The correct situation of Sarnau, however, is, as Mr. F. W. Lucas has pointed out to the present writer, to be found in Yule's Marco Polo, ed. 1875, Book iii, chap. vii, pp. 394 ff. “For some centuries Siam was generally known to traders by the Persian name Shahr-i-nao or New City. This seems to be the name generally applied to it by the Shiṣṭadrī Māḍhū (or Malay Chronicle), and it is used by ‘Abdullāh-‘Arzādā. It appears among the early navigators of the sixteenth century, as da Gama, Varthema, Giovanni d'Eupoli and Mendez Pinto, in the shape of Sarnau, Xarnau [Sarnau]. Whether this name was applied to [the then] new city of Ayuthia, or was a translation of the older Lopaburu (which appears to be the Sanskrit or Pali Nava pura = New City), I do not know.”

Mr. J. M. Kindersley has looked up the passage in the Shiṣṭadrī Māḍhū (ed. ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Abdul-kādir Manohl; Leiden, Būl, 1884) and writes as follows: “Chapter viii runs as follows: ‘Says the Chronicler, ‘To continue, the King of Shahar-anmū was monarch of a very large kingdom, and his officers and men were so numerous that they could not be numbered any longer. Now it was told to the king of Shahar-anmū that the country of Samadrā [Sumatra] was full of all kinds of traders and merchants, and its king was a very great one.’” The chapter then goes on, somewhat apocryphally, to describe the King of Shahar-anmū's plot for kidnapping the King of Sumātra, which succeeds, and the release of the said king after he had been made into “a keeper of chickens.” Mr. Kindersley is inclined to think that Shahar-anmū of the Malay annals has nothing to do with the Sarnau of Varthema, but writing on the above quotation from the Shiṣṭadrī Māḍhū, Mr Otto Blagden remarks that in Chapter viii “Shahar-anmū is either Lopaburu or Ayuthia (both in Siam).”

Mr. Lucas has also found the following references to Sarnau in his splendid collection of maps. On Diego Homem's, Karten der Aussereuropäischen Erdtheile, 1568, on the west side of the head of the Gulf of Siam is found Sorna. In a corresponding position in two maps in Lincchoten's Voyages into the East and West Indies (English text), 1599, are found respectively Sornam and Sornan, and on a map in the Latin edition, 1599, is found Sornam. Both Manrique in his Travels and Fernao Mendez Pinto, in his Peregrinacion, write the name as Sornau.

It is clear, therefore, on the whole that by Sarnau Varthema's Christian friends meant a region at the head of the Gulf of Siam, though by the sixteenth century the modern kingdom of Siam had been long founded and was not subject to “the Khan of Cathai.” It answers, however, to the other conditions, except that it is news to hear that the Nestorian faith had found its way even there.

It is agreed between “the Christians,” Varthema and Khwāja Junair that they should in future travel together, and they commence their journey by going to “Pego.” So “we passed a gulf [Martaban] towards the south, and so arrived at the city of Pego,” apparently about the beginning of April, 1505, though the Gulf of Martaban is, strictly speaking, just to the east of the entrance to the Pegu River.

Varthema correctly describes Pegu as “on the mainland and near to the sea.” In his day it was still not fully developed and was under its indigenous Talain kings of a dynasty that lasted from 1287 to 1540, and the reigning king was the locally famous Bīryā Khār, who ruled from 1481 to 1568. This accounts for his not being so enthusiastic in describing the town as were some of his successors, who saw it as an imperial city later on. The king is described as being at war with the King of Ava, that is, of Burma proper: who was this King of Ava? In the beginning of the sixteenth century there was a time of great political confusion in the country now known as Burma and it was divided between small principalities of differing nationalities. So, though an old Shāh dynasty had been ruling at Ava since 1296, there was also ruling in the petty kingdom of Taungnū (Tangho) a dynasty of mixed Burmese and Shāh descent, which was much more likely to have been the enemy of Pegu than the King of Ava itself, especially as in the next generation a great king of Taungnū, Tabin Shwēdi, took Pegu in 1540 and founded there what was subsequently known as the Talain Empire. With the help of his successor, Bāyān Naung and Nandā Bāyān, he gave a capital to Pegu in the form of a city that greatly excited the admiration of European travellers. It was not till 1613 that the Burmans ruled in Pegu, to be ousted later on by the Talaings, and not till 1757 that Alompra (Alaungphaya) established Burmese rule over all Burma.

