

ASIA

IN THE MAKING OF EUROPE

DONALD F. LACH

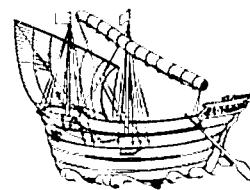
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the latter half of the century, when the French (1556), Dutch (1563), and English (1577) versions made their appearance.

Like most of the other writers of this period, Varthema devotes more attention to Calicut and the Malabar Coast than to any other part of the East. He calls the town "a poor sort of place" and was evidently unimpressed with its houses and buildings. The Zamorin of Calicut, he asserts is "a pagan and worships the devil." He gives a fairly clear outline of the caste system, matrilineal succession, and polyandry. Like the writers of antiquity, he was most favorably impressed by the administration of justice. He also comments at length on the building of ships at Calicut and observes that "the Pagans do not navigate much, but it is the Moors who carry the merchandize." Of plants and fruits he provides detailed and accurate descriptions. And he notices that

the men of Calicut, when they wish to sow rice, . . . they plough the land with oxen as we do, and when they sow the rice in the field they have all the instruments of the city continually sounding and making merry.⁶⁴

He describes too the custom of secretly making bargains by touching hands and fingers under a cloth, a practice "which is current [today] among the Eastern people from the Abyssinians to the natives of India and the Farther East."⁶⁵

In the account of his disputed voyage east of Calicut, Varthema mentions pearl-fishing on the Coromandel Coast, the jewels of Ceylon, and the custom of writing on "paper like ours" in Tenasscrim. From his comments on religion it appears that he knew nothing about Buddhism though he appears to think that the religion of Pegu (Burma) is peculiar. In commenting on Malacca he describes its location and government in generally correct terms and notices the infertility of the surrounding countryside. He identifies Sumatra with the Taprobane of antiquity and makes most of his comments on the island from hearsay. At Banda he notices the nutmeg tree and, apparently from his experience in the Moluccas, he is able to give a description of the clove tree. He also relates what was told him by an Arab sailor about the lands, climates, and peoples south of Java.⁶⁶ Thus, Varthema brought into European literature an appreciation of the area east of India, whether he had actually traveled there or not, which it had previously not received from the sea-travelers and which confirmed by firsthand observations many of the statements made earlier by Marco Polo and the writers of antiquity.

It was not until 1511, the year after the original publication of Varthema's account of the East, that the Portuguese captured the great entrepôt of Malacca and began to penetrate farther eastward. News of Albuquerque's victory became known in Europe in the spring of 1513, and Manuel quickly dispatched

⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, p. xviii, and H. Cordier, "Deux voyageurs dans l'Extrême-Orient . . . Essai bibliographique. Nicolo De'Conti-Lodovico de Varthema," *T'oung pao*, X (1899), 390-404.

⁶⁵ Comment of Sir William Temple in Jones and Temple, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. lviii.

⁶⁶ For further elucidation on this matter see *ibid.*, p. lxxvi.

letters to Rome informing the papacy of Portugal's progress.⁶⁷ Manuel's speedy proclamation of the capture of Malacca had certain specific objectives apart from his understandable desire to let the world know of his distant conquests. The question had already been raised in Spain whether the Moluccas were not within the Spanish demarcation, and a project was being considered in 1512 for advancing a claim to and taking possession of the Spice Islands.⁶⁸ Ever watchful as to the security of his demarcation claims, Manuel immediately set to work to obtain papal support and recognition for Albuquerque's advances into southeastern Asia. And it was Manuel's good fortune that a pope had been elected in March, 1513, who was likely to receive the news cordially.

Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and the real ruler of his family and the Republic of Florence. The traditional good relations between Portugal and the Florentine merchants and navigators certainly did no harm to Manuel's cause in the eyes of the urban Medici pope. Moreover, a strong case could be made in Rome for confirming Manuel's claims inasmuch as the Portuguese were regularly defeating the Muslims and constantly enlarging the field of possible Christian missionary enterprise. In fact, public celebrations of thanksgiving were held in Rome shortly after the news of Albuquerque's conquest of Malacca arrived.⁶⁹

It was in such a favorable atmosphere that Manuel dispatched another embassy of obedience to Rome in the spring of 1514. The chief of this splendid delegation was Tristão da Cunha, who had been one of Portugal's most successful commanders in the East. He was accompanied by three of his sons and two eminent professors of law, Diogo Pacheco and João de Faria. On March 20, 1514, Pacheco delivered an oration in which he tendered Manuel's obedience to the Holy Father and itemized his great successes in the East. Shortly thereafter the oration appeared in print.⁷⁰ But the greatest sensation in Rome was caused by the valuable and curious presents which were paraded before the pope and the populace. Indian slaves, Persian horses, two leopards, a young panther, colorful parrots, and a trained elephant were among the gifts brought from Asia. A rhinoceros intended as the highlight of this exotic parade perished en route from Portugal to Rome,⁷¹ but the trained elephant caused a

