of Montecorvino, in a letter dated 22 Dec. (?) 1292, writes<sup>2</sup>:—

John of  
Montecor-  
vino.

“The state of things in regard to the Sea of India is this. . . . Traversing it towards the South there is no continent found but islands alone, but in that sea the islands are many, more than 12,000 in number. And many of these are inhabited, and many are not. You can sail (upon that sea) between these islands and Ormes, and (from Ormes) to those parts which are called Minibar is a distance of 2,000 miles in a direction between south and south-east,” etc.

The latter portion of this passage is somewhat obscure, and the

<sup>1</sup> Book III, ch. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> For particulars of this traveller and the context, see Yule's *Cathay*, etc., p. 215.

John of  
Montecor-  
vino.

extract is of no value except as giving fresh currency to the traditional Maldivian number, 12,000.

Prince  
Hayton.

15. In the geographical work of Prince Hayton, the Armenian,<sup>1</sup> dictated to Nicholas Faulcon in 1307, occurs the following dubious reference to the Maldives:—

“To the south the Ocean extends a great way, and there is found therein a quantity of islands, whose inhabitants are black. They go naked by reason of the heat, and in their folly worship idols. In these islands are found precious stones, pearls, gold, and many kinds of simples useful in medicine to the human race. In this region also is situate an island called *Celan*,” etc.

Friar Jor-  
danus.

16. Friar Jordanus,<sup>2</sup> who visited the east twice, viz., in 1321-3, and again after 1330, is as vague as the early classical geographers:—

“In this India be many islands, and more than 10,000 of them inhabited, as I have heard; wherein are many world’s wonders. For there is one called *Silem* (Ceylon), where are found the best precious stones in the whole world, and in the greatest quantity and number, and of all kinds.”

Ibn Batuta.

17. With Abú Abd-Allah Muhammad, commonly called Ibn Batuta, the Moor of Tangier, we arrive at more interesting material. This prince of travellers was born at Tangier in 1304, and died at Fez in 1377. At the age of twenty he set out on his travels of thirty years, during which every part of the known East was explored. The following is a summary of his routes<sup>3</sup>:—

“From Tangier he travelled across Africa to Alexandria, and in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia: down to the east coast of Africa to Quiloa: across the Indian Ocean to Muscat, Ormuz, Kish, Bahrein and El Catif: through Central Arabia to Mecca and Jeddah: and again in Egypt and Asia Minor, and across the

<sup>1</sup> Comprised in *Recueil des divers Voyages Curieux*, Leyden, Vander Aa, 1729.

<sup>2</sup> *Friar Jordanus*, by Yule (Hak. Soc.), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Abridged by Dr. Birdwood, in his *Report on the Misc. Old Records in the India Office*, from Yule’s *Cathay*.

Black Sea to Caffa or Theodosia, and by Azov or Tana 'on past <sup>Ibn Batuta.</sup> the hills of the Russians' to Bolgar on the Volga—but not daring to penetrate further northwards into 'the land of Darkness'. Returning south to Haj-Tarkhan (Astrakhan) he proceeded in the suite of the wife of the Khan of Kipchak, the daughter of the Greek Emperor Andronicus, westward to Soldaia and Constantiniah (Constantinople), whence returning to Bolgar he travelled on eastward to Bokhara, and through Khorassan to Cabul, Multan, and Delhi, where he remained eight years (1334-42). Being sent on an embassy to China, he embarked at Kinbait (Cambay), and after many adventures at Calicut (where he was honourably received by the 'Samari' or Zamorin) and Hunawar (Onore), at the Maldive Islands, and in Ceylon and Bengal, he at last took his passage toward China in a junk bound for Java, as he calls it, but in fact Sumatra. Returning from China he sailed direct from the coast of Malabar to Muscat and Ormuz: and travelling by Shiraz, Bagdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and for the fourth time to Mecca, Egypt, Tunis, at last reached Fez again, after an absence of half his life-time. Subsequently he spent six years in Spain, and Central Africa, where he was the guest of the brother of a countryman of his own from Ceuta, whose guest he had been in China. 'What an enormous distance lay between these two?' he exclaims."

Ibn Batuta visited the Maldives out of pure curiosity. He found himself, as he frequently did, quite at home among a Mahommedan people, and was pressed into their service as *kázi*. After a year-and-a-half at the Islands he crossed over to Ceylon, and thence to the Coromandel coast, whence, two years later, he returned to the Maldives to see a son who had been born to him after his departure. With perfect nonchalance he satisfies his sense of parental duty by a mere sight of his child, whose welfare he consults by leaving him with his mother, and proceeds to Bengal, conscious that he will never see the boy again.

His first visit to the Maldives extended from the beginning of 1343 to the middle of 1344; his second took place about the end of 1346.

Nothing seems to have been known in Europe of Ibn Batuta

**Ibn Batuta.** till the end of last century, when a copy of the work was obtained at Fez. At the beginning of this century a MS. was brought from the East, of which an abstract in Latin was published at Jena in 1818 by Kosegarten. An incomplete Portuguese translation of the Fez MS. was issued by Moura in 1845. Dr. Lee's translation (*Or. Trans. Fund*) was made from a short abridgment brought from the East by Burekhardt. On the French conquest of Algeria many texts were acquired, of which five are in the National Library at Paris. These have been collated in the edition of MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti (4 vols., Paris, 1st edit., 1853-9; 2nd edit., 1879), which is accompanied by a French translation, but with very inadequate notes. Other abridgments and extracts have been published in divers languages, for particulars of which the reader is referred to Col. Yule's *Cathay*, p. 430. The passages dealing with the Maldives, which are given below, it is hoped, are fairly expressive of the author's narrative; but it may be feared that certain of the Maldivian names have been distorted by copyists, and I trust that the MSS. at Paris may some time or other be examined by some one competent to select the truest readings.

Ibn Batuta's account of the Maldives and his residence there is as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

“I resolved to go to the *Dhābat Almahal*, of which I had heard much. Ten days after we had embarked at Calicut we arrived at the *Dhābat Almahal* islands. *Dhābat* is pronounced as the feminine of *Dhāb*.<sup>2</sup> These islands are among the wonders of the world: they number about 2,000.<sup>3</sup> A hundred or less of these islands lie together in a circle in the form of a ring: the group has an entrance as to a harbour, and ships get through by that alone. When a ship arrives near one of these islands it must of necessity have a pilot from among its natives, so that it may reach the other islands under his guidance. They are so close to

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, par C. Defrémery et le Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti, 2nd edit., tom. iv, pp. 110-85, 191-2, 205-6, 207-10.

<sup>2</sup> Arabic for “wolf”. It is really, of course, from the Sansk. *dvīpa*, “island”.

<sup>3</sup> *V. s.*, vol. i, p. 95.

each other that the tops of the palms which grow on one seem to <sup>Ibn Batuta.</sup> belong to its neighbour.<sup>1</sup> If the vessel misses its way it cannot reach the islands, and is driven by the wind to *Ma'bar*<sup>2</sup> or towards Ceylon.

"All the inhabitants of these islands are Musalmáns, pious and honest people. They are divided into regions or zones, each of which is ruled by a governor called *Kordúí*.<sup>3</sup> Among these zones the following are distinguished: 1st, the zone of *Bálibúr*; 2nd, *Kannalús*; 3rd, *Mahal*, the province after which all the islands are called, and at which their sovereigns reside; 4th, *Tíládib*; 5th, *Karídú*; 6th, *Tím*; 7th, *Tiladummati*; 8th, *Haladummati*, a name differing from the preceding only by having for its first letter an *h*; 9th, *Baraidú*; 10th, *Kandakal*; 11th, *Molúk*; 12th, *Suwait*. The last is the most distant of all.<sup>4</sup> All the Maldive

<sup>1</sup> So, too, more recent travellers:—"The Malabares say that heretofore they were joyn'd to the Continent, and were separated by the sea, which in some places hath left such narrow divisions that an active man might leap from one side to the other" (Mandelslo's *Travels into the Indies*, 1639, lib. ii, 116; London, 1662). "But that which makes them so numerous is the multitudes of canals that divide them; which are so narrow that the sprit-sails of the ships strike the leaves of the trees which are planted on both sides. And in some places a nimble man may leap into an island from the top of a bough that grows in another" (*Collection of Voyages of the Dutch East-India Company*, p. 131; London, 1703).

<sup>2</sup> Coast of Coromandel.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 443, written (probably more correctly) *Korduvéri*, though I suspect that in neither place has the best reading been given. The governor of an atoll is styled *Atolu-veri* or *Váru-veri*; the head-man of an island is *Rarku-veri*.

<sup>4</sup> On comparison of this list of the provinces or administrative atolls with that of Pyrard at vol. i, p. 99, and with the more correct names at p. 97, *note*, some difficulties present themselves. The first observation to be made is that Ibn Batuta names twelve only, while the full number is thirteen. He does not, however, intimate that his list is complete. From his closing his list with places most distant toward the South, he might seem to be naming the atolls in order from the North; but as the most northern atoll, *Tiladummati*, comes only seventh in his list, it follows that the order of names, except in the case of the last, will not avail us in the process of identification. Coming now to the names themselves, we find only four to correspond palpably with the

Ibn Batuta. islands are destitute of grain, except that in the province of *Suwaid* there is a cereal like the *anly*, which is brought thence to *Mahal*.<sup>1</sup> The food of the natives consists of fish like the *lyroân*, which they

atolls as named in later days, viz., *Mahal* (Málé), *Tiládummati* (Tiladummati), *Molúk* (Mulaku), and *Suwaid* (Huvadú or Suadiva). Next we may observe that the Moorish traveller gives to his zones or provinces the names of particular islands. Thus *Kannalús*, the second province, is the island at which he lands on both his visits to the Maldives (see below), and may be identified with *Kinalos* in *Málosmadulu* atoll. *Karáidú* may be clearly identified as *Kórhidu* (the *Cardiva* of our charts), the large solitary island which gives its name to the channel north of the Málé atolls. *Tím*, which he visited after leaving *Kannalús*, and before reaching Málé, would seem to be *Utimu* in *Tiladummati* atoll, the *Oteeim* of the charts; but as to this two difficulties suggest themselves—(i) that it lies far to the north of *Kinalos*, and would not be taken on the way to Málé; (ii) that the atoll *Tiladummati*, in which it is, has already been named. *Kandakal*, the *Kaindecolu* of our charts, is *Kodikolu* in *Miladummodulu* atoll. There now remain the provinces named *Bálibír*, *Tiládib*, *Hakadummati*, and *Baraidú*. The third of these has been, I think, satisfactorily identified by Mr. Bell with *Haddummati*, the first syllable being a contraction of *Sin. hela*, “white”. In confirmation it may be noted that this province was, during Ibn Batuta’s visit, assigned as a place of exile, and we know from *Pyrard* that the southern atolls were always used as penal settlements. *Bálibír* has been identified by the French editors with *Faliffolu* (the *Padifolo* of *Pyrard*), and *Baraidú* with *Fulidu* (*Pyrard*’s *Poulistous*); but possibly better readings may produce more satisfactory conclusions. *Tiládib* may perhaps be miscopied for *Niládib*, and if this reading be adopted, the atoll intended to be referred to is probably *Nilandú*.

Even if Ibn Batuta is mistaken in attributing the names *Kannalús*, *Kandakal*, and *Tím* to atolls, he has probably named the most important islands in the atolls to which they belonged. In the earliest European maps of the sixteenth century these names appear against the Maldivian atolls (see the *mappe monde* of Henry II of France, circa 1555, figured in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th edition, art. “Maldives”), but whether intended for atolls or islands is uncertain. It is difficult to say where the early European cosmographers got the Maldivian names, though it is possible that Ibn Batuta’s book may have been known in Spain and Portugal.

<sup>1</sup> Either the fine grain known to the Sinhalese as *tana hál* (*Setaria Italica*), *M. urá*, or *menéri* (*Panicum miliaceum*), *M. kudibai*—both of which are found on the southern atolls. Some nacheri or *kurakkau* (*Cynosurus corocanus*), *M. himbi*, is grown on the northern atolls.

call *kulb almás*. Its flesh is red; it has no grease, but its smell Ibn Batuta. resembles that of mutton. When caught at the fishing, each fish is cut up into four pieces, and then slightly cooked: it is then placed in baskets of coco leaves and suspended in smoke. It is eaten when perfectly dry. From this country it is exported to India, China, and Yemen. It is called *kulb almás*.<sup>1</sup>

*The Trees of the Maldives.*—Most of the trees on these islands are coconuts: they furnish the food of the inhabitants along with the fish, of which mention has been made. The nature of the coconut is marvellous. Each of these palms produces annually twelve crops, one a month. Some are small, others large: many are yellow; the rest are green, and remain always so. From the fruit are obtained milk, oil, and honey, as we have said in the first part of this book. With the honey is made pastry, which they eat with the dried coconut. All the food made from the coconut, and the fish eaten at the same time, effect an extraordinary and unequalled vigour in manhood. In this matter the inhabitants of the islands accomplish astonishing feats. As for me, I had in that country four legitimate wives, besides concubines. I visited them all every day, and spent the night with each in turn. I continued this course of life during the year and a half that I spent at the Maldives.

“Among the remarkable trees of these islands are the *jumán*,<sup>2</sup> the lemon, the lime, and the colocasia. From the root of the last named, the natives prepare a flour with which they make a kind of vermicelli, and this they cook in coco-milk; it is one of the most agreeable dishes in the world. I had a great taste for it and ate it often.<sup>3</sup>”

*Of the Inhabitants of these Islands and some of their Customs: Description of their Dwellings.*—The inhabitants of the Maldivé islands are honest and pious people, sincere in good faith and of a strong will: they eat only what is lawful, and their prayers are granted. When one of them meets another, he says, ‘God is my lord: Muhammad is my prophet: I am a poor ignorant being.’ In body they are weak and have no aptitude for combat or for war,

<sup>1</sup> M. *kalu-bili-mas.*; v. s., vol. i, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Eugenia Jambu.*

<sup>3</sup> V. s., vol. i, p. 111.

Ibn Batuta. and their arms are prayers. One day in that country, I ordered the right hand of a robber to be cut off; whereupon many of the natives in the audience-hall fainted away. The Indian pirates do not attack them, and cause them no alarm, for they have found that whoever takes anything of theirs is struck with a sudden calamity. When a hostile fleet comes to their shores, the marauders seize what strangers they find, but do no harm to the natives. If an idolater appropriates anything, if it be but a lime, the captain of the idolaters punishes him and beats him severely, so much does he fear the results of such an action. Were it otherwise, certainly these people would be a most contemptible foe in the eyes of their enemies, because of the weakness of their bodies. In each of their islands there are fine mosques, and most of their buildings are of wood.

“The islanders are good people: they abstain from what is foul, and most of them bathe twice a day, and properly too, on account of the extreme heat of the climate and the abundance of perspiration. They use a large quantity of scented oils, such as sandal-wood oil, etc., and they anoint themselves with musk from *Makdashau*.<sup>1</sup> It is one of their customs, when they have said the morning prayer, for every woman to go to meet her husband or son with the collyrium box, rose-water, and musk oil. He smears his eye-lashes with collyrium, and rubs himself with rose-water and musk oil; and so polishes the skin and removes from his face all trace of fatigue.

“The clothing of these people consists of cloths. They wrap one round their loins in place of drawers, while on their backs they wear the stuffs called *wilyán*,<sup>2</sup> which resemble the *ihram*. Some wear the turban, others supply its place with a little kerchief. When any one meets the *Kázi*, or the preacher, he takes his garment off his shoulders, and uncovers his back, and so accom-

<sup>1</sup> *Makdashu* or *Magadoxo*, on the Zanzibar coast, which Ibn Batuta had visited (tome ii, 181).

<sup>2</sup> A probable corruption of *M. feliya* (cf. *Sin. pili*, “clothes”), the term for the waist-cloth worn by Maldivian women commonly, and by soldiers on special occasions. The Maldivian equivalent for the *ihram*, the attire of the Muhammadan pilgrims, is known as *digu tibás*.

panies the functionary, till he arrives at his place of abode. Ibn Batuta.  
 Another of their customs is this. When one of them marries, and goes to the house of his wife, she spreads cotton-cloths from the house-door to that of the nuptial chamber: on these cloths she places handfuls of cowries on the right and left of the path he has to follow, while she herself stands awaiting him at the door of the apartment. On his arrival she throws over his feet a cloth which his attendants take up. If it be the wife<sup>1</sup> who goes to the husband's house, that house is hung with cloths, and cowries are placed thereon; and the woman on her arrival throws the cloth over his feet. And this is also the custom of the islanders when they salute the sovereign; they must without fail be provided with a piece of cloth to cast down at the right moment,<sup>2</sup> as we shall hereafter describe.

“Their buildings are of wood,<sup>3</sup> and they take care to raise the floor of their houses some height above the ground, by way of precaution against damp, owing to the humidity of the soil. This is the method they adopt: they dress the stones, each of which is of two or three cubits long, and place them in piles; across these they lay beams of the coco-tree, and afterwards raise the walls with boards. In this work they show marvellous skill. In the vestibule of the house they construct an apartment which they call *málam*<sup>4</sup>, and there the master of the house sits with his friends.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from this passage that the two kinds of Sinhalese marriage, *bina* and *diga*, were in vogue at the Maldives. Both forms are said to be recognised still. A *bina* marriage takes place when the bride has a house and lands of her own. The bridegroom is conducted to her house, which becomes the domicile of the couple. In Ceylon, a *bina* wife had, and still has, a position of much freedom and dignity; she is mistress of the situation, and formerly could turn her husband out of doors at any time and in any weather. Thus, according to a Sinhalese proverbial saying, the whole “kit” of a *bina* husband consists of a *talipat*, a *chule*, and a lime—the *talipat*, or umbrella, to protect him from the rain, the *chule*, or torch, to light him on his way, and the lime-juice to protect his body from the leeches. In a *diga* marriage, on the other hand, the husband, being owner of house and lands, is master of his wife also.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. vol. i, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> V. s., vol. i, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> This term does not seem to survive.

Ibn Batuta. This room has two doors, one opening on the vestibule, by which strangers are introduced, the other on the side of the house by which the owner enters. Near the room in question is a jar full of water, a bowl called *walendj*,<sup>1</sup> made of the coconut-shell. It has a handle of [only] two cubits, wherewith to draw the water from the wells, by reason of their little depth.

“All the inhabitants of the Maldives, be they nobles or the common folk, keep their feet bare. The streets are swept and well kept; they are shaded by trees, and the passenger walks as it were in an orchard. Albeit every person who enters a house is obliged to wash his feet with water from the jar placed near the *málam*, and rub them with a coarse fabric of *lif*<sup>2</sup> placed there, after which he enters the house. Every person entering a mosque does the same. It is a custom of the natives when a vessel arrives for the *kanádir*,<sup>3</sup> i.e., the little boats, to go out to meet it, manned by the people of the island, and bearing some betel and *karanba*,<sup>4</sup> that is to say, green coconuts. Each presents some of these to whom he will of those on board the ship, and then becomes his host, carrying to his own house the goods belonging to him, as if he were one of his near relations. Any new-comer who wishes to marry is at liberty to do so. When the time comes for his departure he repudiates his wife, for the people of the Maldives do not leave their country. As for a man who does not marry, the woman of the house in which he is lodged prepares his food, serves it, and supplies him with provisions for his journey when he goes. In return she is content to receive from him a very small present. The revenue of the treasury, which is called

<sup>1</sup> The M. for these coconut bowls with long handles is *dáni* (as to *walendj*, cf. Sin. *valanda*, “chatty”). They are regularly used by the islanders for drawing water. The ordinary coconut ladle or spoon they call *udulí*.

<sup>2</sup> Persian for the *stipulæ* which envelope the base of the stalks of the date-palm leaves. Egyptian *loofahs* (the same word) are now sold in England for bath use.

<sup>3</sup> Plural of *kundurá*. The old Portuguese historians speak of Maldivian *gundras*, and the Sinhalese still call a Maldivian boat *gundara*, and the Maldivians themselves *gundara-kárayó*, the “gundara-men”.

\* M. *kuruba*; S. *kurumba*.

