and turns more towards the back of the cow than forwards." Lastly, he
gives a fairly accurate description of the town and of the Somalils
that inhabit it.

\textit{On the weather becoming again possible, the ships set sail about
22 March and reached "an island which is called Barbarea." Berbera,
however, is not an island, though the anchorage might have made it
appear to be one, or Vatherna may have mistranslated \textit{jashira}, used
usually for an island, but also on occasion for a peninsula or a harbour.
He found the place "small but good and very well peopled." In this he
was more fortunate than he knew, as from April to October Berbera is
deserted, though it is filled by a large crowd of African traders from October
to April, and it was very near the end of the busy season that Vatherna's
convoy was in the place. The ship remains only one day at Berbera and
sails for India and Persia presumably about 1 April.

\textbf{IN GUJRAT (INDIA)}

\textbullet\ Vatherna now crosses the northern part of the Indian Ocean
without touching at any point on the Arabian or Persian coasts, and about 15 April
reaches the island of Diu, off the coast of Gujarat in India, though
to him it is not "India," as explained above. Diu, he tells us, "is called
Diobandiorum, that is, Dhu, the port of the Turks," meaning thereby
Diu Bandar ar-Rumi, Diu the Port of the Rumi, i.e., of foreigners from
rum or Turkey, or perhaps more the Nearer East, or foreigners in general.
He says that it was "subject to the Sultam of Combine," i.e., Kambayya or
Kambayyat (Cambay), and that "the captain of this Dhu is one named
Menacheur," thus giving a neat reference to the notorious foreign \textit{mamluk}
of uncertain origin, Malik 'Aiyaz, an important personage then on the
west coast of India, who greatly impressed the Portuguese, and of whom
there are long accounts by both Barbosa and de Barros. He also notices
that the small sailing vessels in use thereabouts were called \textit{thala}, i.e.,
\textit{at-talh} or \textit{at-talха}, coast-guard boats.

\textbullet\ The ship stays only two days at Diu and goes on to Gogo or Gógá,
which Vatherna calls Goe, in Kátharwár, then included in the Kingdom
of Gujarat. He arrives at Gogo in three days, say by 18 April, and
notes that the Gogo district, i.e., Káthíwár, is "fat and wealthy," and
says incorrectly that the inhabitants are "all Mahomedans," but he
could not have remained there long; and again he puts to sea, crossing
the Indian Ocean westwards beyond the entrance to the Persian Gulf.
more to Nainband still in the mountains, then across the terrible Persian desert, the Dasht-i-Lut, then some 300 miles through sand and mountains to Herāt. Yet he has nothing to say of the hill country or the desert or even of Kirmān, a truly remarkable place. Had his route avoided the Dasht-i-Lut, it would have taken him through mountains past Bāmpur and Naṣrābād and that wonderful sheet of water and marsh, the Ḥamun-i-Helmand, which he would hardly have failed to remark, and it would have been much longer than any route via Kirmān. Yet he says he was only twelve days on it.

If he next tells us "I quit this place [Eri] and travelled twenty days on the mainland, finding cities and castles very well peopled. I arrived at a large and fine river, which is called by the people there Euphrates, but, so far as I can judge, I believe that it is the Euphrates [Ufrat, Furat], on account of its great size. Travelling onwards for three days to the left hand, but following the river, I found a city which is named Schiraz [Shiraz]." That is to say, he means that he arrived in Shiraz via a river on which it is situated in twenty-three days from Eri. The only remarkable river, however, hereabouts is the Bendemir, which Varthema might have thought was the Euphrates, but Shiraz is not situated on it. He says, moreover, nothing of his journey, and there is no direct route from Herāt to Shiraz unless a cross-country journey is taken via Nainband and Yezd, but that would cross the Dasht-i-Lut and also a kazer or desert marsh, and would moreover lead the traveller over great mountains. It would be over 600 miles in length and would provide a mighty experience, and yet Varthema says nothing of it except that he did it in twenty days. There is no doubt, then, that if his statements are to be accepted in any form, some other site than Herāt must be found for his "Eri," despite his account of it fitting that place.