In one of his remarks Varthema shows signs of having recognized that the religion of this region was peculiar: “Their faith, customs, manner of living and dress, are after the manner of Tarnassari.” This is probably the earliest hint we have of a European dimly recognizing the existence of Buddhism as apart from Hinduism. Then he goes on to say that the king “has with him more than a thousand Christians of the country which has been above mentioned to you,” that is, Nestorians from Sarnau. Here he is premature, as there is no evidence of the existence of Christians of any kind, employed in Pegu before the Portuguese a few years after
Varthema’s visit. Sir Henry Yule has, however, pointed out that he may have mistaken Buddhists for Christians from hearing incorrectly that the soldiers worshipped Buddha, Dharma and Sangha (Buddha, the Law and the Assembly or Church), and assumed that this was their Trinity and thence that the soldiers were Christians.

8. From his various statements, it is pretty clear that Varthema spent some days in Pegu and thereabouts, and he gives a longish account of his proceedings in consequence. His descriptions of the place and country are good, considering his opportunities, and there are some remarks which show that he writes from personal observation. For instance, he observes: “In like manner I do not know if there can be found in the world such thick canes as I found here, of which I saw some which were really as thick as a barrel.” This is the giant bamboo, a peculiarity of the Lower Burma region. He also notes: “You must know that in the said city, a large pearl and diamond are worth more here than with us, and also an emerald.” This is right, as precious stones, if good, were, even in the time of the present writer, more valuable in Burma than in England. He says besides that such stones came from Capellan, a name that still requires explanation, but it means the Ruby Mines, a district of Upper Burma. Again he says: “And so we departed thence in a ship made all of one piece, and more than fifteen or sixteen paces long”—a fair description of the great river boats of Burma. Next he gives a long account of a visit to the king, and a typical description of the polite conversation, which took place on such occasions between a king of the type of Binay Rān of Pegu and an important Oriental merchant of the class to which Khwāja Junāir belonged. His last remark is important: “The next day we saw two women burnt alive voluntarily, in the manner as I have described it in Tarnassari.” Here again he must have witnessed a satī of some Hindu immigrants, unless he mistook one of the barbarous punishments then common in Burma for a case of satī. Perhaps he even mistook the burning of the body of a venerable Buddhist monk for a case of satī.

IN MALACCA AND SUMÀTRA
9. On leaving Pegu Varthema sailed to Malacca, arriving, it may be assumed, about 21 April. “Near to the said city we found an extremely great jumara, as large as any we had ever seen, which they call Gaza, which is evidently more than twenty-five miles wide.” By jumara and Gaza he seems to mean the Straits of Singapore, if we take Gaza to represent the Arabic bugêdz, a strait. But he goes on to call the jumara a river, clearly by mistake: “And opposite to the said river there is a very large island, which is called Sumâtra.” In this last remark we are presented incidentally with the name of Sumâtra for the first time in history in that form. Oddly enough, Varthema here shows the vagueness of his geographical notions by remarking “the river Gaza, otherwise Gange, as I think.” His next statement is important for history: “When we had arrived at the city of Melacha, we were immediately presented to the Sultan, who is a Moor, as is also all his kingdom. The said city is on the mainland and pays tribute to the King of Cini [here meaning Siam], who caused this place to be built about eighty years ago, because there is a good port there, which is the principal port of the main ocean.” As a matter of historical fact Malacca, as a State, is older at any rate than the thirteenth century, but in the early part of the fifteenth century it had become a well-established Muslim State, and was in arms against its then suzerain, Siam, when China intervened on receiving the nominal submission of the Muhammadan ruler. It is to this, no doubt, that Varthema is referring in the statement above quoted.