*bandar*,<sup>1</sup> consists in the right of buying a certain portion of all Ibn Batuta. cargo on board ship, at a fixed price, whether the commodity be worth just that or more; this is called the *bandar* law.<sup>2</sup> The *bandar* has in each island a house of wood, called *badjansár*,<sup>3</sup> where the governor, the *korduvéri*,<sup>4</sup> collects all such goods; he sells or barter them. The natives buy with chickens any pottery which may be brought; a pot fetches five or six chickens.

"Ships export from the islands the fish of which I have spoken, coconuts, fabrics, the *wiliyán*, and turbans; these last are of cotton. They export also vessels of copper,<sup>5</sup> which are very common there, cowries (*wada'*),<sup>6</sup> and coir (*kanbar*); such is the name of the fibrous husk which envelops the coconut. The natives make it undergo a preparation in pits dug near the shore; then they beat it with picks, after which the women work it into rope. This

<sup>1</sup> Pers. *bandar*, a landing-place or quay; a harbour; a seaport; probably connected with *bund* (Hind. *band*), an embankment. In the sense of quay we have the well-known *Apollo Bunder* of Bombay; in that of seaport, *Bunder Abbas* in the Persian Gulf. The meaning given in the text, *i.e.*, treasury, is probably derivative, the custom-house being usually at the quay-side; if it is not so to be explained, we might be led to derive it directly from the Sansk. *bhandára*, "treasury". Ibn Batuta, however, subsequently uses the word with respect to Chilaw in Ceylon, which he calls *Bandar Seluát*, probably implying only that the place was a seaport.

<sup>2</sup> The system of raising revenue here described was in force in Pyrrard's day, and is so still (see vol. i, p. 228). It seems to be identical in principle with the "culture system", employed by the Dutch in Java, where it is supposed to have been invented by one of the Dutch governors subsequent to the English occupation.

<sup>3</sup> Now called *váru-gé* (see vol. i, p. 213, note). *Bajansár* (for *bagan-sár*) is evidently a form of the well-known word *bankshall*, as it is called in Anglo-Indian talk. See above, vol. i, p. 85; vol. ii, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Above spelt *kordúí*.

<sup>5</sup> It is hard to believe that "vessels of copper" ever formed one of the genuine exports from the Maldives. A few old copper pots are occasionally sent over to Ceylon for repair.

<sup>6</sup> Evidently an Arabic corruption of Sansk. *Kavadi*; cf. Sin. *Kavadiya*. The *Kabtdj* of Suleiman (*v. s.*, p. 428), and the *Kendj* of Edrisi (p. 431), are to be similarly explained. The Sansk. *Kavadi* becomes in Hind. *Kauđi* or *Kauri*, hence our "cowry".

Ibn Batuta. cordage is used for joining the boards of their ships, and is also exported to China, India, and Yemen. *Kanbar* rope is worth more than hemp. With this cord the (timbers of) ships are joined in India and Yemen, for the Indian sea is full of rocks, and if a ship joined with iron bolts strikes a rock, it is broken up; but when it is fastened with this cord it has elasticity, and does not break.

"The money of the islanders consist of *wada'*. This is the name of a mollusc, collected in the sea and placed in pits dug out on the beach. Its flesh decays and only the white shell remains. A hundred of them is called *siya*, and 700 *fál*; 12,000 are called *kotta*, and 100,000 *bostú*.<sup>1</sup> Bargains are struck through the medium of these shells, at the rate of four *bostú* to a *dínár* of gold. Often they are of less value, such as twelve *bostú* to a *dínár*. The islanders sell them for rice to the people of Bengal, where also they are used for money. They are sold in the same way to the people of Yemen, who use them for ballast in their ships in place of sand. These shells serve also as a medium of exchange with the negroes<sup>2</sup> in their native country. I have seen them sold, at *Máli* and at *Jájú*,<sup>3</sup> at the rate of 1,150 to a *dínár*.

"*The Women of the Maldives.*—The women of these islands do not cover the head: the sovereign herself does not so. They comb their hair and tie it up on one side.<sup>4</sup> Most of them wear only a cloth, covering them from the navel to the ground: the rest of the body remains uncovered. Thus attired, they promenade the markets and elsewhere. While I was invested with the dignity of *Kází* in these islands, I made efforts to put an end to this custom, and to compel the women to clothe themselves: but I

<sup>1</sup> *Siya* = M. *hiya*, Sin. *siya*, 100. *Fál* = M. *fálé*, *fá*, or *fara*, Sin. *para*, a bushel. *Cotta* = M. *kotté*; cf. Tam. *kaḍḍu*, a bundle. *Bostú* = M. *bastá*, Pers. *bastá*, a bag or sack. Cowries are still sold in the Islands by the *hiya* = 96 or 100, the *fálé* = 1,000, and the *kotté* = 12,000 (*bára-fá*).

<sup>2</sup> In later days they were used in exchange for the poor negroes; see vol. i, p. 238, note.

<sup>3</sup> Two places in the Soudan, afterwards visited by the traveller.

<sup>4</sup> Pyrard, on the contrary (vol. i, p. 108), mentions that this style distinguishes the men.

could not succeed. No woman was admitted to my presence in the trial of a case, unless she had her whole body covered : but, beyond that, I had no power over the usage.<sup>1</sup> Some women wear, besides the cloth, chemises with short and full sleeves. I had some young female slaves whose dress was the same as that of the women of Delhi. These girls covered the head : but that disfigured rather than embellished their appearance, as they were not used to it.

“The ornaments of the Maldivè women consist of bracelets : each has a certain number on both arms, indeed, so that the whole of the arm from the wrist to the elbow is covered. These trinkets are of silver : only the wives of the Sultan and his nearest relatives wear bracelets of gold. The Maldivè women have also anklets, called by them *báil*,<sup>2</sup> and collars of gold round the neck, called *basdarad*.<sup>3</sup> One of their curious customs is to engage themselves as house servants, in consideration of a fixed sum, which does not exceed five pieces of gold. Their board is at the expense of those who hire them. They do not regard this as a disgrace, and most of the daughters of the inhabitants do it. You will find in the house of a rich man ten or twenty of them. The cost of all dishes broken by one of these maids is charged against her. When she wishes to go from one house to another, her new masters give her the amount of her debt, which she pays to the people of the house she is leaving ; her new masters thenceforward become her creditors.<sup>4</sup> The principal occupation of these hired women is to twist the *kanbar*.

“It is easy to get married in these islands, owing to the smallness of the dowry, as well as by reason of the agreeable society of the women. Most of them say nothing about a nuptial gift, contenting themselves with declaring their profession of the Musalmán

<sup>1</sup> Pyrard (vol. i, p. 109) says that all women in his time carefully kept the breasts covered. It is still customary for the women in the remoter parts of Ceylon to go about their villages clothed only from the waist downwards.

<sup>2</sup> The mod. M. for anklet is *takahóli*.

<sup>3</sup> The mod. M. is *fattaru*.

<sup>4</sup> See Pyrard's account of this institution, vol. i, pp. 202-4.

Ibn Batuta. faith, and a nuptial gift in conformity to the law is given. When foreign ships arrive there the crews take wives, whom they repudiate on their departure; it is a kind of temporary marriage. The Maldivian women never leave their country. I have not seen in the whole world any women whose society is more agreeable. Among the islanders, the wife entrusts to no one the care of her husband's service; she it is who brings him his food, takes away when he has eaten, washes his hands, presents the water for his ablutions, and covers his feet when he wills to go to sleep. It is one of their customs that the wife never eats with her husband, and he does not even know what she eats. I married many wives in that country: some ate with me at my request, others did not; and I could not succeed in seeing these take their food, and no trick on my part to get a sight was of any avail.

“*The story of the motive for the conversion of the Inhabitants of these Islands to Islám: Description of the Evil Spirits who formerly wrought them harm every month.*—Trustworthy men among the inhabitants, such as the lawyer 'Iça al-Yamanî,<sup>1</sup> the lawyer and schoolmaster 'Alî, the Kâzî 'Abd Allah, and others, related to me that the people of these islands used to be idolaters, and that there appeared to them every month an evil spirit, one of the Jiun, who came from the direction of the sea. He resembled a ship full of lamps. The custom of the natives, as soon as they perceived him, was to take a young virgin, to adorn her, and to conduct her to a *budkhâna*,<sup>2</sup> that is to say, an idol temple,

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Jesus of Yemen.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher gives *buḍu* as the modern Maldivian for “image” (*J. R. A. S.*, vol. vi, O. S., p. 57). The word was probably borrowed from the Persian *bud* or *bod*, an idol, which is probably taken from *Budak*. *Bud-parast* = idolater. The word *bod*, too, is a general term for an image with the Arab Oriental travellers, and may only indicate that the Buddhist parts of India were the first visited by the Arabs (*Journ. As.*, 1845, p. 167). Ibn Batuta elsewhere says that the Jama Masjid of Delhi was built upon the site of a former *Budkhâna*; he does not therefore mean to imply here that the word was Maldivian. As to the question whether Buddhism prevailed at the Maldives, see vol. i, p. 123, note. The Cretan sacrifice here described had of course no connection with Buddhism, and, likely enough, is mere legend: though it is probable enough that the temple with which the legend was connected was Buddhist.

which was built on the sea-shore and had a window by which she was visible. They left her there during the night and returned in the morning, at which time they were wont to find the young girl dishonoured and dead. Every month they drew lots, and he upon whom the lot fell gave up his daughter. At length arrived among them a Maghrabin<sup>1</sup> Berber, called *Abú'l-barakát*, who knew by heart the glorious Kurán. He was lodged in the house of an old woman of the island *Muhal*. One day he visited his hostess and found that she had assembled her relatives, and that the women were weeping as at a funeral. He questioned them upon the subject of their affliction, but they could not make him understand the cause, until an interpreter, who chanced to come in, informed him that the lot had fallen upon the old woman, and that she had an only daughter, who was now about to be slain by the evil Jinni. *Abú'l-barakát* said to the woman: 'I will go to-night in thy daughter's stead.' At that time he was entirely beardless. So, on the night following, after he had completed his ablutions, he was conducted to the idol temple. On arrival there he set himself to recite the Kurán. Presently, through the window, beholding the demon to approach, he continued his recitation. The Jinni, as soon as he came within hearing of the Kurán, plunged into the sea and disappeared; and so it was that, when the dawn was come, the Maghrabin was still occupied in reciting the Kurán. When the old woman, her relatives, and the people of the island, according to their custom, came to take away the girl and burn the corpse, they found the stranger reciting the Kurán. They conducted him to their King, by name *Shanúrása*,<sup>2</sup> whom they informed of this adventure. The King was astonished: and the Maghrabin both proposed to him to embrace the true faith, and inspired him with a desire for it. Then said *Shanúrása* to him: 'Remain with us till next month, and if you do again as you have now done and escape the evil Jinni, I will be converted.' Wherefore the stranger remained with the idolaters, and God disposed

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, of *Maghreb*; the name given by the Arabs to the Moorish principalities of North-West Africa, nearly corresponding with what we now call Morocco.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sin. *Senarat*, "King (Chief Commander) of the army", and *Senaviratna*, "the gem-like General".

*Ibn Batuta.* the heart of the King to receive the true faith. He became Musalmán before the end of the month, as well as his wives, children, and courtiers. At the beginning of the following month the Maghrabin was conducted again to the idol-temple; but the Jinní came not, and the Berber recited the Kurán till the morning, when the Sultan and his subjects arrived and found him so employed. Then they broke the idols, and razed the temple to the ground. The people of the island embraced Islám, and sent messengers to the other islands, whose inhabitants were also converted. The Maghrabin remained among them, and enjoyed their high esteem. The natives made profession of his doctrine, which was that of the *Imám Málík*. Even at present they respect the Maghrabins for his sake. He built a mosque, which is known by his name. I have also read the following inscription graven in wood on the enclosed pulpit of the chief mosque: '*Sultan Ahmed Shanúrása has received the true faith at the hands of Abú'l-barakát the Berber, the Maghrabín.*' This Sultan assigned a third of the taxes of the islands as alms to travellers, in recognition of his reception of Islám through their agency. This share of the taxes still bears a name which recalls this event.

"Owing to the demon in question many of the Maldivé islands were depopulated before their conversion to Islám. When I reached the country I was not aware of this matter. One night, while I was at one of my occupations, I heard of a sudden people crying with a loud voice the creeds, 'There is no God but God', and 'God is very great'. I saw children carrying Kuráns on their heads, and women rapping the insides of basins and vessels of copper.<sup>1</sup> I was astonished at their conduct, and asked, 'What is happening?' to which they replied, 'Do you not see the sea?' Whereupon I looked, and saw, as it were, a kind of large ship, seemingly full of lamps and chafing-dishes. 'That is the demon,' said they to me; 'he is wont to show himself once a month; but when once we have done as you have seen, he turns back and does us no harm.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *M. Kóli*; see vol. i, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Vestiges of this romantic legend of their conversion still live in the traditions of the islanders. Intercourse with Persia has, however,

"Of the Queen of these Islands.—One of the marvels of the Ibn Batuta. Maldives is that they have for their Sovereign a woman, by name *Khadija*, daughter of the Sultan *Jalál uddín 'Omar*, son of the Sultan *Saláh uddín Sálíh al-banjáll*. The kingdom had at one time been possessed by her grandfather, then by her father, and when the latter died, her brother, *Shiháb uddín*, became King. He was a minor, and the Vizier *'Abd Allah*, son of *Mohammed Alhadhrámí*, espoused his mother and assumed authority over him. He is the same personage who married the Sultana *Khadija* after the death of her first husband, the Vizier *Jamál uddín*, as we shall describe hereafter. When *Shiháb uddín* attained full age he ousted his step-father, *'Abd Allah*, and banished him to the islands of *Suwaíd*. He was then left in sole possession, and chose as Vizier one of his freedmen, by name *'Ali Kalakí*,<sup>1</sup> whom he deposed at the end of three years and banished to *Suwaíd*. It is related of the Sultan *Shiháb uddín* that he consorted nightly with the wives of the public officers and with courtezans. On that account he was deposed and exiled to the province of *Haladutení*<sup>2</sup>; some time afterwards one was sent thither who put him to death.

"There then remained of the royal family only the sisters of the deceased, *Khadija*, who was the eldest, *Miryam*, and *Fakhima*. The natives raised *Khadija* to the throne, who was married to their preacher, *Jamál uddín*. The latter became Vizier and Prime Minister, and promoted his son *Mohammed* to the office of Preacher in his own stead; but orders were promulgated only in the name of *Khadija*. These are traced on palm leaves by means of an iron [style] bent down and resembling a knife. Only the Kuráns and scientific treatises are written on paper. The Preacher makes

led them to assign to a Shaikh, *Yúsuf Shams-ud-dín* of *Tabriz*, the honour which Ibn Batuta claims for a Maghrabin, and the votaries of Hazrat Mirá Sáhíb for the Nágúr saint (*C. A. S. Journ.*, No. 24, pp. 125-36, 1881). Their first Royal convert to Islam the Maldivians commonly know as *Darumavanta* (= S. *Dharmnavanta*, i. e., "the Just") *Rasgefánu*. The mosque he built still stands, and continues to bear his name.

<sup>1</sup> *'Ali Kalége*. The title *Kalége-fánu* or *Kalóge-fánu* (Pyrard, *Calogue*) accrues by purchase, not by birth.

<sup>2</sup> Above spelt *Haladummattí*.

*Ibn Batuta.* mention of the Sultana on Fridays and on other great days, in the following terms: 'O God, succour Thy servant, whom Thou hast in Thy wisdom preferred before other mortals, and whom Thou hast made the instrument of Thy mercy towards all Musalmáns, namely the Sultana *Khadija*, daughter of Sultan *Jalál uddín*, son of Sultan *Saláh uddín*.'

"When a stranger comes among these people and repairs to the hall of audience, which is called *dar*,<sup>1</sup> custom requires that he should take with him two cloths. He makes obeisance before the Sultana, and throws down one of these cloths. Then he salutes her Vizier, who is also her husband, *Jamál uddín*, and throws down the other. The army of this Queen consists of about a thousand men of foreign birth, though some of them are natives. They come every day to the hall of audience to salute her and then go home. Their pay is in rice, supplied to them at the *bandar* every month. When the month is ended, they present themselves at the audience hall, and, saluting the Vizier, say, 'Convey our respects (to the Queen) and inform her that we have come to request our pay.' Thereupon the necessary orders are given in their favour. The Kázi and ministers, who among the people are entitled Viziers, also present themselves every day at the audience hall. They make a salutation, and when the eunuchs have transmitted their respects to the Queen, they retire.

"*Of the Ministers and their conduct of Government.*—The people of the Maldives call the Grand Vizier, the Sultana's Lieutenant, *Kalaki*<sup>2</sup>; and the Kázi, *Fandayorkábi*.<sup>3</sup> All judgments are in the jurisdiction of the Kázi: he is more highly esteemed by the people than all other men, and his orders are executed as those of the Sultan, and even better. He sits upon a carpet in the audience hall: he possesses three islands,<sup>4</sup> whose revenue he places to his

<sup>1</sup> Ar. "house".

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Pyrrard's *Quilague*; *v. s.*, vol. i, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, *Fadiyáru Kalóge-fánu*, Pyrrard's *Pandiare*.

<sup>4</sup> Corresponding with *nindagam* lands in Ceylon, the tenure of which is thus explained in Sir J. D'Oyley's MS., "Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom": "*Nindagama*, a village which, for the time being, is the entire property of the grantee, or temporary chief; definitely granted by the king with *sannas*, it becomes *paraveny*," etc. (p. 144).

private account, after an ancient custom established by the Sultan <sup>Ibn Batuta.</sup> *Ahmed Shanúrda*. The Preacher is called *Handjari*; the Chief of the Treasury, *Fámeldári*; the Receiver-General of Revenue, *Máfakalí*; the Minister of Police, *Fitnýak*; and the Admiral, *Mánáyak*.<sup>1</sup> All these have the title of Vizier. There is no prison in these islands: criminals are shut up in wooden houses built to contain the merchants' goods. Each one is placed in a wooden cell, as we have (in Morocco) for the Christian prisoners.

“Of my arrival at these Islands, and of the vicissitudes which I experienced there.—When I came to this country I landed at the island *Kannalús*, which is fair to behold, and contains many mosques. I was lodged at the house of one of the most pious inhabitants. The lawyer *Alí* gave me a feast. He was a man of distinction, and had sons addicted to study. I saw there a man named *Mohammed*, a native of *Dháfár-ul Humúdh*, who entertained me and said to me, ‘If you set foot on the island of *Mahal*, the Vizier will forcibly detain you, for the people have no *Kázi*.’<sup>2</sup> My intention at the time was to proceed from that country to *Ma’bar*,<sup>3</sup> to Serendíb, to Bengal, and then to China. I had then arrived at the Maldives in a ship whose captain was *Omar Alhinaúri*, who was of the number of virtuous pilgrims. When we had come into harbour at *Kannalús*, he remained there ten days; then he hired a little barque to take him thence to *Mahal*, bearing a present for the Queen and her Consort. I wished to go with him, but he said, ‘The barque is not big enough for you and your companions; if you will embark without them, you are welcome.’ I declined this proposal, and *Omar* took his departure. But the wind played with him, and at the end of four days he

<sup>1</sup> As to these ministers, see vol. i, pp. 210-13, *note*, where the names are given according to the French editors' transliteration.

<sup>2</sup> Probably meaning no duly qualified *Kázi*; the existing *Kázi* is mentioned below.

<sup>3</sup> The name of *Ma’bar* (“passage” or “ferry”) was given to the Coromandel coast by the Arabs during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Col. Yule suggests that it referred to the communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being at that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf (*Marco Polo*, ii, p. 268). The tract of coast called *Ma’bar* extended from Cape Comorin to Nellore.