If assuming that Varthema really did visit Shiraz, the following statements afford a clue as to what happened. He met there a man whom he had known at Mecca as a haji or pilgrim. With this man he planned a wild journey across Persia to Samarkand, which was abandoned as the country was too disturbed: "And with this we set ourselves on our way; and returned towards Eri. . . . We returned [hence] to the city of Ormus at the end of eight days." This settles the doubt as to "Eri" being Herāt. It was clearly on a route between Hormuz and Shiraz. With the help of Sir Percy Sykes, who has an intimate knowledge of this part of Persia, the following solution of the problem of Varthema's proceedings has been arrived at. He seems to have gone from Hormuz Island to a spot near what has since become well-known as Bandar 'Abbas, and travelled thence to Tarūn, thence to Nīrzī, and thence via Tashk to Herāt-i-Khāra, a fertile district not far to the east of Lake Nīrzī or Baktéhān. This is the place he calls "Eri" or Heri, the old name for the great Herāt, now in Afghanistan. From Herāt-i-Khāra he goes, again past Tashk, to the Bendemir River and thence to Shiraz. Then after staying at Shiraz for fifteen days he returns to "Eri," i.e. Herāt-i-Khāra, where his Persian friend has a house, and from this place he eventually returns with the Persian to Hormuz. Such a series of journeys would be quite within possibilities, and would not occupy an unreasonable amount of time.

If in the light of these reflections it may be remarked that Varthema's very brief account of "Eri in Corazani" is fairly correct, though Herāt-i-Khāra, of course, is nowhere near Khurṣān. His description of Shiraz, so far as it goes, is also accurate, especially as the marb for turquoise and balas rubies from Baktéhān, and it was also a mart, as he says correctly, for tajpī tajzhī, antimony and musk. As to this last he has an exaggerated account, no doubt by report, of the evil effect the smell of it has on some constitutions. He describes the Persians as the most cunning men in intellect and at falsifying things of any nation in the world," but at the same time as "the best companions and the most liberal of any men who inhabit the earth." This character may be due to his good fortune in coming across the Persian merchant, who was obviously a man of wealth and glad of his company, for Varthema's funds must have been much exhausted by the time he reached Shiraz, and no doubt his further journeys, even in India, were financed through his friendship with that trader. After meeting his Persian friend, he plans to go with him to Samarqand and give an acceptable reason for desisting, viz. because the country was in an uproar over the recent foundation of the Safavi rule by Shāh Ismā'īl and his determination to establish the Shi'a faith throughout his dominions.

This friend's name is given as Cazazimor or Cogazienor, i.e. Khwaja Junair or Junard—Varthema frequently writes z for j (Italian g). Schefner guesses another possible Persian name, Khajoja (= Khwaja) Jauhar, as the equivalent of "le mot defiguer de Cazazinor." He is described as a Persian merchant of "Eri," i.e. Herāt-i-Khāra: "When we had arrived at his house [at Eri]," writes Varthema. From this friend he would hear much about the great Herāt and Samarkand, which he calls Sambragantha by an almost natural corruption. The Khwajā (a common title for merchants) would also be able to tell him the tale about "the Sultan of Ormus" alluded to above. Later on, too, there is abundant evidence that the Persian merchant remained his companion in his travels.
in India and further east. On the whole, the safest assumption would appear to be that he took the journeys on the Persian mainland from and back to Hormuz as above described, crossing the Beulahmir River, so called from the Band-i-Amir or barrage across it, built in the eleventh century, which is some distance from Shiráz and is a famous sight. At Shiráz he met his Persian friend and learnt from him all he could of Herat, did not write his notes for some time afterwards, and then mixed up Herat with Herat-i-Khâra.

The journeys above conjectured and a story related by Varthema connected with them fit within the time table made obligatory to him with reference to the South-west Monsoon in the Indian Ocean. It would not have been possible for him to go straight on to India during the summer of 1504, as the South-west Monsoon bursts on the Persian coast by the beginning of June and no sahebâd or native slipper would have ventured to face the Indian Ocean while it lasted, i.e. say before October. How, then, did Varthema spend his time? Khwâja Junair was a wealthy man and had a niece “called Samis [Shams], that is, the Sun,” or, as would be said in English, “Sunbeam,” and he took Varthema to his house at Herat-i-Khâra and offered her to him. No doubt Varthema lived with her there, and as every Persian merchant of standing has to own land to maintain his status, it is quite reasonable to suppose that Khwâja Junair had property in fertile Herat-i-Khâra, and moreover would wish to be there during the harvest season. Here, no doubt, Varthema stayed with his temporary wife till the South-west Monsoon was over, and then started for India in October 1504. That he did not remain in Persia longer can be estimated from the fact, to be observed later on, that he was at Anjedâla Island off the south-west coast of India before it was taken by the Portuguese in 1509.

IN INDIA: CAMBAY TO CALICUT

Varthema gives no reliable account of time while in Persia, but assuming the above description of his doings there to be right, it seems that he sailed from Hormuz to Jâd or Kau, which he calls Cheo, on a mouth of the Indus in India. The season is now favourable for further journeys by sea down the west coast. He gives no account of Jâd and goes on to Cambay, which he misplaces as “near to Indus,” following an ancient error which lasted even beyond his time. Otherwise he correctly describes the entrance to the town, and briefly notices the celebrated bore in the Gulf of Cambay. He is correct also in his mention of the local products—turbith (jalap), arrowroot, spikenard, assafotidia and lac, and also carnelians from the Râjputâ Hills. The diamonds he mentions came from afar—from the distant mart of Golconda in the Deccan. It may be assumed that he reached Cambay about October, 1504.

