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RELATIONS OF GOLCONDA

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RELATIONS *of* GOLCONDA

IN THE

EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Edited by

W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

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PREFACE

THIS volume contains three Relations, describing the Indian kingdom of Golconda as it appeared to Dutch and English merchants in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The Relations themselves are discussed in the Introduction: this Preface is concerned only with what may be called the mechanics of the volume.

The first Relation, that of William Methwold, is reprinted from *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, and, in accordance with the practice of the Society, the language and spelling of the original have been reproduced, the only changes made being the correction of a small number of single letters which are obvious misprints. On the other hand, the use of italics and capital letters, which in the original is quite haphazard, has been modernised; and the punctuation, which is exceedingly erratic, has been modified so far as is necessary to make the text intelligible. The reason why it has not been entirely modernised is that this course would have involved occasional alterations in the text.

The translations which I have made of the second and third Relations are intended to be absolutely literal, and to reproduce not merely the sense but, so far as is possible, the idiom of the original. In the case of Schorer's Relation this has been an easy task, for the style and diction are of the simplest; but the third, anonymous, Relation presents considerable difficulty, for the author was fond of exotic phrases and long, involved, sentences, while the printed text, from which the translation has been made, is in some places undoubtedly corrupt, and in others open to suspicion. It has been necessary therefore to indicate in the footnotes the passages where the sense is not definitely established. In all three Relations, square brackets denote editorial interpolations, either brief explanations, or phrases of which the supply seems to be necessary for intelligibility.

In preparing the footnotes I have endeavoured to comply with the canon now recognised by the Society, that notes should be

confined to such particulars as are necessary to elucidate the text. Discussion of the important data given in the Relations regarding units of currency, weights and measures has been relegated to the Appendix. Most of the references given in the Introduction and notes are abbreviated; the full titles of the works so cited will be found in the List of Authorities at the end of the volume.

The first of the two maps shows the position of Golconda in relation to the neighbouring Asiatic countries, and the places in those countries which are named in the volume; the second shows all the identifiable places in the South of India to which reference is made.

In the matter of transliteration of foreign words and names, I have followed the use of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The vowels have the continental values, and the long vowels are marked as such; but the consonants are English, and no attempt is made to distinguish in cases where two or more Indian or Persian letters are represented in English by a single character. The only departures I have made from this system are to adopt the conventional use of *Q* to denote a particular Arabic guttural, which it is convenient to distinguish from *K*, and to indicate the Arabic letter '*ain* by an inverted comma. I have also followed the use of the *Imperial Gazetteer* in preserving the customary spelling of names like Delhi or Tranquebar, which in fact belong to the English language.

The Relations cover a great variety of subjects, many of which are outside my experience, and I have drawn freely on the knowledge possessed by others. Assistance given on particular topics is acknowledged in the body of the volume, but I must take this opportunity of thanking those who have helped in wider fields. Dr L. D. Barnett has advised me on various questions of philology, and Sir Richard Burn on matters of anthropology and numismatics. Mr Bijlsma, of the Rijksarchief, has been most generous in the supply of information from the records in his charge; and Mr E. W. O'F. Lynam has given much time to elucidating the difficulties of idiom found in the anonymous Relation. Professor D. G. E. Hall and Mr G. H. Luce of the University of Rangoon have combined to supply

information regarding the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and the former has revised my notes on that portion of Methwold's Relation which deals with Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim. Much assistance regarding the language and customs of Golconda has been furnished by Mr E. V. S. R. Wunnam, Mr C. S. K. Pathy, and, through Mr J. C. Molony, by Mr S. D. Aiyer and Mr A. V. V. Aiyer. Finally, I have to thank Sir William Foster, President of the Society, who first suggested the volume, for constant help and advice at every stage of its preparation.

W. H. MORELAND

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The KINGDOM of GOLCONDA

SO much as is known of the rise of the Moslem kingdom of Golconda can now be studied in the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, and here a very brief summary will be sufficient. Moslem conquerors entered India by land from the extreme north-west, and penetrated the country gradually towards the south and east. The independent kingdom of Delhi was established in the year 1206, and by the end of the century the authority of Islam was predominant throughout the north; but, except in raids for plunder, the flag had not been carried across the great natural barrier formed by the valley of the Narbada, which, with the Vindhya mountains on the north, and the Sātpurās on the south, separates Hindustan from the Deccan.

Early in the fourteenth century, the armies of Alāuddīn Khaljī crossed this barrier, overran almost the whole peninsula, and organised the country in provinces subject to the rule of Delhi. This subordination did not last for long, but the effectiveness of the conquest is shown by the fact that, when the grasp of Delhi was relaxed, the Deccan, as a whole, did not revert to Hindu rulers, but an independent Moslem State, known as the Bahmanī kingdom, emerged in the country between the Tāpti and Kistna rivers, while to the north of it another Moslem kingdom, Khāndesh, extended as far as the Narbada.

The Bahmanī kingdom persisted during the fifteenth century, and then disintegrated. The dynasty retained a small area in the centre, but the four provincial Governors, among whom its authority was distributed, became independent Kings, so that five States in all resulted, Bīdar in the centre, Berār in the north, Ahmadnagar on the north-west, Bījāpur on the south-west, and Golconda, the subject of this volume, on the east. For the greater part of the sixteenth century, the history of this region is

one of kaleidoscopic alliances, and almost continual war. To the north of the five Deccan kingdoms lay Gujarāt, Khāndesh, and Mālwa, to the south the large Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, and it is scarcely going too far to say that these nine powers might be formed into almost any groups according to the exigencies of the moment. The causes of each outbreak of hostilities, as they are indicated in the chronicles, were multifarious, and sometimes trivial, but underlying them was what may fairly be called an idea of the balance of power, so that there was a tendency to combine against any king who was becoming too strong, and to desert an ally who had obtained a dangerous success.

A conspicuous example of the operation of this idea was the Moslem confederacy which attacked Vijayanagar, and at the battle of Tālikotā, fought in December, 1564, and January, 1565, broke the power of that kingdom. The capital was destroyed, the king withdrew to the south-east, and during the period covered by this volume the dynasty was seated at Vellore, about 80 miles west of Madras. The elimination of this danger from the south left the Moslem kingdoms free to fight among themselves for the remainder of the century, but in the meantime a new, and greater, danger appeared in the north. Akbar, 'the Great Mogul', had succeeded in the year 1556 to a kingdom comprising only a small portion of north-west India, and his fifty years' reign was marked by progressive conquest and organisation of the country to the south and east. We are not at present concerned with the Mogul expansion eastwards, for, though Orissa was brought within the empire, the threat to Golconda did not come from this side. Something must, however, be said of the advance to the south.

In the India of this period there is no need to seek for a conqueror's motives. Conquest was a king's right, it might almost be said, a king's duty, and he was ordinarily judged by his success. There was, however, a specific motive for the directions in which a conqueror moved from the north, in the need for an adequate and regular supply of the precious metals. The demand was large and persistent, for coinage, for hoarding, and for display; the local supply was negligible; and the only means of

providing what was in effect a necessity of sovereignty was control of the seaboard. To a ruler in Agra or Delhi the primary objective was Gujarāt, the seaports of which traditionally exported goods, and imported gold and silver in exchange. The military route to Gujarāt lay through the productive kingdom of Mālwa, rather than the barren lands of Rajputana; and accordingly we find Mālwa conquered, and organised as a Mogul province, within ten years of Akbar's accession. The turn of Gujarāt came next, and then the southward expansion paused for a time. In 1596, however, Berār, the most northerly of the Deccan kingdoms, fell, five years later Khāndesh was subdued, and the Moguls, now firmly established across the line of the Narbada, were face to face with Ahmadnagar. A portion of this kingdom was actually conquered, and it was even officially described as a Mogul province; but then, on the death of Akbar in 1605, a marked change occurred, and the Deccan enjoyed a respite for nearly thirty years.

Two causes operated to produce this result. In Ahmadnagar, a great Minister emerged in the person of Malik Ambar, whose organising genius enabled the smaller kingdom to maintain a successful front against the enemy until his death about the year 1626. In the Mogul Empire, Akbar's son and successor, Jahāngīr, displayed none of his father's energy, and, after a short period, tired of the drudgery of administration, so that, while the war went on spasmodically, no decisive success was obtained. In order to understand this fact, it is necessary to bear in mind that to ordinary Mogul officers war was an occupation at once pleasant and profitable. In peace time, an officer had to maintain his troops from the income assigned to him by the Emperor: in war, he could hope to draw their pay from the treasury, to get large grants for re-equipment, and—with luck—to enrich himself by booty. The tendency was thus to prolong operations rather than seek for a decisive success; and it required energy and determination at the centre of power to secure the effective conquest of a distant enemy. The necessary energy was supplied when, in the year 1627, Shāhjahān succeeded Jahāngīr. Almost as soon as he was firmly seated on the throne, the new Emperor took up the war in earnest, Ahmadnagar was conquered, and

the bulk of it annexed, and within ten years Golconda became tributary to the Mogul Empire.

The Relations contained in this volume deal with the years between 1608 and 1622, that is to say, the period during which the Mogul pressure was relaxed. Ahmadnagar bore the main burden of the resistance, but it was supported by contingents from Golconda and Bījāpur, so that, apart from the northern frontier, the Deccan enjoyed comparative peace, and boundaries were more or less stable. The situation of the kingdom of Golconda at this time may be described as follows. On the south, it was separated by the Penner river from the territories of the Vijayanagar dynasty, with its capital at Vellore. The King of Vellore, Venkata I, was an old man, and on his death in 1614 the succession was disputed, and a series of civil wars began, which were still in progress when the last of these Relations was written. On the north, Golconda was bounded by the Mogul provinces of Berār and Orissa, but these were not very effectively administered, the bulk of the adjoining territory being left in the hands of Hindu Chiefs, and, while the frontier was necessarily watched by troops, there is no record of serious fighting in this direction. On the west, the small kingdom of Bīdar had by this time been absorbed by its neighbours, and Golconda was bounded by the territories of its allies, Bījāpur and Ahmadnagar.

The founder of the Golconda dynasty was Sultān Qulī, a native of Hamadān in Persia, who came to India as an adventurer, was admitted to the bodyguard of the Bahmanī King, earned promotion, and eventually rose to be Governor of the eastern province then known as Telingāna, with the title of Qutb-ul-mulk. Here the circumstances of the time compelled him to assert his independence in the year 1512, though he did not actually describe himself as king, a title which was assumed by his successors. The fourth effective ruler of the dynasty was Ibrāhīm, who died in 1580, and his son, Muhammad Qulī, reigned until 1612, when he was succeeded by his nephew Muhammad. The Relations printed in this volume thus refer to the close of Muhammad Qulī's reign and the opening years of Muhammad.

The tone of the Court was predominantly Persian, and men

of that nation ordinarily controlled the administration, the Chief Minister bearing the title or designation of Mīr Jumla. The methods of the Persian Ministers are sufficiently described in the Relations. The position of Governor in each district was farmed year by year to the highest bidder, who was allowed to do very much as he pleased, provided he fulfilled his contract, but was treated with extreme severity if he defaulted, and was under the necessity of concealing his profits, when he made any, from the eyes of jealous competitors and avaricious Ministers at Court. In essence, the administration was a scramble for immediate gain, without thought for the future, and this condition furnishes an adequate explanation of most of the difficulties experienced by Dutch and English merchants in establishing their trade in the seaports.

The attitude of the local mercantile community to this Persian domination is reflected in Floris' Journal, as printed in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (I, iii, 320). Floris, after recording the death of King Muhammad Qulī in January 1611/12, and the succession of Muhammad, whom he described as "a yongman of great hope", remarked: "his uncle had put all in the hands of the Persians, but this sheweth himself contrarie, and an enemie to Mir Sumela [Jumla] the fountaine of tyrannie". The change, if there was a change, was, however, one of persons rather than methods, for Methwold's later description of the administration is substantially identical with that which is given in the earlier Dutch Relations.

The kingdom consisted of two main regions. Along the coast is a narrow strip of fertile lowland, including the deltas of the Kistna and Godāvari rivers. Inland the country rises to the various ranges known by the general name of the Eastern Ghats, and beyond them, "above the ghats" to use the Indian phrase, come high plateaux, broken by the river valleys. In reading the Relations, it is important to bear in mind that the detailed descriptions apply mainly to the smaller coastal region. One of the Dutch writers had been to Hyderābād, the recently founded capital of the kingdom, but as a rule the experience of foreign merchants was limited to the low country or the fringe of the plateaux, where they purchased the goods required for export.

The inhabitants of the kingdom were almost entirely Hindu, speaking the Telugu language. I can find no record of conversion to Islam having taken place on a large scale in this region, and the bulk of the resident Moslems must be regarded as of foreign origin, whether merchants who had settled at the seaports, or soldiers and adventurers who had followed the flag from the north.

The country was, as it still is, predominantly agricultural. In the lowlands, the staple crops were rice, millets, and pulses, while, on a smaller scale, the dye-crops, indigo and chay-root, were produced for use in connection with the weaving industry, and tobacco, then a recent introduction, was grown largely for export. The silence of the Relations suggests that cotton was not grown extensively in the lowlands, and we may assume that the material required by the weaving industry was brought from the interior. The chief mineral products were iron and steel of high quality, manufactured some distance inland, and exported from Masulipatam; but by the time the last Relation was written, diamond-mining on an important scale had developed at Kollūr.

Among industries, cotton-weaving stood by itself; and a short description of its organisation will perhaps facilitate the comprehension of the allusions to the topic contained in the Relations. Weaving was practised all over the country, primarily, it may be assumed, for local consumption, but goods for export were produced in large quantities. The weavers were independent, in one sense of the word, for they were not brought together in workshops under skilled direction, but worked each in his own house. They were, however, ordinarily poor, and not in a position to work for a free market, but depended on advances of capital from the buyers, who could thus dictate the nature, quality, and quantity of the goods produced. These were of very numerous sorts, described in a nomenclature which is not easy to master, the names coming from perhaps a dozen different languages, and having frequently become mere trade-descriptions, with no reference to their original meaning.

The main classification was into plain and patterned goods, while plain goods may conveniently be subdivided into muslin

and calico. The latter, a stout cloth, was produced in various qualities, depending on the fineness of the yarn, and the number of threads to the inch; it could be marketed either brown, bleached, or dyed in the piece; and, apart from its local use, it was in demand in most of the markets to which the kingdom had access by sea. Muslin, a thinner cloth, could also be had brown, bleached, or dyed; it was made principally inland, and the most important lines for export bore the name of the town of Warangal, situated about 160 miles north-north-west of Masulipatam. Like calico, muslin was distributed by sea in all directions, but the Persian demand for turbans and girdles was of exceptional importance.

The patterned goods, of the general type now described as 'prints', were made of either calico or muslin, with coloured patterns produced by the indigenous processes. This work was done mainly on the coast, where the industry was closely adapted to the needs of the foreign markets, situated principally in Java and further to the East. Each of these markets had its own peculiar tastes, and would take nothing that differed in texture, size, or pattern from its traditional standards, so that it was almost essential for merchants interested in those markets to be in close touch with the centres of supply, where alone they could be certain of getting exactly what they wanted in the requisite quantity.

Both plain and patterned goods were produced in the Hindu territory as well as in Golconda, but at this period there was a certain amount of localisation for the export trade. The Golconda coast was the best place to buy plain goods, while its superior dye-stuffs, indigo for blue and chay-root for red, together with various vegetable-yellows, provided a wide range of colour. For patterned goods, on the other hand, the Hindu coast was best, and production centred in the town of Pulicat, 25 miles north of the present city of Madras.

The main exports of Golconda were thus cotton goods, and iron and steel. Indigo was transported across the peninsula and shipped to Persia from the West Coast; cotton yarn was sent to Burma; and various items of minor importance contributed to what was, for the time, a large export trade. The volume of

imports was substantially smaller. Spices, dye-woods, metals other than iron, camphor, porcelain, silk, and other goods, mainly luxuries, were brought for sale on the coast, and the balance was adjusted in gold and silver. In addition, there was a large coasting-trade, northward to Bengal and southward to Vijayanagar and Ceylon.

§ 2. The Europeans on the Coromandel Coast

Up to the end of the fifteenth century, Europeans took no part in the commerce of the Asiatic seas, the conditions of which were entirely changed by the establishment of the Portuguese maritime empire. In the next century we find the Portuguese in sovereign possession of a few small areas of territory, and thence dominating the seas by their superior fleets, monopolising some trade-routes, and the trade in some particular articles, and requiring all non-Portuguese vessels to pay heavily for the privilege of taking part in the commerce which was not monopolised. No fortress, arsenal, or ship-yard was required for this purpose on the East Coast of India: with Malacca on the east, and Goa, Cochin, and Colombo watching the western outlet, the Bay of Bengal was dominated effectively. Accordingly, there was no Portuguese territory in this region, but various trading settlements grew up, the inhabitants of which, relying on the prestige of their nation, assumed a position of independence, and were not in fact governed by the native rulers. At the opening of our period two important settlements, Negapatam and S. Thomé, existed in Hindu territory to the south of Golconda, and there were others further north in Bengal; but there is no trace of any attempt to assert independence on the part of any Portuguese who may have settled on the Golconda coast, nor is there evidence that any considerable numbers resided there. The Portuguese however took a full share in the maritime trade of the kingdom with Pegu, Malacca, and beyond, while they were not less active in the coasting-trade, which carried large quantities of provisions from Bengal and the East Coast to the south and west, particularly to Malabar, a narrow strip of country, cut off from the interior by mountains, and

ordinarily dependent for part of its food on what could be brought by sea. It is important to bear in mind that all commerce with the Spice Islands was reserved, that is to say, monopolised, by the Portuguese; the demand of these markets was mainly for patterned goods produced in Pulicat and the vicinity, and hence this branch of the cotton industry was, during most of the sixteenth century, dominated by the settlements of S. Thomé and Negapatam.

The commercial interests of the Portuguese centred in the export of spices to Europe. Pepper, the principal item, was obtained in India, and shipped at Cochin; cinnamon was brought in coasting-craft from Ceylon; cloves, nutmegs, and mace came from the Spice Islands lying east of Borneo; and these goods, taken together, formed the most valuable portion of the cargoes carried to Europe by the annual trading fleets. At Lisbon, the spices were bought mainly by Dutch merchants, who distributed them by water along the coast of Western Europe. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, these commercial arrangements appeared to be stabilised, the Portuguese enjoying a monopoly of the sea-borne trade between Asia and Europe, the Dutch acting as the principal distributors from Lisbon; but the situation was changed abruptly at the end of the year 1580, when the crown of Portugal passed to the King of Spain, then at war with his revolted provinces of Holland. The Dutch distributing trade was threatened and hindered, though not absolutely stopped; and, when the sea-power of Spain had been crippled by the loss of the Armada in 1588, Dutch merchants, and also English merchants, decided to enter the spice trade for themselves.

Early successful voyages gave the various Dutch seaports a footing in the East, not in India itself, but in Java and Sumatra, and in 1602 the competing groups of merchants were combined in the Dutch East India Company, a wealthy and powerful organisation, assured of national support, and prepared, when necessary, to fight the Portuguese forces, which at the outset the Dutch had been content to avoid. As soon, however, as the spice trade had been entered, the need for commercial connections with India was experienced, owing to the fact that

Indian cotton goods were practically the only things which could be sold, or in some cases bartered, to the producers of the spices required. The Dutch sent buyers to the Gujarāt markets as early as 1601, but the vicissitudes of their enterprise on the West Coast lie outside the scope of this volume. Their connection with Golconda began in 1605, when the pinnace *Delft* anchored at Masulipatam, the principal seaport of the kingdom, and left a small party of buyers, or 'factors', to use the time-honoured phrase, with Pieter Ysaacx Eyloff as the Chief.

A year later the *Delft* returned, and negotiations for the establishment of regular agencies, or 'factories', were opened with the local authorities. No difficulty was experienced at the smaller seaport of Nizāmpatam, where a factory was forthwith organised, but at Masulipatam the demands of the Governor were exorbitant, and van Soldt, the head of the mission, went to Golconda, where he obtained terms which appeared at the time to be satisfactory. The Masulipatam factory was then opened, and placed in charge of Pieter Ysaacx.

A brief experience of Golconda sufficed to convince the Dutch that they required a footing in the Hindu territory further south, in order to obtain the patterned goods demanded so largely in the spice-markets. At the end of 1608, a mission visited Gingee, the headquarters of the Nāyak, or local Governor under the King of Vellore, and obtained permission to open a factory at Tegnapatam, now known as Fort St David; while two years later negotiations conducted at Vellore itself resulted in the grant of exclusive privileges of trade for a factory at Pulicat, from which the King undertook to remove the Portuguese residents. Pulicat was shortly afterwards made the headquarters of the Dutch Company on the Coast, a position which it was to retain until after the middle of the century.

The early history of the Pulicat factory was not, however, free from vicissitudes. At the outset it was merely a place of business, unfortified and undefended. In 1612, the Portuguese of S. Thomé raided the factory, burnt the town, and carried off the surviving factors as prisoners. At this juncture Dutch interests on the Coast were in the charge of Wemmer van Berchem, a young and vigorous man, who had just arrived in India, and was

at the moment in Golconda, negotiating an agreement for compounding for the customs duties at Masulipatam. These negotiations were brought to a successful end in September, and early in November Wemmer was at Vellore, claiming from the King the protection which had been promised for the factory at Pulicat. Within a month he had obtained a definite 'contract', as it was called, under which one of the Queens, who held the Pulicat country for what may be described as her privy purse, was to build a fort, which was to be occupied jointly by the Dutch and a Hindu garrison, while the Portuguese and all other Europeans were to be excluded from the town. There was, however, delay in building the fort, the Portuguese more than once threatened further attacks, and Wemmer decided to complete the building at the Company's charge. The wisdom of this decision became apparent in 1614, when the King of Vellore died, and civil war broke out. The Hindu garrison was soon withdrawn, and when Wemmer left the Coast a year later, he handed over to his successor in Fort Geldria, as he had named his work, a safe refuge where business could be carried on without dangerous interruption from the contending armies in the country.

Meanwhile the English Company, which had been established in 1600, had put in an appearance on the Coast. A voyage had been decided on to test the trade of the Bay of Bengal, and in August, 1611, the *Globe* anchored at Pulicat, only to be warned off by the Dutch on the strength of their exclusive privileges under the original grant for their factory. The vessel went on to Nizāmpatam and Masulipatam, where trade was opened and factors left; thence the voyage was continued further east, and the *Globe* returned to Masulipatam at the end of 1613, and was taken for repairs to Narasapur, a ship-building centre at the mouth of the Godāvari river. While this work was in progress, negotiations were opened with Vellore in order to obtain a footing in the southern trade, but these were brought to an end by the news of the King's death in October, 1614. During this period English interests in this region were in charge of two Dutchmen, Peter Floris and Lucas Antheunis, who had been engaged because of the experience they had already gained in the

service of the Dutch Company. The former left for England at the end of the year, and died shortly after his arrival, while Antheunis remained in the East, and in 1616–17 was in charge of the factory at Masulipatam. He was succeeded for a short time by Adam Denton, who in 1618 was relieved by William Methwold, the writer of the first Relation contained in this volume.

We have thus three European nations established on the Coromandel Coast. The Portuguese in the south were, however, ceasing to count: the Dutch were fortified in the south, and had factories in the north; while the English also had factories in the north, but had not yet gained a footing in the south. A few words must be added regarding the relations between the three nations. The long-drawn war between Spain and Holland was suspended in 1609 by a truce arranged for twelve years, which provided, among other things, that the Dutch and Portuguese should not interfere with each other's trade in the East. Official intimation of this truce was brought to Asia by Wemmer van Berchem, who reached Bantam, then the headquarters of the Dutch Company, in October, 1610. Its effectiveness in practice can be seen from the Portuguese attack on Pulicat nearly two years later; and, to Dutchmen on the Coast, the Portuguese were still 'the enemy', though their power to attack in this region was passing away. England and Spain were officially at peace, but in 1614, and later, English ships on the West Coast were attacked by Portuguese fleets; and cordial relations were not established until 1635, when, as is related below, Methwold negotiated an agreement with the Viceroy at Goa. Holland and England also were at peace, but in 1617 the commercial rivalry between the Companies developed into war in the Asiatic seas, from Java eastwards. This war was terminated in 1619 by an agreement made in Europe, under which the Companies were to share the trade, and combine their forces for its defence. Under this agreement, the English were admitted to trade in Pulicat in 1621, and thus obtained a footing on the southern part of the Coast; but the arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and, after a few years' experience, the English factory was moved a short distance north to Armagon, whence later on it was transferred to Madras.

In order to complete this summary account of the Europeans on the Coast, it should be added that in 1620 the officers of the Danish East India Company obtained a settlement at Tranquebar, about 25 miles north of Negapatam, but their activities do not come into the picture presented by the Relations. The establishment of the French on the Coast was, of course, much later, and its story belongs to the second half of the century.