9. The general description of infanticide, which he gives to Malacca, is correct. Also when the Portuguese attacked Malacca soon after Varthema’s visit, they observed that it was, as he says, in a very flourishing condition and that tin was obtainable there. He next says that the dress of the people was “after the fashion of Cairo,” and on this observation Budge notes: “I had frequent opportunities, during my long residence at Aden, of seeing many Malay merchants on their way to Mecca, who generally dressed like the same class in Syria and Egypt.” One cannot help observing here that Varthema is unlikely to have made such a remark if he was only reporting about Malacca from hearsay. The people he considers to be fair in complexion, being “of the nation of Giavâi [Java],” i.e. Malays. Other remarks about them also show close observation: e.g. “Those of the country take the law into their own hands, and they are the worst race that was ever created on earth.” Here we have a reference to the well-known Malay custom of “running amuck.” Another statement also, “When the king wishes to interfere with them, they say that they will disinherit the land, because they are men of the sea;” is a neat reference to that class of Malays which impresses itself on foreigners, and is known in their own country as the Orang Laut or Sea People. Varthema was, however, afraid to stay long in such a place and made across the strait to Pedir on the north-east coast of Sumâtra, then subject to the King of Achin. It should be remembered that here he was past the action of the monsoons, which do not blow so close to the
Equator, and was therefore free to sail at any season of the year. He probably reached Pedir by 28 April.

Varthema makes the mistake of taking Pedir to be the chief port in Sumatra—it was the great port for pepper in the early Portuguese times—and in recording his visit there takes the opportunity of describing the island generally from hearsay. He begins by perpetuating an old error: “I think that it is Taphrobana.” This shows he had been reading, especially as he goes on: “In which there are three crowned kings who are pagans, and their faith, their manner of living, dress and customs, are the same as in Tarnassari, and the wives also are burnt alive.” Though the people of Tenasserim are Buddhists, the reference is obviously to the old Hindu occupation of Sumatra, before it became Muhammadan, the conversion having taken place some time before the date of Varthema’s visit. Otherwise his description of the island is much that of other writers of his time or soon after it, such as Barbosa, de Barros, etc. Two remarks, however, show personal observation: “Here justice is strictly administered, as in Calicut,” and “their money is gold, and silver, and tin.” At Pedir the coined money of Achién, which was gold, would be found in the bazaars, while currency in silver and tin was in common use along the shores of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago long before Varthema’s time. Besides this native Malay currency, money from China and India circulated on the sea coast at that date, and Varthema notices the number of money-changers. Remarks about the severity of punishments under the Achién administration, such as he makes, are to be found in the accounts of many early travellers.

He also descants at length on such products as long pepper and eaglewood or wood-aloes: “The first and most perfect sort [of the latter] is called calampat [balambal] and which does not grow in this island, but comes from a city called Sarnau, which [as the Christians our companions said] is near to their city, and here this first sort grows. The second sort is called luhin [shahin], which comes from a river. The name of the third sort is called bocher [bath-khar].” In this description he is both vague and difficult, even though he proceeds to tell us that his “Christian” companions asserted that “the reason the said calampat does not come to us [in Europe and Asia Minor] is this, that in Gran Cathai, and in the kingdom of Cin and Macini, and Sarnau and Giava, they have a much greater abundance of gold than we have.” The terms Gran Cathai, Cin and Macini, all vaguely represent the Chinese Empire, and are differentiated in the text from Sarnau, of which we have already heard in connection with Varthema’s Christian friends. In the above quoted passages luhin and bath-khar
are Arabic terms respectively for frankincense and incense generally, and
the whole statement seems, as already pointed out, to fix the Sarnau
from which the "Christians" came as in the south-eastern part of the
Asian continent. After treating his readers to a traveller’s tale or two
about the houses of the people, the size of turtles and elephants’ tusks and
serpents, he tells us a long and characteristic story as to how he and his
companions came to sail about 15 May to the Banda or “Nutmeg”
Islands in a ciampana, by which he must mean a species of Malay junk.