The habits of “the Sultan of Cambay” are next described. He was the well-known Mahâmîd Baigâra of Gujarât, and the great length of his moustaches is duly noted. They are described as curling round his ears, in the Sikh fashion of to-day as regards their beards, which by the followers of that faith are never cut. Varthema then tells a story which was current in his day and afterwards, and even in Mahâmîd’s lifetime, as to his being “a poison man.” This story is really a râchamâl of the old folk-tale of “the Poison Damsel,” and Barbaras, in his Book, repeats it in such fashion as to lead to the supposition that the basis of the story’s popularity was observation of the manner and effect of taking opium and hemp drugs, although Varthema’s account clearly attributes the poison to the very common habit of chewing betel. We have also a description of “a certain race,” who are “neither Moslem nor Hindu,” i.e. neither Muslims nor Hindus, and from the account of them Jains are clearly indicated. They have long abounded in that part of India.

Varthema then talks of “the King of the Joge,” by which last term he means the jûgî or jûgî, i.e. Hindu ascetics. His account reads like a garbled story of the pilgrimage of some wealthy native to a Hindu shrine, and hearnay tales told him at different times of Hindu ascetics of many kinds, combined with personal observations of the appearance of such people on various occasions. In the course of his account he uses the expression all’apostile to describe their dress. This expression he employs more than once to describe Oriental costume, and by it he refers to the Roman toga used by Italian painters to represent the dress of the Apostles, and in this book it is used to represent roughly the method of wearing the langût or loin-cloth in India, or indeed any loose robe worn in Eastern fashion.

Varthema is still keeping no kind of diary or time table, but from his statements it is pretty evident that he travelled southwards from Cambay by sea, and it may be assumed that he left it during October. His brief account of the place is explained by his opening statement in his chapter “Concerning Cambay to Calicut in India,” which runs thus: “Having promised at the commencement, if I remember rightly, to treat all subjects with brevity, in order that my narrative may not be wearisome, I will continue to relate concisely those things, which appeared to me the most worthy to be known, and the most interesting.”
He next says: "Departing from the said city of Combeia, I travelled on until I arrived at another city named Ceuval [Chául], which is distant from the above-mentioned city twelve days' journey, and the country between the one and the other of these cities is called Guzerati." Chául is, however, much lower down the west coast than Gujarát extends and lies south of Bombay, then of course only a fisherman's island and a place of no importance whatever. Leaving Chául, at which he arrived about 25 October, and continuing down the coast, he touches at Dabol or Dabhol and goes on to Goa, which he calls Goga. He probably reached it about 1 November. The Portuguese did not occupy Goa until 1510, and so Varthema finds it a fortress, "in which there is sometimes a captain who is called Savain, who has 400 Mamelukes, he himself being a Mameluke." Here he is very interesting, as he is unconsciously mentioning Yüsuf 'Adil Shah of Bijapur by a common Portuguese title of the Sabaoy or Çabaym, i.e. Sawai, which he obtained from his original home at Sawa in Northern Persia, whence he came to India as an Usmanlı Turkish mantik. Here, too, Varthema quaintly remarks: "This captain, with 400 Mamelukes, wages a great war with the King of Naranga," thus incidentally introducing the great Vijayanagar Empire of Southern India. Here also he makes acquaintance with the pardau or paqoda, which he thus describes: "These golden ducats are called by them pardaus, and are smaller than the scruphsh of Cairo, but thicker, and have two devils [Shiva and Parbat] stamped upon one side of them, and certain letters on the other." From Goa, "travelling for seven days on the mainland, I arrived at a city which is called Decan," i.e. at Bijapur, which he presumably reached about 10 November. Here he is using, after a fashion which he follows on several occasions, the name of a country or kingdom for its capital. In his day, Bijapur was the capital of the Deccan.

Varthema has but little to say of Bijapur and its sovereign, though the king in his day was the great Yusuf 'Adil Shah, who had founded the dynasty named after him in 1489, and had been unquestionably a mamluk of the Bābnānī kingdom that once had covered the whole Deccan from sea to sea. He had been governor of Bijapur and took the opportunity of the break up of the Bābnānī to seize the western portion of their dominion down to the west coast, which he ruled from Chāul to Bhaktakal. Varthema notices that he was "a great enemy to the Christians," referring no doubt to the difficulties raised by 'Adil Shah being first a somewhat fanatical Shi'a and then a Sunni Muslim for political reasons, and he tells a fanciful tale about the mines in Kānlū, which supplied the great diamond market at Golconda.