The Relations printed in this volume show what the foreign merchants thought of Golconda. It would be most interesting to know what Golconda thought of the foreigners, but on this point I have failed to discover any evidence. The chronicle of Firishta, which is the principal source for the history of the kingdom, and the anonymous chronicle which Briggs included in his version of that writer, are silent on the topic, and I know of no other contemporary records. The Relations suggest that the foreigners were on friendly terms with the people, and got on reasonably well with the Governors, apart from the friction caused by periodical attempts at extortion, but the views of Golconda as a whole are matter for conjecture.

§ 3. The Relations and their Writers

Enough has now been said of the environment in which the Relations were written, and I turn to the Relations themselves. The first in the volume, which is the latest in date, was written by William Methwold at the request of the Reverend Samuel Purchas for inclusion in his *Pilgrimes*; but, reaching him too late for the main work, published in 1625, was printed at the end of the supplementary volume issued a year later, which contained the fourth enlarged edition of his *Pilgrimage*, or general survey of the world. The delay has proved unfortunate for posterity, because, while the *Pilgrimes* has been reprinted and is now accessible in many libraries, the *Pilgrimage* is rare, and it is very unlikely that anyone will undertake a new edition. This Relation is based on the experience gained by Methwold at Masulipatam in the years from 1618 to 1622.

The second Relation was written either in 1615 or early in 1616 by Antony Schorer, who was employed at the Dutch factory in

Masulipatam from 1608 or 1609 to 1614. It was written for the Directors of the Company in Holland, and was filed in their records under the year 1616; so far as I know, it has never been published.

The third Relation first appeared in a Dutch collection of voyages published in 1644–6. The author's name is not given, but, anticipating the conclusions to be reached further on, I may say that it was almost certainly written in the latter part of 1614, and probably by Pieter Gielisz. van Ravesteyn, who served in the Dutch factory at Nizāmpatam from 1608 to 1614, and who was subsequently in charge of the factory at Surat. This Relation also was apparently written, not for publication, but for the use of the writer's superiors in the Company's service.

The issue in one volume of three Relations, written about the same period from substantially the same standpoint, has the obvious drawback that it involves a certain amount of repetition. It will be found, however, that the three, when taken together, furnish a much more complete picture of the life of the time than can be drawn from any one of them taken by itself. I have placed Methwold's Relation first, because it was composed for a general audience by a man possessed of considerable literary skill, and it gives the main lines of the picture, in which the details described so baldly in the Dutch Relations find a natural place, while furnishing abundant confirmation of its substantial accuracy.

The collocation of the three Relations has another advantage. A small but voluble band of enthusiasts have of late adopted an attitude of uncritical hostility towards any evidence tending to show that the India of this period was not an earthly paradise. When such evidence comes to their notice, their practice is to discredit it summarily as mere gossip, or sensationalism, or the product of ignorance and inaccuracy. Now if Methwold's Relation stood alone, it would be open to attacks of this kind. It contains, as I have indicated in the footnotes, a few errors of detail: therefore, these critics might argue, it is ignorant and inaccurate. It was composed for a general audience: consequently, sensationalism can safely be postulated. It deals with

some matters outside the writer's experience: therefore it is merely the gossip of the bazaar; and in this way the Relation as a whole would be discredited to the satisfaction of the critics. Here, however, the Dutch Relations come in. There is no room for any suggestion of sensationalism in accounts which were not written for publication; the inaccuracies are extraordinarily few; and as a rule the writers confine themselves strictly to what they had actually seen and heard. With these Relations before him, the unprejudiced reader has no difficulty in recognising the essential trustworthiness of Methwold's general sketch.

The point may be illustrated by the references to the self-immolation of Hindu widows. Methwold gives three instances of this practice as occurring within his own experience. In only one of these does he assert that he witnessed the actual death; in a second, he arrived too late; in the third, the act was prevented by the authorities. In these circumstances it would not be difficult for the critics of whom I have spoken to write off to their own satisfaction the whole paragraph as sensational gossip, retailed for a general audience; but no one can read the account furnished, in such terrible detail, in the anonymous Relation without being convinced that the writer had actually witnessed the spectacle he describes; and, with this evidence on the record, any attempt to discredit Methwold must be simply futile.

§ 4. William Methwold

From these general observations I proceed to a somewhat fuller account of the Relations and their authors. William Methwold was a man of sufficient mark to find a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* under the shadow of his uncle, Sir William Methold,[1] who became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland; but the writer of the notice apparently did not refer to the records in the India Office, and the following sketch is based partly on them, and partly on family documents the contents of which have been communicated to me by Sir William Foster.

[1] The spelling of the family name varies, but William Methwold himself used the *w* which has since been discarded, and I preserve his use.

In the sixteenth century the family was settled in Norfolk, where William Methwold (the first) had a family comprising among others William (the second), the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and Thomas, whose son William (the third) is the subject of this sketch. He was baptised in September, 1590, which may be taken as the year of his birth, and sixteen years later, in 1606, he was apprenticed to a London merchant named Randall Manninge, with whom he remained for nine years, five of which were spent at Middelburg in Holland. In 1615 he was engaged as a factor by the East India Company, "being perfect in accounts, and hath the Dutch and French languages", as the record of his appointment states; and he sailed as a "chief merchant" in the fleet which left England early in the following year, and reached Surat in September. The voyage was marked by an encounter with a Portuguese carrack near the Comoro Islands, a full account of which was given by the Reverend Edward Terry, a chaplain on the fleet. The carrack was eventually disabled and driven ashore, where she was burned by her crew; the most serious loss on the English side was the death of the commander of the fleet, Benjamin Joseph, who was succeeded by Henry Pepwell.

In October, 1616, it was proposed to send Methwold from Surat to Persia, but it was decided that he must remain with the fleet, though he visited various markets in Gujarāt. A curious memento of this period was preserved[1] by the German traveller Mandelslo, who was Methwold's guest at Surat more than twenty years later, in 1638. During a visit to a pleasure-garden in Cambay, he found a couplet inscribed with the date 1616, and the signature of William Mettiwold (as the name is printed), to the effect that

The English and Dutch were here,
And drank toddy for want of Beer.

In February, 1617, Methwold was chosen as chief merchant

[1] Mandelslo's *Morgenländische Reyse*, p. 79. The text is:

De Englisch und Dütsch was hier,
Drancken töddich vor wanting Bier.

Apparently the original was either English or Anglo-Dutch macaronic, which was Germanised by the transcriber.

of the *Unicorn* for a voyage to the pepper-ports on the west coast of Sumatra, and on to Bantam. On this voyage he visited Calicut and other places on the Malabar coast, obtained a cargo of pepper at Tiku in Sumatra, and reached Bantam in October. At Bantam he was chosen by the Council to be "Principall of the Coast of Choromandell", and he reached Masulipatam, his headquarters, in May, 1618.

Here he remained until October, 1622, transacting the Company's business with credit and success, limited by the inadequacy of the funds placed at his disposal. His term of office was uneventful. His letters disclose occasional difficulties with the local officials, but no unusual friction. Apparently he spent most of his time at his headquarters, and the only lengthy expedition of which there is a record is his visit to the diamond-field at Kollūr, which is described in his Relation. He was on friendly terms with the Dutch, whom he liked as a nation, and, so far as can be judged, he was popular with the Indian mercantile community.

His service on the East Coast was, however, over-shadowed by accusations of private trade, a subject which calls for a few words of explanation. The Company's servants were formally prohibited from engaging in trade on their own account, but the practice was almost universal, and there is no doubt that the opportunity of indulging in it was one of the principal attractions which the service offered to merchants of ability. At this period no serious efforts were made to stamp out the practice, and as a rule it was tolerated by the authorities, so long as the amount of trade was moderate, and the methods followed were not such as to injure the interests of the Company. Methwold was, first and foremost, a merchant, eager to buy and sell at a profit, and he seems to have lost no time in entering on business for himself. While at Tiku in Sumatra, he had been in relations with a factor named Henry Patteson, whose executor he became; and in October, 1618, the Committees, or Directors, as we should now say, of the Company, on an examination of Patteson's affairs, decided that he had been guilty of dishonesty, and that he had been abetted by Methwold, who was ordered to be sent home for examination. The news of this order had reached

Company's position on this side of India. The details of the reorganisation effected by him lie outside the scope of this sketch, and the nature of his activities will be illustrated sufficiently by a few extracts from the letters which he wrote to England, prefaced by Sir William Foster's summary of the qualities which he displayed during this period of exceptional stress.

"Alike in character and ability, [writes Sir William] Methwold stood head and shoulders above both his immediate predecessors and his colleagues. His period of office proved to be an exceptionally arduous one—he himself wrote later: 'I know no trouble or misery (except sicknesse) which I have not mett withall in this my short employment in India'—yet no danger daunted him; no emergency found him wanting; his cool judgment at once pointed out the course to be pursued, while his energy and fixity of purpose wrested success from even the most adverse conditions. In dealing with the Indian officials and merchants he was courteous and conciliatory, without for a moment forgetting his responsibilities as the representative of a foreign nation. The Dutch, who were pleased to find that he had spent some time in the Netherlands and spoke their language well, praised his affability and discretion, and wished that other Presidents had been like him. To his subordinates he strove to be just and considerate, at the same time insisting upon their fulfilling punctually their obligations to the Company, particularly in the matter of private trade, in which respect he himself set them a good example; yet, when occasion required, he was fearless in his censures, as even members of Council like Fremlen and Bornford found to their cost. Nor was he less outspoken in letters to his employers, who however had the good sense to respect his openness and to give him their steady and wholehearted support."

After a year's experience of his new charge, Methwold with his Council wrote to the Company as follows (29th December, 1634):

We want arithmetique to computate the losses which you have sustayned and doe still continue to beare, by the miserable stand in trade befalne this almost desolated kingdome of Guzurat. Where to better it, or how to mend ourselves, we cannot possibly foresee. Your shipps are here in India without hopes of ladeing from hence; yet here they spend your meanes, and must do so, whilest only necessaries are demanded.

Further on, the reasons for the scarcity of cotton goods are presented as follows:

First, the scarcity and consequently the deareness of cotton wooll, which we conceive doth chiefly arise from the great price which all sorts of graine hath yielded for some fore past yeares, which hath undoubtedly disposed of the country people to those courses which hath bene most profitable for them, and so discontinued the planting of cotton, which could not have bene vented in proporcion of former tymes, because the artificers and mechaniques of all sorts were so miserably dead or fledd from all parts of the kingdome of Guzeratt; which is the second cause that hath occasioned this great stand in the callico trade, and cannot be restored to its pristine estate as that we may hope to see it in its former lustre for many years to come (we conceive for five years at least). Yet the plenty of this present yeare diffused generally through all the vast parts of this kingdome, occasioned by the seasonable raines which have falne universally... doth summon downe againe those fugitives which famine forced from their owne habitations; and we are eye-witnesses of a much greater concourse of people frequenting the cities. The villages fill but slowly, yet it betters with them also; and if the excessive tirranny and covetuousness of the governors of all sorts would give the poor people leave but to lift up their heads in one yeares vacancye from oppression, they would be enabled to keepe cattle about them, and so to advance the plenty which the earth produceth that all things would be much more abundant, and there would be no want but of tyme to make the children capable to exercise the functions of their fathers, whereunto the custom of this country doth necessarily oblige them.

A year later, on 2nd January, 1636, Methwold was able to report that the improvement was making headway. Prices of goods for export were falling "by small yet sensible degrees... through the cheapness of graine and the accesse of more inhabitants into this almost depopulated country;" and, on the receipt of advices from the Company, "wee roused ourselves and shaking off the dull rustinesse which was allmost growne upon us into a disease, wee resolved afresh to take up [*i.e.* borrow] so much money as would put us into action for some small time". The letter goes on to tell of various activities directed to increase the supply of goods by widening the area of purchase; and two months later we find Methwold already

Company show that from time to time he purchased large quantities of eastern goods, sometimes specifically for export, and that he also acquired to a considerable value the 'adventures', or, as we should say, the shares, held by other members of the Company. He was also investing in land, including the repurchase of the family estate, while just after his return from India he bought Hale House with some adjoining land in Kensington, and made his home there. His wife died in October, 1652, and in the following February he married again, but died only three weeks later. By his will he established alms-houses for six old women; these were built in the vicinity of his home, but were apparently demolished when the land on which they stood was acquired by the Metropolitan Railway in 1867. Hale House, which was subsequently known as Cromwell House, remained in the possession of the family for a century, and was then sold. The house was pulled down in 1853 when this part of Kensington was being laid out; its actual site is now in the roadway of Queen's Gate, a few yards south of the point where it is crossed by Cromwell Road.

The circumstances in which Methwold wrote his Relation are sufficiently indicated in the prefatory matter contained in the *Pilgrimage*. In the Epistle Dedicatorie to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Purchas wrote of the three narratives which he included in the volume: "The Three Treatises annexed had found fitter place with my *Pilgrimes* had they comme to my hands: but their rarities merit a place, yea a welcome, in what place soever". In the separate preface provided for these narratives the compiler was more explicit. "Reader," he writes, "I here present unto thee a later service, that which deserved a fitter place in another worke; and which I had sought with much industrie before, without successe." Then, after describing the narrative which precedes Methwold in the printed volume, he continues:

> Now for Master Methold, I had spared some of Frederikes, Balbies, and Fitches Relations, if these had comme in time, which so many times I had both by messages and in person sought, and by reason of the Authors absence or business was frustrate. But the reader will finde his labour and cost recompensed in the rarities of

matter, and stile also travelling beyond the wonted pace of a merchant-traveller. The Relation is correspondent to the subject, it entreates of a mine of diamants, and is a mine of diamants it selfe. Gemmes may bee put on after the whole bodie (so I call my former large worke) is attired; and after that full repast, as Indian drugs used in second services, it will second thee with a new, and refresh thee with a fresh Indian appetite, and present unto thee (like spectacles after great feasts) such a muster of Indian elements, affaires, men, arts, religions, customes, and other varieties, as before we were not able to bring on our stage.

Vale et fruere

No later edition of the *Pilgrimage* has appeared, and I cannot trace any English reprint of Methwold's Relation. A French translation was included in M. Thévenot's *Divers Voyages Curieux* (Paris, 1663–72), while a Dutch version, which I have not seen, was issued by P. van der Aa, a publisher of Leyden. The same publisher included in his *Atlas Nouveau et Curieux* a map (no. 56) intended to illustrate Methwold's Relation, but the topography is so distorted, and the location of particular places so erroneous, as to deprive it of any value for the student.

§ 5. The Dutch Relations

I have described at some length the author of the first Relation; of the others there is much less to be said. Antony Schorer was apparently a commercial failure, and, so far as we can judge, a person of no interest whatever, apart from the description he has left us. Pieter Gielisz. van Ravesteyn, if he was in fact the author of the anonymous Relation, was a bigger and more successful man; but he died young, worn out perhaps by his twelve years' continuous service in the East, and we know practically nothing about him beyond his commercial activities.

In his Relation, Schorer gives only two items of information regarding the duration of his service on the Coromandel Coast. He tells us that he left Masulipatam shortly after an English ship, the *Globe*, was sheathed at Narasapur; the English records show that this work was completed in July, 1614. He tells us further, in the title of his Relation, that he had "resided" at

Masulipatam "in the service of the Hon'ble Company in the seventh year"; the phrase is of a type which I have not met elsewhere, and its meaning must be sought in other records. The published records of the Dutch Company are far from complete, and do not enable us to frame anything like a continuous history of the staff of any particular factory. As a rule, the staff consisted of a Chief, or senior factor, a 'second person' or junior factor, who was usually responsible for the accounts, and a varying number of assistants. A change of the Chief is usually, but not always, on record; a change of the 'second person' may, or may not, be mentioned; the names of the assistants occur only by accident.

Schorer was not one of the staff posted to Masulipatam on the establishment of the factory in 1606, and the first mention of him that I have found shows that he was junior factor at that place in October, 1609; but it suggests that by that time he must have had some little experience, because he was chosen to accompany Jan van Wesick, the Chief at Nizāmpatam, on a mission to the Court of Golconda, and it is unlikely that an entire stranger to the country would have been selected for this duty. He returned from this mission to Masulipatam, and in 1610 he was signing letters from that factory, along with van Wesick, who had become its Chief. He was still at Masulipatam in July, 1612, and in August, 1614, Wemmer van Berchem sent him thence to Bantam in disgrace. On this occasion he was described as "accountant and formerly senior factor", so apparently he had been promoted, and then reduced. The main faults alleged against him were that his accounts were in great disorder, and had not been properly balanced for two years, while there was a shortage in the cash, which he stated to be due to a theft. No decision on these charges can be traced. The Council at Bantam eventually sent Wemmer van Berchem home, leaving all the complaints made by him, and against him, to be disposed of by the Company, and there is no record of what was ultimately done.

Schorer had thus served at Masulipatam from 1609, or earlier, to 1614; as I have said above, he was not there in 1606, and, since there is no record of new staff arriving on the Coast

in 1607, the most probable date of his appointment is 1608, in which year shipping arrived from Bantam. One possible interpretation of his phrase "in the seventh year" is that it refers to the duration of the Company; the year of its establishment was 1602, and the seventh year would be 1608, which would then be the date of Schorer's arrival at Masulipatam. For this interpretation it is necessary to take the somewhat pedantic expression 'resided' (*geresideert*) in the sense of 'came into residence'; I have found the word so rarely in the contemporary literature that I cannot say whether or not this sense is admissible. The other possible interpretation is that Schorer was trying to say that he had reached his seventh year of service in Masulipatam, but, if this was his object, he certainly failed to achieve it. The two interpretations give the same result, that he was in Masulipatam from 1608 to 1614, and since this result is in accordance with what can be learned from the published records, it is unnecessary to pursue the matter further.

I have been unable to trace any record showing what happened to Schorer after he reached Bantam, and the next fact which emerges is the appearance of the Relation among the papers brought by the *Green Lion*, which left that port in October, 1615, and arrived in Holland in the following June. The Relation was included in a list of those papers which was drawn up at the time in Holland, and was bound in the volume containing them, so that we might infer that it had been despatched along with them from Bantam. It is not, however, mentioned in any of the letters brought by that vessel, as would be natural if it had been so despatched, while its preparation in Holland, or at least in European waters, is suggested by two passages. In one of these the writer says that the Persians and other foreigners in Masulipatam were fair in complexion, but had not the colour "of the people in this country" (*'t volck hier te land*); in the other, Indian sail cloth is described as inferior to "that made here", where the reference is obviously to Holland. Had Schorer been writing in Asia, he would almost certainly have said "in our country", or "in our dear fatherland", phrases which occur so often in the records. The most probable explanation of these facts is that he travelled

home in the *Green Lion*, and that he wrote, or at least completed, the Relation either during the voyage, or so soon after arrival that it could be recorded as having come by that vessel. What is certain is that the Relation, which is addressed to the Directors of the Company, was in their hands in 1616. I have found no later reference to Schorer in the published records, and probably he did not return to India.

Some extracts from the Relation were given in a condensed form by van Dijk in his account of Wemmer van Berchem's work in India, but, so far as I can learn, the text has never been printed either in original or in translation. The manuscript is contained in the series of records known in the Rijksarchief at The Hague as *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* [Letters and Papers Received], and appears as ff. 166–170 of Book I of 1616. The transcripts from Archives at The Hague, which are in the India Office, include certain extracts (paper no. LXXXI in vol. III of Series I). The manuscript is exceptionally clear, and is obviously a fair copy made with great care; the baldness of the style is, I hope, sufficiently indicated in my version.

Of the third, anonymous, Relation no manuscript has been traced. It appeared originally in the collection of Dutch voyages issued with the title "Origin and Progress (*Begin ende Voortgangh*) of the United Dutch Chartered East India Company". The Editor of that collection inserted it at p. 77 of his reprint of Pieter van den Broeke's *Voyage to the East Indies*; he gave neither the author nor the date, and it has been occasionally cited as if it were van den Broeke's work, but this is certainly not the case, for the writer tells us in his opening paragraph that he had lived for about six years in Nizāmpatam, while van den Broeke's own account shows that he spent only a few weeks on the Coromandel Coast, and he was certainly never stationed at Nizāmpatam for any length of time. From the position of the insertion it may be inferred that the editor thought it desirable to supplement van den Broeke's brief account of his visit to Golconda by a more detailed description of the country, and that he chose for the purpose this Relation, which, it may be assumed, he had obtained, along with other documents, from the records of the Dutch Company.

Apart from the opening paragraph, the Relation contains very little material for determining its date or authorship. The period to which it belongs is, however, indicated by the statement that the writer was with Jan van Wesick when he witnessed widow-burning for the first time. Van Wesick was appointed Chief at Nizāmpatam in the year 1608, and was transferred to Masulipatam in June, 1610; at the end of this year he became Director of all the factories in Coromandel, with headquarters at Pulicat; and in 1612 he left the Coast for Bantam. The incident in question must thus lie between 1608 and 1610.

In his account of the administration of Golconda, the writer mentions that he often travelled through the country. Some records quoted by Dr Terpstra indicate that at this time it was the duty of the Chief at Nizāmpatam to make tours of inspection lasting for some days; there is thus a suggestion that the writer may have been Chief for some part of his service.

In one place the writer mentions the death of a daughter of the King of Golconda "more than 4½ years ago". The records show that van Wesick's negotiations at Golconda in November, 1609, were delayed by the death of the King's daughter; if the reference is to this event, as is likely enough, but by no means certain, the date of the Relation would be after the middle of 1614.

In another place, the writer refers to "the execution of Schengan" as a recent event, completing the discomfiture of the Portuguese on the Coromandel Coast. Schengan, or Xenga, was either the title or the nick-name of Philip de Brito, a Portuguese adventurer who had established himself at Syriam in Pegu. The news of his capture and execution reached Masulipatam in February, 1614, so presumably the Relation was written shortly after this date.

A more definite indication of the date is found in the statement that the indigo-trade between the Golconda kingdom and the West Coast had been interrupted for "the last two years" by war between the Portuguese and the officers of Ahmadnagar stationed at the port of Chaul. After some preliminary bickering, this war broke out in 1612, and peace was not made until April, 1615. The indigo-trade was carried on mainly during the

winter and spring, so that we may infer that "the last two years" were the seasons of 1612–13 and 1613–14, or in other words, that the Relation was written in the summer or autumn of 1614.

We may take it then that the writer's residence of "about six years" in Nizāmpatam ran from 1608 to 1614, and we have to see if the published records furnish a clue to his identity. The staff employed at this factory was small, six persons in all when it was founded in 1606, and four persons when Schorer left the Coast in 1614. Of the men whose names appear in the records, there is one, and only one, whose experience covers this period exactly. Pieter Gielisz. (or Jelis) van Ravesteyn came from Holland to the Coast in 1608, and in November of that year was posted as junior factor to Nizāmpatam, where van Wesick had recently become Chief. He was there in 1609, he succeeded van Wesick as Chief in 1610, and he still held this post in 1612. The next relevant date in the published records is June, 1614, when J. Lefebure was appointed Chief of the factory.

Through the kindness of Mr Bijlsma, of the Rijksarchief, I am able to supplement the published records at this point. Van Ravesteyn's engagement as Chief at Nizāmpatam expired in June, 1612, but his term was prolonged for two years. He remained at Nizāmpatam till June, 1614, when he sailed on the *Ter Goes* for Bantam. He returned to the Coast on the same ship in March, 1615, and by decision of the local Council he was sent overland to Surat, in order to recover some property which was in possession of the authorities at that seaport. His journal of this expedition, and his report on Surat, have been published by Dr Terpstra in *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren* (The Hague, 1918), where the remainder of his life is outlined. He returned to Masulipatam in February, 1616, and apparently went to Java in that year, for in 1617 he accompanied Pieter van den Broeke on the voyage from Java to Surat. He was left at Surat as senior factor, and remained there till 1620, when his engagement expired, and he returned to Batavia. In 1621 he sailed in command of a ship going thence to the Red Sea, but died on the voyage. From the dates given above, it is obvious that van Ravesteyn could have written this Relation in the

second half of 1614, the date indicated by internal evidence, either on the voyage, or during his stay at Bantam.

Van Ravesteyn's journal and report bear some resemblance in point of style and language to the anonymous Relation. There is the same preference for foreign words and Latin phrases, and a few characteristic expressions recur; but nobody has a monopoly of phrases or expressions, and all that can be safely inferred is that van Ravesteyn may have written the Relation, so far as style and language are concerned.