IN THE SPICE ISLANDS

44 Varthema now makes a journey which is practically unique, for he is
the first European visitor to Banda and the Moluccas, who, at any rate,
has left a record behind him. He must have reached Banda about
18 May, sailing through the Java and Banda Seas inside the Malay
Archipelago, or as he puts it, among “about twenty islands, part in-
habited and part not.” He has but a small opinion of the people he met
with, and with some reason, but at Banda he correctly notices the nutmeg
tree. He then sails for the Moluccas “where the cloves grow,” reaching
those islands about 21 May. Varthema applies the term Monoct, Lz.
Molucca, to one small island of the group so called, after the fashion
already noticed. From his description he probably means Ternate. He
and his companions soon tire of the place, and after correctly describing
the clove tree, he explains how he went on to see the “island which is
called Bornei” (apparently referring to Borneo); but his description is
too brief and too uncertain to make it possible to say exactly at what
point he landed, except that it must have been on the south-west coast—
assuming that it was to Borneo that he went. It is possible that Varthema
landed on Buton, as did Dampier long afterwards, on his way from
Ternate to Java, and that he meant that island when he wrote “Bornei.”
It is also possible that the name “Bornei” arose by a confusion of the
name of Borneo with that of Bari, a well-known town at the south of
Celebes which has given its name to the great gulf between the southern
branches of that erratic island, though it is not likely that Varthema
actually touched at Bari itself or went anywhere near it. But it is much
more likely that, as Mr Lucas has pointed out to me, he really landed at
one of the towns on the coast of Bum, finding his way there among the
islands to the south of the Moluccas. Bum, or by Dutch spelling, Boero,
is still the name of the island. Mr Lucas has searched some thirty maps
between 1599 and 1660, and finds the name to consist of variants of
people he saw and his description is that of a pure Hinduism, though Islam had been established in the island, as it were officially, for about half a century before his visit, but it could not have become prevalent everywhere. Incidentally he notes a superstition widely spread in India: "A great many worship the first thing they meet in the morning." He mentions, too, inaccurately that "the island produces an immense quantity of silk, part in our manner and part wild"; meaning that he found much silk there that was the highly finished product of China, as well as the rougher product of Bengal (sawar). Also, according to the report of his contemporary Barbosa, he is wrong in saying: "No artillery of any kind is used here, nor do they know at all how to make it." But it is quite possible that the use of artillery in the modern sense, which was then comparatively new in Asia generally, had not reached the point in Java at which Varthema landed.

Otherwise his brief general account is accurate so far as it goes. He speaks of the people thus: "I believe that these inhabitants are the most trustworthy men in the world." This remark is supported by Crawford, writing three centuries later from a complete knowledge of the people. He also describes the blow-pipe (sumphilan) and the use of poisoned arrows, and lastly we are told that Khwaja Junair bought two little eunuch boys, to be sold later on, no doubt, in Persia to some rich harem. Varthema and his friends, however, did not want to stay long in what they thought was a very dangerous place and left Java on a journey homewards to Malacca. Here incidentally we get a touch, in the Itinerary, in the neighbourhood of Java, which goes to show that Varthema wrote from personal experience: "According to what my companion said, I think that this was the month of June; for I had lost our months, and sometimes the name of the day." And according to the rough time-table made out independently in this Discourse so far, from Varthema's statements extending over a long period, it must have been during June, 1505, that he was in Java. But there is a still further point here to show that he is stating actual facts in his account, as he shows unconsciously that when he was in Java he was across the Equator, by stating as a remarkable fact that, when turning our "eyes towards where the sun sets...the sun [at midday] cast a shadow to the left."