⁶⁷ Salvatore de Ciuiti, *Une ambassade portugaise à Rome au XVI^e siècle* (Naples, 1899), pp. 4-8, prints the text of Manuel's letter of June 8, 1513. For the titles of these letters and adaptations of them as they appeared in chapbooks published during 1513-14, see Rogers, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 190.

⁶⁸ J. T. Medina, *Juan Diaz de Solis* (Santiago de Chile, 1897), Vol. I, chap. vi; Vol. II, docs. 22, 30, 31.

⁶⁹ W. Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X* (London, 1827), II, 299-300. Also see Mashanaglass, *Le Portugal et le Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1898), I, 21-29. Manuel's letter of June 8, 1513 (see Roscoe, *op. cit.* [n. 69], pp. 496-500) was published in short order at Rome, Vienna and Nuremberg.

⁷⁰ Entitled *Emanuelis Lusitan: Algarbiar: Africae Aethiopie Arabiae Persiae Indiae Reg. Invictiss. Obedientia.*

⁷¹ See the amusing book of A. Fontoura da Costa, *Les déambulations du Rhinocéros de Modasar, roi de Cambaye, de 1514 à 1516* (Lisbon, 1937). Also see Luís de Matos, "Forma e natura e costumi del rinoceronte," *Boletim internacional de bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, I (1960), 387-98.

sensation as it bowed three times before the pope and squirted water from its trunk over the admiring multitude. Even the poets sang its praises.⁷²

The popular approval won by the embassy was but one aspect of its success. Its more concrete achievements were the papal pronouncements made in Portugal's favor after the departure of the emissaries. On June 7, 1514, a papal bull gave to Portugal "the patronage of ecclesiastical benefices in Africa and in all other places beyond the sea, acquired or to be acquired from the infidels, and subjected them to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Order of Christ."⁷³ The bull *Praeclarae devotionis* of November 3, 1514, confirmed and renewed the earlier papal bulls of Nicholas V and Sixtus IV in Portugal's favor and "for great security" granted also

All unfrequented [by Christians] places, recovered, discovered, found, and acquired from the aforesaid infidels, by the said King Emmanuel and his successors, both from Capes Bojador and Nao to the Indies, and in any place or region whatsoever, even although perchance unknown to us at present. . . .⁷⁴

Such a concession seemed to indicate that Leo X regarded the demarcation line as applying only to the Western hemisphere and as leaving the entire East open to Portuguese control and development. The confusion over the problem of the eastern demarcation was compounded, as we have seen,⁷⁵ in the controversy over the Moluccas that followed Magellan's expedition of 1519-22. In the rest of Europe, outside Italy and Portugal, it was generally considered that the pope had exceeded his authority as head of the Christian church in making such sweeping concessions to Portugal.

News of events in the East was meanwhile being relayed to Italy, especially Florence, through the correspondence of merchants. Particularly important were the letters of Giovanni da Empoli, who had first sailed for India in 1503 as agent of the Gualterotti-Frescobaldi syndicate. In 1509 he again went to the East with Albuquerque on his Malaccan expedition, returning to Portugal in 1512. Three years later he visited Sumatra. He then went to China along with Fernão Peres d'Andrade's mission of 1516 and is presumed to have died there early in 1518.⁷⁶ The accounts of his first two voyages were addressed respectively to his Florentine employers and to his father. They were not published until Ramusio included them in his collection at mid-century, but like so many

⁷² For descriptions see Ciutius, *op. cit.* (n. 67), pp. 19-28; Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes . . .*, trans. R. F. Kerr (London, 1908), VII, 74-78; and W. Roscoe, *op. cit.* (n. 69), II, 300-303. And for samples of poems celebrating the occasion by Aurelio Severio, Giovanni Capito, and others, see Pastor, *op. cit.* (n. 72), Appendix C, pp. 501-3. For a study of the elephant as an exotic animal see Luis de Matos, "Natura, intelletto, e costumi dell'elefante," *Boletim internacional de bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, I (1960), 44-55.

⁷³ Davenport (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 8), I, 112. Italics mine.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

⁷⁵ Above, pp. 114-19.