Ibn Batuta. came back to us, not without experience of travail. He made his excuses to me, and implored me to go with him, my companions and all. We set sail in the morning, and towards midday disembarked on a certain island; leaving that, we passed the night at another. After a four days' cruise, we arrived at the province of *T'm*, the governor whereof was one *Hildl*. He welcomed me, and gave me a feast; and afterwards came to visit me, accompanied by four men, two of whom had on their shoulders a rod<sup>1</sup> from which were suspended four chickens. The other two had a similar rod, to which were attached about ten coconuts. I was surprised that they thought so highly of these common objects; but was informed that they do this as a token of consideration and respect.<sup>2</sup>

“After leaving these people we landed on the sixth day at the island of *Othmán*, a man of great distinction and rectitude. He received us with honour, and entertained us. On the eighth day we put into an island belonging to a Vizier named *Talamdi*. On the tenth, we at length reached the island of *Mahal*, where the Sultana and her Consort reside, and cast anchor in the harbour. It is a custom of the country that no one may disembark without the permission of the inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> This was accorded to us; and I then desired to betake myself to some mosque, but the slaves on the beach prevented me, saying, ‘It is necessary that you should first visit the Vizier.’ I had requested the captain, when he should be questioned about me, to say, ‘I know nothing of him,’ for fear lest they should detain me; for I was then unaware that some ill-advised babbler had written out for them a full account of me, stating that I had been Kází at Delhi. On our arrival at the audience hall, we took our seats on benches at the third entrance door. The Kází *'Iça al-Yamaní* came up and welcomed me, while I saluted the Vizier. The ship captain *Ibráhm*<sup>4</sup> brought ten pieces of worked stuffs, made a salute before the Queen, and threw

<sup>1</sup> *M. dadimáru*—the *kalláya* of the Sinhalese.

<sup>2</sup> The Sinhalese *penumkaça*, or pingo, of presents of sweetmeats, provisions, fruits, etc., is presented on like occasions.

<sup>3</sup> This rule is enforced to this day.

<sup>4</sup> Above he is called *'Omar*.

down one of them ; then he bent the knee in honour of the Vizier, *Ibn Baluta*, and threw down another, and so on to the last. He was questioned about me, and replied, 'I know nothing of him.'

" We were then presented with betel and rose-water, which is a mark of honour with them. The Vizier gave us lodging in a house, and sent us a repast consisting of a large bowl full of rice and surrounded with dishes of salted meats dried in the sun, chickens, melted butter, and fish. On the morrow I set out with the captain and the Kázi '*Iça al-Yamani*' to visit a hermitage situated at the extremity of the island, and founded by the virtuous Shaikh *Najib*.<sup>1</sup> We returned at night, and on the following morning the Vizier sent me some raiment, and a repast comprising rice, melted butter, salt, sun-dried meat, coconuts, and honey extracted from the same fruit, called by the natives *korbáni*,<sup>2</sup> signifying 'sugar-water'. They brought me also 100,000 cowries for my expenses. After ten days there arrived a ship from Ceylon, having on board some Persian and Arab fakirs who knew me and told the servants of the Vizier all about me. This enhanced the pleasure given by my coming. He sent for me at the commencement of Ramazán. I found the Chiefs and Viziers already assembled ; food was served at the tables, each of which accommodated a certain number of guests. The Grand Vizier made me sit by his side, in company of the Kázi '*Iça*, the *Fámeldári*, Vizier or Chief of the Treasury, and the Vizier '*Omar* the *Déherd*, or General of the army. The dinner of these islanders consists of rice, chickens, melted butter, fish, salt, sun-dried meat, and cooked bananas. After eating, they drink some coco-honey mingled with aromatics, which facilitates digestion.

" On the 9th of Ramazán, the son-in-law of the Vizier died. His wife, the daughter of that minister, had already been married to the Sultan *Shiháb uddín* ; but neither of her husbands had cohabited with her, on account of her youth. Her father, the Vizier, took her back home, and gave me her house, which was an exceed-

<sup>1</sup> This old shrine (*Najibú miskitu*), it is said, may still be seen at Málé.

<sup>2</sup> Probably ought to be *hakurpani* = Sin. *hakuru*, "jaggery", *peni*, "water" or "liquid", the former word appearing as *acourou* for "coco-honey", in Pyrard's vocabulary.

Ibn Baṭuta. ing fine one. I asked permission to entertain the fakirs on their return from visiting the Foot of Adam, in the island of Serendib. This he granted, and sent me five sheep, a rare animal with the islanders, having to be brought from Ma'bar, Malabar, or Makdashau. The Vizier sent me also rice, chickens, melted butter, and spices. I had all these carried to the house of the Vizier *Sulēmán*, the *Mánáyak*, who took the greatest care in having them cooked, augmenting them in quantity, and sending me carpets and copper vessels. We broke the fast, according to custom, in the palace of the Sultana, with the Grand Vizier, and I requested him to permit some of the other Viziers to assist at my dinner. He said, 'I will come myself too.' I thanked him and returned home; but he had already arrived with the Viziers and grandees of the State. He seated himself in a raised pavilion of wood. All who came, whether Chiefs or Viziers, saluted the Grand Vizier, and threw down a piece of unworked stuff, in such numbers that the total reached to a hundred or thereabouts, all of which the fakirs appropriated. Dinner was then served and eaten; then the readers of the Kurán gave a recitation with sonorous voice, which was followed by singing and dancing. I had a fire prepared, and the fakirs then entered and trampled it under foot; some of them even ate the live embers, as one would devour sweetmeats, until the flame was extinguished.

*"The Story of some of the Vizier's benefactions to me.—* When the night was ended the Vizier went home and I accompanied him. We passed a garden belonging to the Treasury, and the Vizier said to me, 'This garden is for you; I will have a house built upon it to serve for your residence.' I praised his kind action, and made vows in his favour. Next day he sent me a young female slave, and his messenger said, 'The Vizier bids me say, if this girl pleases you she is yours; otherwise he will send a Mahratta slave.' I liked the young Mahratta girls, so I replied, 'I prefer the Mahratta.' The minister had one brought to me, by name *Gulistán*, which signifies 'the flower of the garden'.<sup>1</sup> She knew the Persian tongue, and pleased me highly. The Maldivite inhabitants have a language which I did not understand.

<sup>1</sup> More exactly, "the parterre of flowers".

"The next day, the Vizier sent me a young female slave from <sup>Ibn Batuta.</sup> Coromandel, by name *Anbéri*.<sup>1</sup> On the following evening he came to my house with some of his servants, and entered, attended by two little boy slaves. I saluted him, and he asked me how I did. I made vows for his welfare, and thanked him. One of the slaves put before him a *lokcha* (or *bokcha*),<sup>2</sup> that is, a kind of napkin, from which he drew some silk stuffs and a box containing pearls and trinkets. The Vizier made me a present of them, adding, 'If I had sent these with the young slave, she would have said, "This is my property; I brought it from the house of my master." Now that the things belong to you, make her a present of them.' I addressed prayers to God for the minister, and rendered to him expressions of my gratitude, of which he was worthy.

"*Of the Vizier's change of disposition towards me; of the project which I formed to depart; and of my continued sojourn at the Maldives.*—The Vizier *Suleimán*, the *Mánáyak*, had proposed to me to espouse his daughter. I sent to ask the permission of the Vizier *Jamál uddín* to conclude the marriage. My messenger returned, saying, 'It does not please him; he wishes you to marry his own daughter when the legal term of her widowhood shall have expired.' I refused to consent to this union, fearing the sinister fortune attached to the daughter of the Vizier, since two husbands had already died without having consummated the marriage. In the midst of this a fever seized me, and I was very ill. Every person who goes to that island must inevitably catch the fever.<sup>3</sup> I then made a firm resolve to get out of the country; I sold a portion of my trinkets for cowries, and chartered a ship to take me to Bengal. When I went to take my leave of the Vizier, the *Kází* came out to meet me, addressing me in these terms, 'The Vizier,' said he, 'bids me tell you this, "If you wish to go away, give us back what we have given you, and begone."' I replied, 'With a part of my trinkets I have bought cowries; do with them what you will.' In a little while the *Kází* returned to

<sup>1</sup> *I. e.*, of the colour of ambergris.

<sup>2</sup> If the latter be the correct reading, it is perhaps the *M. burugá*, a cloth sometimes worn over the face by Maldivian ladies.

<sup>3</sup> *V. s.*, vol. i, p. 83.

Ibn Batuta. me and said, 'The Vizier says, "We have given you gold, not cowries."' I replied, 'Very well; I will sell them and will pay you gold.' Accordingly, I sent to request the merchants to buy the shells from me. But the Vizier gave them orders not to deal with me; for his design in so conducting himself was to prevent me going away from him.

"Then he deputed one of his household, who had this conversation with me, 'The Vizier bids me request you to remain with us, and you shall have everything you desire.' So I said to myself, 'I am under their authority: if I do not stay with a good grace, I shall have to stay by constraint: a voluntary sojourn is preferable to that.' I therefore made reply to the envoy, 'Very well; I shall remain with him.' The messenger returned to his master, who was delighted with my reply, and sent for me. When I entered his presence, he got up and embraced me, saying, 'We wish you to remain with us, and you wish to go!' I made my excuses, which were accepted, and said, 'If you wish me to stay, I will impose upon you certain conditions.' The Vizier replied, 'We accept them: please to name them.' I answered, 'I am unable to walk on foot.' Now it is a custom of that country that no one rides on horseback save only the Vizier. So it was that when I had a horse given to me and was mounted, the whole population, men and children, began to follow me with astonishment, whereof I complained to the Vizier. Accordingly, a *donkora* was beaten, and it was proclaimed among the people that no one should follow me. The *donkora* is a kind of copper basin, which is struck with an iron or hammer, and gives a noise heard afar.<sup>1</sup> After it is struck, the crier makes then in public his proclamation.

"The Vizier said to me, 'If you wish to ride in a palanquin, well and good: otherwise we have a horse and a mare: choose which of these animals you prefer.' I chose the mare, which was brought to me at once. At the same time some garments were brought to me. I said to the Vizier, 'What shall I do with the cowries which I have bought?' He replied, 'Send one of your

<sup>1</sup> Probably intended for *koli*, "gong". The iron striker is called *dadigadu*.

companions to sell them for you in Bengal.' 'I will do so,' said Ibn Batuta, I, 'on condition that you send someone to help him in the affair.' 'I will,' he replied. So I despatched my comrade *Abu Mahommed*, son of *Ferhán*, in whose company they sent one called the pilgrim *Ali*. But it happened that a storm arose: the crew jettisoned the whole cargo, including even the mast, the water, and all the other provisions for the voyage. They remained for sixteen days without sail and rudder; and after the endurance of hunger, thirst, and toil, they arrived at the island of Ceylon. In a year's time my comrade, *Abu Mahommed*, came back to me. He had visited the Foot (*of Adam*), and he afterwards saw it again with me.

*Account of the Festival in which I took part with the Islanders.*  
 —The month of Ramazán ended, the Vizier sent me some raiment, and we made our way to the place consecrated for prayer. The path which the minister had to traverse, between his residence and the place of prayer, had been decorated: stuffs had been spread, and cottas of cowries had been placed on the right and on the left. All the Emirs and grandees who had houses on the road had planted near them little coco-trees, arecas, and bananas. Ropes were strung from one tree to the next, and green nuts were suspended from the ropes. The master of each house was stationed at his gate, and when the Vizier passed, he threw before his feet a piece of silk or cotton. The slaves of the minister appropriated these, as well as the cowries placed by the way. The Vizier advanced on foot, covered with an ample robe of goat's hair of Egyptian manufacture, and a large turban. For a scarf he wore a kerchief of silk; four umbrellas shaded his head, and sandals covered his feet. All his attendants, without exception, had their feet bare. Trumpets, clarions, and drums<sup>1</sup> preceded him: the soldiers marched before and behind him, all shouting the cry, 'God is very great!' until they were arrived at the place of prayer.<sup>2</sup>

"Prayer ended, the son of the Vizier preached: then was

<sup>1</sup> M. *táafili*; *dummárhí*; *beru*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pyard's account of the festival at the close of Ramazán, vol. i, p. 140.

Ibn Batuta. brought a litter, which the Vizier mounted. The Emirs and the other grandees again saluted him, casting down pieces of stuffs, according to custom. Before this time the Grand Vizier used not to ride in a litter, for the Kings alone did so. The bearers then lifted it; I mounted my horse, and we entered the palace. The minister seated himself at a raised dais, having near him the Viziers and the Emirs. The slaves remained standing, bearing shields, swords, and staves.<sup>1</sup> Food was then served, and afterwards areca-nuts and betel, after which was brought a little dish containing sandal *mokassiri*.<sup>2</sup> As soon as one party of the guests had eaten, they rubbed themselves with sandal. That day I saw upon one of their dishes a fish of the species of sardines, salted and raw, which had been sent as a present from *Kaulom*.<sup>3</sup> This fish is very abundant on the Malabar Coast.<sup>4</sup> The Vizier took a sardine, and began to eat it, at the same time saying to me, 'Eat some of that; it is not found in our country.' I answered, 'How can I eat it? It is not cooked.' 'It is cooked,' said he. But I replied, 'I know this fish well, for it abounds in my native land.'

"Of my Marriage, and of my nomination to the dignity of *Kázi*.---On the 10th day of Shawwál I agreed with the Vizier *Suleimán Mánáyak* or Admiral, that I should espouse his daughter, and I sent to request the Vizier *Jamál uddín* that the betrothal should take place in his presence at the palace. He agreed, and sent the customary betel, and also some sandal. The people were present for the ceremony. The Vizier *Suleimán* delayed his coming. He was sent for: and yet he came not. He was sent for a second time, but he excused himself on account of the illness of his daughter; wherefore the Grand Vizier said to me in private, 'His daughter refuses to marry; and she is mistress of her own actions. But see! the people are assembled: would you like to espouse the step-mother of the Sultana, the widow of her father?' (The Grand Vizier's son was then married to this woman's

<sup>1</sup> *M. addana; kodi; dadi.*

<sup>2</sup> The latter part of the word is perhaps the *M. kasturi*, "musk".

<sup>3</sup> Quilon.

<sup>4</sup> It is probably the *pesche cavalle* of Pyrrard; see vol. i, pp. 388, 427.

daughter.) I replied, 'Yes, by all means.' He then convoked Ibn Batuta. the Kází and the notaries. The profession of the Musalmán faith was then recited, and the Vizier paid the nuptial gift. After some days my wife was brought to me. She was one of the best women who ever lived. Her good manners were such that when I became her husband, she anointed me with scented oils and perfumed my clothes; during this operation she laughed, and allowed nothing disagreeable to be seen.

"When I had married this lady, the Vizier constrained me to accept the functions of the Kází. The cause of my nomination was that I had reproached the Kází for taking the tenth part of inheritances, when he made partition among the heirs. I said to him, 'You ought to have only a fee, which you should agree for with the heirs.' This judge did nothing rightly. After I was invested with the dignity of Kází, I used all my efforts to have the precepts of the law observed. Disputes are not settled in that country as in ours. The first bad custom which I reformed concerned the sojourn of divorced women at the houses of those who had repudiated them; for these women did not cease to remain at the houses of their former husbands, until they got married to others. I forbade this to be done under any pretext. About five-and-twenty men were brought to me who had conducted themselves in this sort. I had them beaten with whips, and had them marched through the bazárs. As for the women, I compelled them to leave the homes of these men. Next I exerted myself to get prayers celebrated: I ordered some men to run down the streets and bazárs immediately after the Friday's prayers. If any were discovered who had not prayed, I caused him to be beaten and marched through the town. I compelled the *Imáms* and *Muazzins* in possession of fixed incumbencies to apply themselves assiduously to their duties. I sent orders in the same sense to all the other islands. Lastly, I essayed to make the women clothe themselves, but in this I did not succeed.

*"Of the arrival of the Vizier 'Abd Allah, son of Mohammed Alhadhramí, whom Sultan Shiháb uddín had banished to Suwaíd: account of what passed between us.—I had espoused the step-daughter of this personage, and I loved this wife very dearly.*

Ibn Batuta. When the Grand Vizier recalled him to the Island of *Mahal*, I sent him presents, went to meet him, and accompanied him to the palace. He saluted the Grand Vizier, who lodged him in a magnificent house, and there I often visited him. It happened, when I passed the month of Ramazán in prayer, that all the inhabitants visited me, except *'Abd-Allah*. The Vizier *Jamúl uddín* himself came to see me, and *'Abd-Allah* with him, but only bearing him company. Enmity arose between us. Afterwards, when I came out of my retreat, the maternal uncles of my wife, the step-daughter of *'Abd-Allah*, made a complaint to me. They were the sons of the Vizier *Jamúl uddín Assinjari*. Their father had appointed the Vizier *'Abd-Allah* to be their guardian, and their property was still in his hands, although they had by the law emerged from wardship. They demanded his appearance in Court. It was my custom, when I summoned one of the contending parties, to send him a slip of paper, either with or without writing. On delivery of that the party repaired to the Court; if he did not, I punished him. In this way I sent a paper to *'Abd-Allah*. This procedure raised his choler, and on account thereof he conceived a hatred for me. He concealed his enmity, and sent someone to plead for him. Some unseemly language was reported to me as having been used by him.

“The islanders, both gentle and simple, were accustomed to salute the Vizier *'Abd-Allah* in the same way as the Vizier *Jamúl uddín*. Their salutation consists in touching the ground with the forefinger, then kissing it, and placing it on the head. I issued orders to the public crier, and he proclaimed in the Queen's palace, in the presence of witnesses, that whoever should render homage to *'Abd-Allah* in like manner as to the Grand Vizier should incur severe chastisement. And I exacted from him a promise that he would not allow men to do so. His enmity against me was now increased. Meantime, I married another wife, daughter of a highly esteemed Vizier, whose grandfather was the Sultan *Dáud*, the grandson of the Sultan *Ahmed Shaníráza*.<sup>1</sup> Then I married

<sup>1</sup> This relationship fixes approximately the date of *Shaníráza* and of the Mahommedan conversion, which may have been as early as 1200 A.D., but—allowing for early marriages—perhaps more probably about 1220 or 1230 A.D.

one who had been married to the Sultan *Shiháb uddín*, and I had Ibu Batuta. three houses built in the garden which the Vizier gave to me. My fourth wife, the step-daughter of '*Abd-Allah*', lived at her own house. She was the one of all my wives whom I cherished the most. Thus allied by marriage to the persons named, I was much feared by the Vizier and the people of the island, by reason of their own weakness. False reports were spread concerning me and the Grand Vizier, in great part by the zeal of the Vizier '*Abd-Allah*', so that our estrangement became final.

"*Of my departure from these people, and of the motive thereof.*— It happened that one day the wife of a certain slave of the late Sultan *Jaldál uddín* made a complaint of him to the Vizier, to the effect that he had an adulterous intrigue with one of the Sultan's concubines. The Vizier sent witnesses, who entered the girl's house and found the slave asleep with her upon the same carpet. Both were put in durance. In the morning, on being informed of this, I went to the audience hall and took my seat in my customary place. I made no reference to the affair. A courtier then approached me and said, 'The Vizier requests to know if you have any business with him.' I replied, 'No.' The design of the minister was that I should speak of the affair of the concubine and the slave; for it was my invariable rule to decide every case which he put before me. But as I was showing him my dissatisfaction and dislike, I omitted to do so then. I went straightway to my own house and took my seat where I delivered my judgments. Soon after came a Vizier, saying on behalf of the grand Vizier, 'Yesterday, such and such occurred in the matter of the concubine and slave; judge both of them conformably with the law.' I replied, 'It is a cause in which it is not fitting to deliver judgment save at the Sultan's palace.' I then repaired thither; the people assembled, and the concubine and the slave were summoned. I ordered that both should be beaten for their intrigue; then that the woman should be set at liberty and the slave kept in prison; after which I returned home.

"The Vizier sent several of his principal attendants to speak to me about setting the slave at liberty. I said to them, 'Intercession is made with me in favour of a negro slave, who has

Ibn Batuta. violated the respect which he owed to his master ; while but yesterday you deposed the Sultan *Shiháb uddín* and slew him, because he entered the house of one of his slaves.' Thereupon I ordered the prisoner to be beaten with bambu switches, which produced more effect than the whip. I had him marched through the whole island with a rope round his neck. The messengers of the Vizier went and informed him of what passed, whereupon he discovered great agitation and was inflamed with anger. He assembled the other Viziers, the chiefs of the army, and sent for me. I obeyed the summons. It was my custom to pay him homage by bending the knee ; but this time I did not do so, only saying, 'Peace be with you?' Then I said to those present, 'Be ye witnesses that I resign my functions as Kází, because I am rendered powerless to exercise them.' The Vizier then beckoning to me, I went up and took a seat in front of him, and then I answered in terms yet more severe. After this reucontre, the *Muazzin* made the call to prayer at sun-down, and the Grand Vizier entered his house, saying, "'Tis said, forsooth, that I am sovereign ; but see ! I have sent for this man in order to vent my wrath upon him, and he dares to be angry with me.' I was only respected by these islanders for the sake of the Sultan of India, for they knew the position I occupied under him. Although they are far removed from him, they fear him much in their hearts.