ON THE RETURN HOMEWARDS TO CALICUT

Varthema's geographical knowledge was necessarily vague in the extreme and he evidently thought, on going to "Bornei" and Java from the Moluccas, that he was going onwards. The feeling is quite intelligible, as
anyone who travels in the circular underground railway in London can realize: there is always a sense of going onwards. It is not till he leaves Java that he feels he is retracing his steps homewards: "Having remained in this island of Giava altogether fourteen days, we determined to return back... partly through the fear of their cruelty in eating men, partly also through the extreme cold, we did not dare to proceed farther, and also because there was hardly any other place known to them [the Christians]."

Here we have all the reasons for the return homewards, of which the extremity of cold is clearly a mistake in a place on the sea near the Equator, unless Varthema is referring to the scanty clothing that he says elsewhere he wore in the tropics. The present writer knows from personal experience how cold the body can feel in the heart of the tropics when scantily clad. So they charter "a large vessel, that is, a gianso [junk]," and reach Malacca apparently without touching at any port en route, and arrive there about 21 June. Here Varthema and Khwâja Junair part with the Christians amid "bewailings and lamentations it would be impossible shortly to describe," and make for Cornwallam (Negapatam on the south-east coast of India) in the "large junk," arriving there about 18 July. The South-west Monsoon would then be at its height, but the journey would be quite possible for a large junk if they kept well to the south and watched the weather. Here the junk is discharged and Varthema and his companion take a ciampes [canoes], clearly here a native ship of some size, through the Palk Strait between India and Ceylon and round Cape Comorin to Quilon on the south-west coast of India, where he must have arrived about 10 August. Here Varthema finds "twenty-two Portuguese Christians," which makes him eager for the first time to escape from his Oriental companion. But he is afraid, and so he goes on to Calicut with him "by the river," i.e. by the same route as on his outward journey, arriving about 27 August, 1505. August, though a South-west Monsoon mouth, is often not unfavourable for sailing in this latitude.

AGAIN IN CALICUT

With his mind full of some means to escape, Varthema meets two jewellers, named in Portuguese João Maria and Pero Antonio, who really are Milaneses, i.e. Italians like himself. They had arrived in Cochin with the Portuguese fleet and had run away to Calicut. He here shows us that he and other Europeans in similar case in the East adopted the "Eastern" mode of life: "They and I went naked after the manner of the country," i.e. except as to linen cloths. With the Milaneses he makes friends and finds that they are employed by the Zamorin to make guns. Varthema now proceeds to deceive his Persian friend and kindly benefactor, Khwâja Junair, in order to get away from him. The story is not very pleasant reading. So that he might be by himself he persuades the poor Persian that he must "sleep in the mosque, and that I did not want any goods, but that I wished always to be poor." And then he says: "The Moors are the most stupid people in the world, so that he was satisfied... I began to put my hypocrisy in practice, and pretended to be a Moorish saint,... and happy was he who could kiss my hand and some my knees." He next tells us a rather ludicrous tale of how he played at being a physician and cured "a Moorish merchant," a friend of Khwâja Junair, who had fallen "sick of a very great malady." This feat added to his character for sanctity and gained "great credit for my hypocrisy. They said that I was the friend of God. This merchant wished to give me ten ducats, but I would not receive anything. I even gave three ducats which I had to the poor, and this I did publicly in order that they might know that I did not want any property or money." This and the previous statement to the same effect seem to show that Varthema made no money out of his travels with the Persian merchant.

While he is still seeking a way to cut himself adrift from the Muhammadans, some of Francisco d'Almeida's ships arrive from Portugal at Cannanore, showing that the date is now about September, 1505. Two Persian merchants of Cannanore arrived, whom he [Khwâja Junair] immediately called to eat with him. They answered: "We have no wish to eat and bring bad news," i.e. news of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet. This passage neatly brings out the fact that bringers of bad news were in Varthema's time liable to punishment in India, as they were in Europe, just as a bringer of good news expected a reward. The narrative of Varthema's deception then proceeds: "On the following day all the Moors, having heard the news, went to the mosque to say their prayers," and here Varthema takes the opportunity to explain the ma'âzâjû's call and the fâdhâ, the opening verse of the kürâh, used in the daily prayers. Indeed, he seems to have led the prayers as an imâm: "They set me publicly to make the prayer"; quite a possible act, as we read in Sâlîm Pasha's wonderful Lîfâ, that he was made to lead them while a prisoner of the Mahdi. The Arabic forms were so impressed on his memory that he could repeat them readily years after his escape.