One point of detail may be mentioned. In the Relation, the style of the Qutbshāhī dynasty of Golconda appears as Cotebipa. It is not easy to account for the *p* in this word as a misreading of any of the forms which *shāh* takes in the Dutch commercial script of the period. On the other hand, one form of *p* in that script is so like *x* that confusion between the two letters is always possible. Cotebipa might thus be a misreading of Cotebixa, which is one of the Portuguese forms of the word (*x* having the sound of *sh* in Portuguese). Now van Ravesteyn in his journal regularly used the form Cotebixa, which I have met nowhere else in Dutch records. The anomalous form found in the Relation can thus be explained on the theory that it was written by van Ravesteyn, and that either copyist or printer, unfamiliar with the word, read his *x* as a *p*. Extant specimens of his handwriting are almost unknown, but Mr Bijlsma has found for me a letter of the year 1618 signed by him, and containing marginal additions in his hand; in these the letter *p* is written in a form very like an ordinary *x*, so that confusion between the two was possible.

From the nature of the case, proof of the authorship of the Relation is unattainable, but the considerations I have stated appear to me to establish a definite probability that it is the work of van Ravesteyn: in the alternative, the author was some junior or assistant whose name is not traceable in the published records. In either case, its authority rests on the fact that the writer spent six years in one station, and must have acquired a fairly accurate knowledge of the life in that particular locality.

Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the manuscript. We may guess that it was transmitted in due course to

Holland for the information of the Directors of the Company, that it was handed over to the compiler of *Begin ende Voortgangh*, and that it was not preserved after printing; but we know only that it cannot now be traced. The various early appearances of the printed text can be studied in P. A. Tiele's *Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais*, which was published at Amsterdam in 1867. The original issues of van den Broeke's voyages, made at Haarlem and Amsterdam in 1634, do not contain the Relation. It appears in the four editions (1644–46) of *Begin ende Voortgangh* edited by Isaac Commelin, a publisher of Amsterdam; his name does not appear in the volumes, but it is used in modern library catalogues. I have not seen the two earlier editions (1644 and 1645) of this compilation, but Tiele says that, so far as van den Broeke's voyages are concerned, they are identical with those of 1646, from which my translation has been prepared. In 1648 two editions of a collection—*Oost Indische Voyagien*...—were published at Amsterdam by Joost Hartgers, or Hartgerts. So far as van den Broeke's voyages are concerned, these are described by Tiele as reprints of *Begin ende Voortgangh*. In the same year, the same publisher reissued van den Broeke's voyages as a separate volume; it contains this Relation with a very few verbal changes, and a few fresh distortions of the Indian names; and comparison shows it to be identical with the version contained in the compilation just mentioned. Somewhat later, probably in 1663–70, an abbreviated and mutilated reprint of Hartgers' compilation was published by G. J. Saeghman: this I have not seen.

To these facts, which are taken mainly from Tiele's *Mémoire*, it may be added that a French collection of Dutch voyages—*Recueil des Voyages*...*dans les Provinces-Unies*, published by R. A. C. de Renneville (Amsterdam, 1702, Rouen, 1725, and Amsterdam, 1754)—contains van den Broeke's voyages, but the translation of the Relation is by no means accurate, and possibly its errors were propagated in translations made subsequently into other languages. I have not however thought it necessary to search for these. I have found no suggestion of any reissue of the Relation from the original manuscript, and there is no

doubt that the text as given in *Begin ende Voortgangh* is the nearest to it which we possess.

The defects of that text will be obvious to the reader, so far as the spelling of Indian names is concerned, and from some footnotes in which I have offered conjectural emendations. There is, too, room for suspicion that the Relation may have been curtailed in printing. The close is so abrupt as to suggest that the end may have been discarded, but it is also possible that the author may not have had time to complete his work; if, for instance, the writer was van Ravesteyn, his stay at Bantam was very short, and it is quite conceivable that he may have handed over what he had written to the authorities there, rather than carry the manuscript back with him to India for completion. The text also contains some transitions so abrupt as to suggest that some connecting matter has been omitted, but the inference is by no means certain. All that can be said is that the original Relation may have been longer.

§ 6. Golconda and Masulipatam

The foregoing sections contain, I hope, as much information as will be required by ordinary readers as an approach to the Relations: there remains one topic which will interest only a few, but yet cannot be avoided,—the correct forms of the names of the kingdom and its most important seaport.

As regards the kingdom, there is no doubt that its name was derived from the original capital, at first merely a hill-fortress. The form *Gul-khwānda*, 'rose-named', which is occasionally advanced in India, may safely be discarded as an ingenious bit of Persianisation; the latter part of the name is certainly the Telugu word *konda*, 'hill', which we meet also in the names of other hill-fortresses, such as Bellamkonda or Kondavīd. The compiler of the Kistna *District Manual* wrote (p. 244) that "Golconda is a common enough name in the Telugu country, being simply Gālikonda, the hill of tempests, and is given to several peaks on which the storm-clouds gather". This explanation has, however, been questioned by every speaker of the

language whom I have consulted, and they concur in the view that the name is a regularly formed compound from *golla*, 'shepherd', that it means 'shepherd's hill', and that it might be given to any hill where the shepherds were accustomed to graze their flocks. The latter view is to some extent supported by the fact that the first vowel is short in the Persian chronicles, but their transliteration is so haphazard that not very much weight can be attached to this consideration. Speaking for myself, I regard the latter explanation as being more probable, because more prosaic; but I can trace no evidence regarding the origin of the name in the form of inscriptions or early documents, and in the absence of evidence a final verdict is impossible.

As regards the name of the seaport, it will be noticed that all three Relations use the termination *-patnam*, though in the third it was frequently misprinted as *-patuam*. This is a fairly correct reproduction of the Telugu *-pattanamu*, '-ton' or '-town', and the commoner forms, *-patam* or *-patan*, must be attributed to Portuguese influence. Following their usual practice, the Portuguese accented and nasalised the last syllable, and added an *o* to give the word a Portuguese form. These processes would give us *-patnão*; but I have never seen this form, and it may be presumed that the original *n* fused with the introduced nasal sound, giving *-patão*, the form used consistently from the sixteenth century downwards. Europeans of other races who took the name from Portuguese interpreters, and de-nasalised the termination, would naturally write *-patam*, or *-patan*, while those who, like the authors of the Relations, took it from the inhabitants, would write *-patnam*.

The first portion of the name leads to obscure questions which I cannot answer and would gladly avoid, but some notice of them is necessary, because they are raised by William Methwold himself, in his statement that Masulipatam "was first a poore fisher towne, from whence it tooke the name it yet retaynes; afterwards the conveniencie of the road made it a fit residence for merchants".

Now from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards Europeans of various nations, other than the Portuguese, wrote the second consonant in the name as a palatal, *ch*, instead of a

sibilant; and when it was so written, the reference to the Hindi word *machhlī*, 'fish', became inevitable. At first sight then, it would suffice to say that Methwold was thinking of this Hindi word; but we have to remember that Hindi was not the language of the country, nor was it spoken by Methwold, while the facts on record show that the palatal spelling had not been introduced in his time.

To take the latter point first, the earliest use of the palatal which I have found dates from 1647 (*English Factories*, VIII, 138), after which it rapidly became common; but in Methwold's time, and before, the word was certainly pronounced with *s* not *ch*. The Dutch always used *s* or *z*, but their use is ambiguous, because, having no palatal sounds in their own language, they were put to various shifts to represent what they heard in India, and the commonest of these was to use some sibilant. The Portuguese, on the other hand, distinguished the palatal sound systematically, representing it by *ch*; and I have not found a single case of confusion between the two in their early literature. With them the form Masulipatão has prevailed from the middle of the sixteenth century, and there is no doubt that they heard a sibilant, not a palatal.

This is true of the English also, who were familiar with palatal sounds in their own language. Apart from Methwold's own use, we have the name 38 times in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, always with *s*; it occurs more than 150 times in *Letters Received*, all with *s*; it occurs more than 160 times in *English Factories*, down to 1645, all with *s*; and the same form is used by Jourdain, Roe, Mundy, and various other writers of the period. Even when the name was distorted, as in the grotesque form, Mesopotamia, found in some early English letters, the *s* was preserved. It is certain, then, that Methwold heard the name pronounced with *s*; and it is certain that he heard it so pronounced by the inhabitants, for, if he had taken the pronunciation from Portuguese interpreters, he would have written *-patam*, not *-patnam*.

I have failed to trace the name in earlier literature. This region is not described in any detail by the Arab geographers; and the only possible reference to the seaport is the Mali Fatan

(*Elliot's History*, I, 72), on the long road from Mabar (Coromandel) to Khitai (China), a route which, so far as I can find, has not been worked out in detail. The Greeks make no mention of any seaport with an identifiable name in this locality; while the Masalia region of the *Periplus*, and the Maisolia country of Ptolemy, though very intriguing, are irrelevant for the present purpose, because the Greeks, like the Dutch, represented palatal sounds by sibilants, as in Barugaza for Bharukachchha, and Sandrokottos for Chandragupta.

It is impossible then to affirm that up to 1647 the name was always spelt with a sibilant, but the pronunciation in Methwold's time is fixed; and we have to choose whether he was referring to the Hindi word *machhlī*, or to some southern word for fish, spelt with *s*. The former is not impossible, any more than it is impossible that a Norwegian word should be used to explain the name of a place on the shores of the Adriatic; but the probabilities are that he was thinking of some word nearer home. I gather from the dictionaries that the Sanskrit *matsya*, 'fish', the origin of the Hindi *machhlī*, appears as *māsolī* and *māsūlī* in the languages of the West Coast, which Methwold had visited, while I am informed that the Telugu form, which is now written as *machālū*, is commonly pronounced *masālū*. I suggest then that Methwold was probably thinking of some such form, spelt or pronounced with an *s*, not that he was referring to the more remote and less similar *machhlī*.

Whether Methwold's derivation is accurate is quite another question. Place-names are ordinarily distinctive, and 'Fishton' would be appropriate to nearly every village on the East Coast. Possibly this consideration may account for the tradition recorded in *Hobson-Jobson* (*s.v.*) that the name arose from the fact of a whale having once been stranded on the shore; but this tradition would almost certainly have been mentioned by Methwold if it had been current in his time. The probabilities are that the true derivation is from some word like that for fish, but with a different meaning; that the similarity gave rise to the false derivation from fish; and that, when Hindi speakers appeared in this region, they altered the spelling to assimilate it to the word for fish with which they were familiar. Various such

words have been suggested to me. One gentleman tells me of a common word *musli* for cotton goods, but its age is very dubious, and it may be simply some form of 'muslin' naturalised in the bazaar. More probable candidates are *musal*, which in Tamil means 'hare', *mosali*, Telugu for 'crocodile', or *masūlū*, Telugu for 'handicrafts'. The view I have suggested is thus tenable, but there is no evidence available to show how the name actually originated; what is certain is that during our period the name should be spelt with *s*, not *ch*.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION

Note. The full titles of works cited here and elsewhere in abbreviated form will be found in the List of Authorities at the end of the volume.

SECTION 1. The story of the rise of Golconda is condensed from vol. III of the *Cambridge History of India*, chs. III–VII, XV–XVIII; the original authorities are set out in the bibliographies relating to those chapters. The volume dealing with the southward advance of the Moguls has not yet appeared, and I have relied on the various sources enumerated in Appendix D of V. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1919), and on the chronicles relating to the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, especially the *Tūzuk*, the *Iqbālnāma*, and the *Bādshāhnāma*.

The description of the kingdom is drawn from the Relations, supplemented by the relevant *District Manuals* and *Gazetteers*. The weaving industry is dealt with in more detail in chapters II–IV of my book *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (London, 1923); an attempt at classifying the exports of cotton goods will be found in *Indian Journal of Economics*, January, 1925.

SECTION 2. The entry of Europeans into the sea-borne commerce of Asia is described at greater length in *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, chapters I–IV, and Appendix A, where detailed references will be found.

SECTION 3. This is a summary of the sections which follow, and is based on the authorities quoted for them.

SECTION 4. Methwold's first appointment is recorded in *Court Minutes*, 25th September, 1615. The fight with the carrack on the outward voyage is related in *Pilgrimes*, II, ix, 1465. Methwold's activities in Gujarāt are in *Letters Received*, IV, 189–198; V, 85–130; and his voyage to Tiku and Bantam can be followed in the index to the latter volume. His life at Masulipatam is dealt with in his letters thence scattered through *English Factories*, I, II. The order for his recall is in *Court Minutes*, 23rd October, 1618. For the Java Council's report on his work, see *English Factories*, II, 193, and for the decision of the Directors, *Court Minutes*, 17th October, 1623 to 2nd April, 1624.

Nearly all that can be learned of his activities during the next ten years is contained in the *Court Minutes*: his admission as a 'free brother' to the Company, 27th June, 1628: his offer to go to Persia, 9th January, 1629: his appointment to Surat, 22nd February, 1632–3. The facts regarding his appointment as deputy Sword-bearer are in the City records at the Guildhall, and were communicated by the Record Officer, Mr A. H. Thomas.

Methwold's letters from Surat are in *English Factories*, IV–VI: the quotations given in the text are taken from IV, p. xxxiii; V, 59–65, 146, 181, 208; his narrative of his imprisonment is V, 232, 251; the agreement with the Portuguese is V, 89, and the negotiations are summarised on pp. vii–x of the Introduction to that volume.

From the date of his return to England, Methwold's name recurs constantly in *Court Minutes*. His election as a Committee is 3rd July, 1640, and as Deputy Governor, 5th July, 1643; his commercial and financial transactions are scattered through the volumes. The information regarding his home at Hale House was communicated mainly by Mr Haywood Jones, Assistant Borough Librarian of Kensington.

Section 5. There are no Calendars of the Dutch records, such as those which make reference so simple in the case of the records at the India Office. Up to 1610 the relevant records are dealt with in *Teixtra*, and

RELATIONS

OF THE KINGDOME OF GOLCHONDA, AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING NATIONS within the GULFE OF BENGALA, ARRECCAN, PEGU, TANNASSERY, etc., and the English Trade in those Parts, by MASTER WILLIAM METHOLD.

THE Gulfe of Bengala[1] (famous for its dimensions) extendeth itselfe from the Cape called Comorijne, lying in 8 degrees of North latitude, unto Chatigan the bottome thereof, which, being in 22 degrees, is not lesse as the coast lyeth then a 1000 English miles, and in breadth 900, limited on the other side by Cape Singapura, which lyeth in 1 degree of South [North] latitude; washeth the coast of these great and fertile kingdomes, *viz.*, Ziloan, Bisnagar, Golchonda, Bengala, Arreccan, Pegu and Tanassery; and receiveth into its * bosome many navigable rivers, which lose their note and names in the eminent neighbourhood of the famous Ganges; whose unknowne head, pleasant streames, and long extent, have amongst those heathen inhabitants (by the tradition of their forefathers) gained a beliefe of clensing all such sinnes as the bodies of those that wash therein brought with them; for which cause many are the pilgrimes that resort from farre to this lasting jubilee,[2] with some of whom I

[1] In modern conventional spelling the names in this sentence are: the Bay of Bengal, Cape Comorin, Chittagong, Cape Singapore, Ceylon, Vijayanagar, Golconda, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim. At this time Singapore was merely a geographical term; the modern city had not been founded. Methwold's figures of distances are too low; the British India S.N. Co. reckon 1320 nautical miles from Chittagong, and 1567 from Singapore, to Colombo, the nearest large seaport to Cape Comorin.

[2] The reference is to the ecclesiastical use of the word 'jubilee' to denote the occasional grant of remission from the penal consequences of sin; the epithet 'lasting' marks the distinction between such occasional remissions and the continuous effect attributed by the Hindu religion to bathing in the Ganges.

have had conference, and from their owne reports I insert this their beliefe.

The Island of Zeloan [Ceylon] our Nation hath onely lookt upon *en passant*. The Portugals, that clayme all East India by donation,[1] hold a great part of this in subjection, and with such assurance that they beleeve they can make it good against all their enemies, yet are not they the onely lords thereof, for the naturall inhabitants have also their King, commonly called the King of Candy;[2] with whom the Danes had not long since a fruitlesse treaty for commerce, which falling short of their expectation, they fortified upon the mayne [mainland] not far from Negapatnam,[3] at a place called Trangabay,[4] with what successe or hopes of benefit I cannot relate.

The first kingdome upon the mayne is that ancient one of Bisnagar,[5] rent at this time into severall provinces or governments held by the pNaickes of that countrey in their owne right; for since the last King (who deceased about fiftene yeeres since)

[1] See the *Cambridge Modern History*, I, ch. I, for a short account of the Bull of Pope Alexander VI, which in the popular view granted the Portuguese an exclusive right to the East Indies. Purchas could not 'suffer this Bull to pass unbaited', and he 'baited' it at considerable length in the *Pilgrimes*, I, ii, 218 ff.

[2] Kandy, the capital of the native kingdom, which maintained its independence against the Portuguese established at Colombo and elsewhere on the coast: for its history, see P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon, the Portuguese Era* (Colombo, 1913–14). A short account of the early experience of the Danes will be found in *English Factories*, I, p. xlv.

[3] At this period Negapatam, now in the Tanjore district, was *de facto* in the possession of the Portuguese, but was not Portuguese territory (*Couto*, X, i, 49). The spelling *-patnam* is discussed in the Introduction, § 6.

[4] Tranquebar, or Tarangampādi, on the coast, 18 miles north of Negapatam. The Danish E.I. Co. obtained a grant of land here in 1620; the fort which they built belonged to Denmark until 1845.

[5] Bisnagar was the Portuguese form of Vijayanagar, the extensive Hindu kingdom which dominated the south of India from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The original capital city, from which the kingdom was named, was destroyed after the battle of Tālikotā in 1565, and at this period the capital was at Vellore, now in the North Arcot district. *Nāyak* was the designation of the principal Governors, among whom authority over the kingdom was distributed. The 'last king' was Venkata I, who died in 1614 (*Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 326), or rather less than 'fifteen years since'. Mr R. S. Aiyar, discussing the position of the kingdom in the half-century following Tālikotā, concludes (*Journal of Indian History*, April, 1927, p. 78) that 'provincial insubordination exhibited itself with potency only after the death of Venkata I', a view which agrees substantially with Methwold's statement.

there have arisen severall competitors for the crowne, unto whom the Naickes have adhered according to their factions, or affections; from whence hath followed a continuall civill warre in some parts of the countrey, and such extreame want and famine in most of it, that parents have brought thousands of their young children to the sea side, selling there a child for five d*fanums*[1] worth of rice, transported from thence into other parts of India, and sold againe to good advantage, if the gaines be good that ariseth from the sale of soules.

In this kingdome lyeth the towne of Saint Thome,[2] inhabited and governed by Portugals, who notwithstanding must acknowledge some dependency from the Naicke that holds that part of the countrey, of whom (after some siege endured by them) they were enforced, about three yeeres since, to buy their peace with a summe of money; for their towne is onely fortified towards the sea, but to landwards no otherwise then with their houses, which are built strong, close and defensible.

Not farre from Saint Thome lyeth Pallecat,[3] a badde neighbour to the Portugall since the Dutch possessed their castle in that place; for with shipping great and smal, which they constantly kept upon that coast, they so scowre it that a Portugall frigat[4] stirre not but in the confidence of her better sayling, nor dares anchor before the towne, for feare of being fetcht from thence; but if they escape at sea, either unseene or by their speed, they presently [immediately] unlade, haling their ships on shoare close under the wall; from whence it followeth, the trade of that place [S. Thomé] is so much decayed, that the Portugall inhabitants are become much impoverished. Wherein it is worth

[1] Fanam, a very small gold coin. Its relation to the pagoda, the larger coin, is discussed in the Appendix; the value of sixpence, taken in the marginal note, is approximately correct for this period.

[2] S. Thomé, now a suburb of the city of Madras. *Couto*, X, i, 49, classes it with Negapatam as not being Portuguese territory, but in fact governed by the Portuguese residents. Balbi's reference to it will be found in the *Pilgrimes*, II, x, 1723.

[3] Pulicat, on the coast, 25 miles north of Madras. The history of Fort Geldria, the Dutch stronghold, is sketched in the Introduction.

[4] Frigates at this period were small coasting vessels, which could be rowed as well as sailed, and were primarily for cargo, though they were frequently fitted out for coastal fighting.

the observation to consider their malice punished in the effect of it: for the Hollanders, after some experience of the trade in India, finding commodities of Saint Thome and that coast to be very vendible, and to good profit, in the Moluccoes, Banda, Amboyna, Java, Sumatra, and other those easterne parts,[1] procured from the last King of Bisnagar free commerce in his countrey, and to that purpose setled at first a factory in Pallecut, where they left sixe or seven Hollanders to negotiate their affaires: but the Portugals of Saint Thome, not brooking any Christian corrivall so neere them in the same course of trade, came downe with their whole power of frigats, and landing at Pallecut, they assaulted the Dutch house, which was for a time resolutely defended, untill, some being slaine, the rest yeelded after promise of life and good quarter, but were carried prisoners to Saint Thome, from whence with much difficulty some escaped, and amongst them the chiefe Factor,[2] from whose relation I insert this discourse.

The King (upon knowledge of this assault, and the Hollanders instant suite to bee better secured) permitted them to build a fort, conditionally that the one halfe of the souldiers should be of his subjects, which tooke place; and the fort being finished, it was devided, and halved betwixt the Gentiles[3] and Hollanders; untill, many differences arising amongst so different cohabitants, the King called away his people, leaving the fort wholy in the Dutches power, which since they have enlarged and strengthened, and now call it Gueldrea [Geldria]; wherein since the Treaty of

[1] This part of the Coromandel Coast was the chief seat of the manufacture of the patterned cotton cloths, known commercially as *pintado*, or 'painted', which were the goods in most demand in the Spice Islands, as well as in parts of Java and Sumatra. Merchants engaged in the spice trade were consequently under a strong inducement to establish agencies, or 'factories' as they were then called, in localities where they could obtain these goods at first hand.

[2] The name in the margin represents Signor Adolf Thomaszoon. He appears below as one of Methwold's companions on the visit to the diamond-field. The title 'signor' was at this time not confined to Italians, but was frequently given to any foreigner of position; Purchas, or his printer, usually showed it as 'Sir'. The Portuguese attack on Pulicat was made in the summer of 1612 (*van Dijk*, 20 ff.).

[3] The term 'gentiles' was commonly applied at this period to Hindus, as a unit, contrasted with 'Moors', *i.e.* Moslems, and Christians; it represents the Portuguese *gentio*. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Gentoo.

1619,[1] our nation, for the moyetie of an oppressed trade, have borne the uttermost charge of halfe the garrison, without participation of such benefits as in equity ought to ensue; but my affection to that nation, and the condition of the times, forbids me to aggravate or adde to our just quarrell for their unjust and cruell proceedings in Amboyna.[2]

So that now the Portugals, in place of neighbouring merchants whom they disturbed, are galled with a garrison of profest enemies whom they cannot remoove; for their owne power is not sufficient, and assistance from the Vice-roy they shall not have, if their present ruines were in question, because they neither assist in person or contribution the generall affaires of India,[3] but are, with their consorts the Portugals inhabiting Bengala, accounted *Levantadoes del Rey*, exempted from their Princes protection.[4]

Onely they have to their power incensed some of the Naickes against the Hollanders, who about foure yeares since[5] with sixe thousand men besieged *Pallecut*, but at such distance, and with so little advantage, that an easie composition raysed the siege, and little of that given by the Hollanders, but from the natives subsisting under their protection, over whom they pretend no sovereignetie,[6] exact no duties, nor prescribe no lawes; con-

[1] In this year an agreement, known as the Treaty of Defence, was made between the English and Dutch Companies, to share the eastern trade, over which their servants in the East had been at war; see *Calendar of State Papers, Col. series, East Indies*, 1617–21, for the negotiations. The result was inevitably constant friction between the servants of the two Companies, as described in *English Factories*, II, p. xxxv. The English withdrew from Pulicat in 1623.

[2] The reference is to what became known as 'the massacre of Amboyna'. In 1623 the English merchants resident in the Dutch fort on that island were charged with conspiracy to seize it, and most of them were executed on confessions obtained by torture (*Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1622–24, *passim*). The news led to violent popular demonstrations in London, and the hostility to Holland had not subsided when Methwold wrote.

[3] 'India' is used here in the special sense of the Portuguese power in the East, a sense which is common in the literature of the sixteenth century.

[4] The probable meaning is 'rebels against the King'; but Professor E. Prestage informs me that the phrase ought to be *levantados contra el Rei*.

[5] Pulicat was besieged for two months in 1620 (*English Factories*, I, 196 *n*).

[6] This was true when Methwold wrote, but, as time went on, the Dutch assumed territorial jurisdiction over their settlement.

tenting themselves in confronting the Portugall, and negotiating their affaires of merchandizing.