After leaving Bijapur, Varthema journeys in five days to the coast at "Bathacala," reaching it, say, 16 November, 1504. This "Bathacala" Badger identified, not with Bhaktakal, but with Sadāsīṣvarāgh, called by Hamilton Batcon, within Kārwār Head, close to Anjediva or Anchidiya Island, also mentioned by Varthema, on the ground that the place he means must have been north of Honāwar or Onore, as he passed on by that town after visiting "Bathacala," whereas Bhaktakal is to the south of Honāwar. Dames, in editing Barbosa, says that it was close to Cintacora, a name that has puzzled enquirers, and is no doubt the Centacola that Varthema says he visited after going to Anjediva Island. "Bathacala" is fairly described as a typical town of the west coast. Anjediva was not captured by the Portuguese till 1505, so when Varthema saw it in 1504, the island was still in native hands, and he gives a reasonably correct account of it.

He next crosses back to the mainland, touches at Centacola, and goes on to Honāwar or Onore, reaching it probably by 18 November. Thence he passes on to the neighbouring Mangalore, and so on to Cannanore, arriving at that place, say, by 21 November. He gives a fair description of the west coast, considering that he was a pioneer traveller. Cannanore, he informs us, is "a fine and large city in which the King of Portugal has a strong castle [of St. Angelo]." By this expression he means presumably that there was a strong stockade round the Portuguese factory established at that place, as the Portuguese under Pedro Álvarez Cabral and Joaão de Nova first appeared at Cannanore in 1501, and Vasco da Gama erected the factory there in 1502, but the fort was not completed till 1507 under Francisco d'Almeida. He is right in saying that the native ruler was very friendly towards the Portuguese, and generally in his description of the town, especially as to its being a port for the import of horses from Persia. He winds up his story by saying: "The king of this place [Cannanore] has 50,000 Naeri, that is, gentlemen who fight with swords, shields, lances and bows and with artillery"—a shrewd description of the military caste of the Nairs.

From Cannanore Varthema goes to Vijayanagar, which he reaches in fifteen days, say, about 6 December, 1504. He calls it "the city of Bānīṣgarāh" in the kingdom of Narsinga. Vijayanagar, which is south of the Deccan, was the last Hindu empire in India, and was founded about 1336, lasting till 1565. It had a splendid capital, the ruins of which still exist at Hampī. It was called Bānīṣgarāh by Varthema, usually Bīnāgār by the Portuguese, and Bījānagar by English travellers, and was the great stronghold of Hinduism in the south. It kept back the Muslim aggressors
from the Deccan for over two centuries and eventually prevented Islam from overrunning South India. Varthema saw it towards its close, though it was still in full vigour in his day, as one of the greatest of its rulers, Krishnadeva Raya, did not ascend the throne till 1509, after the time of his visit. The ruler of his day was Narsingha Raya, hence his name became also the ordinary contemporary Portuguese name for the kingdom—Narsinga.

His very brief description of Vijayanagar is borne out by other accounts of his day, but he confines himself mainly to describing the elephant, which animal had evidently impressed him. His account is clear and he was obviously familiar with the elephant. However, he, perhaps naturally, mixes up tigers and lions, which he heard of but apparently did not see. As regards the King of Vijayanagar he shrewdly remarks: "This king is a very great friend of the Christians, especially of the King of Portugal, because he does not know much of any other Christians." His account of Vijayanagar winds up with a good description of the currency then obtaining there.

Varthema returned to Cannanore, reaching it, say, about 21 December, and goes thence to some insignificant places: twelve miles by land to Dharmapatum near Tellicherry, where he mentions there were "15,000 Moors," no doubt meaning thereby the Moplahs. Thence he goes a day's journey to Pantalavini and Kappata, small places of no consequence. After this he goes to "the very noble city of Calicut," where he introduces us to the Zamorin—a much discussed name for the monarch thereof. It may be assumed that he reached Calicut about 1 January, 1505.

In Calicut

Varthema devotes more space to Calicut than to any other place in his itinerary, though he did not stay there long on his first visit in 1505, giving as his reason for a speedy departure that his commercial companion, the Persian merchant Khwaja Junair, was obliged to go on quickly for reasons of his trade. But in 1506 and 1507 he was for about eighteen months a factor there for the Portuguese Viceroy Francisco d'Almeida, and so had every opportunity of learning all about the town. He evidently thought that his description of his first visit was the right place for a long account of it.