After the prayers Varthema returns to Khwâja Junair's house and pretends to be very ill, saying that the air of Calicut is "not good for me." So his kindly friend, who "for the singular affection which he bore
me, would have done everything to please me," suggests that he should go to a friend he had in Cannanore. Then comes the climax: "Finally, having well seen... all the artillery, and the army which had been raised against the Christians, I set out on my journey to give them notice of it, and to save myself from the hands of dogs." So Varthema proceeded to play the spy, and apart from this the last words quoted are particularly callous, considering what Khwaja Junair had done for him, but it seems to have been in Varthema's nature to be careless of others where his personal interest clashed with theirs. He deserted the commander of the haji caravan at Mecca; he left his Arab escort in the lurch at Aden to face the wrath of a mistress deserted at Radda's al-'Arab; he left a young "wife" behind in Persia without compunction; and now he escapes by gross deception from a companion who had more than befriended him for about a year and a half with only words of abuse. He does not show himself as a man of any real kindness of character.

Varthema now gives us another of his few dates: "On Thursday morning, the third of September [1505]. I set out with the two Persians by sea." The "two Persians" were friends of Khwaja Junair, whom he insisted on sending with Varthema to take him to his friend at Cannanore. He feels that his position is a dangerous one and he had reason, for some Nair guards saw him making off and forced him to come back to shore. But while they are going to report the matter he escapes with his two new Persian companions by walking along the shore for twelve miles until they found a parras, or prow, to take them to Cannanore, which they reach on Saturday, 5 September. They are most hospitably received by Khwaja Junair's friend. Next morning, Sunday, Varthema gives this friend the slip, and goes to the Portuguese factory, where he asks for Dom Lourenço, the son of Francisco d'Almeida, the Viceroy. He is then sent, on 9 September, to Cochin to the Viceroy himself in a galley commanded by João Serrão, a noted captain of the time. He is well received on account of the information he could give about Calicut.

Varthema now tries to do his best for his friends the two Milanese jewellers at Calicut, and gets a safe conduct for them from the Viceroy. This he forwards by a "pagan" slave, but it is of no use, for the slave stirred up against them the "King of the Gi oglî" recluses, at that time in Calicut "with 9000 Gi oglî," and the result was that they were murdered by the Gi oglî. It is interesting to note that these Gi oglî used quotas in the attack, which gives a verismilitude to the story: "These Gi oglî cast at them certain pieces of iron which are made round like a wheel, and they threw them with a sling, and struck Joan-Maria on the head and Pietro Antonio on the head, so that they fell to the ground." Afterwards Varthema says, probably with truth, that "the wife of Joan-Maria escaped with her son to Cannanor, and I purchased the son for eight ducats of gold, and had him baptised on St Lawrence's day, and gave him the name of Lorenzo, because I baptised him on that same day." But the boy died of the "French disease" at the end of 1506. In giving the account of this murder Varthema gives also one of his rare dates, for he says that the news of it reached Cannanore on 12 March, 1506.