In sixteene degrees and a halfe lyeth Musulipatnam,[1] the chiefe port of the Kingdome of Golchonda, where the Right Worshipfull East Indian Company have their Agent and severall factories in that place and Petapoley,[2] first protected and setled by Peter Willemson Floris and Lucas Anthonison, who, in the employment of English adventurers, arrived there about thirteene yeares since in the *Globe* of London: since which time, commerce hath beene continued in those parts, and amongst other their servants my selfe received their employment, and from almost five yeares residence in that place (at the request of the authour of this laborious volume) am emboldened to publish such remarkable things as have falne within the compasse of my observation.

It is a small towne, but populous, unwalled, ill built, and worse situated; within, all the spring[s] are brackish, and without, over-flowed with every high sea for almost halfe a mile about. It was first a poore fisher towne, from whence it tooke the name it yet retaynes;[3] afterwards the conveniencie of the road[-stead] made it a fit residence for merchants, and so continueth (with increase of trade) since our and the Dutch nation frequented this Coast.

The climate is very healthfull, and the yeere devided in their account into three different seasons, whereof March, Aprill, May, and June they call the hote season, and not without good cause; for the sunne, being returned into their hemisphere, doth not alone scortch the earth with his piercing beames, but even the winde, which should asswage his fury, addes greater fire, and yeerely about mid May, with a strong westerly gale, brings off

[1] Masulipatam, then the principal seaport of the kingdom of Golconda, now the headquarters of the Kistna district. The Dutch established their factory here in 1606, under an agreement with the King (*Terpstra*, 40 ff.). The voyage of the *Globe* is narrated in the *Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 304 ff.; the vessel reached Masulipatam on 30th November, 1611. Antheunis is the commonest form of the name given in the text as Anthonison; both he and Floris were Dutchmen. The marginal reference is to *Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 319 ff.

[2] Petapoley is Peddapalle, more generally known as Nizāmpatam, 40 miles S.W. of Masulipatam.

[3] This statement is discussed in the Introduction, § 6.

the land a sensible heat, as when a house is on fire, such as are neere to leeward can hardly endure; and this so penetrateth that, the doores and windowes being shut, the houses are notwithstanding so warmed that the chaires and stooles admit hardly the uses they were made for without cooling them, and the place where we abide, by often sprinkling of water; but the extremity hereof neyther lasteth long nor commeth often, onely five or seven dayes in a yeere, and then but from nine or ten a clocke in the forenoone untill four or five in the afternoone, at which time a coole breeze from off the sea qualifies againe this intollerable heat: wherein many of the natives are in their travell suffocated and perish. And of Christians, a Dutchman as hee was carried in his *palamkeene* [palanquin], and an Englishman walking but from the towne to the barre, little above an English mile, dyed both in the way. The rest of these foure moneths are very hote, farre exceeding the hottest day in our climate, and would so continue, but that in July, August, September, and October, the raines are predominant, which with their frequent, violent, and long continuing showres, cooles the earth, and revives the parcht roots of the sunburnt plants of the earth, sometimes rayning so long together, and with such fiercenesse, that houses loose their foundations in their currants, and fall to the ground: from whence also followes great land-flouds, to this countrey no lesse commodious then the inundation of Nilus to the Egyptians, by receiving the flouds into their rice grounds, and there retayning it untill the earth, drinking it in, becomes the better enabled to endure an eighth moneths abstinence; for in eight moneths it never rayneth. November, December, January, and February they account their cooler times, and are so indeed compared to the former, yet as hote as it is here in England in May.[1]

From which constant heate all trees are heere continually greene, and their fruites ripe in their severall seasons. The earth

[1] This account of the climate of Masulipatam is substantially, but not verbally, accurate. The average rainfall in forty years (1870–1909) was 38·7 inches, of which 35·4 fell between June and November, and 3·3 in the remaining six months (*Kistna District Gazetteer*). The mean temperature in November–February is about 75°; in March–June, 85°; and in July–October, 83°.

in some places affoords two croppes of rice[1] in a yeere, rarely three croppes, and in most places but one, yet there with very great increase: they sowe other sorts of pulse, different from ours, and farre up into the country they have good wheate, but not much, for it is little eaten of the Gentiles: rootes they have of most sorts which we have heere, and good store of potatoes, yet but few hearbs or flowres, which defect they supply in their *betele*,[2] whose frequent use amongst them many have already discoursed. In briefe, it is a very fruitfull countrey, and, occasioned by many of the inhabitants abstinence from any thing that hath life, all kind of victuall are very cheape and plentifull,[3] as eight hens for twelve pence, a goate or sheepe for ten pence, and for eighteene pence or two shillings a very good hogge; the like of fish and all other provisions in the towne, but in the countrey much better cheape.

This Kingdome (as most others in India) receiveth its denomination from the chiefe city or residence of the King, called by the Natives Golchonda,[4] by the Moores and Persians Hidraband, distant from Musulipatnam eight and twentie Gentive leagues, every such league contayning nine English miles, and in the common course of travel ten dayes journey. A citie that for sweetnesse of ayre, conveniencie of water, and

[1] More than half the cultivated area of the Kistna district is under rice, the bulk of the remainder under various millets and pulses; wheat is very rare (*Kistna District Gazetteer*). The potatoes mentioned were probably some tubers (perhaps *Batatas*) different from those which now bear the name; as the *OED.* shows, the word was ambiguous in the seventeenth century, before *Solanum tuberosum* had become *the* potato.

[2] Betel, the leaves of the betel-vine (*Piper betle*) prepared with areca nuts (*Areca catechu*) and lime, and chewed as a mild stimulant.

[3] A longer list of local prices will be found in Schorer's Relation. Taking the fanam as worth sixpence, his figures are, for eight hens, from ninepence to a shilling, for a goat, from sixpence to a shilling, and for a hog, 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*

[4] Golconda was the original capital of the dynasty; Hyderābād, 5 miles east, was founded in the year 1589. The distance from Masulipatam is slightly over 200 miles in a straight line; Methwold's figure (252 miles) doubtless represents the route in use at the time, which started almost due north, and swung round to the west. The league of 9 miles is the *āmada*, containing 4 *kos*, each 2¼ miles; both units are still in common use (*Godāvari District Gazetteer*, 120–1). I have not noticed the adjective 'gentive' in other English narratives, nor does it appear in the *OED.*; perhaps Methwold borrowed it from Dutch usage, *gentiffe* and *gentive* being common at this period.

fertility of soyle, is accounted the best situated in India, not to speake of the Kings Palace, which for bignesse and sumptuousnesse, in the judgement of such as have travelled India, exceedeth all belonging to the Mogull or any other Prince: it being twelve miles[1] in circumference, built all of stone, and, within, the most eminent places garnished with massie gold in such things as we commonly use iron, as in barres of windowes, bolts, and such like, and in all other points fitted to the majesty of so great a King, who in elephants and jewels is accounted one of the richest Princes of India.

He is by religion a Mahumetan, discended from Persian ancestors, and retayneth their opinions, which differing in many points from the Turkes, are distinguished in their sects by tearmes of *Seaw*, and *Sunnee*,[2] and hath beene at large, and truly to my knowledge, particularized in your *Pilgrimage*;[3] whereunto I onely adde in confirmation of their mutuall hatred what in conference I received from a *Meene*,[4] one of Mahomets owne tribe, if wee may beleeve his owne heraldry, who openly professed hee could not finde in his heart to pray for a *Sunnee*, for in his opinion a Christian might as easily bee saved; a charitie well befitting his religion, that would not pray for those hee might not pray with.

This King (as all other his predecessors) retaines the title of Cotubsha,[5] the original whereof I remember to have read in

[1] Either the figure is exaggerated or it refers to the entire city; the fortress, within which the palace was situated, is over three miles in circumference (*Impl. Gaz.* XII, 309).

[2] The distinction between the terms *Sunni* and *Shī'a* marks the principal cleavage in Islam, between 'the catholic Muhammadan community' and a group of sects, 'the starting point of all of which is the recognition of Ali as the legitimate caliph after the death of the prophet' (*Cyclopedia of Islam*, *s.vv.* Sunna, Shī'a). The founder of the Qutbshāhī dynasty was of Turk origin, but was born at Hamadān in Persia, and was said (perhaps in flattery) to be nearly related to the Shāh (*Briggs*, III, 321, 329).

[3] Book III, vii, p. 274, of the fourth edition.

[4] Read Meere, *i.e.* Mīr, a title commonly employed by the Sayyids, who claim to be descended from Muhammad.

[5] Qutb-ul Mulk ('polestar of the kingdom') was the title borne in the Bahmanī kingdom by the officer who eventually became the first King of Golconda; his successors assumed the style of Qutb-shāh, but the earlier title survived in popular speech, and appears in Portuguese and other European records of the sixteenth century in various forms such as Cotamaluco (*Hobson-Jobson*,

Linschoten. He maried (during my being in his country) the daughter of Adelsha, King of Viziapore,[1] and hath besides her three other wives, and at least 1000 concubines: a singular honour and state amongst them to have many women, and one of the strangest things to them I could relate, and in their opinions lamentable, that his excellent Majesty our Gracious Sovereigne should have three kingdomes and but one wife.

The Cotubsha, Adelsha, and Negaim Sha[2] oppose the Mogull in a perpetuall league of mutuall defence, yet so as their yeerely presents prove their best weapons, chusing rather to buy peace then to hazard the event of war against so mighty an enemy.

His revenewes are reported to bee five and twenty lackes of pagodes,[3] a lacke beeing an 100,000, and a pagode equall in weight and alloy to a French crowne, and worth there seven shillings six pence sterling: which huge treasure ariseth from the large extent of his dominions, his subjects being all his tenants, and at a rackt rent:[4] for this King, as all others in India, is the onely free-holder of the whole countrey, which being devided into great governments,[5] as our shires, those againe into lesser

s.v.). Linschoten's derivation (1, 172), from *maluco* (*sc. mulk*) 'kingdom', and *cota* (*sc. quwwat*) 'strength', must represent an erroneous version current in his time in Goa.

[1] Viziapore is Bījāpur, the kingdom adjoining Golconda on the west. The Governor of this region in the Bahmanī kingdom bore the title Ādil Khān ('just lord'), which naturally became Ādil-shāh after his assumption of royalty. These titles occur in Portuguese in various forms, for which see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Idalcan.

[2] Negaim Sha represents Nizām Shāh, the *g* being presumably a misreading of *z*. The Bahmanī Governor of Ahmadnagar bore the title Nizām-ul-mulk ('administrator of the kingdom'), which naturally became Nizām Shāh when he ascended the throne; for the variants in European literature, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Nizamaluco. The relations between these kings and the Mogul Empire are sketched in the Introduction, § 1.

[3] Equivalent to about £937,500, at the then value of the pagoda. The other two Relations, which are somewhat earlier in date, give 1,700,000, and 1,900,000 pagodas; the revenue naturally fluctuated, and may have increased to this extent in the interval, but such statements can scarcely be precise. I have found no official record of the amount of the revenue at this period.

[4] The modern form 'rack-rent', in the sense of an excessive, or extortionate, rent, was already in use when Methwold wrote, but his form is etymologically correct, the verb 'to rack' bearing at this time the sense of raising rent beyond a fair amount (*OED.* *s.vv.* rack, rack-rent).

[5] The 'great governments' would now be called districts, and the 'lesser ones' subdivisions.

ones as our hundreds, and those into villages, the government is farmed immediately from the King by some eminent man, who to other inferiours farmeth out the lesser ones, and they againe to the countrey people, at such excessive rates, that it is most lamentable to consider what toyle and miserie the wretched soules endure. For if they fall short of any part of their rent, what their estates [means] cannot satisfie, their bodies must; so it somtimes happens, they are beaten to death, or, absenting themselves, their wives, children, fathers, brothers, and all their kindred are engaged in the debt, and must satisfie or suffer. And sometimes it happeneth that the Principall [Governor], fayling with the King, receives from him the like punishment, as it befell to one Basbell Raw[1] (Governour at Musulipatnam since the English traded thither), who for defect of full payment was beaten with canes upon the backe, feet, and belly untill hee dyed. Yet hold they not these their governments by lease, for yeerely in July all are exposed in sale unto him that bids most: from whence it happeneth that every Governour (during his time) exacts by tolles taken in the way, and other oppressions, whatsoever they can possibly extort from the poorer inhabitants, using what violence within their governments they shall thinke fit; for in them (during their time) they raigne as petty kings, not much unlike the Bashawes[2] under the Turkish monarchy.

There are in the confines and heart of this kingdome sixtie six severall forts or castles, all of them commanded by * Naicks,[3] and guarded by Gentiles souldiers of the countrey, unto which souldiery there is allowed but foure shillings the moneth, and that also ill payd. They are for the most part situated upon very

[1] Raw represents Rāo, a common suffix to the name of a Hindu of position. This Governor may safely be identified with the Busebulleraw (reading *w* for *n*) whom Floris mentions (*Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 325) as having come into power at Masulipatam in 1613; the name is perhaps Bāsu (or Vāsu) Ball Rāo.

[2] Bashaw, Turkish *pāshā*, the designation of the principal officers of the Sultan of Turkey.

[3] Naick (*nāyak*) was used at this time in more senses than one. In earlier passages it has meant the principal Governors in the kingdom of Vijayanagar; here it denotes military commandants in Golconda. For other meanings, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Naik.

high rockes, or hills, unaccessible but by one onely way; three[1] of which I have seene, *viz.* Cundapoly, Cundavera, and Bellum Cunda (Cunda in that language signifying a hill); and in the towne of Cundapoley, having occasion to visit the Governour, I was so curious as to require the sight of the castle, who replyed that even himselfe, although the Governour of that part of the countrey, could not be permitted entrance without the Kings *firmaen*[2] with much trouble procured: from whom I understood that this castle, being of great circuit, was devided into sixe severall forts, one commanding another according to their situation, which, being furnished with great ponds of water, store of trees, as well fruit as others, and large fields to plant rice in, lodged in them continually 12,000 souldiers; thus much his relation. What I could see, which was enough to hide a great part of the heavens, was a huge mountaine, which, being apart by nature, had invited art to make it a retreate for the King of this countrey, if a battels losse, or other adverse fortune, forced them to that extremity. For besides the mountayne itselfe (steepe in most places) it is walled with a handsome seeming stone wall, with bulwarkes and battlements according to the ancient order of fortification: whereunto having but one way that admits ascent, it is thought impregnable, not to bee undermined but by treacherie, skaled without wings, or battered but by famine. And betwixt this castle and Cundevera, which is at least five and twentie English miles, there is a nightly correspondence held by shewing each other torches, lifting them up sometimes more, sometimes lesse, according to the order contrived betwixt them.

Religion is heere free, and no mans conscience oppressed with ceremony or observance, onely the King's religion is predominant in the authority and quality of the professors, not in number of soules; for the ancient naturals of the countrey, commonly called Gentiles, or Heathens, exceed them in a very great proportion.

[1] Cundapoly, or Kondapalli, now in the Kistna district, near Bezwāda (*Impl. Gaz.* xv, 393); Cundavera, or Kondavīd, now in Guntūr (*Impl. Gaz. l.c.*); Bellum Cunda, or Bellamkonda, also in Guntūr (*Impl. Gaz.* vii, 158). The word *konda* is Telugu, meaning hill, as stated in the text.

[2] Persian *farmān*, technically in India an order issued by the king personally.

The Moores [Moslems] are of two sorts, as I formerly mentioned, but they onely which are tearmed Seaw [Shīa] have their * Mesgits[1] and publike exercise of their religion; the rest, giving no offence, are not interrupted in their opinions, or practizes; but of these their ceremonies or differences I forbeare to discourse, well knowing that, besides our neerer neighbourhood with Turkey and Barbarie, your *Pilgrimage* hath amply delineated both their beginnings and continuance.

The like consideration might silence my purposed relation of the Gentiles, who, differing little in habit, complexion, manners or religion from most of the inhabitants of the mayne [mainland] of India, have alreadie from abler pennes past your approbation, and the presse: so that *Nil dictum est quod sit dictum prius*. Yet, encouraged by your request, I adde to that treasury this myte of my observation, submitting all that dislikes, or appeares superfluous, to your suppression.

The Gentiles in the fundamentall points of their little religion[2] doe hold the same principles which their learned clergie, the Bramenes [brāhmans], have from great antiquitie, and doe yet maintayne, but with an implicite faith, not able to give an account of it, or any their customes, onely that it was the custome of their ancestors.

Concerning God, they doe beleeve him first to have beene onely one, but since to have taken to his assistance divers that have sometimes lived upon earth, unto whose memorie they build their temples, tearmed *pagodes*,[3] and stiling them demigods or saints, direct most of their worship to such of them as they stand most particularly affected unto, supporting their deities with most ridiculous legendary fables of miracles done

[1] *I.e.* the Arabic *masjid*, a mosque.

[2] After consulting various authorities, including Sir Herbert Thompson, Dr Holmes Dudden, and Professor H. L. Goudge, I have failed to trace any parallel to, or justification for, the epithet 'little' which reads so curiously in this connection. The nearest approach is the phrase 'irreligious religion' used by *Bowrey* (94, 95); and perhaps the word is intended to differentiate between other faiths and that which was, to the writer, the one great religion.

[3] For the word 'pagoda', see *Hobson-Jobson* (*s.v.*), where the three senses, temple, idol, gold coin, are distinguished, and the etymology is discussed. The *OED.* carries the etymological discussion no farther.

Bramenes dyet in all particulars, eating nor killing any thing that hath life, abhorring wine, but drinking butter by the pint, contenting themselves with milke from the reverend cow, and such pulse, herbs, roots, and fruits as the earth produceth, the onion only excepted, which for certaine red veines[1] in it, resembling bloud, finds favour in their mercifull mouthes; and these also, in an inferiour degree, have some priestly power over such as, by wearing sanctified stones tyed up in their haire, are buried when they dye, all others are burnt. If these be of any trade they must be taylers, and such many of them are, but more profest beggers; and no wonder, for the constancy of that countries fashion, and the little or no needle-worke belonging to the making up of a garment, cannot finde all of them worke if they stood affected to undertake it; but other worke then taylours worke they may not meddle withall.

The next tribe is there tearmed a Committy,[2] and these are generally the merchants of this place, who, by themselves or their servants, travell into the countrey, gathering up callicoes from the weavers, and other commodities, which they sell againe in greater parcels in the port townes to merchant strangers, taking their commodities in bartar, or at a price. Others are money changers, wherein they have exquisite judgement, and will from a superficiall view of a piece of gold distinguish a penny worth of difference; without whose view no man dares receive gold, it hath beene so falsified. The poorest sort are plaine chandlers [shopkeepers], and sell only rice, butter, oyle, sugar, honey,[3] and such like belly stuffe: and these men for their generall judgement in all sorts of commodites, subtiltie in their dealings, and austerity of dyet, I conceive to be naturally Banians transplanted and growne up in this country by another name, they also not eating any thing that hath life,

[1] Objection to vegetables of a red colour is still widespread among Hindus.

[2] *I.e.* Komati, the chief commercial caste in this region (*Thurston*, III, 306). The caste claim to be vaisya, or in Methwold's phrase, banyans 'by another name', but some of their practices are Dravidian rather than Aryan.

[3] In some descriptions of this period, the word 'honey' is applied to the compost of sugar and molasses known in India variously as *gul*, *gur*, or *jaggery*; but wild honey from the forests was still an article of commerce in this region in recent times (*Nellore District Manual*, 8, 94), and may be referred to here.

nor at all, untill they have fresh washed their bodies, and this ceremony is also common to the former tribe.

The next they call Campo Waro,[1] and these in the countrey manure [cultivate] the earth as husbandmen, in the city attend upon the richer sort as servingmen, in the forts are souldiers: and are for number the greatest tribe. These spare no flesh but beefe, and that with such reverence that torture cannot enforce them to kill and eate; and their reason for this (besides the customs of their ancestors) is, that from the cow their countrey receives its greatest sustenance, as milke and butter immediately, then all the fruits of the earth by their assistance in tilling it, so that it were the greatest inhumanity to feed upon that which giveth them so plentifully wherein to feed; and unto us that would take liberty in this case they wil not sell an oxe or cow for any consideration, but from one to another, for six or 8 shillings[2] the best.

taught to dance, and their bodies, then tender and flexible, skrewed into such strange postures, that it is admirable to behold, impossible to expresse in words; as for a child of eight yeeres of age to stand upon one legge, raysing the other upright as I can my arme, then bringing it down, and laying her heele upon her head, yet all this while standing, looses the wonder in my imperfect relation, but to behold is truly strange: the like for their dancing and tumbling, which doth as farre in activity exceed our mercenary skip-jacks[1] as the rope-dancing woman doth a capring curtezan, or an usher of a dancing schoole, a country plough-jogger.[2] The homage they owe the King is once a yeere to repair to Golchonda to the Court, and there being met together to make proofe of their activities, where the best deserving is guerdoned with some particuler favour, all of them gratified with bettelee [betel], and so returne home againe to their severall mansions. The Governour of the place where they dwel exacts nothing of them but their attendance, as often as he sitteth in the publike place, at which times they dance *gratis*, but at all other meetings, as * circumcision, wedding, ships arrivals, or private feasts, they assist, and are paid for their company. They are many of them rich, and in their habit cleane and costly; upon their bodies they weare a fine callico or silken cloth, so bound about them as that one part beeing made fast about the waste covereth downwards, another part comes over the head covering all that way; wearing also a thinne wastcoat that covereth their breasts and armes unto the elbowes, all the rest of their armes covered almost with bracelets of gold, wherein are set small diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In their eares they weare many rings and jewels, and some of them one through the right nosthrill, wherein a pearle or ruby is commonly set, as also about their fingers and toes; about their middles one or two broad plates of gold for girdles, and about their neckes many chaines of small pearle and corall, or worser beads according to their estate, without other ornament on their head then their

[1] The *OED.* does not give the natural sense of 'skip-jacks' as professional acrobats, but I take it here in this meaning; none of the derived senses is appropriate.

[2] Plough-jogger, one who jogs, or pushes, a plough, usually humorous or contemptuous (*OED. s.v.*).

own haire, which being smoothly combde, is tied on a knot behind them. And these also in their bestiall liberty forbeare to eate cowes flesh; all other meats and drinks are common to them, and they themselves common to all.

The carpenters, masons, turners, founders, gold-smiths, and black-smiths are all one tribe,[1] and match into each others family; all other mechanike trades are tribes by themselves, as painters,[2] weavers, sadlers, barbers, fishermen, headsmen, porters, washers, sweepers, and divers others; the worst whereof are the abhorred Piriawes,[3] who are not permitted to dwell in any towne by any neighbours, but in a place without by themselves live together, avoyded of all but their own fraternity, whom if any man should carnally touch, he would presently wash his bodie. These flea [flay] all dead cattle for their skins, and feed upon the flesh; the skins they dresse, making thereof sandals for the Gentiles and shooes for the Moores; other some they use to embale merchandize to defend it against wet; to conclude, they are in publike justice the hateful executioners; and are the basest, most stinking, ill favoured people that I have seene, the inhabitants of Cape bona Esperanza [Good Hope] excepted, who are in these particulars unparalleld. And so I leave them, adding onely one word of the porters who carry the palamkeenes [palanquins], a litter so contrived every way as to carry a man, his bed and pillowes, which eight of these porters will carry foure of those leagues in a day, which are 36 of our miles, supporting it on their bare shoulders, and running under it by turnes, foure at a time; from which continuall toyle, aggravated by the extreme heate, their shoulders are become as hard as their hoofes: yet this their education makes easie to them, for when their children can but goe alone, they lay a small sticke on their shoulders, afterwards a logge, which they make

[1] *Thurston*, III, 106. The kammalan caste is divided into occupational septs, comprising among others goldsmiths, brass-workers, carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths.

[2] 'Painters' at this time and in this locality denoted primarily the men who made the patterned cotton-goods known commercially as *pintado* (painted).

[3] *I.e.* Paraiyan, popularly, pariah. The term belongs to the Tamil country further south; "in the Telugu country the mālas and mādigas take their place" (*Thurston*, VI, 77 ff.).

them carry, with proportionable increase, untill, Roman Milo[1] like, they are able to run under a palamkeene, and in that sometimes perchance an oxe.