"When the Grand Vizier had returned to his house, he sent the deposed Kází, an eloquent speaker, who addressed me as follows : 'Our master requires to know why you have violated, in the presence of witnesses, the respect which is due to him, and why you have not rendered him homage?' I replied, 'I saluted him only when my heart was satisfied with him ; but now that dissatisfaction has supervened, I have renounced the usage. The salutation of Mussulmans consists only of the *assélám*, and that I have pronounced.' Subsequently the Vizier sent this person a second time ; he then said, 'You have no other aim but that of leaving us ; pay the dowries of your wives, and what you owe to the men, and go when you will.' At this speech I bowed, and went to my house and paid such debts as I had contracted. Up

to this time the Vizier had given me some carpets and household Ibn Batuta. utensils, such as copper vessels, etc. He was wont to grant me anything I asked, loving me and treating me with all consideration; but his disposition changed and he became inspired with fear of me.

“ When he heard that I had paid my debts, and that I was intending to depart, he repented of what he had said, and put off granting me permission to go. I adjured him by the strongest oaths that I was under necessity to resume my voyage. I removed my belongings to a mosque upon the beach, and repudiated one of my wives. To another, who was with child, I gave a term of nine months, within which I might return; in default she was to be mistress of her own actions. I took with me that one of my wives who had been married to the Sultan *Shiháb uddín*, in order to restore her to her father, who dwelt in the island of *Molúk*, and my first wife, whose daughter was half-sister to the Sultana. I agreed with the Vizier *'Omar*, the *Déherd*, and the Vizier *Hasan*, the Admiral,<sup>1</sup> that I should go to the country of *Ma'bar*, the king of which was my brother-in-law, and that I should return with troops, to the end that the island might be reduced under his authority, and that I should then exercise the power in his name. I arranged that the signals between us were to be white flags hoisted on board the vessels. As soon as they should see these, those on shore were to rise in rebellion. I never had any such idea up to the day when I showed my displeasure. The Vizier was afraid of me, and said to the people, ‘ This man is determined to get the Vizierate, whether I live or die.’ He made many inquiries about me, and added, ‘ I have heard that the King of India has sent him money, to use in raising trouble against me.’ He dreaded my departure, lest I should return from the Coromandel Coast with troops. He bade me remain until he should get a ship ready for me: but I refused.

“ The half-sister of the Queen complained to her of the departure of her mother with me. The Queen wished to prevent her, but did not succeed. When she saw her resolve to go, she said to her,

<sup>1</sup> Above, he calls the *mánáyak*, or admiral, by the name *Suleimán*.

Ibn Batuta. 'All the trinkets you possess were provided with money from the custom-house. If you have witnesses to swear that *Jalál uddín* gave them to you, good and well : otherwise restore them.' These trinkets were of considerable value ; nevertheless, my wife gave them up to these people. The Viziers and Chiefs came to me while I was at the mosque, and prayed me to come back. I replied to them, 'Had I not sworn, I would assuredly return.' They said, 'Go then to some other island, so that your oath be kept, and then return.' 'Very well,' said I, to satisfy them. When the day of my departure was come, I went to bid adieu to the Vizier. He embraced me, and wept in such wise that his tears fell upon my feet. He passed the following night watching in the island, for fear lest my connections by marriage and my comrades should rise in rebellion against him.

"At length I got away and arrived at the island of the Vizier 'Alí. My wife was in great distress, and wished to return. I repudiated her and left her there, and wrote this news to the Vizier, for she was the mother of his son's wife. I repudiated also the wife to whom I had fixed the term for my return, and sent for a slave girl I was fond of. Meanwhile, we sailed through the midst of the islands, from one group to another.

"*Of Women who have only one Breast.*—In one of the islands I saw a woman who had only one breast. She was mother of two daughters; of whom one resembled her exactly, and the other had two breasts, only that one was large and full of milk, the other small and contained none. I was astonished at the conformation of these women.

"We arrived in course at another of these islands, which was small, and had a solitary house, occupied by a weaver, a married man and father of a family. He possessed small coco-trees, and a little barque, which served him for fishing and visiting the other islands when he wished ; on his islet were also small banana trees. We saw there none of the birds of the continent, except two crows, which flew in front of us on our arrival and circled round our ship. I truly envied the lot of this man, and made a vow that if his island should belong to me, I would retire to it until the inevitable term should arrive for me.

"I next arrived at the island of *Molúk*,<sup>1</sup> where I found the ship *Ibn Batuta*, belonging to the captain *Ibráhím* in which I had resolvéd to sail to *Ma'bar*. That person came to visit me along with his companions, and they entertained me at a fine feast. The Vizier had written in my favour an order requiring them to give me at this island 120 *bostú* of cowries, 20 goblets of *atuán*<sup>2</sup> or coco-honey, and to add to that every day a certain quantity of betel, areca-nuts, and fish. I remained at *Molúk* 70 days, and married two wives there. *Molúk* is one of the fairest islands to see, being verdant and fertile. Among other marvellous things to be seen there, I remarked that a branch cut off one of the trees there, and planted in the ground or on a wall, will cover itself with leaves and become itself a tree.<sup>3</sup> I observed also that the pomegranate tree there ceases not to bear fruit the whole year round. The inhabitants of this island were afraid that the captain *Ibráhím* was going to harry them at his departure. They therefore wanted to seize the arms which his ship contained, and to keep them until the day of his departure. A dispute arose on this subject, and we returned to *Mahal*, but did not disembark. I wrote to the Vizier informing him of what had taken place. He sent a written order to the effect that there was no ground for seizing the arms of the crew. We then returned to *Molúk*, and left it again in the middle of the month of *Rabí* the second of the year 745.<sup>4</sup> In the month of *Shabán*, of the same year,<sup>5</sup> died the Vizier *Jumál uddín*. The Sultana was with child by him, and was delivered after his death. The Vizier *'Abd-Allah* then took her to wife.

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Fua Mulaku* Island, which lies detached a little S.E. of the centre of the Equatorial Channel (lat. 0° 17' S.) between *Huvadú* and *Addú* atolls. *Ibn Batuta* had already "sailed through the midst of the islands, from one group to another."

<sup>2</sup> Above, at p. 22, coco-honey is called *korbáni*.

<sup>3</sup> There are considerable remains of temples on this island; see above, vol. i, p. 124, note; and below, the account of the visit of the brothers *Parmentier* in 1529. The tree indicated seems to be the *Bo*-tree; were, then, the temples originally *Buddhist*?

<sup>4</sup> About the 26th August, A.D. 1344.

<sup>5</sup> December 1344.

**Ibn Batuta.** "As for us, we sailed on, though without an experienced pilot. The distance which separates the Maldives from the Coromandel Coast is three days' sail. We were for nine days under sail, and on the 9th we made land at the island of Serendib."

[Ibn Batuta landed in Ceylon at the port of *Butthála*, somewhere on the N.W. coast, and thence, after successfully performing the pilgrimage to the sacred footprint of our father Adam, he took ship for the coast of Coromandel. At Devipatam and Madura he was the guest of a Mahomedan prince, *Ghaiyáth-ud-dín*, who died during the visit. This raja was succeeded by his nephew, *Násir-ud-dín*, whom Ibn Batuta had previously known as a domestic servant at Delhi. The traveller had exacted from the deceased prince the promise of a fleet wherewith to subdue his enemies at the Maldives, and this promise was renewed by his nephew. While the fleet was being equipped, Batuta was attacked by a serious fever, which made him anxious to get away from the country without delay. Regardless alike of his revenge and his matrimonial connections he took ship at Devipatam for Yemen, but got himself put ashore at Quilon, where he remained three months. He then embarked in another, which was attacked by pirates near Hunáwar. He was robbed of the whole of his property, including some valuable gems presented to him by a raja in Ceylon, and even his clothes. He thus proceeds:—]

"I returned to Calicut and entered one of the Mosques. A lawyer sent me a suit of clothes; the Kázi, a turban; and a merchant, another coat. I was here informed of the marriage of the Vizier *'Abd Allah* with the Queen *Khadíja*, after the death of the Vizier *Jumál uddín*, and I heard that my wife, whom I had left pregnant, was delivered of a male child. It came into my heart to go back to the Maldives, but I feared the enmity which existed between me and the Vizier *'Abd Allah*. In consequence, I opened the Kurán, and these words appeared before me: 'The angels shall descend unto them, and shall say, Fear not, neither be ye grieved.'<sup>1</sup> I implored the benediction of God, took my departure, and arrived in ten days at the Maldives, and landed at the island of *Kannulús*. The Governor of this island *'Abd-al-*

<sup>1</sup> *Kurán*, Sur. xii, 30.

'*Aziz Al-Makdashawi*,<sup>1</sup> welcomed me with respect, entertained me, Ibn Batuta. and got a barque ready. I arrived in due course at *Holohi*,<sup>2</sup> an island to which the Queen and her sisters resort for their diversion and for bathing. The natives term these amusements *tetijer* (†), and they then have games on board the vessels. The Vizier and chiefs send offerings to the Queen of such things as are found in the island. I met there the Queen's sister, wife of the preacher *Mohammed*, son of *Jumál uddín*, and his mother, who had been my wife. The preacher visited me, and he was served with food.

“Meanwhile, some of the inhabitants went across to the Vizier '*Abd Allah*' and announced my arrival. He put some questions about me and the persons who had come with me, and was informed that I had come to take my son, who was now about two years old.<sup>3</sup> The mother presented herself before the Vizier to complain of me, but he told her, 'I will not prevent him taking away his son.' He pressed me to go to the island (Málé), and lodged me in a house built opposite the tower of his palace, in order that he might be aware of my estate. He sent me a complete suit of clothes, betel, and rose-water, according to custom. I took to him two pieces of silk to throw down at the moment of saluting him. These were received from me, with the intimation that the Vizier would not come out to receive me that day. My son was brought to me, but it seemed to me that it would be better for him to remain among the islanders. I therefore sent him back, and remained five days in the island. I thought it best to hasten my departure, and asked the usual permission. The Vizier sent for me, and I repaired to his presence. They brought to me the two pieces of stuff they had previously taken from me, and I cast them before the Vizier and saluted him in the customary way. He made me sit by his side and questioned me of my condition. I ate in his company and washed my hands in the same basin with him, which thing he does with no one. Betel was then

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, of *Makdashau*, or *Magadoxo*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Oluveli* island in North Málé atoll.

<sup>3</sup> The son of Ibn Batuta here spoken of was probably born before the close of 1344. The traveller took his final departure from the Maldives about the close of the year 1346.

Ibn Batuta. brought, and I came away. The Vizier sent me cloths and *bestús* of cowries, and conducted himself towards me in the most perfect way. I took my departure, and after a voyage of forty-three days we arrived at Bengal."

Abd-er-Razzak.

18. For nearly a hundred years after the departure of Ibn Batuta nothing is recorded of the Maldives by traveller, friend or foe. De Barros' statement, that they were involved in the vassalage to China, to which Ceylon is said to have been subjected for the first half of the fifteenth century, is confessedly founded upon a mere rumour.<sup>1</sup> The next recorded allusion to the islanders, indeed, is against the hypothesis. In the year 1442 the traveller Abd-er-Razzak, in describing the various foreign merchants who frequented the great emporium of Ormuz, mentions those of "the islands of *Diwa Mahal*".<sup>2</sup> Any suzerainty, therefore, to which the Chinese may have laid claim does not seem to have involved commercial monopoly.

The presence of the Maldivians at Ormuz on the occasion of Abd-er-Razzak's visit is to be regarded not as a solitary venture, but rather as indicative of a regular trade. We learn from Ibn Batuta that in the preceding century the islanders conducted a regular trade with Arabia, probably at Aden, in dried fish, coir, and cowries. Their more valuable products, ambergris and tortoise-shell, were, as we have seen, well known in the markets of the East from an early period. During the fifteenth century Ormuz was the market at which were collected the most precious products, suitable alike by their lightness and value for the long caravan journey through Persia and Syria to Europe. While, therefore, the Maldivian coir and fish would find a ready sale as ship's provisions at such a port as Ormuz, we may conclude that the more substantial profits of the voyage proceeded from ambergris and tortoise-shell. Other indications also point to regular and long-continued commerce with Persia. The silver coinage of the

<sup>1</sup> See De Barros' *Asia*, Dec. III, liv. 11, c. i, p. 111. The Maldives were, however, regularly visited by the Chinese in this century, and are marked and described in Chinese charts of the time. See Mr. Phillips' paper in *J. China Br. R. A. S.*, 1885 (vol. xx, N. S.).

<sup>2</sup> *India in Fifteenth Cent.* (Hak. Soc.), i, 6.

Maldives, the *larin*, was adopted from Persian use,<sup>1</sup> and probably for a long period the Persiau coins taken in exchange for Maldivian commodities were themselves current at the islands. It is also to be noted that the Maldivians of later days attributed, if not the introduction, at any rate the revival of the Mahomedan faith to the efforts of Persian missionaries.

At the beginning of the next century the trade with Ormuz and Aden was at first thwarted by the Portuguese blockade of Western India, and, as to Ormuz, finally closed by the capture of that port. Although Maldivian trade was temporarily enhanced at subsequent times—during the first years of the sixteenth century, and again during the Portuguese occupation of the islands,—we may regard the latter half of the fifteenth century as the period at which it attained its highest point of normal development.

19. The last glimpse of the Maldives before the irruption of the Portuguese is afforded us by the Genoese merchant, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, who, returning from Pegu and Sumatra on his way to Cambay in 1497, was forced by weather to take refuge at the Maldives. It is to be regretted that his six months' residence produced no better result than the following paragraph<sup>2</sup>:—

“After being twenty-five days at sea in unfavourable weather, we reached certain islands called the Maldives, which are from seven to eight thousand in number, all desert,<sup>3</sup> small and low, through which the sea for the most part enters, the space from one to another being about a mile and a half; and there were seen in them an infinite number of people, all black and naked, but in good condition, and courteous. They hold the faith of the Moors, and have a chief who rules over the whole of them. There are trees growing there which produce the coco-nuts of large size. The people live on fish and a little rice, which they import. We were obliged to stay here six months to wait for favourable weather for our departure.”

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, iv, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads *dishabitate*, which may be a transcriber's error. Mr. Major translates as above, but “desert” is almost as contradictory to the latter part of the sentence as “uninhabited”. I am inclined to think the author wrote *habitate*.

The Portu-  
guese irrup-  
tion.

20. In the following year, 1498, Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut by way of the Cape, an event which, happening almost simultaneously with the discovery of America, had the effect of removing the centres of trade and civilisation from the Levant to Western Europe. Down to this time the luxuries of the world were enjoyed by the cities of Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Constantinople, which had now attained the highest pitch of wealth, refinement, and civilisation possible under Moslem conditions. The most opulent of European cities, Venice and Genoa, flourished mainly by retailing the surplus commodities of those great marts among the countries of the West. To have merely named the above half-dozen cities is sufficient to recall to our imagination the magnitude of the Eastern trade of those days as compared with anything that Western Europe could show. The wealth of the Mahomedan merchant cities arose chiefly from the fact that they collected and disseminated the whole export produce of India and the Far East. The bulk of this produce was sea-borne, and a few words, with a mere glance at the map, will serve to explain the mode in which the Portuguese struck for the prize which fortune now displayed to their avarice.

The lines of maritime commerce from further India and China drew together until Ceylon was rounded, and then again diverged. Vessels bound for Aden and the Red Sea touched at Ceylon, the Maldives, or Calicut, thence striking across the Indian Ocean. The other main line proceeded by way of Calicut and the other flourishing ports of the Malabar coast to Cambay, and thence across to Ormuz. The produce carried by way of Aden was carried up the Red Sea to Jeddah, or further to Suez, for delivery to the merchants of Cairo. That landed at Ormuz, enhanced by the merchandise of all Western India, found its way to Bagdad or Damascus, and thence by the caravan routes to Europe.

A first preliminary observation is that free trade prevailed: a second, that all nations seem to have had a hand in it, no one race, as in later days, doing a disproportionate share of the carrying trade. "Calicut is a perfectly secure harbour", writes Abd-er-Razzak, whom we have already quoted, "which, like that of Ormuz, brings together merchants from every city and from every country: in

it are to be found abundance of precious articles brought thither from maritime countries, and especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, or Zanguebar: from time to time ships arrive there from the shores of the House of God [Mecca] and other parts of the Hedjaz, and abide at will, for a greater or longer space, in this harbour; the town is inhabited by infidels, and situated on a hostile shore. It contains a considerable number of Mussulmans, who are constant residents, and have built two mosques. . . . Security and justice are so firmly established in this city, that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload, and unhesitatingly send into the markets and the bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods. . . . When a sale is effected, they levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part: if they are not sold, they make no charge on them whatsoever. . . . At Calicut every ship, whatever place it may come from, or wherever it may be bound, when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels, and has no trouble of any kind to put up with.<sup>1</sup> Of Ormuz the same traveller speaks with equal wonder: as a port "it has not its equal on the surface of the globe. The merchants of seven climates . . . all make their way to this port." Among those mentioned are the merchants of Egypt, Syria, Turkistan, China, Java, Pegu, Bengal, the Maldives, Malabar, Cambay, and Zanzibar. "Travellers from all countries resort hither, and, in exchange for the commodities they bring, they can without trouble or difficulty obtain all that they desire. Bargains are made either by money or by exchange. For all objects, with the exception of gold and silver, a tenth of their value is paid by way of duty.<sup>2</sup> Persons of all religions, and even idolaters, are found in great numbers in this city, and no injustice is permitted towards any person whatever."

The Portuguese irruption.

This picture of Indian trade in the fifteenth century is here

<sup>1</sup> *India in the Fifteenth Century*, i, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian Nikitin justly thought this ten per cent. duty rather high (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, iii, p. 19). There was, however, no favoured nation clause, and in effect it was not prohibitive.

The Portu-  
guese irrup-  
tion.

introduced as being illustrative of the commercial world in which the Maldivians moved and took their part. It will now be easy to understand what followed when the Portuguese swooped upon Calicut, and, by conduct not to be distinguished from common piracy, broke up link by link the commercial chain which had hitherto extended from Genoa and Venice to Malacca and Peking.

Active operations were begun by the second expedition which left Lisbon under Cabral, in March 1500. The Zamorin of Calicut declared against the invaders, and entered upon the long struggle for free trade and independence, which lasted throughout the Portuguese domination, and reduced Calicut to commercial insignificance. The rivalry which existed between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin led the latter to accord the Portuguese a favourable reception. A factory was established, and from this coign of vantage the Portuguese commenced to harry the seas of Western India.

They found the largest share of the carrying trade in the hands of Mahommedans, to whom they transferred all the implacable hatred stored up in their European memories against the followers of the Prophet, and whom, regardless of race and distance, they designated by the common name of "Moors". Confiscation of goods and slavery were meted out to everyone seized on the immemorial route of Eastern commerce: nor was any prior notice or proclamation deemed necessary to justify the capture. Natives of Calicut, as will be seen, were specially dealt with.