To Varthema, Calicut was the chief town in all India: "Having nearly arrived at the head of India, that is to say, at the place in which the greatest dignity of India is centred." Here he gives the Portuguese sense to the word "India," which at that time meant the little areas they con-

trolled and the country round them in South India. He describes the town as he saw it—a poor sort of place—and goes on to be extremely discursive in relating what struck his imagination. In fact, his "chapters" here dance in a bewildering manner from subject to subject just as various points of interest occur to him, and he is consequently not easy to follow: but he was evidently not much impressed with the buildings on the west coast. Even the palace of the Zamorin, described as of great extent and full of wonderful things, he only values as "worth 200 ducats or thereabouts." He notices that "the floor of the house is all adorned with cow-dung." This plastering with liquified cow-dung was performed—as it always is in India—as a purifying preservative for cleanliness. He also notices that the Zamorin was afflicted with "the French disease and had it in the throat." "French" here is a translation of the Arabic Farang or Frank, and means that the Arabs attributed an European origin to venereal disease, but the description seems to imply that the Zamorin had something the matter with his throat, perhaps cancer. Varthema was also evidently greatly exercised about the lighting of the Zamorin's palace, and gives an interesting version of the custom of feeding Brahmans in crowds on the death of a Zamorin, hinting also at a custom of public abstention from shaving on the third day after such a death.

Varthema passes on to a quaint account of the religion of the people: "The King of Calicut is a pagan, and worships the devil in the manner you shall hear." He must have observed various ceremonies at Hindu temples and mixed them up with recollections of conversations with educated people—European languages, especially Spanish, were known to many mandalas slaves in India at that period. "They acknowledge that there is a God who has created the heaven and the earth and all the world," This he learnt from educated Hindus, and then he passes on to the belief in the godling or deth, who does good and evil to mankind, and so is much propitiated: "Which devil they call Denuo and God they call Tamerani," i.e., the name for the godling is dethen and for the Supreme God is Tambrurîn, Lord or Master. Under the title of Sathanas (Satanas) he describes the images of Narsingh and the goddess Kali, and as to his account of her worship he must have looked on at some ceremonies of the lower orders, nowadays classed together as "devil-worship" and far removed from the religious observances of the philosophic and thoughtful Hindu. There is, however, evidence to show that he applied the term Sathanas to any prominent Hindu image. Varthema also notices the "devil-dancing" ceremonies used at the planting of a rice-field and on exorcising the evil spirit supposed to possess those who are seriously ill.
of their share in the selection of a wife by the Zamorin on the matriarchal system, and describing with some accuracy the manner in which a strict Brähman takes his food, though he attributes the habits he notices to the Zamorin himself at his meals. After dealing with the Brähmans, he passes on to the other castes of the west coast, giving a remarkable account of them considering his very early date and that he could hardly have had a predecessor. The Portuguese Barbosa, who was a contemporary, is quite as elaborate and much more accurate, but then he learnt Malayalam, the language of the country. It is, however, quite possible that Varthema obtained his information from the same sources as Barbosa. He notices also the haughty aloofness of both Brähmans and Nairs from the “untouchable” lower classes of society, and the general abstinenence from “cow beef,” and from flesh altogether by the Brähmans, together with the indiscriminate diet of the lowest classes, which includes mice and “fish dried in the sun.” With regard to these last he draws a lurid, but not too exaggerated, picture of their method of rearing children.

He further notes the well-known matriarchal system of inheritance prevalent in that part of India, by which “the heir of the King is the son of one of his sisters,” though he gives a garbled reason for it, and makes some exaggerated observations on social customs generally, but he is correct as to the use of betel. He then returns to the inheritance laws, and gives a vague explanation of the real reason for them in a chapter which is quaint indeed, and bears an equally quaint title in his book: “How the Pagans sometimes exchange their wives.” In this account—in which he attempts to reproduce the Malayalam language are beyond correction—he is really trying to describe the system under which a woman, though nominally married, cohabits, legitimately according to her custom, with any man other than her husband whom she desires, and therefore any child she has is her and not her husband’s, and is the heir of her brother—as Varthema says: “The children go according to the word of the woman,” though here he is not quite correct.

He then describes the usual mode of eating and repeats an old tale as to the recovery of debts by making surreptitiously a magic circle round the debtor, and has an amusing, though incorrect, account of Hindu bathing customs and the “manner of saying their prayers.” His account of the mode “of fighting of these people of Calicut” is even more amusing, and he notices that the Nairs “have black teeth on account of the leaves [betel] which I have already told you they eat.” They do not, however, eat the leaves, but chew them and spit them out. He notices, too, correctly that many of the lower orders do not burn but bury their dead. Lastly,
he observes the large number of "Moors," i.e., foreign Asiatic merchants, flocking to Calicut and creating the Moplah population. Foreign merchants of all classes would naturally interest Varthema and his companion, the Persian merchant Khwaja Junair, and we have accordingly a good account of the "bankers and money-changers" of Calicut, and their methods of dealing, weighing goods and testing the fineness of gold by the touchstone. There is also a description of the custom of secretly settling bargains by the touch of hands and fingers under a cloth, which is current among the Eastern peoples from the Arabs and Abyssinians to the natives of India and the Further East.