But all these thus distinguished are in religion one body, and have their pagodes or idoll temples common to all, but not of all equally affected, some inclining in their devotions to one saint, some to another; of which pagodes I have seene many, some of them for the materials and structure worth the gazing upon, and may well bee (as they report) the ancient works of great kings. Within they are very darke, as having no other lights but the doores, and they stand alwayes open, and proove in some places the best receptacles for travellers; one small roome onely reserved, which the Bramene that keeps it will with small intreaty unlock, and shew a synod of brazen saints gilded, the tutelar saint of the place being seated in most eminencie, unto which the heathens themselves performe very little adoration, wel knowing their substances, and wanting those [k]distinctions,[2] which some Christians find out to coozen themselves withall. Onely once a yeere, on their anniversary day, they keep their festivals, and to some of them repaire many thousands of people (as I my selfe have seene); some for devotion, and they fast 24 houres, wash their bodies, and burne lamps within or as neere the pagode as they can get; some to see their friends, children, or kindred, which will not faile to meet them in such a generall liberty; others for profit (as pedlers to a great faire), the whoores to dance, puppet-players and tumblers with their exquisite tricks, one whereof I will mention, with the admiration of such as saw it, or understanding shall read it. A tumbler, fetching his run, did the double sommersel[3] without touching the ground

[1] The reference must be to the famous athlete, who, according to tradition, early accustomed himself to carry great burdens, and thus acquired exceptional strength; but he can scarcely be described as 'Roman', for his home at Croton in South Italy was included in Magna Græcia. 'Roman Milo' naturally suggests a very different man, in defence of whom Cicero wrote, but did not deliver, his well-known speech.

[2] The words in the margin denote the distinction which was drawn by medieval theologians between *latreia*, the adoration due to God alone, and *douleia*, or *dulia*, the respect and honour due to saints and angels (*Dict. Encycl. de la Théologie Catholique*, *s.v.*).

[3] The *OED.* does not give this form of 'somersault'; probably here, as elsewhere, the *l* is a misprint for *t*, as 'sommerset' is common.

with any part of his body, until he fel againe on his feet, keeping his body in the aire until hee turned twice round, a strange activity, and, with me and others which saw it, shall not loose the wonder it carried with it. Others bring charmed snakes and vipers in baskets, which they let loose, and with their hands put in againe, piping unto them, and receiving their attention; very many beggers there be, and they practise severall wayes to move compassion, for such as have not naturall defects as blindnesse, lamenesse, &c. Some lie upon thornes with their naked bodies, others lie buried in the ground all but their heads, some all but their hands, and divers other such trickes they put upon the poore peoples charity,[1] whose reward is for the most part a handfull of rice or a smal piece of mony that may be the halfe part of a farthing. About midnight the saint is drawne forth in procession, handsomely carted and well clothed, with much clamour of drummes, trumpets, hoboyes [oboes] and such like, that country musicke,[2] and very artificiall [skilful] fireworkes, wherein they have a singular dexterity, followed without order or distinction of place, sex, or person; and having circled their limits, they draw him back againe, and there leave him without guard or regard until that time twelve moneth come againe. One saint they have, and none of the least neither in their account, whom they expresse by a plaine round stone,[3] not much unlike the block of a high crowned hat, and their reason is, because the incomprehensible subsistence of this deity admits no certaine shape or description; they liken it to him which hath the likenesse of nothing, building thus a temple (as those of Athens an image) to the unknowne God. Foure feasts in the yeere they celebrate to the sea, and in the sea,[4] many people at those seasons resorting to the appointed place, washing their bodies

[1] Some account of the self-tortures practised by Indian mendicants will be found in *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, by J. C. Oman (London, 1903).

[2] The adjectival use of the phrases 'this-country', 'that-country', is common in the literature of the period.

[3] Presumably the reference is to the *lingam*, or phallic emblem of Siva.

[4] Floris mentions (*Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 327) that bathing in the sea was a feature of the feasts held on the occasions when the new moon fell on a Monday, the *Somvatī Amāwas* of Northern India.

in the salt waves, and receiving the Bramenes benediction, who, being with them in the sea, pour water on their heads with his hands, mumbling certain orisons over them (they know not what), then takes their reward, and apply themselves to the next comers.

Where the great pagodes are, there are commonly many little ones, which they report to be the worke of one day, or no long time, the founder after some dreame, or Satanicall suggestion, vowing not to eat until it should be begun and finished; and to some of these the Bramanes perswade the people there belongs some miraculous power. I have seen the image of a man in black stone, standing upright, not above a yard high, upon which if a whole bushel of rice should be cast, it would all stick upon the image, and not one corne fal to the ground; and this the country people had rather beleeve then part with so much rice to practise it. Another, before whom if a man should eat [? cut] out his tongue it would presently grow again, yet had they rather venter for a blister[1] in the relation then the whole tongue in the experiment.

These two I have bin with, a third I have seene at distance as I travelled that way, whereof they report that whatsoever milke, * sharbol,[2] or fair water is brought thither by the devout visitant, and poured into a little hole by the saint, he will take just halfe, and would doe so if it were a hecatombe of hogsheads, but takes no more though it be but a pint, yet is fully satisfied and will receive no more, but it runs over the hole,[3] an excellent sociable quality, and well becomming an ale-house kanne.

Another saint[4] they have, or rather devill, for in their opinion

[1] The fanciful idea that a lie might blister the tongue appears elsewhere in literature, as in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, Act II, Scene 2, "If I prove honey-mouth'd let my tongue blister".

[2] The *l* must be a misreading of *t*. The Arabo-Persian word *sharbat*, literally a drink or sip, usually denotes a refreshing drink made with the juice of some fruit, not the effervescent drink known in England as sherbet.

[3] The reference must be to the temple of Narasimhasvāmi at Mangalagiri, in the Guntūr subdivision. Streynsham Master visited this shrine, and claimed (II, 177) to have detected the imposture practised by the priest. The legend is still told at the temple (*Kistna District Manual*, p. 174).

[4] For the small-pox deity, see Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926, p. 118). In India the cult is as widespread as the disease.

it is a maligne spirit, and brings upon them such diseases as befall them, especially the small poxe; which fury the better to expresse, they forme it a great angry woman, having two heads, and (no doubt) as many tongues, with four armes; yet is she hospitable to strangers, for in her house two other Englishmen[1] and my self reposed part of one night, for want of other harbour, where whilst we staid, the founder told us that, to appease her angry deity, he built this house to her service, and so the small poxe ceassed in his family. Others lesse able promise in their sicknesse if they may escape they will be hanged[2] in her honour: which with the two Englishmen formerly mentioned I went purposely to behold. It hapned upon a day (it seemes) marked in their calender for her service and this exploit; to which purpose they have a long beame of timber, placed on an axletree betwixt two wheeles, like to the brewers beames by which they draw water, and can so let it downe and rayse it up; upon the upper end whereof are tied two hooks, unto which the vow-obliged patient is fastened, having first with a sharp knife two holes cut thorow the skin and flesh of each shoulder, thorow which the hooks are thrust, and a sword and dagger put into his hands; he is lift up, and drawne forward by the wheeles at least a quarter of a mile, thus hanging in the aire, and fencing with his weapons, during which time the weight of his body so teareth the flesh and stretcheth the skin, that it is strange it yeelds so much, yet it is tough enough to hold them: and after this manner were fourteene drawne, one after another, not once complayning during the time of their flight, but being let downe, their wounds were bound up, and they returned home with sowre faces and soare bodies, a sufferance surely not inferior to

[1] George Ball arrived in Masulipatam in July, 1619, and was ordered to Batavia in the following year (*English Factories*, 1, 110, 196). Thomas Jones was at Masulipatam in 1618, and was recalled in 1620 (*ibid.* 43, 196). Both were in the service of the East India Company.

[2] Hook-swinging is the name usually applied to this form of religious observance. An illustration of a somewhat different arrangement will be found in *Bowrey*, Plate XI, and references to various other accounts are given in the notes on p. 198 of that volume. Marshall's account, there quoted from manuscript, will be found on p. 104 of *John Marshall in India* (Oxford, 1927). The subject is discussed in Thurston's *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1903), pp. 487–501.

a self-whipping, no lesse meritorious, no better grounded. They have al of them their Penates, or houshold gods,[1] which the chiefe of the family (as the eldest brother) keepes alwayes at his house, for which they once a yeere make a feast, but the kindred being assembled eat it up.

In mariage,[2] it is the childrens dutie to attend upon the parents care, who finding in their owne tribe, and as neere as they can in their own kindred (no degree of consanguinity hindring but brother and sister), a fitting wife for their sonne, he (though of full age) submits his consent without seeing her, accounting it unreasonable to recompence his parents care and trouble in his education with distrust of their proceedings in this point, or to imagine his owne judgement more, or their circumspection lesse. They give no portions with their daughters, but rather take, for the bridegroome, or his parents, must give earings, bracelets and other jewels (according to her quality) unto the bride, two or three wearing clothes unto the mother, with some present to the father, and then beare the whole charge of the wedding; from which large expence it sometimes happens that want keeps many a long time unmarried, untill their endevours in the world hath supplyed them with meanes to defray the charge; but this not hindring the richer sort, they commonly marrie their children very young, the husband five yeeres of age, the wife not above three yeeres, and many such couples have I seene put together; wherein, the parents conceive they have done an act of wonderfull providence in disposing of their children in their life time, so endearing them to others care, if they themselves should leave them; yet this young couple are presently separated untill, the man being 12 or 13 yeeres of age and the woman 10 or 11, they meet againe, and become so well acquainted, that many are

[1] "Village and household deities are to this day worshipped in every hamlet" (*Godāvari District Manual*, p. 167).

[2] There is considerable diversity in the marriage-ceremonies of this region, the practices varying with the caste; full details will be found in the *Nellore District Manual*, pp. 227 ff. All the incidents described by Methwold will be found there, but his account is apparently composite, and does not represent precisely the practice of any particular caste at the present day.

mothers at 12 yeeres of age, and some I have heard no virgins at nine.[1]

To proceed, of what yeeres soever they be, whether thus young or full growne, they are both in one palamkeene (with most of their friends about them) carried about the most publike places of the towne, with musick, fire-works, and the dancing company of the whoores, who before every great mans house make a stand, participating their sports, and from those houses receiving gifts, if from them they have any dependencie or acquaintance, then proceed untill, their progresse being ended, they returne home; where the Bramene attends them, and separating them a cloth hung betwixt them, he mutters (none heares what) orisons, whilest the marrying couple are taught to tread upon one another bare feet, so mingling legges, and making these first short steps an introduction to their future better acquaintance. The feast being finished, which lasteth three dayes at the least, the kindred departing, the bride carried back againe, and if shee bee young reserved to more maturity; howsoever, she must backe againe for some time, for when she once departeth from her friends, she resideth alwayes with her husband, at his fathers house if he be living, if not at his eldest brothers, if hee himselfe be not eldest: for seldome doe brethren devide themselves, but all of them (though many) live together in owne [one] family, bringing their gaines, whatsoever it is, unto the common stocke, cherishing with an admired duty their old indigent parents, and living together in most commendable unitie.

If the husband dieth, the wife may not marry againe, and, which is most unreasonable, not the young ones though never knowne of man, who, happening to be widdowes in their infancy, must not onely continue so, but be made the drudge to the whole family, not permitted to weare their jewels, good or cleane clothes, or upon occasion to goe abroad (at least upon pleasure); and this with most of them, together with a reverend

[1] "The marriage ceremony being usually performed when one or both of the parties are mere children, it amounts in fact to a betrothment, although the tie is indissoluble. The bride is left under the care of her parents until she attains a marriageable age" (*Nellore District Manual*, 227).

a self-whiney beare to the reputation of their house, mortifies have a[l]tter a strange manner; yet some it cannot containe but chiefe[l]ie out, and forsaking their fathers house, brand it with a housing obloquy by their looser lives, keeping themselves at beintance, for if conveniently their kindred would poyson them.[1]

Their young children they neither christen, circumcise, nor use other ceremony[2] unto, but giving them different appellations in their infancy, which are commonly the names of their idols, they are knowne by them with the addition of their trade, tribe, or some defect or quality most eminent about them. They come into the world without much trouble to their mothers, for they are up againe about their businesse in three or foure dayes, some the same day: they are brought up with as little charge, for many untill they be seven or eight yeeres of age foule not a clowt (as cheape as they be), but being young tumble in the dust, and growne stronger walke still starke naked; and if they bee foule, two or three pales of cold water (poured upon their heads) runnes downe their bodies, and makes all cleane againe; and thus are most-children brought up, until they bee in some measure capeable to begin to practise in their fathers profession. The best mens children may bee better lookt unto, but starke naked (unlesse upon some festivall) is the best and generall habit.

Full growne men and women are devoutly[3] and civilly clothed, the women all over as you have heard of the whoores; the men most of them from the middle downwards, and on their shoulders a loose white callico cloth, in use like our sommer clokes,

[1] This feature of social life survived, at any rate, into the nineteenth century. "It is no wonder that many of this class [Hindu widows] should betake themselves to an immoral course of life, and that the term 'widow' should be almost synonymous with 'prostitute'. And here is a fruitful source of crime: ...the family avoid disgrace by getting rid of the widow, it may be by directly foul means, or by harshness and cruelty and taunts that drive her to commit suicide" (*Nellore District Manual*, 250).

[2] There is a recognised birth-ceremony (*jatakarma*) in this region, but it is often deferred until the eighth year; the naming-ceremony (*namakarma*) usually takes place on the eleventh day (*Nellore District Manual*, 217 ff.).

[3] No appropriate sense of 'devoutly' is given in the *OED.*: possibly the word is a misprint for 'decently'.

sometimes a coate close to their bodies unto the mers of this thence downwards to their ankles full of cloth like he at them, bases;[1] their haire (long as womens) bound up, an governour turbant; in their eares rings of gold, with small pe was then about their neckes a chaine of ginetra[2] or silver, fo wne by attaine unto gold. They are not black but tawny, or l of all wainscot[3] colour, some much whiter then other, as some h of cot is newer or browner then other; but many of them very in, favoured and streight limbde, and in their acquaintance a conversation kind and affable; amongst whom our nation hath (during the time of their residence with them) found much good respect, and little affront or injury.

All mechanicke persons (whereof the multitude consisteth) worke in their severall trades for the same salary, or little difference. The black-smith, and gold-smith, makes iron nailes, and chaines of gold, for three pence a day, finding themselves, and is great wages to a master workman; their servants are paid with one penny, and some lesse; the like of all other trades and persons, for wee are served faithfully and officiously [dutifully] in our houses for a riall of eight[4] a moneth, without allowance of diet, and the porters which carry the palamkeene have no more; yet out of this all pay some-what to the Governour where they live, or doe his worke *gratis*, from whence it is little wonder they live so poorely; yet the plenty of this country, and their contented courser diet, affords them a living untill they die. Then some are burned, and their ashes cast into the next river, others buried sitting crosse-legged; in either of which kind I next

[1] *I.e.*, skirts attached to the doublet, and extending usually from the waist to the knee, but sometimes longer, for the *OED.* gives, as a quotation of this period, "his bases which he ware so long they came almost to his ankles".

[2] The word *ginetra* has not been traced in any of the European languages used on the Coast at this period, nor is it recognised by my Indian correspondents. The only probable suggestion I have received is that made by Sir W. Foster that it may be a misprint for some such form as *genesa*, representing *kansu*, 'bell-metal', the *ganza* of the older travellers in Pegu.

[3] 'Wainscot' at this time bore the primary meaning of a special quality of oak, and the word was occasionally used, as here, to denote the corresponding colour (*OED. s.v.*).

[4] The real, or rial, of eight, a Spanish silver coin, was at this period the commonest European currency in the East; it was worth about *4s. 6d.* or *5s.* according to the course of exchange.

a self-whipwne sight of two womens voluntary sufferance,[1] yet have a[illegible]tter whether their love to their dead husbands be more chiefe[illegible]ered or pitied.

housng o ongst these Indians a received history that there was beintancenen wives were generally so luxurious [immoral] that, .hem.e way for their friends, they would poyson their hus-

T[illegible]; which to prevent a law was made that, the husbands us[illegible], the wives should accompany them in the same fire,[2] and .is law stands yet in force in the Iland of Baly not far from Java: but from this necessity of dying there ensued so great a reformation that the succeeding age abolished the rigour of this law, and the dead mans wife was onely adjudged to a perpetuall widowhood, as it is at this day. Yet are there some few left, that in pure love to their deceased husbands die voluntarily in solemnizing their funerals, beleeving their soules shall keepe company in their transmigrations. Of the two which I have seene, the first was wife to a weaver, who being dead, and by his profession to be buried,[3] she, a young woman about 20 yeeres of age, would needs goe with him, and in this order. She was clothed in her best garments, and, accompanied with her neerest kindred and friends, seated on a greene banke by a great ponds side, there enter[t]ayning such as came to looke and take leave on her with bettele (a herbe which they much eat), meerely [absolutely] accommodating her words, actions, and countenance to the musicke, which stood by and plaid no dumps,[4] but in the same measure and straine they were occasioned at wedding. Newes hereof being brought to our house, three of us took

[1] This practice is the subject of a recent monograph, *Suttee*, by E. Thompson, (London, 1928). Mr Thompson does not, however, refer to this account, or to that which is given below in the anonymous Relation; nor does he mention the contemporary description given by *Pelsaert* (78–80), which is as vivid as anything in the whole literature of the subject.

[2] Mr Thompson (*op. cit.* 44) shows that this explanation is as old in literature as Diodorus Siculus; and he suggests that "it may well have been one strand in the complicated and terrible selfishness that underlay the rite". He quotes with reserve (p. 128) statements that the practice still exists in the islands of Bali and Lombok, lying east of Java.

[3] Mr Thompson notes (p. 39) that suttee sometimes took the form of burial alive in the Telugu country, of which Methwold is writing, and that this form was practised by the weaver caste in some parts of India.

[4] In the obsolete sense of 'a mournful melody' (*OED. s.v.*).

horse, and posted a mile out of towne to be partakers of this spectacle; but comming into her sight before we came at them, they fearing by our speed we had bin sent from the Governour to hinder their proceedings, hastened to her death, and was then covering with earth when wee came in; first sitting downe by her husband, embracing his dead body, and taking leave of all her friends, they, standing round about the grave, with each of them a basket of earth, buried her at once. Yet after we came in, one of them stroke upon the grave, laying his head close unto it, and calling her by her name, and told us she answered and expressed her content in the course she had taken. Over whom there was erected a little thatcht cover, and her kindred not a little glorified in being allied to so resolute and loving a wife.

The other was a Campowaroes[1] wife, and she, after the same solemne preparation, fetching her run and crying all the way [l]Bama Narina,[2] Bama Narina, leapt into the pit where her husband lay burning, upon whom her bystanding friends threw so many logs that she felt not so much fire for the fewell. Unto whom I adde a third. A gold-smiths wife, whose husband being dead and she willing to accompany him, came attended with her frinds and kindred unto the [k]Cotwall,[3] who was then with me at the English house, with much importunity desiring his consent, alledging her husbands death and the few friends she had left behind; whereunto the Cotwall replyed that hee himselfe would provide for her at his owne house, diswading her by what other arguments he could use from so desperate a course; but she neglecting them and his offer, he also denied her request, and she departed discontent, uttering these words, that he could not hinder her to dye by some other meanes; and within a short time after I heard she had hanged her self. And this hapned in Musulipatnam, where the officers, being all Mahumetans

[1] *I.e.*, of the Kāpu caste, described above.

[2] This may represent Brahmā Narāyana; the first is the name of the leader of the Hindu triad, while the second is one of the names of Vishnu, also a member of the triad. Possibly, however, Bama is a misprint for Rāma, an incarnation of Vishnu.

[3] Kotwāl, or city-governor; his position was in fact more autocratic than that of 'the sheriffs of London'.

restraine the Gentiles especially in these cruel and heathenish customes.[1]

A fourth I have wholy by relation, yet from an English factor of good account in that place, who, travelling in the country about such affaires as were imposed upon his performance, and being well attended according to the custome of that country, espied not far out of his way a concourse of people, unto whom he made; and being come neere, hee was enformed by his servants that it was a woman about to burne with her dead husband. He presently drawing his sword rode in amongst them, whereupon they all fled but the woman herselfe, whom he perswaded [urged] to live, promising to secure her against her friends, if their importunities had wrought her to this course; but she besought him not to interrupt her, it was her owne most earnest desire, wherein we [she] did constantly persist: whereupon he put up, and her friends came in, and presently in his sight, with the like ceremony and duty formerly recited, she became the same ashes with him to whom she had bin one flesh. And here, abruptly in the ordering and imperfectly in the relation, I leave them and their customes, intending onely to touch at their marine trade, and the commodities of that country transported to other parts.

First of diamonds lately discovered in this kingdome,[2] most men say by this accident. A silly [simple] goatherd, keeping his flock amongst those mountaines, stumbled by chance upon a stone that shined somewhat bright, which he carelessly tooke up (not much valuing), sold it to a Committy [Komatī] for

[1] The attitude of the Golconda Administration towards suttee is not, so far as I can find, indicated in contemporary chronicles; but judging from this account, and that given below in the anonymous Relation, it was more actively hostile than that which existed in the Mogul Empire, where the practice was discouraged, but not forbidden (*Pelsaert*, 79). Akbar (*Āīn-i Akbarī*, i, 284) ordered the Kotwāl "not to permit a woman to be burned by force", and this rule accords substantially with the account given by Pelsaert.

[2] The site of this diamond-field is now known as Kollūr, situated on the Kistna (V. Ball, in *JASB*, 1881, pt. II, p. 34; and *Manual of the Geology of India* (1881), pt. III, p. 16). The mine is described by *Tavernier* (II, 56 ff.), who records the somewhat different tradition that it was discovered by a man preparing the soil for a crop of millet; but such stories are to be heard in every locality where diamonds have been worked (*Kistna District Manual*, 247).

meales rice,[1] the Committy againe for no great profit, and so forward untill it came to those owners which knew the worth; who, questioning the last seller, traced out from one to another the true originall, and making further triall thereabouts, found in the bowels of the earth a plentifull myne; whereof the King being advertized, he tooke order for the safe keeping. And rumour thereof being blazed, jewellers of all the neighbouring nations resorted to the place, and some store of diamonds began to be dispersed and exposed to sale. Insomuch that Sir Andreas Socory[2], Governour of the fort, Guide in Pallecat, Sir Adolfe Thomason, a free merchant, and myselfe resolved to make a voyage thither, to see at least the place and order of it: so that after foure dayes travell thorough a desolate mountaynous country we came at last to the place, and found it distant from Musulipatnam about twelve Gentive leagues, which is 108 English miles: where we harboured ourselves in a handsome hogstie, and according to custome addressed ourselves to visit the Governour, who was a Bramene named Ray Raw [Rão], and lay there for the King, as well to receive his profits as to administer justice to the rabblement of different nations that frequented this place; from whom we received indifferent good respect, with the sight of certaine faire diamonds appertayning to the King, and amongst them one of 30 carracts [carats], pointed, but not perfect; and after knowledge of our severall qualities, and our purpose only to see the mine, he dismissed us, and we next day went thither (distant from the towne about two English miles), where, by their owne reports, there worke not daily fewer then 30,000 soules, some digging, some filling baskets, some laving out water with buckets, others carrying the

[1] We should perhaps read either 'a meal's rice', or 'a few meals' rice'.

[2] This sentence was misread by Purchas's printer: it should be "Signor Andreas [or Andries] Souri, Governor of the Fort Geldria in Pulicat". Adolf Thomaszoon had served the Dutch Company for several years on the Coast. He was an assistant at Masulipatam in 1610, when he was promoted to be junior factor at Nizāmpatam; and he was chief factor at Pulicat in 1612, when, as has been said above, he was taken prisoner by the Portuguese. In 1619 Hans de Hase, who had been Director on the Coast since 1616, appointed Thomaszoon provisionally as his successor. The Council in Java disapproved of this appointment, and sent Souri to take charge. Thomaszoon then went to Java, where he obtained permission to leave the Company's service, and to return to the Coast as a free merchant (*Coen-Bescheiden*, i, 517, 573).

earth unto a certaine square levell place, whereupon they spread it foure or five inches in thicknesse, which beeing dried by that dayes sunne, some of them the next day with great stones in their hands bruise the clods of earth, and gathering from thence the peble stones, throw them by, and sifting the rest, they find the diamonds amongst the dust, sometimes none, as it hapned whilst I lookt on, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, according to the earth they worke in, which they well know, some say by the smell, others more probably by sight of the mould; howsoever that they know it is most apparant, seeing that in many places wee found the ground onely broken and not further sought into, in other places digged 10 or 11 fathome deepe. The earth is reddish, with veines of white or yellowish chalke, intermixt with peble-stones, which being deepe digged comes up in small clods, and those laid in the sunne become hard, but are easily pounded with stones (as formerly); of which earth I tooke a small piece, and yet reserve it for satisfaction of the more curious.

These mynes are not, as with us in Europe, carried under ground and supported with timber, but digged right downe in square large pits. Whether it be that all the earth affords more or lesse profit, whereas ours onely run in veines, or whether they want props, or judgement, to take this course, I cannot determine; but am sure that in freeing of the water, and bringing up the earth, they goe the furthest way to worke, for, in place of pullies and such like devices, they with many people setting [sitting] one above another hand up from one to another untill it comes to the place it must rest in; and from hence proceedeth the use of so many people, seeing that, besides the earth, the place where over-night they wrought dry is next morning a fathome deepe under water.