The Maldivians got their first practical information of the new régime when, in the year 1503, four of their ships had the misfortune to be sighted by Chief Captain Vicente Sodré, then cruising off Calicut.<sup>1</sup>

"When he (Sodré) was off Calicut," Correa relates, "he sighted four sail, which he overhauled and took. They proved to be *gundras*, barques of the Maldivian Islands, at which is made the *cairo* rope which serves the ships of all India for cables and shrouds, besides

<sup>1</sup> Vasco da Gama had just left for Europe after his second visit to India, and had appointed Sodré to carry on his work. The events at Calicut, preceding the episode of the Maldivian ships, may be read in Lord Stanley's *Three Voyages of V. da Gama*, extracted from Correa.

being of great use on shore. *Gundras* are built of palm-timber, joined and fastened with pegs of wood without any bolts. The sails also are made of mats of the dry leaves of the palm. These vessels were laden with *cairo* and *caury*, which are small white shells found among the islands in such quantity that ships make their cargoes of them. In these a great trade is carried on with Bengal, where they are current as money. These *gundras* also carried some dried fish, called *mozama*, which consists of pieces of bonito fish dried in the sun, because there is no salt at these islands: yet are they made so dry that they never go bad. Such quantities of this, too, are made at the islands, that ships are laden with it; there is no better victuals for sailors, and all seamen are provisioned upon it during their voyages. The vessels also carried good store of silks, both coloured and white, of divers fabrics and qualities, and many brilliant tissues of gold, made by the islanders themselves, who get the silk, gold, and cotton-thread from the numerous ships that pass among the islands on their way from the coast of Bengal to the Straits of Meca. These ships buy these stuffs from the islanders, supplying them in exchange with the materials whereof they are made. Thus are these islands a great emporium for all parts, and the Moors of India frequent them, bartering their salt and earthenware, which are not made at the islands, and also rice and silver. In these *gundras* were many Moors of Calicut, who had gone thither to purchase goods, and were bringing them back in the vessels chartered by them.

“On the capture of the *gundras* the chief captain bade the several masters of them point out the Moors of Calicut, otherwise he would burn the whole of them together; thereupon, in their fear, they did so. These were forthwith bound hand and foot, and placed in the hold of one of the *gundras*, which had been discharged of its cargo. Over them was heaped a quantity of *ola*,<sup>1</sup> all the *gundras* being fitted with packing-cases of *olas* for carrying

<sup>1</sup> Malayāl. *ola*, Tam. *olei*, the palm-leaf. Upon strips of the palmyra leaf all native letters, orders, and books are written, and these are in Anglo-Indian, as in Indo-Portuguese use, commonly called *olas*. Here, probably, ordinary coconut leaves are intended. See Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. “Ollah”.

The Portuguese irruption.

the goods. Fire was then applied, which, with the aid of the breeze, set the whole in a blaze. Some of the Moors took to the water, and succeeded in swimming ashore, and there related what had taken place. The Moors that were burnt numbered upwards of a hundred, and this event much increased the mischief at Calicut. As for the Moors of the islands that were in the other three *gundras*, the chief captain warned them never again to go to Calicut, for that if ever they were found carrying any goods there, they would be burned alive. He then sent them in to Cananor in charge of one of the caravellas to be unloaded at the factory. With them he also sent his fleet factor, and also his clerk, who appraised and sold the whole cargo," etc.

Thus began Portuguese intercourse with the Maldives. In the same year a Portuguese ship was driven by stress of weather to one of the Maldives, where, in the course of a few days, many died through drinking stagnant water, and over-indulgence in the fruit and fish diet of the place.

Up to this time the Maldives had not drawn upon them the personal attention of the Portuguese. The tactics of the Eastern traders now involved them in the general misfortune. Calicut being under blockade, the merchants were obliged to give Western India a wide berth. Thus, in 1506, the viceroy, Francisco de Almeida, "was informed that many ships from Pegu, Siam, and Bengal were passing through the Maldive Islands to Mecca. Therefore orders were given that Dom Lourenço [de Almeida, the viceroy's son] should proceed with the armada, and see what was going on at these islands, and whether ships could be seized."<sup>1</sup> Lourenço set sail, but was carried by the currents to Ceylon, where he laid the foundation of the Portuguese connection with that island. The Maldive expedition was not carried out.

The next mention of the Maldives is in the year 1509, when Affonso d'Albuquerque was repairing his fleet at Cochin, and sent orders to Cananor for a supply of coir. His information was that one Mamalle, a Moor of that place, "was trading with the Maldive Islands, under an agreement with the king of these islands,

<sup>1</sup> *Lendas*, tom. i, p. 613.

whereby the latter sold his goods at fixed prices, the Moor sending rice, salt, and earthenware, which the islands lacked, and receiving in exchange coir, dried fish, cowries, and very fine silks. The Moor had his own factors there, and as the islands were distant only three days' sail from Cananor, he was gaining great profit. Owing to his said agreement the other merchants could not buy or sell, and thus the Moor Mamalle was called Lord of the Maldive Islands. All the coir for the use of the whole of India was bought from this Moor, and thus he was master of great wealth." The Portuguese irruption.

Albuquerque sent for Mamalle, and ordered him to give up his trade with the islands, and to remove his factors from the place, "as the islands belonged to the King of Portugal, who would hinder no one from trading there". Mamalle not being convinced of the blessings of free trade, especially, perhaps, when preached by the Portuguese viceroy, begged earnestly to be allowed to keep his monopoly. He made the best terms he could, which were that he should deliver annually to the Portuguese factor at Cannanor 1,000 ropes of fine and 1,000 of coarse coir, each weighing a quintal and a half, and that he should place no hindrance in the way of the Portuguese if they should visit the Maldives for purposes of trade.

"The foregoing agreement," adds Correa, "was duly observed during the government of Affonso d'Albuquerque; but his successors, understanding how to profit themselves by the trade, gave it over to their servants and friends, and violated the contract. The ships and armadas sent by the factor of the King of Portugal reduced his profit to nothing, and did many robberies and mischief at the islands, as they are doing at the present day. These practices have cost the king much expense. The coir has also cost him much money, and has not been got without many difficulties and the deaths of many Portuguese, as will be related."

After the departure of Albuquerque the Maldives became the hunting ground of Portuguese pirates. In 1517 the third viceroy, Lopo Soares, was informed that one Jeronymo de Sousa was "playing the pirate" at the Maldives. An expedition was accordingly sent under Dom Fernando de Monroys and and João Gouçalves de Castello Branco, with orders to capture or

The Portuguese irruption.

kill the rebel. Whether they took Sousa or not does not appear; Correa merely relates that when they got to the Maldives they turned pirates themselves, and seized two rich ships of Cambay, which were sailing under Portuguese passports. "What!" cried the masters of the captured vessels, "you dare to seize these ships that are at peace with you, and you observe not the promises made in your own passports!"

In 1517, according to Faria, permission to build a factory was granted to the Portuguese by the Maldivian king; and for this purpose the successor of Soares, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, despatched an expedition in 1519, under João Gomes Cheiradinheiro, consisting of four small vessels carrying 120 men. This worthy also proceeded to play the pirate; for not only did he seize two rich ships of Tenasserin, the goods and crews of which he sold to the islanders, but he also harried the islanders themselves at his will. Collecting his booty, he landed at *Mafacelou* (? Malé), "where the king of the islands was dwelling", and there built himself a fort, into which he continued to draw compulsorily the produce of the islands, "paying for it according to his pleasure."

The Maldivians, in their distress, despatched a boat to Calicut to invoke the aid of Baleacem, a noted Malabar corsair. This personage was absent at the time, but the envoys found a friend in Pata-marakkâr, formerly a merchant of Cochin, who, having had two ships seized by the Portuguese, had taken to buccaneering. Twelve Malabar *paráos* were soon collected, manned, and despatched. Guided by the Maldivian boat, they fell upon the Portuguese ships as they lay unmanned in the harbour, and then upon the fort, which was unprotected on the water-side. The islanders joined in the attack with the fury of revenge, and, after a short struggle, every Portuguese was put to the sword. The whole booty, which was considerable, was divided between the islanders and their allies.

Thus did the Maldivians regain the freedom of their territory. For the next thirty years no attempt was made by the Portuguese to establish a fort at the islands, though they continued to be the resort of cruisers, whose captains, while affecting to intercept the merchantmen on their way to and from the Red Sea, employed their leisure in piracy among the atolls.

In 1550 the abdication of King Hassan, and his subsequent conversion to Christianity, induced the Portuguese again to intervene actively in Maldivian affairs. From this point Pyrard himself takes up the thread of Maldivian history. (See vol. i, p. 244.)

The Portuguese irruption.

21. There now remain three notices of the Maldives relating to the first half-century of the Portuguese period, the close of which will be assigned as the limit of this Appendix. The first of these is from the work of Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese soldier, who saw much service in various parts of the East between 1501 and 1517. The book<sup>1</sup> deals but little with Portuguese affairs of State, and much with geography and native races; the author, indeed, writes hardly at all as a soldier, and more as a gazetteer than a traveller. Every place of importance on the coasts between the Cape and China has its paragraph or chapter, and among these are—

Barbosa.

“*The Islands of Maldio*.—Over against this land of further Malabar,<sup>2</sup> forty leagues off, lies an archipelago of islands, said by the Moors to number 12,000. They begin opposite Mount Deli, at the shoals of Padua,<sup>3</sup> and extend to the parts opposite Malacca. The first are four small and very flat islands called *Maldio*<sup>4</sup>; these are peopled by Malabar Moors, and said to belong to the King of Cannanor.<sup>5</sup> They grow nothing but palm-trees, upon which the natives subsist, together with such rice as comes from Malabar in the ships which come there to load coir rope. [<sup>6</sup>*Islands of Palan-*

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Noticias das Naç. Ultramarinas*, tom iii, p. 352, Lisbon, 1812. This edition shows the various readings of Ramusio and of the Lisbon MS.

<sup>2</sup> He has just described Cape Comorin.

<sup>3</sup> *Baixos de Padua*, in lat. 13° N. They are mentioned by De Barros (see below), and also in the *Albuquerque Comm.* (Hak. Soc.), vol. iii, p. 55, and figured in the Map of F. Vaz Dourado, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> He misapplies the name to the Laccadives.

<sup>5</sup> As they do still; but see vol. i, p. 323.

<sup>6</sup> This passage is in Ramusio, but not in the Lisbon MS. It is evidently a paraphrase of the preceding paragraph by the Spanish translator whose text Ramusio used. Unfortunately, this has not been noted in the Hakluyt Society's translation of this work, and the author is thus made to describe two separate groups in strangely similar language; whereas it is tolerably clear, if we omit this passage in brackets, that he regards the Laccadives and Maldives as one group.

Barbosa. *dura*.—Over against Panani, Cochim, and Coulaõ (Quilon) are other islands, ten or twelve of which are inhabited by dusky Moors of small stature, who have a language of their own. The king, who is a Moor, has his residence at an island called *Mahaldiu*. To all these islands they give the name of *Palandura*. The natives do not bear arms, and are feeble folk, but very clever, and above all, great sorcerers. The king of these islands is elected by some Moor merchants, natives of Cananor, who change him at their will. The king of their choice pays them annually tribute of cordage, ropes of coir, and other produce of the place; and sometimes these Moors themselves come and load their ships without bringing any money, notwithstanding which, the natives, willingly or unwillingly, are constrained to give them all they ask.] At these islands is much dried fish (*mozama*), which is exported: as also some little shells, in which is great traffic with Cambay and Bengal, where they are used for petty cash, being considered better than copper. They make there also very rich cloths of cotton, silk, and gold, which fetch a high price among the Moors for their apparel, and . . . . [The men of these islands wear very fine kerchiefs on their heads, so close-woven and beautiful that our workmen could not produce the like except with a wrong and a right side. In these islands, also, they collect tortoiseshell, which they call *Alquama*; this they cut into very thin pieces, and export largely to the kingdom of Guzerat.] Much amber(gris) is also found at these islands, and in large pieces, some white, some grey, and some black. I asked many of these Moors frequently what this amber was, and whence it came. They deem it to be the droppings of birds, saying that in this archipelago are some uninhabited islands, on the rocks and reefs of which some big birds perch, and there void this amber; there it is exposed to the action of the wind, sun, and rain, until by storm

some of the more northerly islands of which were occupied by Malabars. With these he seems to include Málé (*Mahal-diu*), probably on account of the close commercial relations of that island with Cannanor. It will be seen below that De Barros follows Barbosa in all his mistakes. *Palandura* (or, as Lord Stanley reads, *Palandiva*) is unintelligible.

<sup>1</sup> In the Lisbon MS., but not in Ramusio.

and tempest the sea sweeps over these rocks and reefs, and it is broken off in large and small pieces. Thence it floats on the sea till either it is found or cast up on some beach, or eaten by whales. They say that the amber found in the white state, which they call *Ponambar*, has been but a short time on the sea, and is by them esteemed the most precious. The grey has been a longer time in the water, and thence has this colour; it also is considered very good, but not so good as the white. That which is found black and bruised they say has been eaten by whales, and thus has been turned black. Its nature is such that the whales cannot digest it, and therefore eject it whole. This kind is called *Minambar*, and is of less value among them.

“In these islands of Maldio they build many large ships of palm-wood, held together with matting, because they have no other timber there. In these they voyage to the mainland. These ships have keels, and are of very considerable capacity. The islanders build also small rowing-crafts, like brigantines or fustas: these are of great strength, admirably built, and extremely light; they serve chiefly for going from one island to another, though they are also used for crossing over to Malabar.

To these islands come many ships of the Moors from China, Maluco, Peegu, Malaca, Çamatra, Benguala, and Ceilam, in their passage to the Red Sea. Here they take in water, provisions, and other necessaries for the voyage. Sometimes they arrive in such battered condition that they have to be discharged and abandoned. Among these islands are lost many rich vessels of the Moors, which in their passage of the Ocean dare not make the coast of Malabar for fear of our ships. [1From these the inhabitants of the islands get much rich merchandise, which they sell to the Malabars who come there to load coir, as has already been said.]”

22. João de Barros, the historian of Portuguese India, was a clerk or officer in the *Casa da Índia*, or India Office, at Lisbon. He had never himself visited the East, as had Gaspar Correa, whose *Lendas* cover nearly the same period, and Diogo de Couto,

<sup>1</sup> In the Lisbon MS., but not in Ramusio.

J. de Barros, his continuator.<sup>1</sup> His materials were obtained in the course of his official duties. Uncorrected by personal observation, and lacking the picturesqueness of detail which Eastern experience imparts to the narratives of the other historians, his work is of the greatest value as a compendium of the information about India possessed by the authorities at Lisbon in the middle of the 16th century. De Barros died in 1570.

The expedition of João Gomes de Cheiradinheiro to the Maldives, which has been described above in the language of Correa, who was in India at the time, is more shortly and less correctly narrated by de Barros, but the opportunity is taken, by way of preface, to summarise all the information about the Maldives that was then current in Portugal. The passage here translated occurs in the 7th chapter of the 3rd book of the third *Decada*, first published in 1563 :—

“Inasmuch as João Gomes de alcuna Cheiradinheiro was the first to build a fort on the Maldive Islands, it will be convenient, before describing his actions, to give here a general account of these Maldive islands, which we have referred to so often. This name *Maldiva*, though it is the distinctive name of a single island, as we shall see, etymologically is derived from the Malabar language, meaning 1,000 Islands—*mal*, a thousand, and *diva*, islands—there being upwards of that number all in a string. Others say that this word *Mal* is the proper name of the chief island, at which resides the king who is lord of all: that one is commonly called *Maldiva*, as though one should say the island of *Mal*: and as it is at the head of the group,<sup>2</sup> the rest are called after it.

“This string of islands, which runs like an extended diadem over against the coast of India, begins at the flats which we call

<sup>1</sup> Correa's *Lendas* extend from the first voyages of Diaz and da Gama to 1550; de Barros' *Decadas* from 1497 to 1539; de Couto's *Decadas* from 1529 to 1600; Castanheda's *History* from 1497 to 1550; Faria y Souza's *Asia Portuguesa* from 1497 to 1640.

<sup>2</sup> Either de Barros was quite mistaken as to the situation of Málé, or believing the Maldives to extend to Java, as appears in the next sentence, he regards it as situate at the north end of the group. His observation below as to the language shows that he does not accurately distinguish the Maldives from the Laccadives.

the shoals of Padua, in the neighbourhood of Mount Delij, and ends at the land of Java and the coast of Sunda. This is seen in some of the sea charts of the Moors, for ours as yet describe them for only a distance of 300 leagues of their extent, beginning at those called by us the islands of Mamalle,<sup>1</sup> from the name of a Moor of Cannanor. This man was lord of the first section of them, distant from the Malabar coast about forty leagues, at the altitude of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north. The remainder, called *Candú* and *Adú*, 300 leagues off, are in  $7\frac{1}{2}$  degrees south. In the middle, as it were, of this 300 league diadem, is the capital island, Maldiva, as above stated, where resides the king, who is entitled lord of all the islands. The smaller islands are subordinate to the larger, so that some thirty or forty are governed by one, according to their situation: and this number of islands so grouped is called a *patána*.<sup>2</sup> And although the king, who is entitled lord of all, and the whole of the people are Gentiles, the governors are Moors—a circumstance which is a fruitful source of trouble; having secured the government of the mainland, by little and little, they have become lords of these islands too. They have managed this by first becoming farmers of the revenue on the mainland, and prin-

<sup>1</sup> In the map referred to in the previous note the island *Mamale* appears as one of the Laccadives.

<sup>2</sup> In the note in vol. i, p. 94, it is stated, perhaps hastily, that *patana* is Sinhalese. It is in common use in Ceylon (middle a short), as I there state, for an open patch or stretch of grass among the hills. Mr. D. W. Ferguson of Colombo, in reviewing that vol. in the *Ceylon Observer*, has called my attention to the question. He quotes from Clough, *patan*, "a royal city, a town", and *patana*, "a town, a city, a seaport town", and other forms; also from Childers' *Páli Dict.*, *patanam*, "a port, a seaport". He suggests that the Ceylon use for a stretch of grass arose from a mistake of Dr. Davy, who writes thus of Nuwara Eliya: "We came to a great extent of open country . . . our guides called it Neuraelliya-pattan." Another suggestion, however, is that the word is a corruption of *pittaniya*, a meadow or lawn. All this is beside the question of the Portuguese application of *patána* to an atoll. If it ever was so used by the Maldivians it is now obsolete: and if, as it seems, the middle *a* was long, it cannot be connected with the above Sinhalese words. It is used, as will be seen hereafter, by one of the Maldivian exiled kings, but then only in a Portuguese document, for the wording of which he is perhaps not responsible.

J. de Barros. cipally at the seaports. To this farming of the revenue they have added the administration of justice, thus better securing the revenues of the prince of the country. This position the Moors have not as yet obtained so firmly in the islands as on the continent.

“As regards their situation, though some of the larger islands are distant apart some five, ten, fifteen, or twenty leagues, the great majority are so close-set that they look like an orchard half inundated by a flood, equal parts of which are visible and concealed; and you can leap from one to another without wetting the feet, or else swing across by means of the branches of the trees. The currents of water collecting in the channels are so strong that the natives, when overtaken by a tide, as sometimes happens, cannot make the crossing they desire. And while many of these channels are so deep as to carry very large vessels, yet are they so narrow in some places that the yards will strike the palm trees.

“These palm trees do not yield dates, as do those of Barbary and all Africa, but a fruit of the size of a man's head. Before reaching the kernel, it has two husks, after the manner of nuts. The first, although on the outside, is quite smooth; beneath this is another all of fibre, which excels the *esparto*. The rope made from this fibre supplies the whole of India, and chiefly for cables, because it is more secure and stands the sea better than any made from hemp. The reason is that it agrees with the salt water, and becomes so tough that it seems like hide, contracting and expanding with the strength of the sea; so that a good thick cable of this rope, when the ship is standing at her anchor in a heavy gale and straining upon it, draws out so thin that you would think it could not hold a boat; when the vessel is pitching in a mere swell, it keeps its usual thickness. This coir is also used instead of bolts, for such virtue hath it of swelling and shrinking in the sea that they join the timbers of their ships' ribs with it, and consider it quite secure. True it is, these ships are not sailed through the furious gales of the Cape of Good Hope. The islanders make their voyages in avoidance of the winds, navigating only in the summer time during the monsoons, which are seasons of fair winds, regular in their direction, for three months

at a time; when the winter comes round, they do not go to J. de Barros. sea.