⁷⁶ On Empoli's career see Pietro Amat di S. Filippo, *Gli illustri viaggiatori italiani . . .* (Rome, 1883), pp. 143-47. Also see Angelo de Gubernatis, *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie Orientali* (Leghorn, 1875), p. 16.

other letters of the time they were circulated to people who, for one reason or another, were interested in the opening of the East.⁷⁷ The same generalization probably applies also to the letter of Pietro Strozzi, another Florentine, who wrote from Quilon in 1510, and to a longer, anonymous letter from Lisbon, written in 1513.⁷⁸ Indeed, we know that the two long letters of Andrea Corsali, a Florentine writing from Goa in 1516 and 1517, were circulated to members of the Medici family.⁷⁹ Like some of the other letters of the period, Strozzi's were published at the time they were written, long before Ramusio brought them to more general attention.⁸⁰

The best illustration that we have of the informal circulation of such letters on India is the case of Valentim Fernandes' letter written at Lisbon in May, 1515, and sent to the merchants of Nuremberg. The original was probably in Latin or German, but the only copy extant is in Italian.⁸¹ In this epistle, which was probably relayed from Nuremberg to Florence, he announced the arrival in Lisbon of a rhinoceros as a gift from the king of Cambay and displays his humanistic erudition by comparing the conduct of the real animal with the descriptions given by Plato and Strabo. The mention of Cambay also leads him to speak generally about India, its extent, divisions, and products.⁸² Since there is nothing especially newsworthy about this letter, we conclude that the other more informative letters of this period, many of them the observations of eyewitnesses, were probably also circulated to interested parties.

Thanks to Manuel's announcements, the letters of the foreigners in Portuguese service, and the presumably clandestine letters of Fernandes, the rest of Europe was able in the years before 1520 to gather bits and pieces of written information on Portuguese activities in the East. A number of books actually printed in Iberia kept alive the dream of finding an eastern Christian empire. When Abyssinia was finally reached in 1520, the realization grew that a Christian Utopia was not going to be found in the East. Thereafter, over the next two decades, interest in east Africa gradually waned.⁸³ Even though news seeped out from time to time, the system of control over the more detailed data relating to actual discoveries in Asia, was surprisingly watertight. For we now know that, in the years shortly before 1520, two of the most detailed and informative accounts on the East were in existence and were presumably in Lisbon in manuscript copies. Tomé Pires, an apothecary by training and a

⁷⁷ For the published versions of Empoli's letters see Amat di S. Filippo (ed.), *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori italiani* (Rome, 1874), pp. 46-47. His letter on Malacca is reproduced and edited by Iacopo Gruber da Hemsö, "Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli a Leonardo suo padre intorno al viaggio da lui fatto a Malacca . . ." *Archivio storico italiano*, Appendix, III (1846), 35-91.

⁷⁸ Both are reproduced in Gubernatis, *op. cit.* (n. 76), pp. 372-73.

⁷⁹ Amat di S. Filippo, *op. cit.* (n. 76), pp. 149-70.

⁸⁰ Amat di S. Filippo, *op. cit.* (n. 77), p. 48. See also Renato Lefevre, "Una corrispondenza dal Mar Rosso di Andrea Corsali nel 1516," *Il libro italiano*, IV, Pt. 2 (1940), 433-48.

⁸¹ Text in Gubernatis, *op. cit.* (n. 76), pp. 389-92.

⁸² See Heyd, "Valentim Fernandes Aleman," *loc. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 482-83.

⁸³ Rogers, *op. cit.* (n. 15), chap. viii.

are impressed by the revenues which the "Sabaio" derived from trade and taxation. Arabian horses from Ormuz were sold in Goa at great profit to merchants from Vijayanagar and the Deccan. From the tax on these and other commercial items the "Sabaio" received substantial revenues. Barros gives figures on the taxes collected from the thirty villages, the mainland, and other Goan possessions of the "Sabaio."³⁹⁸ The "Sabaio" is also reported to have large fleets, excellent fortifications, and a sizable army. Indeed, the strength and reputation of the "Sabaio" were so great that emissaries reportedly were sent to his court from as far away as Aden and Cairo.

Still, the Portuguese allege, the natives of Goa were restive under Muslim jurisdiction because of the high taxes and the tendency of the Moors to live apart and to treat the natives cruelly. Barros describes at some length how willingly the Goans after 1510 took to the Portuguese ways of trading, governing, and living. The Kanara women, unlike those of Malabar, were apparently quite willing to form alliances with or marry the Portuguese men, especially since newlyweds were given subsidies from the treasury of the city.³⁹⁹ The non-Muslim population of the city was more willing to become converted to Christianity than the Malabars. But while the Portuguese describe the general receptivity of the Goans to Portuguese rule, they fail to comment in detail upon the customs of their Goan subjects. Much of what Orta has to say in his *Colloquies* is derived from his experience in Goa, but he has practically nothing to report on the customs of its inhabitants. His digressions into history, politics, and social practices almost always deal with some other part of India. In reporting on Goa after its capture, the Portuguese generally center their attention upon their achievements in the "Golden City" and their development of it as the administrative, episcopal, and commercial center of their Asiatic empire.