Such as it is thus imperfectly described, the King then rented it unto one Marcandoo, of the [d]cast of the goldsmiths, for three hundred thounsand pagodes a yeere, reserving all diamonds of above ten carracts [carats] to himselfe: hee againe rents it out to others by square measure according as they agree, in which course some gaine, others lose, as in all other adventures. The King, to assure himselfe of the great stones, keeps his Governour

there, publishing extreame penalties against such as shall conceale them; but neyther the terrour of them, nor his many spies, can so watch such as there attend such hazards, but that I have heard diamonds of forty carracts have escaped their guard. I have seene two of neere twenty carracts apiece, and divers of ten, eleven, and twelve, but very deere prized.

It is situated at the foot of a great mountayne, not farre from a river called Christena [Kistna], a place naturally so barren that before this discovery it was hardly inhabited, now peopled with a hundred thousand soules, consisting of myners, merchants, and such others as live by following such concourses, sufficiently furnished with all provisions brought thither from the countrey round about, but at excessive rates, occasioned by the many exactions raysed upon them in their passages thorough severall governments and villages.[1] The houses are very poore, as not intended for continuance, but onely the present occasion, for in Anno 1622 the myne was shut up, and all persons restrained from frequenting the place; the reasons some imagined to be their care to keepe the commoditie in request, not to digge more untill those already found were dispersed; others affirmed the comming of the Mogulls Embassadour to this Kings Court, with his peremptory demand of ᵉa vyseᵉ of the fairest diamonds, caused this cessation, untill that pretence, and some competent [adequate] present, should content the Mogull: for since I came from thence, I heare it was opened againe, but almost exhausted, and very few found.

In this country is also much christall, and many other sorts of transparant sort stones of little value, as garnets, amatists, topasses, aggats, and such like.[3]

[1] Transit-duties on goods were a general, and exceedingly vexatious, feature of Indian life at this period; they appear frequently in the Dutch and English commercial records under the names of *rāhdārī* in the north, and 'junckan', *i.e.*, *chungam*, in the south.

[2] The viss is five sers, or one-eighth maund; with a maund of 24 lb. the equation given in the margin is correct. I cannot trace in the contemporary chronicles any reference to a demand for diamonds on the part of the Mogul at this time, but their silence is by no means conclusive. The statement may be founded on fact, or merely gossip.

[3] The occurrence of rock-crystal, garnets and agates is recorded in the *District Manuals* (Kistna, 231, 244; Nellore, 69–71); I have not found a reference to amethyst or topaz, but sapphires are recorded in the *Godāvari District Gazetteer* (11).

Likewise great store of iron and steele, transported into many places of India, bought in the place it is made[1] for two shillings the hundred [weight] of iron, and three shillings steele, but being brought upon the backes of oxen fifteene dayes journey before it commeth to the port, it becomes much dearer, yet is sold for five shillings and eight shillings; but eyther gold, silver, tinne, copper, or other metals this countrey produceth not.

Bezar stones[2] in some plenty are taken from the goates in one onely part of this country, for which and their skins they kill so many that the flesh is most throwne away, and their mawes [stomachs] onely searcht into; where they finde two, three, and sometimes foure, small bezars, some long, some round, all of them growing upon a stalke or kernell,[3] as is easly perceived by such as are broken; such as are greater come from other countries, the best out of Persia, and are said to be found in apes, all of all sorts so wel knowne and much used in India that they cannot bee bought there to yeeld profit in England proportionable to the time and adventure. Of these goats this conclusion hath beene experimented; foure of them have beene taken from the place of their breeding, and transported fifty or a hundred miles, of which two have beene immediately killed, and in those

[1] Iron ore is widely distributed in this part of India, and in some places smelting was still carried on in the nineteenth century (*Nellore District Manual*, 63 ff.).

[2] Bezoar (Persian *pādzahr*) had the general meaning of antidote, but at this period denoted specifically concretions found in the stomachs of goats and some other animals, which were used in medical practice, mainly as antidotes against poison. Many illustrative quotations will be found in *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*

[3] The alternative 'or kernel' shows that 'stalk' is not used in the sense of a stem on which the concretion grows, but of a woody nucleus round which it forms. Fryer, who gives a more detailed and precise account, makes the presence of a nucleus, consisting of a straw or something similar, a test for genuineness; for his observations, see II, 141, 193, 200, 322. With the help of Mr B. C. Burt I tried to obtain specimens of bezoar stones for study, but they are not now to be had in the Indian market, though 'snake-stones' made of horn are still in use. From information supplied by the Imperial Institute and the Royal Veterinary College I gather that no scientific study has been made of intestinal concretions occurring in India and Persia, and consequently the 'experiment' described a little further on still awaits confirmation, or confutation; but it does not seem to be scientifically impossible that some particular plant might furnish woody nuclei for the formation of such concretions.

have beene found perfect bezars; a third reprived for tenne dayes, and then slaine, some shew of bezars remayned, but apparantly wasted; the fourth living but a moneth after, there will be neyther bezar, nor signe of any that ever was. From whence they conclude, with great probability, that it is some herbe, plant, or tree, peculiar to that place, whereof the goat feeding, the bezars are formed.

Callicoes[1] of all sorts are in this kingdome as cheape and plentifull as in any other part of India, but different in their making, and easily distinguished from those of other countries. The painting[s][2] of this coast of Choromandel [are] famous throughout India, and are indeed the most exquisite that are seene, the best wrought all with the pensill, and with such durable colours that, notwithstanding they bee often washed, the colours fade not whilst the cloth lasteth; and this hapneth principally by a plant which groweth only in this country, called by them chay,[3] which dyeth or stayneth a perfect red, with them in as great account as scarlet with us, and is the Kings particular commoditie.

Indico[4] is also made in this countrey in some plenty, in forme

[1] The word calico seems to have denoted originally cotton cloth reaching Europe by way of Calicut, on the Malabar Coast, which in the fifteenth century was the chief seat of the trade from India through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. By Methwold's time, however, the word had long ceased to point to any particular locality, and denoted stout cotton cloth made anywhere in India.

[2] The patterned cloths produced in India were named by the Portuguese *pintado*, *i.e.*, 'painted', and the English merchants either used the Portuguese name or translated it; the Dutch usually translated it as *geschildert*. In India at this time the pattern was produced in one of two ways. The commonest was by the use of engraved blocks of wood, dipped in colour, and applied by hand. Cloth printed in this way was, and is, known as *chît*, or *chint*, and this word was pluralised in England as chintz, which in commercial documents was applied also to the goods made by the alternative process. In this latter, which prevailed on the East Coast, the colours were applied with an implement described variously as a brush or a pencil. (See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.vv.* Chintz, Pintado; *Tavernier*, ii, 4).

[3] Chay-root (*Oldenlandia umbellata*). Some particulars of this product are given below in the Dutch Relations. The expression 'the King's commodity' points to some form of monopoly; probably the collection of the wild root was farmed.

[4] The marginal reference is to the *Pilgrimes*, where Finch's observations will be found (I, iv, 414 ff.). The name Lahore, or Lahori, was applied to the indigo made in the country near Agra, for which Lahore was the chief

like to that sort which is called Lahore indico; whereof the Dutch have bought store, and transported it for Holland, and continue so to doe, but our nation, upon good experience of the condition and value of it, content themselves with such as is made in the Moguls Dominions and laden from Surat.

They have within few yeeres planted store of tobacco,[1] and much of it is exported to Mocha and Arrecan, and not a little drunke [smoked] amongst themselves. It is but weake, yet sure more care in curing and making it up would helpe that fault; they onely dry the leaves in the sun, and use it so, without further sophistication.

These are the generall commodities of this countrey, which are dispersed in some measure through the world, but are best knowne in Indian traffique, and produce constantly certaine profit in their exportation to other parts; to which purpose they build great ships, and good ones too, considered in their burthen and materials, but not comparable to ours for beautie, conveniencie, or defence, some of them not lesse then 600 tunnes,[2] substantially built of very good timber and iron; whereof we have had upon some occasion good experience in careening the *Globe*, *Salomon*, and *Clawe* in the river of Narsoporpeta.[3] With these their ships they traffique ordinarily to Mocha in the Red Sea, to Achyne upon Sumatra, to Arrecan, Pegu, and Tannassery on the other side the Gulfe, and to many ports alongst their owne coasts, as farre as Zeloan [Ceylon] and the Cape Comoryne.

market in the days when the commodity was carried to Europe overland (*Pelsaert*, 30); it survived for some time as a trade description when the opening of the sea-route had deprived it of its original significance.

[1] The earliest reference to tobacco which has been found in Indian literature is the often-quoted account of Akbar's first smoke, translated in *Elliot's History*, VI, 165. Edward Terry, writing a few years earlier than Methwold, offered a similar criticism of the methods of preparation followed on the other side of India; "they sow tobacco in abundance, but know not how to cure and make it strong" (*Early Travels*, 299).

[2] This maximum size refers to the East Coast. Larger ships were built on the West Coast for the pilgrim traffic to Arabia; in 1612, the *Rahīmī*, of Surat, was classed by English seamen as 1500 tons (*Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 308).

[3] Narasapur, on the southern, or Vasishta, mouth of the Godāvari. The *Globe* sailed for India in January, 1611; the *Clove* (not *Clawe*), in April of the same year; and the *Salomon* in February, 1612 (*Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 314; iv, 334, 486). The *Globe* was refitted at Narasapur so as to be "a far better ship than when she first came out of England" (*Letters Received*, II, 41).

To Mocha[1] they set sayle in January, and returne in September or October following; and thither the King sends yeerely a proportion of rice as an almes to be distributed amongst the pilgrimes which resort to Mecha and Medina, where their prophet Mahomets shrine is visited with much devotion. He sendeth also an adventure, the proceed whereof is invested in Arabian horses, which are returned not above sixe or eight in a shippe, whereof they make great account; for in this countrey there is no race of good horses.

Tobasco [tobacco] they send in great quantities, many small rotans[2] to make launces, certaine sorts of calicoes proper for turbants, iron, steele, indico, benjamin,[3] and gumme lacke.[4] For which they returne some few watered chamblets,[5] but the most part ready money[6] in sultannees or rials of eight.

In September the ships for Achyne, Arrecan, Pegu, and Tannassery set all sayle; for it is to be understood that, alongst this and all other coasts of India, the windes blow constantly trade,[7] sixe moneths one way and sixe moneths another; which

[1] At this period sea-going ships were not usually taken far into the Red Sea because the prevailing southerly winds made the return journey very difficult. Mocha, just inside the Strait of Babel Mandeb, was their usual destination, the pilgrims making their way thence to Mecca.

[2] Rattans, the stems of climbing plants of the genus *Calamus*. The best shafts for spears and lances are obtained from *C. Rotang*, which is widely distributed in India (*Dict. E. P., s.v.*).

[3] *I.e.*, benzoin, incense obtained from the resin of *Styrax benzoin*. It was not an Indian product, but, as later paragraphs show, came to the Coromandel Coast chiefly from Achin in Sumatra and from Cambodia.

[4] Gumlac was the old commercial name for what is now called lac, the resin produced by an insect, *Coccus lacca*, parasitic on various trees. For a full account see *Dict. E. P., s.v.* Lac.

[5] *I.e.*, camlet, a fine cloth, woven originally of silk and camels' hair, which came from Turkey.

[6] All contemporary accounts agree that in the Red Sea trade Indian goods were exchanged mainly for money; hence its attraction for foreign merchants, who required coin to finance their business in India, and were not always in a position to bring out enough coin from Europe. I discussed this distinctive feature of Indian trade in *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, ch. III, sec. 2, where sufficient references will be found. Sultānīs were Turkish coins; Spanish rials of eight reached the East by way of the Mediterranean and Red Sea, as well as round the Cape.

[7] This adverbial use of 'trade', which is now obsolete, prevailed in the seventeenth century to denote the periodical trade winds (*OED., s.v.*). These phenomena have acquired the name monsoon, from Arabic *mausim* (season), Portuguese *monçao*, Italian *monsone* (*Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Monsoon).

they call the monsons, alternately succeeding each other, not missing to alter in Aprill and October, onely variable towards their end, so that taking the last of a monson, they set sayles, and with a fore-winde arrive at their desired haven; and there negotiating their affaires, they set sayle from thence in February or March following, and with the like favourable gale returne in Aprill unto their owne ports.

To Acheene they export much steele, and some iron, divers sorts of calicoes, both white and painted, and of late times, when the myne was first discovered, store of diamonds, which were sold to great benefit; from whence they returne benjamin, and camphora of Barouse,[1] pepper[2] of Priaman and Tecoo, brimstone, and all sorts of porcellane and China commodities,[3] if to be had, to sell againe to profit.

To Arrecan they send store of tobacco, some iron, and few sorts of painted clothes, and returne from thence some gold and gumme lacke, but most part rice,[4] which they sell about Pallecat and that coast of Narsinga.[5]

To Pegu they export much silver in rials of eight, cotton yarne, and beethyles[6] dyed red, with several sorts of paintings;

[1] The most valuable form of camphor was produced in Sumatra, and took its commercial name from Barus, or Baros, a place on the west coast of that island, from which the commodity was exported (*Hobson-Jobson*, *s.vv.* Barouse, Camphor).

[2] Priaman and Tiku were at this period the chief ports for the export of pepper from the west coast of Sumatra.

[3] At this period there was little or no direct trade between India and China. During the sixteenth century Malacca had been the great entrepôt, but its predominance had now disappeared, and goods from China were procurable at Bantam or Jakatra (Batavia) in Java, at Achin in Sumatra, and in Siam. There was a considerable demand for porcelain on the part of the Moslems living on the Coromandel Coast. The term 'China commodities' covered a wide range of luxury goods from the Far East, as detailed below under Tenasserim.

[4] The rice described as exported from Arakan came principally from the port of Chittagong, which, with a large portion of Eastern Bengal, was at this time subject to the King of Arakan.

[5] Narsinga was a common Portuguese term for Vijayanagar, derived from the name, Narasinha, of the King who occupied the throne at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[6] Betilles (with varied spelling) was the trade-name for the muslins produced in the Golconda kingdom, and exported mainly from Masulipatam; it is presumably the Portuguese word *beatilha*, 'veiling' (*Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Betteela). 'Paintings' means *pintados*, or patterned goods.

and bring from thence the perfect rubies and saphires which are dispersed through the world, much gold, the best gum lack, with some tin and quicksilver.

To Tannassery they carry red cotton yarne, red and white beethyles, paintings of severall sorts befitting that countries weare; and, landing them at Tannassery, carry them from thence to Syam fourteene dayes journey over land; from whence by the like conveyance they bring all sorts of China commodities,[1] as porcellane, sattins, damaskes, lankeene, silke, lignum aloes, benjamin of Camboia, and great store of tinne, and a wood to die withall called sapan wood, the same we heere call brasill.

Alongst their owne coast they trade with smaller shipping, lading rice and other graine where it is cheapest, selling it againe on the Coast of Bisnagar [Vijayanagar] to great benefit, taking children in exchange, which cost not them above three or foure shillings a childe, and they sell againe in Musulipatnam and other places for forty shillings.[2] And thus much shal suffice to have written of this kingdom, wherein I have been the more prolixe, because my own knowledge, fortified with almost five yeeres experience, assureth me of the truth of what I have written.

Where this country endeth, the kindome of Bengala beginneth, subsisting at this time under the monarchy of the Great Mogull, which he ruleth by his Governours, disposed into severall provinces;[3] whose powerfull neighbourhood causeth the King

[1] There was a regular trade between China and Siam, whence a comparatively short land-journey brought China goods to the Bay of Bengal. Lankeene may be read as nankeen, the interchange of *l* and *n* being a common feature of commercial intercourse with China; nankeen was originally a cloth produced from cotton fibre of a natural yellow colour. Lignum aloes represents aloes-wood, or eagle-wood, an aromatic wood probably *Aquilaria Agallocha* (*Dict. E. P.*, 1, 279); for it, and for the dye-wood *Caesalpinia sappan*, known variously as sappan-wood and Brazil-wood, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.vv.*

[2] I have given some particulars of the slave-trade in this region in *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 76 ff.

[3] The administrative status of Orissa, the country which separated Golconda from Bengal, was not absolutely stable. In the *Ain-i Akbari* (i, 319 ff.) Orissa is described under the province of Bengal, but as a separate entity, and may be classed as a sub-province. In the seventeenth century, a Viceroy was ordinarily appointed to Orissa, so that it was then a separate province; but on occasion Bengal and Orissa were placed in charge of a single Viceroy. Methwold is thus practically, if not technically, correct in placing Bengal next to Golconda.

of Golchonda to keepe constant garisons, which, with the advantage of rivers and deserts, secureth him on that side of his kingdome. In this countrey we are meere [entire] strangers; the coast is too dangerous, and our shipping too great, to adventure them amongst so many shelfes and sands;[1] yet are we enformed by such as comes from thence, and confirmed by the price and abundance of such things as that countrey produceth, that it is the most plentifull of all the East. For once a yeere there ariveth at Musulipatnam a fleet of small vessels from thence, of burden about twenty tunnes, the plankes onely sowne together with cairo[2] (a kinde of cord made of the rinds of coconuts), and no iron in or about them: in which barkes they bring rice, butter, sugar, waxe, honey, gumme lacke, long pepper,[3] callico, lawnes,[4] and divers sorts of cotton-cloth, raw silke, and moga,[5] which is made of the barke of a certaine tree, and very curious quilts and carpets stitched with this moga; all which, considering the plenty of the place whereunto they bring them, should come hither as we say of coales carried to New-castle, yet here they sell them to contented profit.[6] Many Portugals, decayed in their estates or questioned for their lives, resort hither[7] and live here

[1] The reference is to the navigation of the estuary of the Hūglī, the main commercial approach to Bengal. When the English Company decided, in the year 1650, to establish a factory at the port of Hūglī, the Directors ordered the *Lioness* to be taken up the river, but the project was abandoned "considering the great hazard of the attempt". The Dutch faced, and overcame, the difficulties (*English Factories*, VIII, 313, XI, 66).

[2] Cairo is the Portuguese form of the Malayalam word *kāyar*, which in English has become coir.

[3] Long pepper, the pods of *Piper longum*, as distinct from ordinary pepper, the berries of *Piper nigrum*.

[4] I suspect the comma after 'callico' to be a misprint. The phrase 'calico-lawns' was quite common at this period to denote cotton cloth resembling the lawns made in Europe from flax.

[5] *Mūga*, a wild silk, the produce of *Antheræa assama*, found in Assam. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Moonga, where this passage is taken as an illustration of the legend of classical times that silk grew on trees.

[6] I discussed the exceptional cheapness of commodities in Bengal in *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 178 ff., where I suggested that at this period scarcity of silver was the real cause.

[7] The demoralisation of the Portuguese in Bengal at this period must be accepted as a fact; see on this topic J. J. A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1919).

plentifully, yet as banished men or out-lawes, without government, practice, or almost profession, of religion; to conclude, it may truly be spoken of this countrey, as it is abusively of another, Bengala *bona terra, mala gens*; it is the best countrey peopled with the worst nation, of whom this repute runnes currant in India,[1] the men are all theeves, and the women whoores. Here the famous Ganges disimboqueth [discharges] into the sea, fructifying it seemes the countrey, but little sanctifying the inhabitants; whereof I can speake very little, as having alwayes lived at great distance from it; onely I have heard it is full of crocodiles,[2] and so are most rivers within the Gulfe, where I have seene many of immense bignesse, which the ferrimen that passe men and cattle over those rivers know how to charme, and then with safety ferry over the passengers in the bodies of one or two palmito trees joyned,[3] and swimme over the cattle; the order of which charming having once seene I thought good to insert. Beeing at a rivers side and ready to passe it, we espied a very great crocodile shewing himselfe above water, and swimming downe the streame in our way; whereupon the ferriman entring the river to the calves of his legs, he stands upon one of them, muttering to himselfe certaine words, and withall tying knots upon a small coard he held in his hand to the number of seven; which coard hee left hanging on a bush thereby, and confidently pusht us and our horses over, the crocodile lying all this while still in our sight, not able (as he said) to open his jawes; so having ferried us over, he made haste to returne and untie the coard, affirming that if the crocodile should be starved by the power of this charme, his charme would from thenceforth lose its power and effect.

Crocodiles charmed

[1] Here Methwold, who had no personal knowledge of Bengal, is probably quoting the injurious description of the people which Linschoten (i, 94) had picked up in Goa. For the phrase *bona terra, mala gens* see the supplementary note on p. 50.

[2] *Crocodilus porosus*, found in estuaries all round the Bay of Bengal, as distinct from the *magar* (*C. palustris*) of Northern India (*Impl. Gaz.* I, 266).

[3] The *Godāvari District Gazetteer* mentions (p. 127) that in the case of a few of the smallest ferries over the rivers "rafts laid on hollowed-out palmyra trunks" are still employed.

Arrecan borders upon Bengala[1] and participates in its plenty, from whence there commeth yeerely shipping to the Coast of Choromandel. The King is by religion a Gentile,[2] but such a one as holdeth all meates and drinkes indifferent; he marrieth constantly his owne sister, and giveth for reason the first mens practice in the infancy of the world, affirming that no religion can deny that Adams sons married Adams daughters. He is very kind to strangers, giving good respect and entertainment to Moores, Persians and Arabians, which live in his countrey, professing publikely the practice of their Mahumetan superstition. Hee hath also divers times invited the Dutch and English to resort unto his countrey, but the Dutch[3] by good experience, having had sometimes a factory there, the English, not by their example but true knowledge of the little trade and lesse benefit, avoyd his importunity; yet continue good correspondence with him and his people, as knowing it a plentifull country, and not inconvenient to supply themselves with many necessaries, if difference with other nations should enforce them to that extremity. Betwixt this King and the Mogull there is continuall warre,[4] both by sea and land, defensive on the King of Arrecans part, securing his owne countrey that bordereth upon Bengala, from thence confronting in small skirmishes the

[1] As has been indicated in a previous note, Arakan at this period ruled over a substantial portion of eastern Bengal; the frontier cannot be stated with precision, but there is little or no trace of effective Mogul jurisdiction to the east of the Megna river.

[2] The religion of Arakan was Buddhism, but it was of a somewhat eclectic nature, if we may judge from the contemporary account given by Fray Sebastian Manrique (Hakluyt Society, Series II, vol. LIX). Manrique mentions (p. 391) that the King's wife was his eldest sister, and states that such marriages were the rule. Professor D. G. E. Hall informs me that a similar rule prevailed in Burma from time immemorial until the deposition of King Thibaw in 1885.

[3] Some notice of the earliest Dutch relations with Arakan will be found in *Terpstra*, 57 ff., 150. The King wanted naval or military aid, while the Dutch wanted trade, and were anxious to avoid fighting, so that very little was done at this period.

[4] The silence of the contemporary chronicles bears out Methwold's suggestion that at this period there was no serious fighting on this frontier. In the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* there is an entry (II, 93) relating to the year 1619–20 that an officer "had fought with a band of Maghs [*i.e.*, Arakanese] on the borders of Bengal, and had sacrificed his life", but this is the only reference I have found to actual hostilities.

opposite party; but any set or great battle I have not heard of to have beene fought betwixt them. In which warres he giveth so good entertainment to strangers, that I have knowne divers Hollanders, that having expired their covenanted time of service with the East Indian Company, and so purchased [obtained] their freedome, have gone to serve this King, and received good countenance and content in his employment of them.

Pegu * borders upon Arrecan,[1] and is a most plentifull and temperate country, yet hardly recovered from the desolation wherewith warre, plague, and famine had within few former yeeres infested it; which is most visible in the vast [open] country, the cities being alwayes first and best replenished; and that all other places may the better bee so, it is death to export a woman from thence, and certaine profit to bring them. The King is a Gentile by his religion, agreeing in all points of opinion and practice with the Kings of Arrecan, Tannassery and Syam, all of them in probability receiving their rudiments from the Chineses, who without question sometimes commanded those countries; their vicinity, resemblance in phisiognomy, and conformity in many customes being my best reasons to goe along with these thus farre that are of opinion the Chineses sometimes monarchised as farre as Madagascar.[2]

* *Pegu. Of the late miserable state thereof and former glory, see l.* 10. *cap.* 5, 6, 7, 8, *where other countries of this Gulfe of Bengala and Coast of Coromandel are related*

[1] The reference in the margin is to the *Pilgrimes*, II, x, 1722 ff.; the most concise account of the situation is, however, in the journal of Floris (I, iii, 322). The original war was between Pegu and Siam, but Arakan and other countries became involved, and the result was the destruction, for the time being, of the power of Pegu, and the desolation of the country. Another description will be found in the Portuguese *Brief Account of the Kingdom of Pegu*, of which a translation is given in the Journal of the Burma Research Society, August, 1926.