As soon as he came under Portuguese protection, Varthema dropped his Muhammadan religion and habits, and no doubt costume also, and about the middle of 1506 the Viceroy gave him "of his favour, a certain office, which was that of the factorship of these parts, and I remained in this office about a year and a half [till about November, 1507]. There were two classes of feitor or factor at this period: the Feitor proper, Factor or Agent of the Government, and the feitor or trade agent of a great personage. It was no doubt in the latter capacity on behalf of the Viceroy, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, that Varthema served. He was sent as such again to Cannanore to enquire into certain frauds, and once more he gives dates by saying that "a very great war" with the Zamorin of Calicut "lasted from 27th April to 17th [or 27th] August 1507." This war broke out because the old friendly "King of Cannanor" had died and was succeeded by "a great enemy of ours" and an ally of an inimical Zamorin. On the first of the above dates the Portuguese in the fort at Cannanore were going to get water when they were attacked by "the Moors." The captain of the fort at that time was Lourenço de Brito, and he, with
help sent by Dom Lourenço, the son of the Viceroy, from Cochin, defended the fortress, until the opportune arrival of Tristan da Cunha (Tristão d'Acunha) with a Portuguese fleet put the enemy to rout. Varthema here notes that after the siege "an ambassador, who was named Manuel Maricar, who was the richest man in the country, came to demand peace." This is a most interesting reference to the Mārakkār family, who were the sea-captains of the Zamorin at that period, though they were mere pirates in the eyes of the Portuguese. According to Logan's fine monograph, _Malabar_ (1, 332, footnote), Mamāl Mārakkār's son-in-law was killed in the fight with de Brito, and he went there afterwards to upbraid him, not to sue for peace. Varthema must have distinguished himself in this siege, as when it was over the Viceroy conferred knighthood on him—"the most valiant Captain Tristan da Cunha was my sponsor." This dignity was subsequently confirmed by the King of Portugal.

In November, 1507, Varthema desired to go home, but was detained as the Viceroy was about to make an attack on the port of Ponnani some 34 miles south-east of Calicut. The attack took place on 24 November, the Viceroy and Tristan da Cunha each taking a personal share in it and sending a son to the assault, which was successful. Varthema gives a lively account of this fight, the last act he records of his sojourn in the East. On 6 December, 1507, he leaves India for Europe.

THE VOYAGE HOME

On his homeward voyage Varthema is very brief, and describes the east coast of Africa as "Ethiopia," giving a general description of it and the war waged on it by Tristan da Cunha. The first place he mentions is Mozambique, giving a quaint account of its inhabitants. Thence he passes on towards the Cape of Good Hope inside the Island of San Lorenzo (São Lourenço), i.e. Madagascar. The fleet is driven back to Madagascar by bad weather, and then after "a very great storm" his ship—the Santa Vicenta, belonging to Bartholomeo Marchioni of Florence, dwelling in the city of Lisbon—gets separated from the rest, and goes on homewards alone. She passes St Helena, on the way to which some whales are encountered to the terror of the sailors. She also passes Ascension, off which some booby is met with, and then she touches at the Azores, which are described. Finally she arrives at "the noble city of Lisbon," whence Varthema goes to see the King of Portugal at his palace of Almeirim. After securing his "patent of knighthood," he at last reaches Rome.
There is a difficulty in reconciling the dates of the return journey. It commenced on 6 December, 1507, and the route taken involved a journey across the Indian Ocean from Cochin to Mozambique, where a stay of 15 days was made. Afterwards there was another stay of two days at the Azores. Besides these delays 12 days were lost in storms off the Cape of Good Hope. Then the journey was continued past St Helena, Ascension and the Azores to Lisbon. It is not easy to see how Varthema in these circumstances could have reached Lisbon before the autumn of 1508. He had then to see the King of Portugal and find his way to Rome. Further, in the "privilege" for publishing his book, it is stated that he was seven years absent from Italy, and he also says so himself in the course of his record, reckoning time in medieval European, as well as Indian, fashion by current days, weeks, months or years, and meaning thereby that he was absent from about the end of 1502 to about the end of 1508. At the same time it is to be inferred from the dedication of his book to Agnesina Colonna that her brother Giubaldulo, Duke of Urbino, was alive when it was written, but he died on 11 April, 1508, months before it seems possible for Varthema to have reached Italy. Unless, therefore, it can be assumed—as Badger does—that he purposely ante-dated his dedication, it does not seem possible that he could have been back in Italy in time to write it before April, 1508. He did not get permission to print his book of travels till 17 November, 1510, and that date allows him plenty of time to have composed his *Itinerary* by the time he asked for permission to publish it.