“This profitable fruit hath another shell of very hard substance, on the surface of which are seen the traces of the fibres and threads of the outer husk; it is like the pith of the cork tree, or, rather, like a nut shorn of its green shell. This shell, at the place where the fruit receives its vegetable nourishment—that is, at its lower end—is somewhat pointed, and resembles a nose between two round eyes. It is through these that the nut throws out its shoots when planted. Owing to this shape our countrymen call this nut *Coco*,<sup>1</sup> the name given by women to anything used to frighten their babes. This name has so stuck to it that no one knows it by any other. Its proper name, however, is *Tanga*<sup>1</sup> with the Malabars, and *Narle*<sup>1</sup> with the Canarins.

“The kernel within this second shell is about the size of a large quince, but of a different appearance, resembling the filbert in its outer surface and inner substance; it has, however, a hollow space within. It is of the same taste, but of greater bulk, and is more oily in its consistency than the filbert. Within the cavity is distilled some water, which is very sweet and cordial, principally when the nut is young. When the nut is planted, all this cavity in which the water was becomes a thick mass like cream, called *lanha*. It is very sweet and tasty, and better than almonds, when it thickens on the tree; and as this fruit in its substance and edibility is very like the almond or filbert, so, too, its outer surface is fawn-coloured, and its interior white.

“This nut and the palm which yields it have other profitable uses, ordained of God for the support and necessities of man, for besides those mentioned it supplies him with honey, vinegar, oil, and wine, and is itself a substantial food, either eaten alone or with rice, or served in other modes employed by the Indians in their cookery. Of the first outer husk is made coir, which, as we said, is in common and universal use for the ships of the whole East, after being soaked, beaten, and twisted like hempen rope. The palm trees also are used for timber, logs, and tiles, for the natives cover their houses with the leaves, which prevent any water getting in; these

<sup>1</sup> As to these names, see above, p. 372, note.

J. de Barros. also serve them for paper, and their *palmitos*<sup>1</sup> put them in no need of the *palmitos* of Barbary. In short, when a man of those parts has a pair of these palm trees he has everything necessary for existence; and when they wish to praise one for his benefactions, they are wont to say, 'He is more fruitful and profitable than a palm tree.'

"Besides these trees, which in those islands grow aboveground, it seems their seed is endowed by nature with such virtue that it has produced in some places beneath the salt water another species,<sup>2</sup> which yields a larger nut than the coco. The second shell of this nut is found by experience to be more efficacious against poison than the Bezoar<sup>3</sup> stone, which also comes from the East, growing in the stomach of an animal called by the Persians *Pazon*, whereof we have treated at large in the chapters of our *Commercio* upon antidotes.

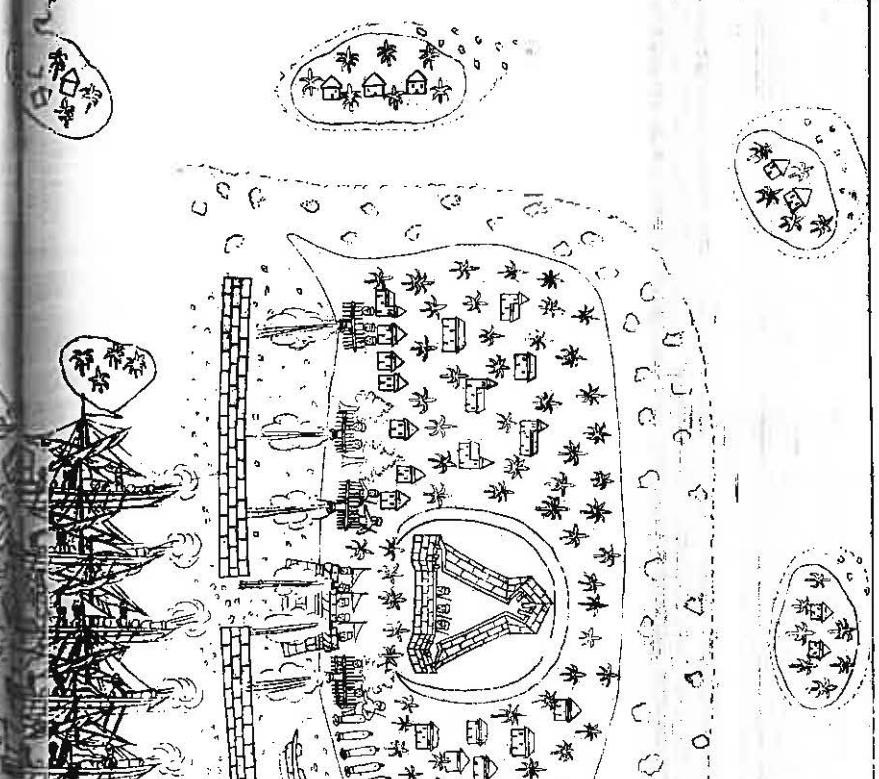
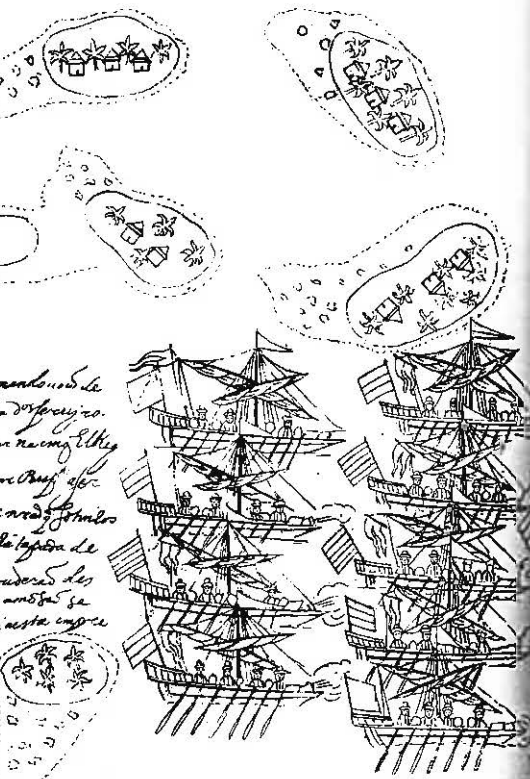
"The commonest and most important merchandise at these islands, indeed, the cause of their being visited, is the coir; without it those seas cannot be navigated. There is also a kind of shellfish, as small as a snail, but differently shaped, with a hard, white, lustrous shell, some of them, however, being so highly coloured and lustrous that, when made into buttons and set in gold, they look like enamel. With these shells for ballast many ships are laden for Bengal and Siam, where they are used for

<sup>1</sup> The inner rind of the palm.

<sup>2</sup> The *coco de mer*. See vol. i, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> The word *Bezoar* is a corruption of the Persian *pádzár*, "poison antidote", of which de Barros' *pazon* is a corruption: the animal referred to is the wild goat of Persia. For the history of the word see Yule's *Glossary*, and the *New Eng. Dict.* As an addition to the quotations given in these two works, I may observe that a false Bezoar stone gave occasion for the establishment of one of the great distinctions in our common law, viz., between actions founded upon contract, and those founded upon wrongs: *Chandelor v. Lopus* was decided in 1604 (reported in 2 *Croke*, and in Smith's *Leading Cases*). The headnote runs: "*The defendant sold to the plaintiff a stone, which he affirmed to be a Bezoar stone, but which proved not to be so. No action lies against him, unless he either knew that it was not a Bezoar stone, or warranted it to be a Bezoar stone.*" *Chandelor*, who was a goldsmith, "having skill in jewels and precious stones", had sold the worthless stone to *Lopus* for £100, a large sum in those days.

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money, just as we use small copper money for buying things of little value. And even to this kingdom of Portugal, in some years as much as two or three thousand quintals are brought by way of ballast; they are then exported to Guinea, and the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, where also they are used for money, the Gentiles of the interior in those parts making their treasure of it. J. de Barros.

“Now the manner in which the islanders gather these shells is this:—they make large bushes of palm leaves tied together so as not to break, which they cast into the sea. To these the shell-fish attach themselves in quest of food; and when the bushes are all covered with them, they are hauled ashore and the creatures collected. All are then buried in the earth till the fish within have rotted away. The shells (*buzios* as we, and *Igovos* as the negroes, call them) are then washed in the sea, becoming quite white, and so dirtying the hands less than copper money. In this kingdom (Portugal) a quintal of them is worth from three to ten cruzados, according as the supply from India is large or small.

“These islands produce abundance of fish, of which great quantities of *moxama* are made. It is exported as merchandise to many quarters, and gives a good profit, as do also fish-oil, cocos, and jaggery, which last is made from the cocos in the same manner as sugar.

“The fabrics made by these islanders are silk and cotton, and no finer stuffs are made in all those parts. The principal manufactory is at the islands *Ceudú*<sup>1</sup> and *Cudú*,<sup>2</sup> where there are said to be better weavers than in Bengal or Coromandel. Yet all the silk and cotton, of which those stuffs are made, come to them from abroad, the islands lacking both these commodities, and also rice, whereof their whole supply is imported.

“They rear herds of sheep and cows,<sup>3</sup> but not sufficient for the supply of butter, which is brought from Ceylon and other parts, and yields the carriers a good profit.

“The people of these islands, with whom our countrymen have

<sup>1</sup> Hawadú or Suadiva Atoll, which is still famed for its weavers, both of cloth and mats. (*Bell's Report*, p. 88; and above, vol. i, p. 241.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably a printer's mistake for *Audú*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. i, p. 116.

J. de Barros. come into contact, are dull, feeble, and malicious—qualities always found together, not only in the human race, but also in the brute creation, wherein is verified the paradox that a weak intellect is crafty in mischief.

“The higher classes dress in silk and cotton; the rest of the people make shift to weave themselves a clothing made from palmy leaves and herbs. They have a language of their own, though those nearest to the Malabar coast speak the language of that country; this is so chiefly at *Maldiva* island, where the king resides, because it is frequented by so many Malabars.”

[The account of João de Cheira-Dinheiro at the Maldives, which here succeeds, has already been given above, at p. 476.]

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23. The description of the Maldives by De Barros has been advisedly placed in immediate sequence to the sketch of Portuguese relations with the islands during the first half of the sixteenth century. We are thus enabled to conclude this Appendix with a more pleasing episode in the history of their intercourse with European races.

The voyage of the two French ships, the *Pensée*<sup>1</sup> and the *Sacre*,<sup>2</sup> under the brothers Jean and Raoul Parmentier, has already been referred to in the Introduction to vol. i (pp. x, xi), as the second, if not the first, voyage made to the East by way of the Cape, in defiance of the Portuguese claims of exclusive right. Jean Parmentier had already made long voyages, including (it seems certain) one to America. Besides being a classical scholar and a poet, he was also a first-rate seaman. The expedition was thus well planned, the ships well found, and the crews well handled. But for the sad death of the gallant and accomplished commander at Ticou, in Sumatra, it might have been hoped that Parmentier would have roused his countrymen to further efforts, and have led to an earlier destruction of the monopoly in ocean routes.

The French ships left Dieppe on the 28th March 1529. They

<sup>1</sup> The *Pansy*.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. and Port. *sacre*, Eng. *saker*, a peregrine hawk, *falco sacer*. This Lat. term is a misnomer, arising from a fancy that *sacre* was a translation of the Gr. *ίεραξ*. It is really, as Dozy has pointed out, the Ar. *çaqr*.

rounded the Cape in safety, and towards the latter end of September were in the neighbourhood of the Maldives. Let the chronicler of the voyage now tell his own tale:—

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“On Sunday [19th September 1529] we made sail S.S.E. and S. with scant wind, believing these islands to be the archipelago near *Calecut* and *Commori*, which extends north and south.

“Monday, the 20th September, in the morning, were sighted six or seven islands on the W., the S.W. and the S. On taking our altitude at noon, it was found to be half a degree to the south of the Line. We endeavoured to fetch one of these islands, but the wind was contrary, and obliged us to stand off. Yet did we cease not until the Friday following [September 24th] to tack, so as to come up with some of them: but, when we approached, we found no anchorage. Then came contrary winds and rain. At length we found one green island, well planted with palms, about a league in length. Jean Masson in our little boat went ashore, as did also the boat of the *Sacre*. The people of the island gave them a good reception and presented some of their palm-fruits and long figs,<sup>2</sup> while the said Masson gave them some knives and mirrors, and other wares. They also gave him, as a present for the captain, a little chain artificially made of a single piece, which was bent double; and also sent to the captain, between two large leaves of trees, about two or three pounds of sugar-candy, called by them *Zagre*,<sup>3</sup> and made of the same palms, and also a quarter or half hundred balls of thick black sugar, which is made from the same sugar-candy, and the husk or envelope of the substance whereof the said sugar is composed.

“On the 25th died one of our mariners, by name *Jean François*. The same day our captain landed on the island with the two boats, well armed and equipped, and was honourably received by the

<sup>1</sup> The translation which follows is from the edition of M. Schefer, Paris, 1883. As will be seen, his reading of some of the names differs from the earlier edition of the voyage published in 1832 by M. Estancelin, in his *Navigateurs Normands*, and also from another copy, edited by M. Margry, in the *Bulletin of the Soc. Normande de Géographie* for 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Bananas, called by the Portuguese *figos da India*.

<sup>3</sup> Mald. *sakuru* or *hakuru*; v. s., p. 411. Estancelin reads *layre*, and Margry *sagre*.

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chief or arch-priest of the island, who came towards him kneeling as though he would kiss his hands, and presented a fine large lemon, quite round, like a big orange. The captain hastened to raise and embrace him, and made him a present of two pairs of knives, which he esteemed highly. The islanders climbed a number of coco palm-trees, and gave our people to drink of the water. Two or three others presented a few of the island lemons to our captain.

“In this island was a temple or mosque, a very ancient structure, composed of massive stone. The captain desired to see the inside as well as the outside, whereupon the chief priest bade them open it and entered within. The work pleased him greatly, and chiefly a woodwork screen, of ancient mouldings, the best he had ever seen, with a balustrade so neatly turned that our ship’s carpenter was surprised to see the fineness of the work. The temple had galleries all around, and at the end a secret enclosure shut off by a wooden screen, like a *Sanctum Sanctorum*. The captain bade them open it, to see what was within, and whether there were any idols there, but he perceived nothing but a lamp formed of the coconut. The roof or vault of this temple was round in form, with a wainscoted ceiling covered with ancient painting. Hard by the temple was a *piscina*, or lavatory, flat bottomed, and paved with a black stone like marble, finely cut with ancient mouldings, and having all the appearance of massive workmanship. In another place, a little apart, was a kind of square well or fountain, six or eight feet deep, having within it a number of poles, each with a gourd at the end, where with the natives drew their water. This well also was flat bottomed, and paved with the same stone as the lavatory. In this island were many other similar fountains or wells, and also many small chapels and oratories in the same style as the great temple.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The only information as to remains at Fua Mulaku, the island referred to (*v. i.*, p. 490), is that given to Mr. Bell by resident natives, to the effect that there are still to be seen there “the jungle-covered ruins of a tope or *dágaba*, and amid these the stone image of a Buddha in the *sthánamudrá* or standing position. This tope is described as resembling the solid bell-shaped *dágabas*, rising from platforms, usual in Ceylon”

“The dwelling houses are quite small and miserably built: the people are small and thin, and the only women our men saw were old and emaciated, bald and poor-looking creatures. There was

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(*Report*, p. 75). It will be noticed that Parmentier says nothing of the image, but, on the contrary, says that the building shown contained none. The temple to which the Frenchmen were admitted may have been originally a Buddhist *vihāra* adapted to Moslem use; and so may the bathing-pond have been a Sinhalese *pokuna*, such as may be seen in great perfection of workmanship at Anurādhapura.

In further illustration of the objects of archæological interest which may still be found at the Maldives, I will insert here an extract from a MS. relation at Batavia of the voyage of Frederick de Houtman in 1598-9. The extract, headed “Short account of the adventures of Frederick de Houtman bound for action”, was sent from Batavia by Mr. Van der Chys to Mr. Bell; it is translated by Mr. F. de Vos, of Galle, and has been revised (through the kind intervention of Mrs. Clements Markham) by Col. Jansen, of the Hague. If the MS. in its entirety (of which I have as yet no information) is a relation of the whole voyage of F. de Houtman, it is interesting on grounds hereafter stated. However that may be, the extract, so far as it goes, runs thus:—

“On the 1st June (1599) we fell among the Maldives . . . the small island close to which we lay had many beautiful buildings, most in ruins, very artfully built after their fashion. There appeared to be all sorts of temples and altars, which were all there in that small space, fully from ten to twelve: among them one specially of an ancient structure, all of blue-stone (lazulite), and round it also mouldings, basements, capitals (pillars), friezes, and their groovings (*tandeerzel*), on the steps of the entrance breastways: and what surprised me most was that all this was put together without any lime or building material; yet was everything so closely bound together by means of hewn grooves that the point of a knife could not be put between them, while at each corner a keystone held the entire work together.

“Round this temple was a rectangular wall, constructed with a broad walk around it, and outside this walk were also some walls built of stone which were dry, and among these one which appeared to be a tank. It was — feet measured round, entirely built of white stone, with stone steps leading to it. There was also hard by a crumbled pyramid, of which the basement or foundation was still to be seen. It was 12 feet square, and appeared to have been a beautiful work, for it seemed to have been made with mouldings round and hollow and square, with groovings all in proportion.

“All the temples stood east and west, the entrance being at the east.

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but little in the houses, whereby we judged that they had moved all their valuables, as also their young women and children further into the interior of the island, fearing perhaps lest th

I thought it must have been a sacred place, as all these buildings stood close to each other. Moreover, we found nowhere on the whole of the island any buildings used as houses or showing any signs of having been used as habitations," etc.

If the island described is still uninhabited, there is good reason to hope that some of these interesting buildings may be preserved. It is however, somewhat difficult—in the absence of any mention of names or bearings—to localise, much less to identify, the island. Some circumstantial evidence regarding the voyage may be of assistance, and this gives a peculiar interest to the passage extracted.

Frederick de Houtman left Flushing on the 15th March 1598, in command of the *Lioness*, his brother Cornelis, the leader of the expedition being on board the *Lion*, on which ship also sailed our famous sailor John Davis, as pilot.

Above, at vol. i, p. 31, I stated, before this extract came to hand, that no Dutch account of this voyage existed, and that Davis's letter to Lord Essex was the sole account of it extant. If the document from which the above passage is extracted proves to be a report of the voyage at large, that statement will no longer hold good.

Now, as Davis also mentions the visit to the Maldives, we should be able to localise the island described by F. de Houtman, if only we knew that the two vessels were in company at the time. But neither Davis nor F. de Houtman refers to the other's ship while at the Maldives, and the evidence points to the fact that they were not at this time in company. From Davis's account we gather that the *Lion* merely stood off an island, that the crew did not land, but that the island was inhabited, inasmuch as a pilot was obtained at it. There is also some difference in dates, Davis stating (*Voyages, Hak. Soc.*, p. 138) that his ship arrived at the Maldives on the 23rd May 1599, and left the island at which the pilot was taken on the 27th, while on the 3rd June she was off the coast of Cochin. Our extract above puts the arrival of the *Lioness* at the uninhabited island on the 1st June.

While, therefore, it seems that the two ships were not together at the Maldives, they may have been so nearly in company as to strike the same channel. As to the route of the *Lion*, Davis's letter leaves us in no doubt. In the passage of the channel he gives his latitude as  $4^{\circ} 15' N.$ , which identifies the channel as that of *Kardiva*. Possibly, therefore, F. de Houtman's island may be found somewhere on the borders of this channel. When the MS. in full comes to hand from Batavia, some reference to latitude in the context may decide.

should be seized by force. This was probably done at the advice of the chief priest, who was a man of much discretion and knowledge, as was seen by what ensued. For while we were there, a little strife had arisen between the captain and the Portuguese sailors of the *Sacre*, the said Portuguese asserting to the mariners that this island was one of the *Maldive* islands. This, however, could not be so, for we were then at  $\frac{1}{2}$  degree south, while the Maldive islands extend from the 7th to the 17th degree north of the equator: whereupon our captain told him that he was wrong. But the other, persisting in his opinion, said he was right, and proposed that they should enquire the fact of the chief priest, who replied that the name of the island was *Moluque*,<sup>1</sup> and that the *Maldive* islands were fully 200 leagues north of that island.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, I have since seen in a Portugal chart that these islands south of the line are called *Maldiva*. Moreover, this chief priest showed the captain in what quarters lay the countries of *Adam*,<sup>3</sup> *Persia*, *Ormuz*, *Calicut*, *Zeilan*,<sup>4</sup> *Moluque*,<sup>5</sup> and *Sumatra*, and proved himself to be both learned and well travelled. He was very devout, modest, and amiable, of middle height, white-bearded, apparently about 45 to 50 years of age; his name was *Brearou Leacaru*.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, our people took supplies of water, and the captain paid the natives handsomely for their coco-nuts and long green figs, which were loaded in the boats. He then took his leave and withdrew his men to the boats in order to return to the ship, which was plying off and on, in default of any

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<sup>1</sup> *Fua Mulaku*, a solitary island in  $0^{\circ} 17' S.$ , not to be confounded with *Mulaku Atoll*, which is farther north. The chronicler above states that just before landing at this island they were in  $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} S.$  latitude.