[2] The fact towards which Methwold is groping his way in this paragraph is that Burma is related to China rather than India. The people are of Mongoloid race, their languages are Indo-Chinese, and Buddhism is the prevailing religion. Sir George Grierson writes (*Impl. Gaz.* I, 384) that the original home of all the races speaking Indo-Chinese languages seems to have been North-Western China, whence they spread in all directions, among others down the river-valleys into Burma. Methwold was thus on the right track in recognising the resemblance to Chinese, but it was not necessary to infer that Burma had formed part of the monarchy of China. Some of the various States which now form Burma were in fact subject at times to the suzerainty of the Chinese, but up to Methwold's time this was not an important cultural factor (G. E. Harvey, *History of Burmah*, p. 73).

The King which now reigneth[1] was nephew to the last, notwithstanding he had children which this hath supprest, and hath in his time recovered from the King of Syam what hee had enforced from his predecessor, amongst others the town and kingdom of Zangomay,[2] and therein an Englishman named Thomas Samuel, who not long before had beene sent from Syam by Master Lucas Anthonison to discover the trade of that country, by the sale of certaine goods sent along with him to that purpose; which Thomas Samuell, together with all other strangers, was by the King taken from Zangomay, and carried to Pegu, where not long after Samuel dyed, the King seising upon what he had by inventory, with purpose (as by the sequell) to give account thereof to the lawfull proprietors. The Kingdome of Pegu beginn[in]g to bee better established, merchants of divers nations began to repaire thither againe about their negotiations, where some of Musulipatnam, by conference with Moores that were Samuels associates, understood his death, and the Kings taking his goods into his hands, with the probability of recovery if sought after; which they making knowne to the English at their returne to Musulipatnam, it happened that Master Lucas Anthonison, who imployed Samuel from Syam to Zangomay, was then Agent at Musulipatnam,[3] who, apprehending this encouragement, consulted with his assistants, and resolved to send two English with a letter and present to the King, and some small adventure to beare the charge of the voyage, and make tryall of the trade; which tooke place, and they, embarquing at

[1] Anaukpetlun, who succeeded to the throne in 1605, and restored the power of Pegu.

[2] Chiengmai, in the north of Siam. Lucas Antheunis, or Antheuniszoon, representative of the English Company at Ayuthia, then the capital of Siam, had sent Samuel to this place on a trading expedition (*Letters Received*, II, 113, 111, 153).

[3] This incident has been discussed by Professor D. G. E. Hall in chapter II of *Early English Intercourse with Burma* (London, 1928). In the notes which follow I have drawn freely on Professor Hall's work, and I have had the privilege of consulting him on various questions arising out of the text. Antheunis was in charge of the Company's affairs at Masulipatam in 1616–17. The dates, which are not given by Methwold, can be fixed by the records (*English Factories*, I, 42–44, 154, 209). The mission started in September, 1617, the names of the factors (suppressed by Methwold) being Henry Forest and John Staveley.

having our present with us, Bany Bram[1] sent his men unto us, writing our names as beforetime; they also bade us choose any ground where we would for to build us a house, but at our owne cost and charge, as all other mens custome is. Our house being finished, straight order was given that we must not walke anywhere out of our house to speake with any man untill the King had spoken with us, and our present delivered. The King sent us a present of victuals, with two noblemen with it, which was some grace to us, though it was not of much value; and our comfort is that all men report that the King is very well pleased at our comming into his country. The seven and twentieth of December, the King sent for our present, and sent two horses for us, and being come to a gate of the towne to stay for his comming, when hee came out, hee sent for us. What speech or conference he had with us, Narsarca can certifie you, but it was to no purpose concerning our businesse, nor could we get none to move the King in our businesse, for none of his subjects dare move the King in our businesse more then he demands. The next [day] our letter was sent for and interpreted by a Portugall, a slave to the King, but one that speakes Pegu. We had much trouble with him about the true understanding of it, being not written in Portugese. The next day wee delivered that present you sent to Bany Bram, who gave us many faire speeches like to others, but we have found them all to no purpose. The country is far from your Worships expectation, for what men soever come into his country, he holds them but as his slaves, neyther can any man goe out of his country without his leave, for hee hath watch both by land and water, and he of himselfe is a tyrant, and cannot eat before he hath drawne bloud from some of his people with death or otherwise. For the businesse of Thomas Samuel and the Mallayor,[2] they had a falling out some 12 months before he dyed, and he tooke all the Companies goods into his hands, and the Mallayor had Narsarcans in his hands, and comming to Pegu he [Samuel] fell sicke by the way, and dyed in short time after he came to Pegu; but before his death the Mallayor was called for to give account what men

[1] Explained by Professor Hall as Binnya Byan, a Talaing title; Binnya denotes 'Lord', or 'General', or some such high rank, while Byan is a common name, and the Burmese *y* often becomes *r*, as in Rangoon (which is properly Yan Gon).

[2] This word may denote a representative of the great Indian firm known in the commercial correspondence as Malaya, which had its headquarters at Pulicat, and branches at various places round the Bay of Bengal. In 1622 'Mallaja' or 'Mallay' was the 'principal merchant' and the 'good friend' of the English at Pulicat (*English Factories*, II, 122, 141), and the firm bulks largely in the later correspondence. The final '-or' would indicate one of Malaya's men, and it would be a natural proceeding for the firm to join in a trading expedition such as Samuel undertook.

were indebted to Samuel, and the Pegues and Bermanes[1] that were indebted payd it to the King, but the Moores that were indebted said, when the English came they would pay them. We went with others to Nichesa,[2] and requested him to move the King in our behalfe for our despatch, who returned answers; came we to demand our goods, and the English had never come to trade in his country? when our ships came hee would give all the goods and what the English could demand to give them content. In another letter, the first of March, wee had word sent us, the King would not let us go untill some English ships came to Pegu. For the mony wee brought with us, it is all spent, and wee are here in a most miserable estate, and know no way to helpe our selves. For the King hath neyther given us any of our goods, nor leave to recover none of our debts, nor taken our cloth, but we are like lost sheep, and still in feare of being brought to slaughter. Therefore we beseech you and the rest of our countrimen and friends to pittie our poore distressed estate, and not to let us be left in a heathen country, slaves to a tyrannous King. Though the King gave us nothing, yet had hee but given us leave to come away, wee could have certified your Worship of meanes to helpe to have recovered all the mony and goods we came for. Lead and tinne heere is none to be sold, but if we receive any mony, we do meane one of us to goe into the country to buy some, if any profit may be made of it. The coast of Pegu is cleere, and water enough on the bar for any ship: and for pilots, there are many to be had in Musulipatnam that know the coast very well. We intreat you for Gods sake to be mindfull of us, and to pitty the poore estate we are here in, and send some ship to release us, and we shall be bound to pray for your Worships good health and prosperitie.

This was the substance of their advice delivered in their owne words, which might bee true at that time, for then indeed they were inforced to stay; but not long after the ships departure they found good sale for their cloth, and it should seeme better vent for the money; for before the ships came againe in October following, they had consumed their capitall, and taken up

Their unfaithfulnesse and unthriftie courses

[1] Professor Hall notes that 'Pegus' here denotes the Talaings, or inhabitants of the south of Burma, as opposed to the Burmese, the inhabitants of the country further north.

[2] 'Nichesa' was taken by Professor Hall to indicate 'probably the Portuguese interpreter'. The name is not however recognisable as Portuguese, and in correspondence Professor Hall has offered the alternative suggestions that it may be the name or title of some member of the royal family, or of an influential Armenian official; he inclines to the idea that it may represent Nga Kyi Za.

[borrowed] besides what their credit could supply, for which they could give no other account but that most was lost at play, and the rest profusely spent; whereof the Right Worshipfull East Indian Company are most sensible, and my selfe at that time in that place had some reason to be acquainted withall, but leaving them namelesse according to the obscurity of their qualities and irregularity of their proceedings. The King restoring most of the same goods Samuel dyed possessed of, at the instant of the ships departure, and not before, lest their ryot should have consumed all, he then enforced them to depart toward Musulipatnam, that could have been well contented to have stayed behind; where they arrived in April, An. 1619,[1] bringing with them a letter from the King, written upon a palmito leafe, signifying his desire to give free trade and entertainment to the English nation, if they would with their shipping repaire unto his country; and with all he sent as a present a ring set with a ruby, two mats, two betele boxes, and two narrow pieces of damaske, all worth twenty nobles[2] or thereabouts; and so ended this negotiation. The rubies and saphires which are brought from hence are found in the Kingdome of Ava, subject also to this King, and much esteemed in all parts of India.

Tannassery lyeth next to Pegu, a small kingdome, and tributary to the King of Syam, for which place this is but the port, and that only to the inhabitants of this Gulfe. For we find a way with our shipping into the river of Syam,[3] where the Right Worshipfull East Indian Company have at this time their servants, to whose abler relation I leave the description of those parts; adding onely from the credible reports of our owne, the

[1] As Professor Hall has shown (*op. cit.*, p. 40), this date should be 1620. The factors were ready to sail in March, 1619, "but the Tyrant of Pegu, incensed against one of his chiefe nobles, executed him and diverse others, and persisting thus disturbed, none durst moove him for licence to depart untill the monsoone was lost" (*English Factories*, I, 154). This would involve a year's delay, and they cannot have reached the Coromandel Coast before March or April, 1620.

[2] The noble was 6*s.* 8*d.*

[3] The English factory at Ayuthia had been closed when Methwold wrote. The differences between the Dutch and English Companies, accentuated by the tragedy of Amboyna in 1623, induced the latter to restrict its operations in the Further East, and Siam was one of the factories to be abandoned (*English Factories*, II, p. xxxvii).

Dutch, and that nation, the strange increase of the swine of that country, amongst which here are found no boares, yet have they pigs according to the custome of other swine. And one Sir [Signor] Drift, a Dutchman of good account, and another that lived long in that place, affirmed unto mee the truth hereof, both in that countryes beliefe, and his owne experience, for at his comming from thence he tooke certaine pigs, which he kept aboard the ship, and within six moneths they farrowed pigs, yet not a boare amongst them.' And heere I take leave to repose, having made this light [slight] discovery of the countryes coasting this Bay of Bengala, which I could not more exactly performe, having taken my station in Musulipatnam. Such as it is, I submit it equally to all mens surveigh or censure, and rest—pleased, whosoever be otherwise.

Now in Holland

Sowes fruitfull without boares

Worthy Sir:

Supplementary note to p. 41

Through the kindness of Mr Edward Bensly and other correspondents of *Notes and Queries* it is possible to give some information regarding the phrase *bona terra, mala gens*, applied by Methwold to Bengal. The phrase was evidently familiar at this period, for it appears as a *cliché* in Shakespeare's *II Henry VI*, Act iv, Scene 7, where it is applied to Kent. Its currency in Latin, and also in some modern languages, is shown by its appearance in various collections, from Manuzio's *Adagia* (1591) to von Lipperheide's *Spruchwörterbuch* (1907); but it is classed in them as a proverb, not a quotation, and none of those which I have seen indicate the original source, or the country to which it was first applied.

SCHORER'S *RELATION*

BRIEF RELATION *of the* Trade of the Coromandel Coast, *especially at the* Factory at Masulipatnam, *where I resided in the service of the* Hon'ble Company *in the seventh*[1] *Year.*

The Coromandel Coast extends from Manār to beyond Narasapur Peta, where the Orissa Coast begins.[2] The Hon'ble Company has four factories on the Coast, as follows. Starting from Ceylon, the first is named Tegenampatnam or Tierepopelier;[3] it is under the government of the great Aya,[4] and is

[1] This phrase is discussed in the Introduction, § 5.

[2] The extent of the Coromandel Coast varies somewhat in different writers, as explained in *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Manār is the island lying off the north-west coast of Ceylon, which marked the limits of ordinary coastal navigation. It will be seen that Schorer here applies the name 'Orissa Coast' to the coast north of the Godāvari river, which other writers (*e.g.*, *Bowrey*, 99, 130) call the Gingelly Coast; a little further on he uses the two names as synonymous.

[3] Tegnapatam is now known as Fort St David, in the South Arcot district. The founding of the Dutch factory in 1608 is related in *Terpstra* (85 ff.). At first the Dutch factors were granted the use of an old fort at this place, but it proved to be uninhabitable, and they were allowed to occupy instead a smaller fort at Tirupāpuliyūr, a short distance away. In the Dutch records the factory is spoken of indifferently as Tegnapatam or Tierepopelier.

[4] 'The great Aya' was the chief officer of the Nāyak of Gingee, who allowed the Dutch to settle at Tegnapatam; he is described as more powerful than the Nāyak himself (*Terpstra*, 89, 114 ff.). His name is given as Tiere, or Ciere, Wingelaya, which is read by my Indian correspondents as Tiruvengadayya; and I am told that a respectable person may still be referred to simply as Ayya, the remainder of his name being dropped.

situated about [?] leagues[1] north of Negapatnam, which belongs to the Portuguese. About five persons are stationed in this factory. The trade which can be done here consists of various kinds of cotton cloth, both painted and woven;[2] saltpetre is also to be had, as well as indigo, but the latter is of exceedingly bad substance or quality, and consequently very little is exported. The goods sold here are pepper, mace, nutmegs, cloves; sandal-wood, eagle-wood; lead, spelter, tin, sulphur, alum; raw silk, from both Achin and China, wrought as well as raw [*sic*], but the demand is small; musk; vermilion, quicksilver; and camphor from China and Borneo, but that of Borneo is in the greatest demand. The currency is pardaos,[3] reckoned at 10 fanams to the pardao, which is about two Holland guilders. A fanam is worth 20 to 22 cash, the smallest coin. The weights are the bahār, the maund, and the viss. A bahār is 460 Holland pounds, a maund, or *tolam*,[4] is 23 pounds, a viss is $2\frac{7}{8}$ pounds. Merchants, if they wish to sell their goods, must be guided chiefly by the course of the market, or prices current, at Negapatnam. The duty to be paid here is 4 per cent., *viz.* 2 per cent. on entering, and 2 per cent. on leaving, it being understood that the duty on leaving must be paid in cash, and that on entering in the goods actually

[1] Here, and throughout, 'league' represents the Dutch *mijl*, which was approximately three English miles. The two digits in the MS. are illegible; it looks as if the number had been left blank, and hurriedly filled in. The first may possibly be meant for 2, the second is like no other digit in any MS. I have seen. The distance on the map is 70 miles, which would be about 23 leagues.

[2] The phrase 'painted and woven' which Schorer uses regularly, and which recurs in other Dutch records, is formally incorrect, for all the cloth was, of course, woven; the word 'woven' must be read as 'not painted', denoting the plain cloth, *calico* and *muslin*, as opposed to the patterned goods, *pintado* or chintz.

[3] For the Portuguese unit of currency, the *pardao*, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* It depreciated steadily, and its value at any particular time has to be calculated from any equations that may be available. The scales of currency and weights given in the text are discussed in the Appendix.

[4] *Tolam*, or *tulam*, is the Tamil form of the more familiar *tola*, which in most parts of India is the name of the highest denomination in the scale of minute weights used by jewellers and goldsmiths, varying from about 160 to 180 gr. In the south, however, the word frequently represents a much larger unit, ranging in different localities from 16 to 32 lb. (*Report of the Weights and Measures Committee*, 1913–14, p. 40.)

brought. The inhabitants are mostly black or yellowish,[1] and follow the Gentu or heathen rule.[2]

The second factory on the Coast is Pulicat, which belongs to one of the wives of the King of Vellore.[3] It lies about seven leagues North of S. Thomé, or Mylapore, which belongs to the Portuguese. Here the Hon'ble Company has a fort named Geldria, in which stands a house called Both.[4] About 72 persons live in the fort, counting factors and soldiers, with from 14 to 16 blacks, who have run away from the other side.[5] There are also 18 brass or iron guns, 4 falcons or bases, and 4 stone-mortars.[6] Here are manufactured various kinds of cotton cloth, woven and painted, but much better than at any other places on the Coast, especially the painted cloth, because the Portuguese

[1] Schorer uses three adjectives, black, yellowish, and white, to describe the complexions of the inhabitants of the Coast; they must not be read too literally, and possibly 'dark' and 'fair' would give what he had in his mind when he used the first and last.

[2] I use 'rule' to represent *wet*, a word which, in Dutch writers of the period, is ambiguous, pointing sometimes to 'law', and sometimes to 'religion'. Gentu represents *gentiven*, a Dutch formation from Portuguese *gentio* (gentile). As will be seen in this Relation, and in the next, it is ambiguous, sometimes denoting all Hindus, sometimes excluding brāhmans and banyans (*cf. Bowrey*, 6 *n.*, 23 *n.*).

[3] Apparently the revenue of the Pulicat district had been granted or assigned to this Queen as her personal income, in the way usual in India, so that she was responsible for its administration. In 1614 Floris mentions the receipt of letters from "Objama, Queene of Paleacatte". In October of that year "came newes of the death of Wencatadrapa King of Velur after his fiftie years raigne, and that his three Wives (of whom Obyama [*sic*] Queene of Paleacatte was one) had burned themselves quicke with the Corps" (*Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 327). The names in Floris' journal, as printed by Purchas, are frequently corrupt; the King was Venkata Rāja I, but the correct name of the Queen is doubtful. Venkata came to the throne in 1586, so 'his fifty years reign' is inaccurate.

[4] The 'house', *i.e.*, the factory, was obviously named after Pieter Both, Governor-General for the Dutch Company, 1610–14.

[5] The reference is presumably to the fighting, mentioned in the Introduction, between the Portuguese at S. Thomé and the Dutch at Pulicat. In the next decade, an English factor suggested (*English Factories*, III, 135) that the garrison at Armagon should include some 'blacks mesticos'; the latter word is Portuguese for 'half-caste', and the phrase indicates that the Portuguese soldiers of mixed race had acquired the soubriquet 'blacks'.

[6] Falcons and bases were small guns, the latter being the smallest kind used at this period (*OED. s.v.*). Stone-mortars were guns from which stones were discharged (Van Dale, *Groote Wordenboek*, *s.v.*).

have traded here for a long time.[1] Here and in the neighbourhood is obtained the best chay-root, with which cloth is dyed red; and also certain leaves of trees used for dyeing green.[2] The goods enumerated on the reverse [*sc.* under Tegnapatnam] are sold here also. The bahār is 480 pounds; the maund, 24 pounds, or *raetels*.[3] Business is transacted in pagodas, fanams, and cash. One pagoda is 15 fanams, one fanam is about 20 to 24 cash. Some ships arrive from the Gingelly Coast[4] or Orissa in February or March each year, laden with rice, butter, and gingelly seed; they return in April or May, laden with salt and some spice. The duty to be paid at Pulicat is 2 per cent., on both arrival and departure; in addition, each ship must pay 15 pagodas as anchorage dues. The inhabitants are black, and follow the Gentu rule. There is also a river, where the Portuguese of S. Thomé used to shelter their ships, which are not very large.[5]

The third factory, Petapoly or Nizāmpatnam, about 48 leagues[6] north of Pulicat, is under the rule of the King of Golconda, at least it is administered by a Hindu Governor, whose post is farmed annually from the King for a fixed sum of money. The staff of the factory consists of four persons. Only a few ships, Dutch or English, come here. Various kinds of cloth, both woven and painted, are made. The red dye which

[1] The 'painted', *i.e.*, patterned, cloth of Pulicat was specially adapted to the tastes of the inhabitants of the Spice Islands, the trade of which had been monopolised by the Portuguese for most of the sixteenth century.

[2] I have found no record of any green dye. The practice of the locality is to produce that colour in two operations, using first indigo, and then one or other of several vegetable materials giving a yellow colour; presumably the reference is to the latter (*Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in the Madras Presidency*, 1896).

[3] These units are discussed in the Appendix. *Raetel* represents the Portuguese pound or *arratel*.

[4] This term was usually applied to the coast north of the Godāvari river, apparently from the fact that this region was the main source of gingelly-seed (*Sesamum indicum*), and the oil made from it, for the country further south.

[5] S. Thomé, like most places on the Coast, had no sheltered harbour, but only an open roadstead, where ships could not remain during the monsoon. Pulicat, on the other hand, had shelter for small vessels, a fact which constituted one of its main advantages in the eyes of the Dutch; after they had obtained its possession, the shelter was, of course, not available for enemy vessels.

[6] The distance on the map is about 170 English miles.

is brought here for sale is admirable; the best chay-root of the whole Coast comes from an island[1] in the river. The goods sold are the same as at the two factories already named, except that porcelain sells better than in them, because some Persian merchants live here, who eat from porcelain, while the Gentus do not. The inhabitants are like the others [mentioned above]; most of them observe the heathen rule. There are also many brāhmans, who may eat nothing that has been alive; they are expert in accounts, and in all sorts of commodities; and among them are found some who are exceedingly skilful in astronomy. Here the bahār[2] is 500 pounds; the maund, 25 pounds; the viss, 3 1/8 pounds. The pagoda is here worth 16 fanams; a fanam is 8 or 9 nevels; a nevel is 4 or 5 tār-cash, the smallest coin. The duty is 3½ per cent. on arrival, which must be paid in the goods actually imported, and 3½ per cent. on leaving, payable in cash or in certain goods on which the Governors know how to make the largest profit. The English, too, have a factory here.

Masulipatnam, called by some 'Bandar', which means a town,[3] and situated in about 16½ degrees North latitude, is quite the most famous market on the Coast, meaning of course [among those] where the Hon'ble Company has factories. Here the Company has a hired residence, occupied by a staff of 8 or 9 persons. There is also a river,[4] but unfit for ships or pinnaces[5] to enter, being altogether shallow and also narrow; the ships which come here, namely ours and the English, must lie about a mile off-shore, because it is absolutely flat. The ground is very soft; the ships lie in 3 and 4 fathom. The town is situated about half a league up the river. It is ruled by a Governor, who farms the district from the King of Golconda; in addition to him, there is

[1] In the next Relation the name of this island is given as Tambreve.

[2] These data are discussed in the Appendix.

[3] Masulipatam is still known locally by this name; it is a Persian word, which means 'port', not 'town'.

[4] One of the minor mouths of the Kistna reaches the sea close to the town; it is not named on the map contained in the *District Manual*.

[5] On the advice of Mr W. G. Perrin, Librarian at the Admiralty, 'pinnace', in the contemporary sense of a small sea-going vessel, usually with one or two masts, is used as the nearest equivalent to the Dutch *jagt*, *i.e.*, 'yacht'.

a harbour-master,[1] and a judge called *Qāzī*, before whom all disputes are disposed of.

The state kept by the King of Golconda[2] is great. When he comes out, he is followed by a great crowd, some on horseback, and some carried in palanquins. He possesses many elephants and camels. He himself sits on an elephant when he comes out. He is no soldier, though he wages great war against Malik Ambar, the lieutenant-general of the Great Mogul, or Akbar;[3] in this he has the support of two other kings, one called Nizāmshāh, the other Ādilshāh. The fortresses in the interior, especially those which are situated on the enemy's frontiers, are very strong, and well provided with troops, victuals, and all sorts of munitions. It is said that the King has an annual income, in excess of all charges, of 19 tons[4] of treasure, each ton denoting 100,000 pagodas. He bestows large sums in religious benevolence, especially on Persians, who come from Persia in great numbers, men of noble ancestry but small means. Apparently he is as well disposed towards us as towards the Portuguese, or

[1] Text *sabandaer, i.e., shāhbandar*. This Persian word properly denoted a consul, in the contemporary sense of the head of a community of merchants resident in a foreign seaport, but during the sixteenth century it came to be applied by the Portuguese to the official in charge of a port, and this use had become definitely established among the Dutch by the time Schorer wrote. See *JRAS*, 1920, p. 517. Qāzī, more familiar in English literature as Kadi (occasionally 'caddy'), denotes an officer whose duties under Islamic law comprise the decision of suits, and also certain executive and advisory functions.

[2] As mentioned in the Introduction, Schorer had accompanied Jan van Wesick on his mission to Golconda in 1609, so he is here speaking of what he had seen.

[3] This is a distortion of the facts. Malik Ambar was not a Mogul officer, but Minister of Ahmadnagar (Nizāmshāh), who was resisting the Mogul power with some assistance from Golconda and Bījāpur (Ādilshāh). Akbar was dead, but for some years after his death there was a tendency to use his name as a synonym for the Mogul Empire. The distortion in the text may have arisen from the fact that some years earlier, when Malik Ambar was struggling for position, he obtained help from the Mogul 'Lieutenant-General' (the Khānkhānān), not against his Sovereign, but against his rival in the kingdom (*Briggs*, III, 314 ff.); the hostile faction may thus have represented him as in fact an adherent of the Mogul, but, at any rate from the year 1607, his loyalty is not open to question.