If from places and people Varthema passes on to plants and animals, and gives a good description of the "money of Malabar." He then describes the pepper plant and its products, and also ginger, and mentions the "screw pincers" and products, and also ginger, and mentions the myrobalan tree. Under the name of acoona he tells us about the jackfruit, and gives also a rough description of the mango, "which is called ambha, the stem of which is called munga," though ambha is Indian vernacular and munga is Malay for the fruit. Several other fruits which he mentions both by name and description are difficult to identify, and then he has a long account of "the most fruitful tree in the world," i.e., the coconut, which he correctly names by the Malayalam term for it, tenga. He gives practically every use of both the tree and its products in an entertaining manner, and then he winds up his account of the produce of the southwest Indian soil by the remark: "In this country of Calicut there is found a great quantity of ceralium, from which they make excellent [gingelly] oil," and to which there has already been a reference.

Of the animals, he mentions many kinds, remarking, wrongly however, that elephants are not found in south-western India. He mentions also peacocks, parrots and monkeys, these last under the Persian name of sdr, probably learnt from his companion, Khwaja Junair. He has, too, a very garbled account of the crocodile as a "serpent." Incidentally, he here mentions the Jains, under the strange title of "the King of Calicut," on whom apparently everything unusual is fastened. He notices also the Jain habit, inculcated by their religion, of killing nothing and cherishing all living things, even snakes of all descriptions.

The last subject for discussion as to Calicut now, though not the latest in order in Varthema's pages, is his account of the "manner of navigation." On this point he makes an important set of observations, at any rate so far as regards his further journey. He first tells us that their vessels are "of 300 or 400 butts," showing thus in an interesting way that the "tonnage" of ships was based, as now in England, on their assumed capacity to carry "tuns" or "casks" of cargo. He then gives a fairly accurate account of the "ships" of the southern coast of India, and becomes unusually interesting as to navigation. He tells us that Cape Comorin is eight days' journey from Calicut, that the sailing season is from September to April, and that from 1 May to 15 August the sea routes are closed by the South-west Monsoon. He then makes the interesting observation: "At the end of April they depart from the coast of Calicut, and pass the Cape of Cumerin, and enter into another course of navigation, which is safe during these four months [May, June, July, August] and go for small spices." That is to say, that about 20 April at the latest vessels coasted down to Cape Comorin, and went round it to the east coast, where they were sheltered from the Monsoon, if they kept close to land. He calls the great cape Cape Cumerin, which is nearer to the vernacular name Kumari than the modern form. Lastly, he describes the various kinds of boats he saw about Calicut by names in various languages other than the local vernacular, Malayalam.

ROUND CAPE COMORIN TO CEYLON AND THE COROMANDEL COAST

If it may be assumed, then, that Varthema left Calicut soon after he arrived, giving as the reason—as already noted—that his friend, Khwaja Junair, found it necessary to leave that place because it had been "ruined by the King of Portugal, for the merchants who used commerce there were not there, neither did they come. And the reason why they did not come was that the [King of Calicut] consented that the Moors should kill forty-eight Portuguese, whom I saw put to death. And on this account the King of Portugal is always at war, and he has killed, and every day kills, great numbers." Varthema is here recounting historical facts. Vasco da Gama began in 1498 by having friendly relations with the Zamorin, but after Cabral settled a factory at Calicut in 1500 there was trouble between him and the Portuguese, and Vasco da Gama again appeared before the town in 1502. There was then much further hostility and cruelty on both sides, and when, about 1505, Lopo Suarez d'Albergaria came with a fleet and demanded Portuguese prisoners from the Zamorin, some were kept back—the 88 whom Varthema says he saw killed. In revenge for this Suarez bombarded the town and did great damage.

He leaves by the Backwater of Cochin, which he describes as "a river, which is the most beautiful I ever saw" and goes to Kanyakumari, where he finds "Christians of those of St Thomas"—an ancient body, as to
whose origin there is still much controversy. He stays three days and reaches Quilon, say about the middle of January, 1305. He describes it as "extremely powerful," and gives a most interesting reference to the never-ending struggles between the little states along the south-west coast, which prevented Malabar from becoming a land of any political importance. "At that time the king of this city [Quilon] was the friend of the King of Portugal, but being at war with others, it did not appear to us well to remain here." It was this very playing fast and loose with the Portuguese by the petty states of Malabar out of enmity to each other that gave the Portuguese the chance of establishing themselves along the west coast. From Quilon Varthema takes to the sea, and doubling Cape Comorin reaches Kāyal on the east coast of India. He correctly remarks on the pearl fishery on that coast, probably at Tuticorin, though he does not say that he put in there.