E. GUJARAT (CAMBAY)

North and west of the Deccan in the territory that surrounds the Gulf of Cambay lay the maritime state of Gujarat, which had been under Muslim rule since the end of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰⁰ In 1342, Ibn Batuta visited several seaport towns of Gujarat and subsequently described the trade, prosperity, and

³⁹⁸ Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, 198-99. According to rumor, the city of Goa alone paid him 500,000 *pardões*, principally from taxes on the importation of horses. He also received taxes from the village communities (*tanadarias*) and the islands of Divar, Chorão, and Jua, as well as tolls paid for use of the fords to the mainland, port fees, and export duties.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 199. On the marriage of Portuguese with native women see Danvers, *op. cit.* (n. 228), I, 217.

⁴⁰⁰ The best general study, which utilizes some of the Portuguese sources, is M. S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat* (London, 1938), Vol. I. See also M. L. Dames, "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1921), pp. 1-28; and the supplementary article by E. D. Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517," in *ibid.*, pp. 545-62. For earlier times see L. Stembach, "Gujarat as Known to Medieval Europe," *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress*, VII (1936), 292-95.

strategic location of the city of Cambay. With the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century, the rulers of Gujarat, along with their Egyptian coreligionists, were quick to realize that the Christians would eventually threaten their vital maritime connections with the West. The Gujaratis therefore combined forces with the Egyptians to prevent the Portuguese from controlling the strategic ports of Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and of Aden at the southern portal to the Red Sea. The Portuguese, on their side, soon came to realize that their position in southern India and their freedom to sail in the Indian Ocean and farther east depended upon their ability to check or overwhelm the Muslim powers whose leading representative in Asian waters was the Sultanate of Gujarat. Thus, the issue was joined between Portugal and Gujarat before the end of the first decade of European activity in India.

The Zamorin of Calicut in 1507 requested aid of the Sultan of Gujarat to help him wage war against those who were threatening to disrupt the profitable coastal and oceanic trade so vital to both of their states. However, the Gujaratis, who had suffered at the hands of the Portuguese the year before in the defense of Ormuz, were disinclined to engage the Europeans at too great a distance from their home bases. So it was not until 1507-8, when the Portuguese moved northward to the Deccan coast, that the combined Egyptian and Gujarati fleets descended upon them without warning at Chaul.⁴⁰¹ To avenge this defeat, Viceroy d'Almeida in 1509 brought a great new fleet northward, plundered Dabhol, and then proceeded to the island of Diu at the entrance to the Gulf of Cambay. Here he met and decisively defeated the combined fleets in a naval battle which halted the Muslim attack.⁴⁰² Among the spoils of victory the Portuguese acquired a number of books in various languages as well as the battle flags of the Egyptian sultan. The captured banners were taken to Portugal and hung from the walls of the Templars' church in Tomar, the headquarters of the crusading Order of Christ. D'Almeida did not feel strong enough to storm the fortress of Diu, and so after his victory he returned to Chaul, intimidated the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and forced him to pay tribute.

After Albuquerque's first victory at Goa in 1510, Sultan Mahmūd I of Gujarat sent an envoy to Cannanore to request peace and an alliance with Portugal. The envoy also carried two letters from the Sultan's capital at Chāmpāner addressed to Albuquerque; one was from Christians who were captive there, and the other from Malik Gopi, the minister of the Sultan. The Portuguese commander promised the envoy he would visit Gujarat to arrange terms for an alliance, and then he proceeded to his major task of preparing for the second descent on Goa. Once Albuquerque had clearly established Portuguese hegemony over Goa, diplomatic relations with the new ruler of Gujarat, Sultan

⁴⁰¹ On the date of this Muslim victory (January, 1508) see Ross, *loc. cit.* (n. 400), p. 547.

⁴⁰² Information on this battle is derived solely from Portuguese, Turkish, and Arabic histories. The contemporary Gujarati historians make no mention of this defeat in their annals. See Commissariat, *op. cit.* (n. 400), I, 247-48.