<sup>2</sup> The chief must have understood the Frenchmen to ask for the *Málé Atoll*.

<sup>3</sup> *Estancelin* and *Margry* read *Dam*.

<sup>4</sup> *Estancelin* and *Margry* read *Zela*.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the *Moluccas*; but *Estancelin* and *Margry* read *Melaque*, which would likely mean *Malacca*.

<sup>6</sup> *Estancelin* and *Margry* read *Orquarou Leacaru*. Neither seems to be right. The second word, however, almost certainly should be *Tacarou*, for *M. Takuru*; see vol. i, pp. 96, 208.

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anchorage at the island. The people there call God *Allah*.<sup>1</sup> The same evening after supper we sailed S.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S., close-hauled to the wind.

“On the 26th our altitude, on being taken at noon, was found to be  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a deg. south,” etc.

<sup>1</sup> So Estancelin; Margry, however, states that the text reads *Aillat*.

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Mogor, Diu, etc., on to China and Japan, and whatsoever memorable happened in all those places while I was in the Indies. All this I will relate briefly in the chapters following.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

*Of the form and fashion of the Portuguese ships going to the Indies, and of their shipments, order, and police, as well going as returning.*

First as to the Portuguese ships: in ordinary course three or four at most go out every year; these are the carracks, called by them *naos* "de voyage",<sup>1</sup> which are sent out with the intention that they shall return if they can. On extraordinary occasions, when the King of Spain wishes to send out an armada, or a viceroy out of the season, or some particular despatch, he sends other middle-sized ships, such as Biscay galleons,<sup>2</sup> French, Flemish, or English ships, or caravels<sup>3</sup>; none of these ever returns to Portugal, except there should be need to bring some special intelligence out of the usual seasons; in such cases they despatch a caravel or other middle-sized ship. If peradventure the carracks leaving Portugal for Goa fail to arrive safely there or at some other Indian port, some Biscay galleons are sent home laden with pepper and other goods. These galleons are of 700 or 800 tons

<sup>1</sup> Port. *náo* or *nau*. They are generally called "naus de carreira".

<sup>2</sup> "Le Galion", says Jal, "fut dans l'origine un vaisseau hybride. C'était, à la bien prendre une nef allongée et plus étroite du fond et des flancs qu'une nef ordinaire. Quelques galions allaient à la rame, mais c'était le très-petit nombre. La poupe du galion, à la différence de celle de la nef qui était plate, était arrondie et avait deux lobes hémisphériques, séparés par l'étambot, fondement de l'arrière et support du gouvernail. Les galions ordinaires avaient deux ponts, les plus grands en avaient trois" (*Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, tom. ii).

<sup>3</sup> For a description of the caravel, see below, ch. xvi, and note there.

burthen or thereabouts, and are well equipped for war, and good sailers, better even than the carracks.

The carracks are all built at Lisbon, and not elsewhere, by reason of the harbour there, which is very suitable and convenient for shipment, more so than any other; this is by reason as well of the presence there of the officers and superintendents of these voyages, as of the goods, the utensils (or, as they are called, the "apparel"), the provisions (which they call "matelotage"), and the other commodities and necessities.

These carracks are ordinarily of 1,500 to 2,000 tons burthen, sometimes more, so that they are the largest vessels in the world, so far as I have been able to learn; they cannot float in less than ten fathoms of water. There are some ships in the Indies, but very few, coming from Arabia, Surate, and other neighbouring parts, which nearly approach 1,000 or 1,200 tons, but they are none of them like the carracks, nor so strong, by reason that less iron is used in their fitting. On the other hand, they are not so liable to rot, nor so easily pierced by worms, because in the Indies they use no timber that has not lain three or four years after being cut: this renders it drier and harder. Moreover, their timber is by nature harder and better than ours. They can afford to wait this long while, because they have great store of timber, and build but few vessels, nor do they consume it as fuel, by reason of the heat of the country. Whereas, on the contrary, in Portugal there is but little timber, and many vessels are built, so that there they are constrained to use the timber quite green.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The smaller vessels used for the coasting fleet of India were built chiefly at Bassein (Baçaim). Such were *sanguiceis* (sing. *sanguicel*, q.v. Yule, *Gloss.*) and *fustas*, specially adapted for fighting the Malabar pirates, and corresponding in use to our gunboats. Thus, in 1598, six *sanguiceis* were built at Bassein for L. da Gama's expedition against Kunhâli (*Dec XI*). Owing to the lack of timber in Portugal, to which Pyrard alludes, and also to the success of the *Chagas* (see next note),

I have heard it said by the Portuguese, that no vessel ever made so many voyages from Portugal to the Indies as a certain carrack that was built at *Bassains*, which is between Goa and Cambaye: it made as many as six.<sup>1</sup> Those built in Portugal ordinarily make but two, or three at most, but the majority make but one. This place, *Bassains*, is to the Indies what Biscay in Spain is here, for all the vessels built for the King of Spain in the Indies are constructed there, because no country yields so much timber. True it is that in the kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Sian*, and in *Martabanne*, there is found even more and better; but these places are remote and less convenient.

These great carracks have four decks or stories, on each of which a man, however tall, can walk without touching his head against the deck above; indeed, he comes not within two feet of it. The poop and the prow are higher than the main-deck by the height of three or even four men, in such wise that it seems as if two castles were erected at the two ends. There may be thirty-five or forty pieces of bronze cannon; for they hardly ever use pieces of iron as we do. Their cannon is of the weight of four or five thousand

the King of Spain made every attempt to induce the India Government to build the carracks in India. A splendid carrack was built at Goa by Mathias de Albuquerque, and for good omen named a second *Chagas*. She sailed for Lisbon early in 1593, and, after a voyage of terrible misfortunes, was attacked by three ships of the Earl of Cumberland at the Azores, in June 1594. Her crew made a heroic defence, and finally blew her up, with her cargo of immense value (*Dec. XI*; Harris, *Voy.*, i, 688; *Purchas*, iv, 1147).

<sup>1</sup> The carrack alluded to is probably the *Chagas*, built in 1561, not at Bassein, but at the Goa arsenal, by the Viceroy Constantine de Bragança, at his own cost (*Dec. VII*, liv, ix, 17). She made nine or eleven voyages until 1587, when she was laid up as a hulk in the Tagus. On her last voyage to India, in 1585, she carried out the Viceroy Duarte de Menezes; she must have been a large, and even then a staunch ship, as she carried 900 passengers, besides a crew of 100, and did not touch land between Lisbon and Cochin, being seven months on the way.

pounds; the least is three thousand. Besides these, they omit not to carry some small pieces, such as *esperes*<sup>1</sup> and *perriers*, whereof they place some in the tops: for these tops are so large that they will hold ten or a dozen men. And the masts are so enormous that no tree is tall or thick enough to make a whole one,—I speak both of the mainmast and of the foremast. So, usually, all their masts are lengthened by splicing, and covered all round with “fishes”,<sup>2</sup> which are thick pieces of timber, cleverly fastened, and of the required thickness. These timbers, being well adjusted, are firmly lashed with ropes, and well bound with iron braces, so as not to impede the yard in its rise and fall. The yard is of thickness proportionate to the mast, and four-and-twenty fathoms in length. It requires full two hundred persons to raise it aloft, and always with two big capstans.<sup>3</sup> They line not their ships with lead as we do ours; they only put it over the seams to keep fast the caulking. Then they cover the ship afresh with deal boards, and afterwards caulk it again, working it over with pitch, and then with sulphur and tallow. They are thus the tightest and staunchest ships you can see, and one is astonished at the number of stout timbers so well adjusted, and so much iron braced together. For all that, the sea sometimes shivers and shatters them

<sup>1</sup> Port. *espera* or *esfera*. De Couto (*Dec. VIII*) says they threw shot of 12 lbs. As to *perrier*, see vol. i, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. *gaburons*,—“*pièce de bois, nominée autrement jumelle, qu'on applique contre un mât, pour le fortifier*” (*Litté*); *jumelle* = “fishes” (*Boyer*).

<sup>3</sup> A French engineer resident at Goa invented a machine for the purpose of saving this immense labour. The king, on being informed, instructs the viceroy (1st March 1594) to have it tested, and if effectual, used in the carracks. Before this despatch reached India the viceroy had, in fact, fitted it up in the carrack *As Chagas*, but as this vessel never reached Lisbon (see above, p. 182, *note*), the authorities there seem not to have seen the appliance even in 1596 (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 140, para. 46, and No. 204, para. 46). From the statement in the text, it may be concluded that the invention was a failure.

sooner than the smaller vessels; and verily I have observed that the larger and heavier a ship is, the more she labours. The smaller craft is lifted on the waves, whereas these cannot rise for their weight, and the waves strike and shiver them with the whole broadside of the storm, and break their masts and yards sooner than they would the others'. The more resistance the wind meets, the greater is its force and effect. The storm, however, must be a mighty severe one, for a little vessel would take for a storm what these big ones would consider a calm, so hard are they to shake. Moreover, they are very good sailers before the wind, but are worth nothing on the bowline,—that is, when the wind comes from one side or the other.

These vessels go for trade, and never for war. The other smaller ships, such as Biscay galleons, Flemish hulks, caravels, and other French ships, remain in the Indies to make voyages to China, Japan, Malaca, Mozambique, Ormuz, and other parts of India. They serve also for war, or to bring despatches and attend the viceroy. They are indeed of service to the Portuguese in India; but their chief use is that the King of Spain sends them to accompany the carracks, and to convey men to the Indies; and if all the ships that go were to come back, there would not be found hands to man them, by reason of the great number that die on the voyages. Sometimes the hands of two ships are not sufficient to man one. Then, again, they obtain not enough cargo, that is, pepper, to fill them; and most often, for want of it, one or two of these carracks have to wait for the next year; and so, when the next year comes round, they send out from Portugal only one or two carracks, supported by some smaller vessels.

Note also that the soldiers in the Indies must not embark as mariners, nor the mariners as soldiers; so that the soldiers are forced to remain there, and the mariners to return. The latter dare not remain; and should there not be room for

them in the returning ship, they wait for another opportunity. In the meantime they are paid every month at Goa, but they must not enter the ranks as soldiers; for if that were allowed, there would be none to man the vessels; and the soldiers there are held in the highest honour. For their soldiers they draw upon all classes; but they get not such good mariners as they could wish: from these they get their gunners and other officers. The soldiers have six *perdos* a month; the gunners and mariners, four. If a mariner wishes to return, he may do so, even if there is not a vacancy for one of his condition in the vessel; but not if there be at the time a lack of seamen, for then he is kept back till the next year, meantime receiving his regular pay. On board ship he would get his ordinary pay; but if he were to embark otherwise than as a rated mariner, he would be like a stranger, and would not get the bread-and-water ordinary, nor even a berth, unless he bought one. Wherefore they prefer in this case to wait a year, even two, if they have not the means to buy another mariner's place (which costs them about sixty or eighty *perdos*), or the means to buy a place to stow their baggage and goods. The condition of a man who has no berth on board is pitiful indeed: it is not as in our vessels, where the 'tween decks is common to all; in theirs there is not the smallest corner that is not given as a favour or sold, and the same on deck. A place on the poop must be got from the master, in the bows from the mate. Between the two masts—that is, on the orlop and on deck there—the space is at the disposal of the guardian.<sup>1</sup> This order and separation is observed in the vessels of the Indies only: in other voyages

<sup>1</sup> *Gardien*. Linschoten (ii, 231) says: "The guardian or quarter-master hath his cabin close by the great mast outward on the left hand, for on the right hand standeth the scullerie and kitchen"; and Ant. de Conflans (quoted by Jal, *Gloss.*, s.v.), 1515-20, speaking of the armament of the ship of Charles d'Amboise, writes: "Le Gardien avoit soin de la Sainte-Barbe et de la soute aux poudres. La Sainte-Barbe avoit alors le nom de *Gardiennerie*"; hence our "ward-room".

it is much the same as with us. In the smaller vessels they observe the same regulation as in the carracks, but the officers of the one do not in the least resemble those of the other: for the master of a galion who had made his voyage to the Indies would be mighty pleased on the return voyage to get the office of a guardian on board a carrack. These mariners and officers of the smaller vessels are all men impressed for service as mariners, masters, mates, pilots, etc., of these vessels. They can hope for but little gain, because their ships never come back, and for want of ship they have to wait a year or two, or return at their own expense. On their return, however, they are recompensed, for they get some office in a carrack, but of lower rank than they enjoyed in their galion. It is more honorable to be a mariner in the one than a mate in the other, wherefore a place in a carrack is sought after and purchased, being as well honourable as profitable.

These seamen on board the carracks resemble not any others that I have seen, nor even the Portuguese on other voyages. For true it is that all seamen while at sea are barbarous, cruel, and uncivil wretches, with no respect of persons, in short, very devils incarnate, while on shore they are very angels. These mariners of the Indian carracks, however, are exceptions, for they are courteous and well-mannered, both at sea and on shore, and seemed to be all men of honour and birth, bearing great respect to one another. Among the mariners of France I have never seen the like, as I shall describe more particularly hereafter.

As regards the order preserved by the Portuguese in these carracks during their voyages, I will say first of all that the "equipage" or crew numbers more than 1,000 or 1,200, or at least 800 to 900, who are ranked in manner following. There is a captain, who is absolute over the whole ship and the men on board; next there is a pilot, a

second pilot, a master, a master's mate,<sup>1</sup> a guardian, two ropemakers,<sup>2</sup> some 60 mariners, 70 or more apprentices,<sup>3</sup> and a master gunner, whom they call the Constable, assisted by five-and-twenty other gunners (more or less, according to the vessel): he gives his orders to all below the captain, and submits to none but him: he has charge of the cannon, and the two great sheets.<sup>4</sup> There is also a chaplain-priest of the ship, who is rated, and obliged to say Mass on Sundays and Holy-days, without consecration (of the elements), however, for that is not allowed at sea. He is also obliged to confess, to preach, and to perform all other ecclesiastical functions and ceremonies. And though there be also other clerics of all orders on board, they are not obliged to do these things, except of their own will: they are not paid, and are merely embarked for the Indies, without leave to return to Portugal.

Besides these, there is a clerk<sup>5</sup> who is all-powerful, being

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "un maistre, un contre-maistre". The English version of Linschoten designates the former as "master", and the latter wrongly as "boteson". The use of the French terms has changed with time, and *contre-maître* now means boatswain's mate. As according to the text the officer so named was next to the master in the general control of the crew, I prefer to render the term by "master's mate".

<sup>2</sup> Fr. *Trinquier*; Port. *Estringueiro*, from *estringue*, rope (our "string"). Linschoten (i, 8) says, "two *strinceros*, those are they which hoise up the maine yeard by a wheele, and let it down againe with a wheele as need is." Mocquet mentions the officer as "*l'estringuere qui est celuy qui sert à mener la grande voile par une roue*".

<sup>3</sup> Fr. *gourmet*; Sp. *grumete*; Du. *grom*; Eng. *groom*. They were the ship's apprentices, not necessarily boys. Below he calls them *sous-mariniens*, mentioning a grown man who so shipped; they would correspond to our ordinary seamen (not A.B.'s), formerly called "younkers".

<sup>4</sup> Fr. *écoutes*. This combination of duties may seem anomalous: but Adm. Brine informs me that even when he entered the navy, the gunner had charge of the guns and of the mainsail.

<sup>5</sup> *Escrivain*; Port. *escrivão*. The office of ship's clerk, now obsolete, was formerly of great dignity. "He is also called", says P. Fournier, "*commis, facteur, or agent*: the Italians call him *proveditore*; with them he holds the second place in the ship, being as it were the *Eye* of the prince, republic, burgher, or merchant, who has freighted the ship and sent her to sea" (*Hydrographie*, p. 143). In Holland he was called the

appointed by the king. Nothing is carried on behalf of the king or the private merchants that he does not take note of. He also registers all that comes in or goes out of the ship, and passes all bills and bonds whatever. For be it noted that all bills and bonds that are made at sea are good and lawful among the Portuguese, but among the French are null and void. This clerk also draws and preserves all informations and judicial writs, as in a Registry. When anyone dies, he makes an inventory of all his goods on board, and causes them to be sold by auction to the highest bidder. The money he gets thereby he puts out at interest, and when he arrives at Goa or Lisbon he delivers a copy of his inventory to the relatives and heirs, who pay him for his trouble. He has vast authority on the ship, and nothing takes place ere he has first given his advice and consent. All the ship's victuals are brought before him, and are distributed before his eyes, and he notes everything, even down to a pint (*chopine*) of water. He keeps the keys of the scuttles of the ship, and even when the captain would go below, he must have the clerk always with him; otherwise he could not, for the clerk represents the king on board. The captain has command over all, both the crew and the passengers, and for all they may be greater lords than he, yet must they obey him. Nevertheless, when something of importance has to be done, he takes the advice and counsel of all the officers, gentlemen, and merchants, and makes them all sign, in case of a future inquiry. He cannot condemn to death for crime, but must give the strappado<sup>1</sup> on

Fiscal, and presided at courts-martial, in which he was assisted by a council of war. In the Portuguese ships he had not judicial power, but only that of a registrar and notary. In this capacity we find the *scrivano* in the Ordinances of Trani (A.D. 1063), in the Statute of Marseilles, and in the Amalfitan Table, the last mentioned sea-law giving to his writing the same authority in a court of justice as that of a notary public. (See *Black Book of the Admiralty*, 1876, vol. iv, pp. 17, 532.)

<sup>1</sup> From the Ital. *strappata*, a pulling, wringing. In Eng. it was a

board (the French call this "passer par sous le navire", or "caler"), and other corporal punishments, also such as hanging under the forelocks. In civil causes he may award damages up to 200 cruzados, without appeal. He can also imprison a man in irons for the whole voyage: being arrived at land, he delivers him over to justice.

After the captain, the pilot is the second person of the ship, for the master obeys him, and acts only under his commands. He never leaves his place on the poop, ever observing his needle and compass; in this he has a second pilot to help him. Next is the master, who commands all the mariners, apprentices, and other ship's hands; he has a master's mate under him to assist him: all these are appointed by the king. The master's duty is to command from the poop to the main-mast, including that, as well in lowering the sails as in all other needful work. The master's mate takes charge from the forecastle to the foremast, inclusive of that mast, and has the same duties there as the master on the poop. The latter cannot give him any orders as to that part: each of them remains night and day on his own quarter, and it will happen that in six months they visit each other not four times.

The master's mate has charge of all the ship's cargo, both the lading and unlading thereof, and of other necessary jobs, both at sea and on arrival in port; for the master never leaves his poop. Next there is a guardian, who commands the apprentices, and is lodged with them night and day above on the deck, between the mainmast and the foremast: this part they call *Converso*,<sup>1</sup> and, wind or rain, they must be form of the rack:—"Zounds", says Falstaff, "an I were at the strappado or all the racks in the world, I would not tell you on compulsion." The Fr. *estrapade*, as the text shows, was also applied to keel-hauling. Our sailors' version of the above French explanation was "under-going a great hard-ship".