After leaving Quilon Varthema is brief and vague, but clear enough until he leaves Kāyal, when he becomes difficult. From Kāyal, he says, "we then passed further onwards and arrived at a city which is called Choromandel, which is a marine district, and distant from Colon [Quilon] seven days' journey by sea, more or less, according to the wind"; and he clearly infers that he went all the way by sea, reaching "Choromandel," it may be presumed, about 30 January. The journey thither implies, however, going through the Falk Strait between India and Ceylon, though he makes no mention of this difficult passage on his northward voyage up the eastern coast of India. His "city called Choromandel" is apparently Negapatam, as no town on the east or Coromandel coast has ever been called Coromandel, that term, really Chōlamandala, meaning the Country of the Chōlas. Negapatam, however, though not far from, is not "situated opposite to the island of Zenlion [Ceylon]," as Varthema puts it. But he is right otherwise in describing Negapatam as subject to the Vijayanagar Empire and as "the route to many large countries." At this place he hears tales from Christians that the "body of St Thomas was twelve miles distant." This, no doubt, refers to the reputed tomb of St Thomas at San Thome not far from Madras, which is of course much more than twelve miles north of Negapatam.

Here the Persian, Khwāja Jumair, dispatches of his merchandise, but the companions do not stay long, because "they were at war with the King of Tarnasari" (i.e., Tuenamerin across the Bay of Bengal) which is quite likely, as there was constant friction between the Tamils of the Coromandel coast of India and the Taluings (Peguans or Mōns) of what is now the coast of Burma across the Bay. Varthema, however, does not
at once go further onwards on his journey, but retraces his steps, and goes backwards to Ceylon with a convoy. He is, nevertheless, very far from being clear here: "we took a ship with some other merchants, which ships are called ciampane, for they are flat-bottomed, and require little water and carry much goods." By ciampane, an Italian plural form, he clearly means sampans, open flat-bottomed boats of Farther Indian origin, hardly fit for the sea unless it be very still. However, the weather in January is hereabouts usually quite calm, and the journey to Ceylon from Negapatam in a sampon is not by any means impossible, but it should be noticed here that later on Varthema seems to mean a larger vessel than the ordinary sampan by the term ciampane. He then goes on to say: "We passed a gulf of twelve or fifteen leagues where we had incurred great peril because there are many shoals and rocks there." This is clearly the Palk Straits.

He does not mention any place in Ceylon at which he landed, but as he was very quickly back from this expedition to Pulicat, north of Madras, which last did not then exist, it is pretty certain that he touched at Jaffna in the north of the island, especially as it is the chief point of communication with India, reaching it about 25 January. His general description of Ceylon and its jewels are fairly accurate, though they contain several serious errors, but these are not unnatural. The casafoli he mentions were more likely custard apples than artichokes, and his melanges were probably sweet limes, not oranges. He gives also a rough account of the method of preparing cinnamon bark for trade. He repeats, too, a story about Adam's Peak, the great prominent mountain of Ceylon which "A Moorish merchant told me" was a place of pilgrimage "because, as they say, Adam was up there praying and doing penance, and that the impressions of his feet are seen to this day, and that they are about two spans long." Damas, in his edition of Barbo's Book, however, shows that the shrine on the top of Adam's Peak is really of Buddhist origin and that the legend thereof concerning Buddha has foisted on to Adam by Arab sailors. Lastly, Varthema has a story which runs thus: "Being in our ship one evening, a man came on the part of the king to my companion, and told him that he should carry to him his corals and saffron; for he had a great quantity of both. A merchant of the said island, who was a Moor [probably a Lakhī], hearing these words, said to him secretly: 'Do not go to the king, for he will pay for your goods after his own fashion.' And this he said out of cunning, in order that my companion might go away, because he himself had the same kind of merchandise. However, answer was given to the message of the king, that on the following day
he would go to his lord. And when morning came, he took a vessel and rowed over to the mainland." This story makes one think that Varthema and his companion never really landed on Ceylon at all, but did what business they had off Jaffna in their ship.

Q. It must by this time have been about 3 February, 1505, when "we arrived [from Ceylon] in the course of three days at a place which is called Pulicat, which is subject to the King of Narsinga," i.e. Pulicat to the north of Madras, then in the Vijayanagar dominions. But three days is much too short a time for the journey, as, if there was any wind to speak of at all, it would have been from the north-east and in their teeth. He describes Pulicat as a place of great traffic, "especially in jewels, for they come here from Zailon and from Pego," a very interesting form of Pegu, which the English nowadays pronounce as Pegoo, both vowels long, but which the natives thereof call Pagó, accent on the 4. "As this country [Pulicat] was at fierce war with the King of Tarnassari, we could not remain here a very long time. But after remaining here a few days we took our route towards the city of Tarnassari, which is distant a thousand miles from here. At which city we arrived in fourteen days by sea." Varthema must have sailed round the north of the Andaman Islands and reached Tenasserim about 1 March, 1505, at the finest time of the year for a sea voyage in the Bay of Bengal.