Muzaffar II (reigned 1511–26), became more regular.⁴⁰³ At the end of 1512 Albuquerque received from Lisbon the terms which he should insist upon as the basis for an alliance. They involved permission to erect a fortress on the island of Diu, a request that Gujarati traders deal exclusively with Goa, and the requirement that the Sultan should have no further connections with the Egyptians or Turks.

After a few tentative efforts to feel out the Sultan, the Portuguese in 1514 sent an impressive embassy to the court of Muzaffar II. Even before the envoys arrived at the Sultan's court, it had become clear that Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu, had convinced the government of Gujarat that it should not yield to the demand for a fortress at Diu. The Portuguese envoys, armed with gifts of cloth, silver, and horses, nevertheless proceeded to the Sultan's court which was then being held at Ahmadābād. In their negotiations with the royal officials, the Portuguese were offered various sites for a fortress but not Diu. The Sultan was apparently convinced, despite the tempting bait of increased revenues from trade which the Portuguese held before him, that the Europeans might use a fortress at Diu as a bastion from which to attack the mainland.⁴⁰⁴ Upon the failure of these negotiations, the Portuguese envoys returned to Goa accompanied by a rhinoceros, the Sultan's gift to Albuquerque. (It was this rhinoceros that was sent on to Europe in 1514, and confined in the king's menagerie at Lisbon until 1517. The animal was finally dispatched to Rome as a gift to Pope Leo X. Though it perished in a shipwreck on the Mediterranean, the carcass was washed ashore. It was subsequently stuffed and sent on to the Holy Father.)

After negotiations broke down, a stalemate developed in Portugal's relations with Gujarat. The Portuguese stubbornly persisted in demanding permission to erect a fortress at Diu; the Sultan remained adamant and proceeded to fortify the island against a possible attack. Located off the southern shore of the Kathiawar Peninsula, Diu's trading prosperity was based on ease of access, a very good harbor, and freedom from the influence of the dangerous tides, currents, and shoals of the Gulf of Cambay which menaced shipping at other Gujarati ports. From the Portuguese viewpoint, Diu, in addition to its natural advantages as a trading center, was also a potential menace as a base for Muslim (Turkish-Gujarati) attacks. It was therefore primarily on strategic grounds that the Portuguese persisted in their efforts to establish an outpost at Diu.

Though the successors of Albuquerque sought through diplomacy and sporadic coastal raids to change the Sultan's mind, the Gujarati refused to budge. Finally, in the reign of Sultan Bahādur Shah (1526–37), the Portuguese managed to advance their position in northern India at the expense of Gujarat. While preparing to do battle with the Mughul emperor, Humayun, the ruler of Gujarat tried to obtain help from the Portuguese viceroy, Nuno da Cunha (in office 1529–38). In return for a promise of aid, Bahādur, by a treaty of 1534, ceded Bassein with all its territories and revenues in perpetuity to the Portuguese.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 295–96.

The following year, despite Portuguese aid, Bahādur was defeated by the Mughuls. In return for their providing him with sanctuary, Bahādur was required to permit the Lusitanians to build a fortress at Diu. After Bahādur's death at their hands in 1537, the Portuguese assumed sovereignty over Diu and took over its entire administration. Shortly thereafter, a messenger was dispatched overland to carry the good tidings to Lisbon.⁴⁰⁵ Portuguese troubles were not over, however, because the garrison at Diu was seriously besieged in 1538 and again in 1546. The success of the Portuguese in withstanding the second siege of Diu was one of the last of their great exploits in India, for thereafter their power began to wane in Europe and India, and, as we earlier pointed out,⁴⁰⁶ this was related to the breakdown of their spice monopoly. Still, the Portuguese managed to retain their hold on Diu, and it remained a Portuguese possession to 1962.⁴⁰⁷ Bassein, on the other hand, was lost to the Marathis in 1729.

A number of the European writers on India visited Gujarat before the middle of the sixteenth century and they subsequently relayed to Europe a substantial amount of data about it. Varthema, who visited the city of Cambay in 1504, describes it at greater length than he does most of the other places on his itinerary. Albuquerque, who actually spent six days at Diu in 1513 while waiting for ship repairs, wrote in considerable detail on his diplomatic relations with Gujarat, and a large part of this information was published in the *Commentaries*. Pires' description of Cambay based on his travels in India during 1511–12⁴⁰⁸ was translated and published by Ramusio in 1550 as was the account by Barbosa, who traveled in Gujarat around 1515. The latter presents in his *Book* the most reliable and interesting account of the seaports of Gujarat ever to be printed. Castanheda, who accompanied Nuno da Cunha's unsuccessful expedition against Diu in 1531, describes at some length its position in trade and strategy before the Portuguese takeover.⁴⁰⁹ But for his general description of Gujarat, Castanheda seems to rely heavily on Pires and Barbosa. Orta, who went to Diu in 1535 with the expedition that established a Portuguese fortress there, also visited the city of Cambay and the islands of Bassein, Salsette, and Elephanta.⁴¹⁰ In the first three *Décadas* by Barros there are only incidental references to Gujarat, presumably because Barros felt that he could add very little to Barbosa's account.⁴¹¹ The systematic discussion of Gujarat which appears in the fourth *Década* was probably the work of the continuator, and since it was not published until the seventeenth century it will not be considered here.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 385–86.