<sup>1</sup> Pyrard seems to be the only authority for this form. The Port. is *convez* or *conves*, the deck of the "waist" or middle part of the ship, between

always there; they have nothing to cover them but ox-hides. This place is called *Converso* with good right, for it is the promenade of all on board, where they visit and converse with each other. This guardian commands the apprentices; and if at the second whistle one fails to answer and come quickly, he gives him in addition (to his task) heavy blows with a rope-end or a rod. These apprentices are rated lowest on board, and come after the mariners, serving only to give a hand with the ropes: they never go aloft, or leave the deck. They assist in all the hard work of the vessel, and are like valets to the mariners, who beat and chide them sore. Thus they are not allowed to manage the tiller or helm; so there is no sort of work, whether outside or inside the ship, that they are not obliged to do, such as cleaning ship, and working the pump which they alone do, except when, owing to accident, the ship is making more water than usual, and the pump has to be worked three or four times a day.

The mariners are highly respected; and there are few of them but can read and write, such being very needful to them for the art of navigation. For by this word mariner is to be understood one who is well instructed in navigation; but yet there are few good at it, although all bear the name: theirs is the work of steering the ship, each in his turn. In these great ships, that are difficult to handle, they take one or two apprentices to their aid. They do all the work that has to be done aloft, such as setting and reefing the sails,

the fore-castle and the poop. Père Fournier (*Hydrographie*, 1643) borrows the word *converso*, and the explanation, with many others, from Pyrard. Aubin (1702) copies the passage from Fournier, and Jal (*Gloss. Naut.*) follows suit, suggesting that *convex* may be a corruption of *converso*, or may be from *convir*, to meet. As the word seems to be used by no Portuguese writer in this sense (Port. *converso* means a "convert" or a "lay brother"), I conclude that Pyrard has made a mistake, and therefore that *converso* may disappear from the dictionaries for the future.

handling the ropes, and so on. They are much honoured of the master and the pilot when they do their duty. They never clean the ship, nor work the pump, save when necessity requires. The guardian may not command them in anything. They are divided into three watches for the night: the pilot has one watch, the master another, and the master's mate the third; in like manner the apprentices are in watches with them; each party is on watch four hours, and each man is two hours at the helm. It must be noted here that in these large ships there must be three compasses: the pilot that is high up on the poop has one; under the deck there is another for the mariner who is there to hear the pilot, because he that is below at the helm could not hear him, so the one that is betwixt passes on to him the pilot's word.

There are two principal mariners, whom they call *Trinqueres*, that have the care of the ropes and sails, and when these require to be mended, they see to it. There are also four little boys called *Pages*, who serve only to call the whole company to their duty; they sing out from the foot of the mainmast, and even then all can hardly hear them. They summon the crew, both to come on their watch, and to go to the helm, etc. These boys also serve to look after the lamps, and to carry messages from the master and other officers; also, when the goods of a dead person are sold, it is they who make proclamation and call the bids. There is a sergeant to execute the commands of the captain in matters of justice; the prisons are at the foot of the pump; there they place the malefactors, most often with irons on their feet, and none can go near them but he alone. There are other smaller prisons, as for example on the deck, where are certain blocks of wood pierced with holes, whereinto they put the criminal's feet, which are then fastened with padlocks. This sergeant has also all the powder, ball, matches, and arms in his charge: all these are entrusted to him

by tally. He has also charge of the fires, and no one, whosoever he might be, would dare to light or carry any fire without the sergeant gave it with his own hand. And for this purpose there are on the two sides of the ship at the place of the mainmast, two large kitchens, which they call *fougons*<sup>1</sup>; and when the sergeant lights the fire there, which is close upon eight or nine o'clock, there are always two guards or soldiers present, one at each kitchen, to see that no one commits any folly with the fire, as also to prevent any from taking a light and carrying fire about the ship. So if one has occasion to go down to the hold to inspect the goods, the sergeant, if he can trust him, comes and lights him a candle, by leave of the captain, and puts it in a lantern of white iron pierced all over, and fastens it with a padlock; if, however, he cannot trust him, he goes himself. Also he has the duty of seeing the fires put out, which is at about four o'clock.

In these vessels are also many necessary artisans, two of each office and craft; such as surgeons, carpenters, caulkers, coopers, etc. The most of the apprentices are made subject to them, each in his own place; for all the ship's officers have each his own station; and some are allotted to sleep always aloft in the top, and the rest each at his hatch, except the four that sleep in the top. All these artisans are liable to all work like the rest, when not occupied (at their craft). The master, mate, guardian, and master gunner have each a big silver whistle, hung at his neck with silver chains, wherewith they make known all their orders; that is, the master and mate to the mariners, the master gunner to the gunners, and the guardian to the apprentices and the four boys. There are also two stewards (*despenciers*), one for the mariners, and the other for the soldiers; but they can distribute nothing but in the presence of the clerk. These stewards are

<sup>1</sup> *Fougon*, a galley, or ship's kitchen: a Mediterranean term; Sp. *fogon*; It. *focone*, from Lat. *focus* (*Littré*).

also appointed by the king. In the ship there are great numbers of soldiers, gentlemen, merchants, ecclesiastics, and other passengers, of whom I say no more, having no concern with them here.

The King of Spain sends out these ships, armed and equipped at his own proper cost and expense, with his own goods, which consist of silver only. This he sends to help to pay the cost of the Indian government, and to buy pepper. So there is not a vessel that goes out but carries at the least 40,000 or 50,000 crowns in silver for him, besides the goods belonging to the private passengers. This silver is profitable to him, for on reaching the Indies it goes up in price one-third above the value in Portugal. In these ships are sometimes embarked from seven to eight hundred soldiers; the rest are the crew and passengers. But what causes these Portuguese ships to make so little resistance on occasions of fighting is, that all these soldiers are children of peasants and other folk of low estate, who are taken by force from the age of ten or twelve years: so that never having seen war, they cannot make a good fight of it. As for the gunners, they are mostly artizans, shoemakers, tailors, and others who, when the time arrives, know not how to fire a gun.<sup>1</sup> But for all that these fellows, notwithstanding their low estate, when they have passed the Cape of Good Hope, as we have already stated elsewhere, give themselves new names and call themselves gentlemen. Another thing that causes them to show so little fight is, that their enemies give them very good terms of capitulation<sup>2</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> No wonder then that De Couto, in his severe indictment of Portuguese administration, exclaims, "Why, there is not a gunner in all India that could hit the bill of Cintra, unless he fired from the very foot of it!" (*Soldado Practico*, Dial. i, Scena 10).

<sup>2</sup> In orig. *leur font fort bonne guerre*. The terms of *buena guerra* were recognised as entitling the prisoners to their liberty without ransom (*Hawkins' Voy.*, pp. 320, 321).

all the loss is the king's, and they lose nothing, so say they.

When these great vessels are ready to start, the king furnishes them with all sorts of provisions, which are for the common use from Portugal to Goa, and no further. The steward for the soldiers gives them their commons first, then the steward for the mariners and the other officers and seamen serves out theirs; so all without exception get their ordinary day by day, one as another, viz., half a *canada*<sup>1</sup> of wine, and the same of water (a pipe contains three hundred canadas); of bread as much as they can eat. As for other things, such as salted meat, an *aroba* a month (the "aroba" weighs thirty pounds): everything else is given in the same proportion, such as oil, vinegar, salt, onions, and fish; all these are served out for a whole month, except the wine and water, which is for the day only, and all in presence of the clerk, who puts everything down in his accounts, with the names. If a man does not drink wine, he can sell it to the others, or keep it, leaving it in the hands of the purser, who keeps a score; being arrived at Goa or elsewhere, he can get the wine that is due to him, and do what he likes with it. But the evil that I find in all this is, that the provisions are given to them raw, and each man has to cook his own victuals; so that you will sometimes see more than eighty or a hundred pots on the fire at the same time; and when some are done, others are put on. So when any are sick, instead of being properly cared for, they are exceeding ill fed and maintained, and many die from this cause. The French and Hollanders have not the same practice, for they have one cook for all, and eat six off a dish. But among the Portuguese the eating and drinking is all a man's own affair; what is over of all the provisions and ship's utensils goes to the superintendents of ships residing at Goa; and when the vessels are about to return, they furnish them afresh at the expense of the king.

<sup>1</sup> A Port. measure equal to about three pints English.

The whole of the ship's utensils are delivered over to the master, and the provisions and goods to the clerk.

For the rest, the soldiers while on board have to keep a guard every night, but are not liable to any other work. Such as have refreshments in the ship sell to those that want: thus one has been known to sell a hen for twenty reals of forty sols the piece, that is, at forty livres, and he that bought it re-sold the soup or "bouillon" for as much as the hen had cost him, so as it left him free and quits: this was a sale to the sick.

With regard to the pay of the ship's officers, note that to the captain, pilot, master, and other men in command, the king gives them each a certain berth in the ship, and in like manner to the mariners. As for the soldiers, apprentices, mariners, artisans, and other officers, they are paid all alike; that is, for the voyage from Portugal to Goa, fifty cruzados each. The cruzado is worth fifty sols. The commanding officers and mariners, if they have the means, buy goods suitable each to his quality and rank, having to pay no dues for a certain amount of goods. Those who have not the means to buy make but little profit of the voyage. The others can make a profit of five for one; and though they take no silver with them, yet are they enabled to make purchases by selling their berths to passengers, as well gentlemen as soldiers and merchants. Certain berths are readily sold at three hundred cruzados, wherewith they buy some goods, the which the king permits them to stow in the hold: for the king retains to himself only two decks in each vessel, there being four in all, not counting the poop and the forecastle, which are equal to one and a half.

The soldiers are lodged under cover below the main deck, and the apprentices above in the open; and the same with the Jesuits, and other clergy, when there are any, saving the ship's chaplain, who has his berth as one of the officers. The soldiers have their berths in going to the Indies only,

but not in returning. The navigating officers have their berths according to their quality.

These ships are mighty foul, and stink withal; the most not troubling themselves to go on deck for their necessities, which is in part the cause that so many die. The Spaniards, French, and Italians do the same; but the English and Hollanders are exceeding scrupulous and cleanly.

As for berths, a man that is without one is greatly pinched and pressed, for he will find no place to sleep under cover except he pays for one for a while. And so to put away his victuals and goods, he must buy a place of some one, otherwise he is constrained to leave them out in the open air, at the risk of being wetted, spoiled, or stolen; so that everyone is obliged to buy a place from the ship's folk, who have other places reserved for their own use.

Accordingly, one that would go to the Indies to advantage must have an appointment, which means a berth on board ship. If he does not get one from the king, he must buy it from some one else, or of some widow. These offices and berths, if the ship does not arrive safely in Portugal, will belong to the same persons in another ship that is to leave the year after; and if that does not make a safe passage, they wait again for the next, and so on till a ship arrives safely, which is the cause that all these offices are in great request, and the berths of widows and orphans bought at high prices. But with all that they must have something to take out with them, and they have a proverb, "He that takes nothing to the Indies will bring nothing home."<sup>1</sup> Again they have a saying that the first voyage is only to see, the second to learn, and the third to make money; and so if in three voyages a man does not make a fortune, he should not return.

As regards the Catholic religion, it is observed on ship-

<sup>1</sup> Port. "Quem nada leva á India, nada traz."

board as on land, saving the consecration (of the elements), which is strictly forbidden at sea. But all the other ceremonies are observed, such as Mass, vespers, holy-water, and procession; also Lent, and the annual holidays. There are chapels adorned with beautiful pictures, where everyone goes to say his prayers. When one dies, the master blows a whistle to advertise everyone to say prayers, but there is no firing of cannon as with us. As for their ordinary prayers, every evening at nine o'clock the master with his whistle summons everyone to say a *Pater* and an *Ave*. Then he gives another whistle to call all the seamen to keep their watch and ward, and all betake themselves to their several posts. At break of day all the ship's boys chant a sea-orison or prayer, which is for all sorts and conditions of men on board, each in his particular office, with special mention also of the ship, and all her apparel in order, making apt reference in the case of each article to every stage and thing in the story of the Passion: so that this prayer lasts a full hour: it is said with a loud voice.

These ships, thus equipped and ordered, depart from Lisbon at the end of February, or at latest at the beginning of March: they must not touch at any place this side of the Cape, except in case of urgent need. And if, peradventure, some accident should prevent them doubling the *Abrolles* or passing the Cape, they are forced to stand about straight for Portugal again, and so lose their voyage. But if the ships are not staunch enough to return, they have no ports where they can anchor except at *Angola*, on the coast of Guinea, or at Brazil, in the Bay of All Saints,<sup>1</sup> or else at Fernambour.<sup>2</sup> Also, when they can safely pass the Cape, and thence to India or Goa, they have no other places to land at and refresh themselves, except at Mozambique; and thither they go not but in direst extremity and necessity, sojourning there the least while they can, so their orders are.

<sup>1</sup> Bahia de todos os Santos.

<sup>2</sup> Pernambuco.

Yet sometimes they arrive there so late that they are forced to remain a long time, by reason of the contrary winds and other accidents. The ships that go there leave at the same time that the Portugal ships are setting out to come home—that is, in the month of June or July. They arrive usually in September or October, unless fortune plays them false, and most frequently they arrive not at Goa, but go to Cochin or Couelan; but this is perforce, and by reason of the currents that carry them there, or of the calms and contrary winds.

When, then, they have passed the Cape of Good Hope, they come to the land of Natal or of the Nativity, where usually they meet with heavy storms. This land is on the coast of Ethiopia, about 150 leagues to the other side of the Cape. When the Portuguese find themselves at the altitude of this land, after passing it, they take counsel among themselves whether, according to the season, they have time enough to pass between the island of St. Lawrence<sup>1</sup> and the mainland; else, if it be too late, to take a course outside the island. For, in order to take the course between the island and the mainland of Africa, they must have passed the Cape early—that is, in the month of July: if it be later, they are obliged to follow the other course outside, and then they are not sure of making Goa, being more likely to make land at Cochin, or sometimes no further than *Couelan*,<sup>2</sup> as I have said. Whereas those that have passed the Cape early, can easily pass between the said island and Africa, and can go to Mozambique to refresh for ten or twelve days. Otherwise, if they put off too long on this course, they cannot easily arrive at Goa, because of the calms and contrary winds which ordinarily prevail at this season. Such as are too late in that sea have been full often forced to remain a long time at Mozambique, and thus have arrived very late at Goa, inso-

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

<sup>2</sup> Quilon, in South Malabar.

much that their voyage was retarded for another year.<sup>1</sup> As for those who have come—whether inside or outside the island of St. Lawrence, and have not touched at Mozambique—you must believe that they run grievous risks and have suffered wondrous troubles and labours, having been sometimes nine and ten months before they arrive at Goa; for, except Mozambique, there is no other port they could make: and those that will not make it when the season is too late, cannot fail to be grievously afflicted with the malady of the scurvy (*scurbut*), or as often even to die of thirst. While I was at Goa I saw some ships arrive there, in which, of the thousand or twelve hundred men that were in them at the setting out from Lisbon, there were left not two hundred, and well-nigh all these sick of the scurvy, which wears them in such sort, that after they are arrived they hardly recover.

I will say here in passing, that between the island of St. Lawrence and the mainland there are banks or shoals much to be feared, where many Portuguese vessels have been lost. They call these sands *baxos de Indias*<sup>2</sup>—that is to say, “Judas banks.” They are 50 leagues from the said island and 70 from the mainland; approaching them on the outward voyage they begin at the 23rd degree and end at the 22nd and a half. They are verily fearful and dangerous shoals.

But to return to our Portuguese ships. When they are

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary service of carracks was to leave Lisbon in February or March, and reach Goa (or Cochin) about September or October; and for the same ships, or such as survived, to leave India the following December or January. He has probably in his mind here the unfortunate fleet of the Conde de Feira, which left Lisbon in the spring of 1608. Mocquet, who was on board one of the few ships that reached India, did not get to Goa till May 1609. Thus a year was lost, for they ought by that time to have been nearly back to Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Port. *Baixos da Judia*; in the Eng. version of Linschoten (i, 22), “Flats of the Jewes”, now the Europa shoals. A terrible account of the wreck on these shoals of the carrack *Santiago*, in 1585, will be found in Linschoten (ii, 176-82), and De Couto (*Dec. X*, Liv. vii, cc. 1-3).

arrived at Cochin they take in their cargo there, and go not on to Goa, because of the contrary winds and currents. They are laden there by command of the viceroy, whom they advertise forthwith of their arrival, and he sends them the King of Spain's officers to give the necessary orders: for in the other towns there are all manner of officers, and the same regulation in spiritual and temporal things as at Goa.

The navigation of these Portuguese vessels is carried on with exceeding bad order; for although they set out from Portugal all together and in convoy, and are expressly enjoined not to lose sight of one another, yet do they observe this order mighty ill, and make no account to obey their admiral, whom they call *capitaine major*. The cause of that is that all these captains are gentlemen of good houses, and are unwilling to yield in aught to one another. So each goes his own way, without having regard whether his companions are following or not. This is full often the cause of their loss, for, being alone, they may come up with some Hollander ships or other enemies that attack and take them, seeing that, as I said before, they make little resistance, the soldiers being only a mob of men, mostly taken perforce from among the villagers and poor artizans. Also, the captains have no great zeal to defend themselves, so little interest have they in the matter, for the Hollanders give them quarter and kill them not. It is only the King of Spain and some merchants, present and absent, that lose by it. When these ships are captured or lost they make among them an attestation of the loss of their goods, and of the office that each held in the ship, and when they get home they get recompensed for all, sometimes double. I must also note in passing, as I have said before, that all these soldiers and seamen, after they have passed the Cape, give themselves titles of nobility, otherwise they would be greatly blamed and despised by the other Portuguese resident in the Indies; for they bear to one another the greatest respect, even the

highest to the lowest, and do greatly esteem one another, despising not only the Indians, but even all the other Christian nations of Europe, whom they call "white men"; the Indians call them *Faranquy* or *Franki*. But if an Indian have struck a white man, the law is that he has his hand cut off.

So much for the order observed by the Portuguese ships from their embarkment at Lisbon until their arrival at Goa or other place in the East Indies. And be it noted that in all these voyages it is only the poor soldiers and seamen that have a bad time of it and suffer poverty, because most often they do not get their wages and pay. I have sometimes seen them be four whole months without touching a sol, and all the time the King of Spain is paying. So from this it may be seen that the Indies are good and profitable only to the viceroys, governors, and some of the king's officers—not to the king, nor to the poor soldiers and mariners. Also all the presents that the Indian kings offer are all for the viceroys, while those that he gives in exchange are at the expense of the King of Spain, his master. But since the French, English, and Hollanders have begun to frequent the Indies, these viceroys have not made so great profits as theretofore, having lost most of their commerce, and not daring to navigate for fear of being taken by the English or Hollanders. I have myself knowledge of a vast number of ships that have been taken from the Portuguese or pillaged. And there were some of them, coming from China and elsewhere, that were valued at more than two millions of gold; and many others, coming from and going to Portugal and between all parts of the Indies. For all the strength of the Portuguese suffices not to keep the Hollanders from these seas; yet can the Hollanders not do them much harm on the mainland in their towns and fortresses, nor get the better of them by cabals, except a little in Sunda; but that is far removed from the territories and power of the Portuguese.

Before ending this chapter I must not omit a very notable peculiarity which all the Portuguese say they have observed in their Indian voyages, namely, that all the dead bodies which they cast into the sea on the northern, that is on this, side of the Equinoctial line, go not to the bottom, but float on the surface, the head always towards the west, and the feet towards the east; and if perchance the winds or waves turn them over to one side or another, they are seen incontinently to come back to their first position. But once the line is passed toward the south, then, as they say, all the bodies go to the bottom. I leave it to the more curious naturalists to find out the cause of this. We Frenchmen, indeed, have not observed it, inasmuch as to all the bodies we cast into the sea we attach a stone or cannon-ball, to make them go to the bottom. As soon as a man dies on board a French ship his body is wrapt in a winding-sheet or coverlet, with something heavy to make it sink. It is cast to leeward, with a (lighted) firebrand on the same side, while a cannon-shot is fired to windward, and everyone keeps his eyes on that side, and not on the side on which the corpse is thrown. This done, the master or captain calls out aloud to say prayers. But the Portuguese observe none of all that, as I have said. The master contents himself with giving a whistle, to warn the crew to say their prayers.

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## CHAPTER XV.

*Of the traffic of the Portuguese throughout the Indies in general, and the order which they observe therein.*

The principal traffic of the Portuguese is with the East Indies, where they will not permit any other nation to go and trade, not even the Spaniards; that is strictly forbidden