IN TENASSERIM

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Buddhist monasteries. He is further generally correct in his remarks on the laws of inheritance, and finally he writes with knowledge as to the shipping employed on the coast of the Malay Peninsula. Here his account of a "kind of large ship which is called giunchi" is valuable for the history of the Malay jōng being applied, in various forms of the term jōng, to Far Eastern ships of all sizes. He further makes a most interesting statement that on these giunchi "they carry some little vessels [jernia, jeroi] to a city called Melacha [Malacca], and from thence they go with these little vessels for small spices to a place which you shall know when the proper time comes."

**IN BENGAL**

§ From Tenasserim Varthema goes to Bengal, reaching his destination about the middle of March. He says frankly that this journey was undertaken out of curiosity: "Let us return to my companion, for he and I had a desire to see farther on." Then he tells us that "having sold some of our merchandise we took the route towards the city of Banghella" as merchants. This term—the city of Banghella—has long been and still is, a source of trouble to scholars: where was it? This question greatly exercised Badger in 1869, it sorely troubled Dames when editing the contemporary Book of Duarte Barbosa in 1921, and it has been the cause of many researches by Indian scholars in Bengal itself. Varthema, however, evidently repeats his former practice and calls the town he visited after the province in which it was situated—Bengal. The actual site is hardly yet settled, but it may be taken, for the purpose of defining Varthema's journey, to be Sar tak on an old bed of the Hāggī River. On this assumption he is right in saying that "the sultan of this place is a Moor," and that the people "are all Mahomedans," as Bengal at that time was under the Husain Shāhī Dynasty; but that it was "constantly at war with the King of Narsingha" is an exaggeration, though no doubt other Hindus gave continual trouble. Barbosa makes the same mistake, and no doubt the Portuguese in Varthema's time thought that the Vijayanagar Empire extended throughout India to Bengal. It is correctly noted, however, that the trade was largely in cotton and silk stuffs, which went all over Asia and Europe.

§ Varthema next tells a curious story of meeting certain Asiatic Christians at "Banghella," with whom he and his Persian comrade, Khwāja Junair, eventually travelled further east: "We also found some Christian merchants here. They said that they were from a city called Sarnau, and had brought for sale silken stuffs, and aloes-wood, and benzoin, and musk. Which

**DISCOURSE**

Christians said that in their country there were many lords also Christians, but they are subject to the great Khan [of] Cathai [China]. This part of the account reads as if Varthema had met merchants, who were Mongolians of some kind and were Nestorian Christians. Such an idea is confirmed by a statement that "they write in the contrary way to us, that is, after the manner of Armenia." But Armenians—always mixed up with Nestorians in Varthema's time—write as Europeans do, and so these Christians were not strictly Armenians. Varthema then writes: "These same men are as white as we are," and "as to the dress of these Christians," he says, "they were clothed in a xebe [jerkin] made with folds, and the sleeves were quilted with cotton. And on their heads they wore a cap a palm and a half long, made of red cloth. . . . These Christians do not wear shoes, but they wear a kind of breeches made of silk, similar to those worn by mariners. And they eat at a table after our fashion, and they eat every kind of flesh." The inference here is that they were of a Chinese or Far Eastern race.

§ So it may be assumed that the Christians whom Varthema met in Bengal were Nestorian merchants from some part of the Far East. The term "city of Sarnau," however, raises a difficulty, whether it represents a "city" or a "country" after Varthema's fashion. According to him, it was subject to the "Khan of Cathai," i.e. to the Mongol Emperor of China. It contained Nestorian Christians, as is known that the Far East did from before the days of Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. It produced silk, aloes-wood (eagle-wood), benzoin and musk. It will be seen also later on that these Christians of Sarnau travelled with Varthema and Khwāja Junair, as their guides, to Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and the Spice Islands of the Malay Archipelago, which they evidently knew well, and in the language of which, say Malay, they could apparently act as interpreters. They must also have known Arabic as a lingua franca to be able to talk freely with Varthema and his companion. They were finally parted with at Malacca, when Varthema and his companion were on their way back to India, so that they might return to Sarnau. But no such name as Sarnau is now known as the equivalent for any place or country as part of China or the Far East, and there is an apparently obvious derivation for it in Shahri-i-Nau or "the New City," a town in the northern part of Persia, where in Varthema's day and before it Nestorian Christians abounded, and it would not have been difficult physically for his Christian friends to have wandered thence as merchants to Bengal. But the other conditions make it impossible to identify it with the Sarnau of the text, and this derivation must therefore be rejected.