⁴⁰⁶ *Above*, pp. 128–29.

⁴⁰⁷ For a history of the island during its Portuguese period see A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *O Portuguese em Diu* (Bastorá, n.d.).

⁴⁰⁸ For the dating of his travels see Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, xxiv.

⁴⁰⁹ Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 17), IV, 242–54; also I, 385–87.

⁴¹⁰ On his travels in these regions see A. X. Soares, "Garcia d'Orta, a Little Known Owner of Bombay," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXVI (1921–23), 204–7.

⁴¹¹ Cf. the discussion in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), I, xxxiii–vii.

head as a woman would tie her tresses, and he has a white beard which reaches to his girdle.”⁴²⁸

Mahmūd's son, Muzaffar II (reigned 1511–26), came to the throne when he was almost forty years of age and shortly before Pires visited Gujarat. The Portuguese traveler reports that he was then at war with the neighboring princes of Malwa, Sind, and the Rajput confederacy “and to some extent with Delhi.”⁴²⁹ Gujarat is protected from invasions by Delhi, however, by the high Malwa plateau which separates the two states, and by the activities of a “Gujarat Jogee” who controls the only pass connecting them.⁴³⁰ Muzaffar is judged as being “given to all manner of vice in eating and lechery” and of spending most of the time “among his women stupefied with opium.”⁴³¹ In all other matters he is said to be “judicious.”⁴³² The Sultan is aided in governing by “Milagobim” (Malik Gopi, a Brahman of Surat and “friend of the Portuguese”), “Chamle-malec” (Kiwan-ul-Mulk, title of the great noble, Malik Sarang), “Asturmalec” (unidentified),⁴³³ and “Codandam” (possibly Khush-adam, whose title was Imad'l-Mulk). Each of these emirs has a vast retinue of mounted followers, and, as great lords native to the kingdom, they share with the sultan in the administration of justice, government, and revenues. When the ruler dies, they are said to act as “the electors of the kingdom.” In addition to his noble advisers, Muzaffar is reputed to possess “up to a thousand wives and concubines”⁴³⁴ of whom the leading one was apparently a Rajput woman.⁴³⁵

The sultan with his court usually resides at Chāmpāner, a fortified mountain town whose ruins stand today a short distance northeast of Baroda. Captured in 1484 from the Rajputs, it remained the royal stronghold, minting center, and capital of Gujarat until its conquest by the Mughul emperor, Humayun, in 1535. At the time when Castanheda was in India (1528–38), the city is reputed to have had 130,000 hearths enclosed within seven strong walls. The royal palaces, warehouses, and arsenals, “which occupy as much space as Evora,”⁴³⁶ are separated from the rest of the city by a wall that has iron gates at its three portals. The only persons permitted to go within the wall are the sultan, his wives, household officials, and tax collectors. The countryside around the city is “a land of broad plains which yield great store of food” so that “in the city

⁴²⁸ Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 233), p. 45. For comment on this enormous mustache and the possible relationship of it to the sobriquet “Begada” (impotent) under which Mahmūd I is known to posterity see Commissariat, *op. cit.* (n. 400), I, 232–33.

⁴²⁹ Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 36. See below, p. 420.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.* For a more detailed account of “the king of the loghe” or Yogis see Varthema in Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 233), pp. 46–47. This is possibly a reference to the chief of a tribe known as the Gor khnatha Gosains (Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 352). None of the Portuguese who visit Gujarat after Pires remarks on this ruler.

⁴³¹ Pires in Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 40.

⁴³² *Ibid.* Commissariat, *op. cit.* (n. 400), I, 290–92 calls him the “clement” ruler and describes his regime as “liberal and tolerant.”

⁴³³ Listed also by Albuquerque in Birch (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 116), IV, 108.

⁴³⁴ Pires in Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 41.

⁴³⁵ Albuquerque in Birch (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 116), IV, 107.

⁴³⁶ Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 17), II, 319.

there is enough and to spare of all things.”⁴³⁷ In the mountains surrounding the plain there is much game, and Muzaffar II domesticates animals for hunting and collects wild animals from all over the world as a hobby. It was this ruler who sent the rhinoceros from his menagerie to Albuquerque. The *Commentaries of Albuquerque* record details on the reception accorded a Persian embassy at Chāmpāner in 1511–13 and on the difficulties which developed between the envoy's retinue and the retainers of a visiting prince from Malwa.⁴³⁸ As on the occasion of the Portuguese embassy of 1514 to Chāmpāner, the Sultan sent the Persian envoys off with a gift rhinoceros.

Because of the constant threat of war from the Rajputs and other neighboring peoples, the Sultan of Gujarat must constantly be prepared for hostilities. In addition to powerful horse and elephant units, he maintains a large standing army, recruited mostly from foreign Muslim adventurers to whom he pays high salaries.⁴³⁹ The horsemen are “so light and skillful in the saddle”⁴⁴⁰ that they play polo for recreation. When girded for war, the foreparts of the horses are protected by stiff caparisons and their riders wear coats of mail or quilted cotton jackets and carry shields, swords, and a Turkish bow.⁴⁴¹ While the horses are native to Gujarat, the elephants have to be imported at high cost from Ceylon and Malabar. Still, the ruler of Gujarat maintains a standing force of four or five hundred fighting elephants who are outfitted for battle and used in combat as is customary in other parts of India. Like the armies of the Deccan, those of Gujarat are also using imported artillery by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The general descriptions of life in Gujarat relate to conditions in 1515 and shortly before.⁴⁴² Even Castanheda's account of social organization appears to be based on the earlier eyewitness reports of Pires and Barbosa. All the Europeans, beginning with Varthema, remark on the mixed population of the country. In the interior the majority of the people are Hindu; in the seaports the Moors and their practices predominate.⁴⁴³ The Hindus, who count for “almost the third part of the kingdom,”⁴⁴⁴ are divided into three major groups: Rajputs or the fighters, Banyā or the merchants, Brahmins or the priests. The Rajputs, who live in mountain villages, have no ruler of their own and they wage war constantly against the Sultan of Gujarat.⁴⁴⁵ In addition to being excellent horsemen and archers, the Rajputs are distinguished from other Hindus by the fact that they “kill and eat sheep and fish and other kinds of food.”⁴⁴⁶

⁴³⁷ Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), I, 123–24.

⁴³⁸ Birch (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 116), IV, 82–85.

⁴³⁹ Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 17), II, 316.

⁴⁴⁰ Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), I, 119.

⁴⁴¹ Pires in Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 33–34.

⁴⁴² Commissariat, *op. cit.* (n. 400), I, chap. xx uses the reports of Albuquerque and Barbosa as the basis for his description of Gujarat immediately following the long reign of Mahmūd I, which ended in 1511. He calls (p. 254) Barbosa's “a reliable and interesting account.”

⁴⁴³ Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 17), II, 314.

⁴⁴⁴ Pires in Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 39.

⁴⁴⁵ Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), I, 110.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

queen of Ormuz came to Goa to be baptized after she had married a Portuguese man.¹⁰²⁰ In 1587, he notes that fleets were being prepared in Goa to relieve the sieges of the Portuguese forts at Colombo and Malacca.¹⁰²¹

In addition to his observations made in Goa, Linschoten is able on the basis of personal experience to comment generally on the places and peoples of Malabar. His discussion of the Nayars and of the matrilineal system of inheritance adds nothing to the earlier accounts and is inferior to a number of them. Particularly interesting are his references to the Sephardic Jews resident in Cochin who are rich merchants and are "... the king of Cochin's nearest counsellors."¹⁰²² The Cochin Jews have their own synagogue and Linschoten knew them well enough to be permitted to see and touch the Torah. His acquaintance with the Moors of Cochin is not nearly so close and he blames them for the difficulties encountered by the Christian missionaries in their efforts to convert the Indians. His descriptions of the native temples at Elephanta and elsewhere likewise add little to what earlier writers had reported. More revealing is his account of the Portuguese theft in 1554 of the tooth of Buddha (an ape's tooth) from Ceylon, the consternation which it caused among a number of pious south Indian rulers, the heartless burning of the relic in Goa, and the subsequent "discovery" of a new tooth which was enshrined at Vijayanagar as if it were the original which had miraculously escaped the flames.¹⁰²³

Linschoten's descriptions of the flora, fauna, and jewels of India are fascinating. He discourses on a wide variety of topics such as the elephant, the rhinoceros, the mango, and the palm tree and its uses. While he clearly depends upon the natural histories based on Orta, he interpolates many original remarks, observations, and experiences. For example, he tells about the boldness of the black crows who do not hesitate to enter houses to snatch food off the table.¹⁰²⁴ He records that in 1581 an elephant and a rhinoceros were presented to King Philip II in Lisbon and the two animals were then driven to Madrid.¹⁰²⁵ Philip was also sent a painting of a monstrous fish caught in a river of Goa while Linschoten was there. Gigantic seashells from Malacca were sent by the Jesuits to Lisbon to decorate the facade of their church.¹⁰²⁶ The ship on which Linschoten voyaged to India was entirely equipped with ropes and cables made in India of coir.¹⁰²⁷ After describing the manufacture and use of *olas* (palm leaf sheets used as paper), he remarks: "Of this paper with Indian writing upon it, you may see some at Dr. Paludanus' house, which I gave him for a present."¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹⁰²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-200.

¹⁰²² *Ibid.*, I, 286.

¹⁰²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-94.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹⁰²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 10. Cf. reference in Mendoza (below, p. 569n) to the reception of the rhinoceros in Madrid.

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50. Paludanus' collection of exotic oddities was the pride of the town of Enkhuizen and often viewed by foreign visitors (*ibid.*, I, xxix).

Rhubarb, he tells us, comes exclusively from the interior of China. Rhubarb which is brought overland across Asia to Venice is better than the rhubarb which is shipped to Portugal and which deteriorates on the long sea voyage.¹⁰²⁹ Emperor Charles V, he comments, tried "roots of China"¹⁰³⁰ with good results as a cure for the gout. Mother-of-pearl ornaments and utensils manufactured in China and Bengal are imported into Portugal in large quantities.¹⁰³¹ Emeralds, which are rarely found in the East, are imported from America and traded by the Venetians for the rubies of Burma.¹⁰³² Such unconnected and incidental references are scattered like nuggets throughout his text and many of them are important enough to make a thorough mining of his book worth the effort.

Linschoten's work had direct effect upon the Dutch and English merchants of his own day. This is plainly evident from even a cursory survey of the materials relating to their enterprises. Linschoten's routier of the East (*Reysgeschrift*), published in 1595, was actually made use of on board the ships which comprised the first Dutch armada that went directly to the East Indies (1595-97).¹⁰³³ Meanwhile, the Dutch, including Linschoten, continued persistently to believe in the existence of a northeastern passage to the Far East, though the English had long before abandoned hope of finding it. Linschoten himself sailed with and kept records of the two exploratory voyages of 1594 and 1595. These voyages, and a third one of 1596, finally convinced the stubborn Dutch that a northeastern passage was not possible.¹⁰³⁴ More than ever the Dutch thereafter pinned their hopes on the success of the southern expedition, only to find on its return in 1597 that little trading had been done because of strife among the Dutch commanders themselves.¹⁰³⁵ Still, the first fleet had got safely to Java and back again and had thereby shown that the Iberian monopoly was not effectively guarded. Almost immediately small fleets were outfitted in the ports of the Netherlands to sail directly for the East Indies. These private enterprises were finally combined under the guidance of Jan van Oldenbarnevelt into the Dutch East India Company (1602). The English quickly learned from the Dutch experience and accelerated their plans for direct and systematic voyages. In 1598, William Phillip, the translator of Linschoten,

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 102.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110; this is the *radix chinæ*, the tuber of various species of *smilaceæ*.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁰³³ J. C. Mollema (ed.). *De eerste Schipvaart der Hollanders naar Oost-Indië, 1595-97* (The Hague, 1935), pp. 30-32.

¹⁰³⁴ The journals of these ill-fated voyages were published by Gerrit de Veer in his *Waerachtige Beschrijvinghe van drie Seylagien, ter werelt noyt soo vreemt ghehoort, drie Jaeren achter Malcanderen deur de Hollandische ende Zeelandische Schepen by noorden, Noorwegen, Moscovia, ende Tartaria, na de coninckrijken van Cathay ende China, so mede vande opdveninghe vande Weygats, Nova Sembla, en van't Landt op de 80 grade dat men acht Groenlandt te zijn . . .* (Amsterdam, 1598). Though unsuccessful, these voyages apparently were still of lively interest to contemporaries because De Veer's work reappeared by 1600 in at least one reprinting and in Latin, French, German, and Italian translations. In 1609 it was translated into English by William Phillip.

¹⁰³⁵ See the newsletter from Amsterdam dated August 8, 1597, in W. Noel Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series; East Indies, China and Japan* (London, 1862), pp. 98-99, item 253.