[4] *Ton* in Dutch finance means 100,000 guilders; as the context shows, Schorer here uses the word to denote that number of coins of a different denomination.

better, as are also his subjects; but the worst thing I know is that those are most favoured who give the largest presents,[1] though for a long time we were favourably regarded because of the victories we won over the Portuguese on different occasions at various places.

Justice is administered mainly by the Governors. The crime most commonly punished is theft. Apart from this, the Governors cause great trouble to their subjects in order to get money from them by fair means or foul. The reason is that they have to pay the rent of their farm annually to the King; and should they default in this, they are ordered to come to the King, who then has them thrown before the elephants,[2] or else they must bring the sum they have promised within such time as is fixed. Consequently, most of the Governors are brāhmans or Gentus, not Persians, because the King may not execute justice[3] on Persians, especially those of Sayyid or Mīr descent, that is to say, descended from their Muhammad, the religion observed by the King and most of his people. The King has many priests, called *kaltiff*,[4] at Court, as also in the rest of the kingdom, who receive fixed sums annually for their support. In the towns, and also in the villages, are many of their churches, called *masjid* [mosque], for travellers and residents, for many Moslems live all through the country.

The Gentus also have their churches, called pagodas, scattered over the country, but since it is ruled mainly by Moslems, many of these are in ruins. Their priests or teachers are called brāhmans, and are very clever, as has been said above,

[1] This is clearly an echo of the mission to Golconda, where the negotiations took the form of an auction, and the Mīr Jumla, or Minister, was said to have extracted a total of 35,000 pagodas from the various parties interested (*Terpstra*, 105–109).

[2] Trampling by elephants was one of the regular methods of execution practised in India at this period.

[3] The reference is to the traditional respect, or even reverence, in which the descendants of Muhammad are held; with Persian influence predominant at the Court, it is improbable that a defaulting Sayyid would have been treated with the severity usual in ordinary cases, but the words 'may not' are too strong, for the King exercised despotic authority.

[4] Read *khātib*, 'preacher'. In South India *b* and *v* are frequently interchanged, while Dutch writers of this period used *f* and *v* almost indiscriminately.

in all matters. I have never seen the worship practised in their churches. The Moslem worship resembles the Turkish, though there is some difference; but the religion of Turks and Persians differs greatly,[1] though both follow the rule of Muhammad.

The Moslems have no remarkable ceremonies in burying their dead, but when anyone dies, they wash the whole body of the deceased, and bury it with the face towards the West. [The bodies of] children and male or female slaves are not carried through the door of the house, but through a hole made in the wall.[2] Gentus are not buried, but thrown into fire and burned; then come their wives with joyful countenance, and jump into the fire beside their husbands; and then the relations throw wood and oil into the fire, so that they may the sooner be released from the pain. Those [widows] who do not do this are regarded as dishonoured; but it is not always necessary to do it, while some are buried. They [Gentus] marry while very young; and then, if the man happens to die before he has reached his years, the wife may not marry again during her life, the hair of her head is shaved, [and] all her ornaments removed from her person, nor may she ever again wear fine clothes.

When Moslems die, their wives may marry again if they wish. Moslems may have four wedded wives, and in addition as many female slaves as they can pay for, with whom they sleep when they choose; children born to female slaves are considered as legitimate[3] as the others. The Gentus marry only one wife, but

[1] The Turks were *sunnī*, the Persians *shī'a*.

[2] This practice is apparently not recorded elsewhere among Moslems in Southern India, though it is followed there by various Hindu castes if the death has occurred on an inauspicious day (E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1903), p. 226). That it was known among Moslems in the north is shown by a Jesuit account of Akbar's funeral (V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1919), p. 327). Sir Richard Burn informs me that similar practices have been recorded in many countries,—among the Esquimaux, in China, Holland, and Italy, and among the Indians of British Columbia,—the underlying idea being apparently to make it difficult for ghosts to find their way back into the house.

[3] Here, and in the next paragraph, it is impossible to be sure what the writer had in his mind when he used the word *echte* of slaves' children. The word commonly means 'legitimate' in the juristic sense, but it has also a wider range, and may denote merely 'respectable' or 'recognised'. In

if they have no children by her, they may marry another, with the consent of the first, in order to obtain heirs. The Moslems have their children taught to read and write if they are capable. Some of the Gentus also have their children taught to read and write; and, when they are fit to learn a craft, they must learn that which their father and his caste follow. They are very seemly in their way of living, particularly the Moslems, who can eat practically everything except the flesh of pigs. Sometimes they give expensive banquets, but they may not drink any wine, though some of them do not observe this [rule]. Among the Gentus are many who may eat nothing that has been alive, especially the brāhmans and banyans, who observe the rule of Pythagoras;[1] the rest eat practically anything except beef. They drink nothing but water, but some of their wives may drink wine when sick, or in child-bed.

The inhabitants are usually black, some of them yellowish; but the others, such as Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Burmese, many of which four nations live here, are white, but have not the colour of the people in this country. The marriage state is observed strictly among them, but more so among Gentus than Moslems, seeing that Gentus can have only two wives, while Moslems have four, and in addition as many slaves as they can pay for, as has been said already; yet notwithstanding these, they also frequent prostitutes, who are very numerous. Moslems buy a female slave for their sons who are grown up but not yet married, to keep them from frequenting prostitutes, and children born to such slaves are regarded as legitimate.

The trade and traffic carried on here is extensive, by sea as well as land; the Moslems and banyans trade with various places by sea and land, but the Gentus do not go much to sea. Ships sail every year to the coast of Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim, carrying a variety of cotton cloths, glass, iron,

Islamic law the position of such children depends on acknowledgement of paternity by the father; if a boy has been acknowledged, he inherits a share in the estate (A. Rumsey, *Moohummudan Law of Inheritance*, London, 1880, pp. 180 ff.).

[1] In the literature of the period Pythagoras usually appears as propounder of the doctrine of transmigration of souls, but here the reference is to his rule of vegetarianism.

cotton yarn (red and white), tobacco, and certain shells[1] which are used instead of coins in Bengal and Arakan; they carry also some spice and sandal-wood. The return cargoes consist of rice, butter, oil, gingelly seed, sugar, a variety of woven cloths, some fine embroidered quilts, rubies, sapphires, lac, pitch, benzoin, China root,[2] gold, tin, eagle-wood, sappan-wood, which is used for dyeing red, large jars called Martabans, and a drink called *nipa*.[3] These goods are brought to the whole Coast, as far as Cochin.

Ships sail also to Achin, Priaman, Queda, and Perak,[4] carrying a variety of painted cloths and rice; and bringing back sulphur, camphor, silk, tin, and some Gujarāt cloths,[5] also pepper from Priaman, and some porcelain purchased from the Chinese there. These goods are sold along the Coast.

Some ships sail also to Ceylon and the Maldives, carrying coarse cotton cloths, and bringing back coir, which is used by Indians and Portuguese to make their cordage, also coconuts. In some parts of the Maldives are found some coconuts which are excellent antidotes for poison; in my time I have seen one sold for 200 larins,[6] each larin being worth about 9 stivers. The

[1] Cowries (*Cypraea moneta*), which were brought mainly from the Maldive Islands; see the long article in *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.*

[2] The tubers of some species of *Smilax*, at this period highly prized as a medicine for various diseases.

[3] Martaban jars and *nipa* are discussed in *Hobson-Jobson, s.vv.* The latter word denoted a spirit distilled from the sap of a palm, ordinarily *Nipa fruticans*.

[4] The name Queda denotes the capital city of what is now the Malay State of Kedah, together with the river on which it lies; it is described in some detail by *Bowrey* (259 ff.). Perak is the State, with river of the same name, lying south of Kedah on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.

[5] This statement may be read as an illustration of the temporary dislocation of the Indian coasting trade. During the sixteenth century this trade was dominated by the Portuguese, and Gujarāt goods were brought by them to Cochin, whence they were distributed along the east coast. The Portuguese were now losing their footing in the Gujarāt trade; and while the coasting trade was disorganised, Masulipatam could most conveniently get Gujarāt cloth from Achin, which was in direct communication with Surat.

[6] The larin was a bent rod of silver, used as currency in Persia, and also in the Maldive Islands; its value at this time was slightly under a shilling. The guilder contained 20 stivers, and at the rate of exchange then current 9 stivers would be just over tenpence. The nuts which were prized as antidotes were not the ordinary coconut (*Cocos nucifera*), but the fruit of the coco-de-mer (*Lodoicea Sechellarum*); this tree grows only in the Seychelles, but the nuts are cast up by the sea in other places, notably in the Maldives (*Hobson-Jobson, s.v.*).

goods brought from Ceylon are cinnamon, fine mats, coconuts, and some precious stones. These goods are re-sold on the Coast, chiefly at Masulipatnam. Business is done here[1] in pagodas, each of 15 fanams; one fanam is 8 or 9 nevels; the smallest coins used in trade are cash, and one fanam contains from 70 to 80 tār, each tār being 4 small cash.

The goods obtainable here are a variety of cotton cloths, both painted and woven, cotton yarn, iron, steel, and indigo. The best indigo is made inland at a place called Nagelwaensa.[2] It is sold there by the *littel*,[3] each *littel* being 12 Masulipatnam maunds (each of 24 Holland pounds); the price is from 28 to 39 pagodas the *littel*. The bahār in Masulipatnam is 480 pounds; the maund, 24 pounds; the viss, or 5-ser, 3 pounds.

The Moslems' ships for Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, Achin, Priaman, Queda and Perak usually sail in September, for if they wait longer, they are in danger of missing their voyage. The Mecca ship[4] usually sails in January or the end of December. Our ships usually sail from the Coast for Achin, and on to Bantam, in May or the beginning of June, because the wind is then westerly. Ships sail from Masulipatnam in January for Arrimogam,[5] Pulicat, S. Thomé, Tegnapatnam, Porto Novo, Negapatnam, and on to Ceylon, and as far as Cochin. The commodities sold in Masulipatnam, and the prices[6] paid in my

[1] These units are discussed in the Appendix.

[2] Nagalwancha, about 12 miles south by east from Khammamett in the Warangal district; it appears on the 1928 issue of sheet 65 c of the ¼-inch maps published by the Survey of India, exactly in the position deduced from the account of it given in *Havart* (II, 13–6, 65). This map was, of course, not available when the place was located conjecturally by Sir R. Temple (*Streynsham Master*, I, 266 *n.*) at a point a few miles north-east of the actual site. Nagalwancha is shown as Nagelwanze in the map of Coromandel and Malabar in *Valentijn* (opening of vol. V), but it is there quite wrongly located.

[3] The units mentioned are discussed in the Appendix.

[4] That is, the ship carrying pilgrims for Mecca, which, as has been said in a previous note, went only as far as the port of Mocha.

[5] This name must denote the small port, usually called Armagon, at the north end of the Pulicat lagoon, where the English Company built a fort in 1626. Its mention here, and in the following Relation, disposes of the legend, already questioned by Sir W. Foster (*English Factories*, III, p. xliv), that the name was given by the English at the time the fort was built.

[6] In the list of prices which follows, p. stands for pagodas.

time, are as follows to the best of my recollection, for all my books and papers are at the Masulipatnam factory.

Pepper, 25p. the bahār; mace, 8 to 12p. the maund; nutmegs, 33 to 60p. the bahār; cloves, 5½ to 10p. the maund;[1] sandal-wood, 100 to 120p. the bahār; eagle-wood, 7 to 9p. the maund.

Lead, 17 to 20p. the bahār; spelter or tutenague, 25 to 60 and 70p. the bahār; tin, 75 to 80p. the bahār; sulphur, 20p. the bahār; alum, 12p. the bahār.

Raw China silk, 40 to 45p. the maund; twisted China silk, one p. the ser; floss silk, one p. the ser, but not largely sold, nor is the twisted silk.

Musk, 10 to 12p. the ser; vermilion in great demand, but none arrived in my time; quicksilver, 20 to 25p. the maund; Borneo camphor, 5 to 20p. the ser, according to size and whiteness; China camphor, 4p. the maund.

Porcelain of various kinds sells very well, especially the fine qualities, and yields a good profit according to kind; hence no price can be named.

Scarlet broadcloth, 6p. the *gaz*, of about 1¼ Holland ells;[2] scarlet kerseys,[3] 2 to 2¼p. the *gaz*; broadcloth and kerseys of other colours, especially black, are not in much demand.

Chinese velvet, 1 to 1¼p. the *gaz*; Chinese rolled damasks, 5 to 6p. the piece; ditto, folded flat, 2¼ to 2½p. the piece; Chinese gold thread, one p. the paper; Chinese armozeens,[4] 1¾ to 2p. the piece.

Chinese lac-work is not in much demand, but some round, closed boxes are sold, but not largely, at ¾ to 1p. each.

Tortoiseshell, 70 to 80p. the bahār; gold-leaf sold in my time at 3 to 4p. the maund, but it was altogether spoilt.

Fine crystal tumblers are in good demand, selling 2 and 3 for one p.; handsome mirrors also can be readily sold, provided the glass is finer than is used elsewhere.

Benzoin, 6 to 8p. the maund; wax, 2¼p. the maund; sugar, 5 to 6p. the bale of about 6 maunds.

[1] The first digit is badly formed, and it would be possible to read 8½ for 5½.

[2] The unit of length known as *gaz* varied with both time and place; the equation here given shows that at this period the Masulipatam *gaz* was about 33½ inches.

[3] Broadcloths and kerseys were leading grades of woollen goods produced at this time in Western Europe. The demand for woollens in India was almost entirely for purposes of display, and cloth of 'dark or sad colours' was ordinarily unsaleable (*cf. Letters Received*, 1, 32).

[4] Armozeen (armesine, ormesine, etc.) was the name of a silk stuff made in various parts of Europe, and was applied to similar goods made in China.

Rubies, as also gold, sell according to size, quality and weight. The rubies are distributed largely from Masulipatnam into the interior, as far as Persia, where they are sold to great profit. Most of the gold is employed in Masulipatnam and the neighbourhood.

A place called Narasapur Peta lies about 10 to 12 leagues beyond Masulipatnam; it, too, is under the rule of the King of Golconda. Here there is a river[1] where the Moslems, the Portuguese, and also the Gentus, build their ships, because timber, iron, and other necessary materials are available, and wages are low. Shortly before I left Masulipatnam, the English ship, the *Globe*, of about 170 last, was sheathed here. Some coarse woven cotton cloths, and also some painted cloths, are made here, for there are many weavers in the neighbourhood, as there are along the whole Coast, as well as painters; there are also some other artisans,—smiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, tailors, and others—but not so many of them as of the others [*sc.* weavers and painters].

The country round Narasapur Peta, as also round Masulipatnam, is exceedingly productive of rice, and products of many kinds, while there are very many cattle of all sorts. Butter and cheese, too, are made there. Good wheat is produced in the interior, and sells[2] in Masulipatnam for 3 to 4p. the bahār. Rice sells at one to 1½p. the bahār; butter at 7 to 10f. the maund; an ox at 1 to 2p.; a goat at 1 to 2f. Fowls sell at 60 or 70, sometimes 80, the pagoda; a pig for 4 to 5f.; 80 eggs for a fanam, and other things on the same scale; for supplies of all commodities are ample, as also oranges, lemons, and various other fruits, as well as fish. There is a small island in the Petapoli river, where many spotted deer[3] are captured; they sell sometimes for 2 and 3 fanams, sometimes for as much as half a pagoda. There are also many deer near Narasapur Peta, and at various places in the

[1] The southern mouth of the Godāvari. The sheathing of the *Globe* can be dated by the English letter of 10th July, 1614 (*Letters Received*, II, 41). When this letter was written, the work had just been finished, and the ship was ready to be brought out of the river at the next high tide; but (p. 164) it was October before this could be accomplished.

[2] As before, p. stands for pagodas, while f. represents fanams (15 to the pagoda).

[3] *Cervus axis*. The other deer mentioned below are presumably Indian antelope or black-buck (*Antelope cervicapra*).

interior, but not spotted like those of the Petapoli river. Elephants too are numerous, and in the rivers are many crocodiles, which sometimes cause great loss of cattle when they come near the river.

In Masulipatnam, gunpowder[1] can be conveniently made, and also cordage. The latter is manufactured from coir, and some is sent annually to Bantam[2] to furnish the ships going to the Moluccoes. Sail-cloth also is made; it is not so good as that made here [*sc.* in Holland], but can be used locally. The Portuguese, Moslems, and those Gentus who engage in trade with their ships, use no ropes or sails but what are made locally.

I presume to suggest, though subject to correction, that, in order to injure the Portuguese, we now need some fast-sailing pinnaces, well provided with men and ammunition, for the Portuguese now sail better provided than formerly. They usually sail along the Coromandel Coast from Cochin, Negapatnam, and S. Thomé, for Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim, in August and September, returning in March or April, so that our ships or pinnaces ought to be at that time off Ceylon, where they usually call on their return voyage.

The Portuguese sometimes come with their ships to Masulipatnam, where they have to pay duty at 4 per cent. on entry and 4 per cent. on leaving; the English also have to pay at these rates. Unless they avoid it by giving presents, the Governor will in addition demand the *tschapadglally*,[3] which comes to about 11 per cent. The inhabitants, Moslems or Gentus, do not pay this, because the King has remitted it for some years; but, all the same, they must give the Governor some presents in order to get their goods out of the custom-house more quickly. The Hon'ble Company pays no duty here, because Wemmer van

[1] Charcoal and saltpetre were available locally, while sulphur was imported from Sumatra. Schorer does not mention the production of saltpetre in this part of the country, but a few years later the Dutch were exporting the commodity from Masulipatam to Europe.

[2] Bantam was still the headquarters of the Dutch Company in the East; their capital at Batavia dates from 1619.

[3] Read *chhāpa-dalāli*, fee for stamping and brokerage. This was a local tax, claimed by the Governor, and collected along with the customs duties; it constituted the main ground of the early disputes between the Dutch and the local authorities in Masulipatam (*Terpstra*, 42, 103–4).

Berchem made an agreement[1] with the King of Golconda to pay 3000 pagodas yearly for both imports and exports. Still, when our ships arrive, presents must be given to the Governor, Harbour-master, and other men in authority, in order to secure their friendship; business can scarcely be done without such friendship, especially that of the Governor.

Your Excellencies, this is what I know of the situation on the Coromandel Coast, according to the best of my recollection.

Always Your Excellencies' servant,

ANTº SCHORER

[1] Wemmer van Berchem was Director of the Coast factories from 1612 to 1615. One of his first acts in India was to visit Golconda, where he made the agreement mentioned in the text (*van Dijk*, 20–23).

ANONYMOUS RELATION

DESCRIPTION *of the Country ruled by* King Cotebipa, *situated on the* Coromandel Coast; *wherein are related the Religion, Customs, and Administration of the people; as well as their Fortresses, Animals, Products of the Land, and Riches.*

The power and authority of King Cotebipa,[1] in whose country I have lived for about six years, in the seaport called by Moslems Nizāmpatnam, begin [at a point] about three days' journey south of that town,[2] where the kingdom is separated from the Hindu territory by the river Penner,[3] and extend thence northwards as far as the extremity of the Orissa Coast. The principal places on the coast are as follows:—Carera Montepoly,[4]

[1] A mis-reading of the title of the Golconda dynasty; as explained in the Introduction (§ 5), the original probably had Cotebixa, a Portuguese form of Qutbshāh.

[2] The text has *voorstad*, 'suburb', which makes nonsense; I take it to be a misprint for *voorsz. stad*, 'the aforesaid town'.

[3] *I.e.*, the northern Pennār, which falls into the sea below the town of Nellore; its mouth is about 100 miles south of Nizāmpatam.

[4] I give this list of names as printed; it is obviously corrupt, in punctuation as well as spelling. I read the names as follows, starting from the south: (1) Karedu, in Nellore district (see *Streynsham Master*, II, 178; *Bowrey*, 36 *n.*). (2) Motupalli, in Guntūr district; there was an English factory here somewhat later (*English Factories*, IV, 77). (3) Nizāmpatam. (4) Masulipatam. (5) Perhaps Kottapatam in Nellore district, but, if so, it is out of place in the list; or it may be the Collypatan (Kālipatnam) mentioned by Streynsham Master (II, 159) on the route from Masulipatam to Madapollam. (6) I can find no name, or names, that could be misread as Cassiamaleta. (7) Narasapur Peta. (8) Perūru, situated in the Amalāpuram subdivision of the Godāvari district, a tract still known for its coconut plantations. (9) Pentakota, in the extreme south of Vizagapatam district.

a famous mart, formerly the seat of extensive trade; Misampatuam Masoli Patuam, the most famous mart of the whole Coromandel Coast; Cotepatuam, Cassiamaleta; Narsapour Peteperur, whence comes most of the coir used for cordage for the ships; Pentacota and other small places on the Orissa Coast. On the coast there is a fine river,[1] by which [is transported] the salt which is manufactured in the district of Malipatuam and Nysapatatuam, and which yields a large annual profit (called *Inbalagates*) by its transport into the interior, and the carriage of grain on the return voyage.[2]

In the rainy season the land along the coast is usually flooded with water flowing from the mountains; the river cannot discharge the water, and consequently spreads over the country, sometimes causing great damage. Excellent fish are fairly plentiful in the river. It contains also very large crocodiles, some of which I have myself seen; the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are very much afraid of them, because they sometimes devour men and cattle.

The coastal country for ten or twelve leagues inland abounds in provisions, the abundance increasing as one goes north, so that every year many sampans,[3] carrying rice, millet, pulse, and other grain, butter and oil, are despatched from the whole coast to Doraspatnam,[4] Arianagom, Pulicat, Mylapur [S. Thomé],

[1] Presumably the Kistna, which is navigable as far as Bezwāda (*Impl. Gaz.*, xv, 336). The two names which follow in the text are obviously fresh variants of Masulipatam and Nizāmpatam.

[2] The syntax of this sentence is defective, a verb having apparently dropped out. Bālāghāt, all over this part of India, means the country 'above the pass', *i.e.*, the high table-lands beyond the coastal ranges. It is possible that some technical term derived from the word was used in the way the text implies; but I suspect that the parenthesis has been misplaced and corrupted, and that what the writer said, or meant to say, was that the interior of the country was called Bālāghāt.

[3] Small coasting craft (*Hobson-Jobson, s.v.*).

[4] This list also has suffered in printing; here and further on I give only the conventional spelling in cases where identity is clear. The first name stands for Dugarazupatnam, at the north end of the Pulicat lagoon; and the second must be Armagon, close by. Various quotations brought together in the *Indian Antiquary*, xxx, 358, identify the two places, and they were, at any rate, so close together that the names were interchangeable. Conlany is perhaps for Kovalam or Covelong, about 20 miles south of Madras. Connemont is probably the Conimor of other writers, and may stand for Gunemode, a

Conlany, Connemont, Tegnapatam, Porto Novo, Altegenampatam. The Portuguese used formerly to come for these provisions with sampans and celytones,[1] as well as foists[2] and ships, and carried much merchandise to Cochin; but since the Dutch came to the Coast, they have been greatly weakened, and now, owing to the execution of Schengan,[3] they are practically ruined, apart from some fugitives or bandits, who may still make a living by piracy in Bengal. Provisions are now carried by Moslem and Gentu merchants, with whom we cannot well interfere, so long as the Rulers keep their country neutral for all merchants and foreigners.

At many places in the country the water is bitter, so much so that it is remarkable that wells sunk in solid rock near the mountains do not yield sweet water.

The real inhabitants of the country are Gentus or heathens, who have brāhmans for priests. The ordinary brāhmans are usually clerks of some men in authority;[4] they surpass all other

coastal village shown in the *Indian Atlas* just north of Pondicherry. Altegenampatam may also be read as Alregenampatam, the third letter being defective. I can trace no such name, and suspect it to be a mis-reading of Negapatam, which would necessarily end such a list of coasting ports.

[1] I have not met this word elsewhere. Probably it represents *sallittoni*, which Mr A. V. V. Aiyer informs me is used in colloquial Tamil in the sense of a small vessel. Dr C. O. Blagden has communicated to me the suggestion that the first portion of the word may be Tamil *sĕli* (a kind of small fish), so that the word might mean 'fishing-boats', *toni* being a well-known name for coasting-craft.

[2] Foists were light vessels of the galley type, propelled by oars as well as sails.

[3] Schengan is the Portuguese Xenga, the title, or nickname, borne by Philip de Brito, a Portuguese adventurer who established himself in the fort of Syriam near Pegu; see G. E. Harvey, *History of Burmah* (London, 1928), p. 185 ff., and the translation of a Portuguese narrative in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, August, 1926. The latter shows (p. 114) that the local Portuguese built high hopes on the new possession, which was expected to be their base for the whole Far East, so that its loss was doubtless felt as a crushing blow. The fort was captured by Pegu, and de Brito executed, in 1613; the news reached Masulipatam in February, 1614 (*Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 325). Professor D. G. E. Hall informs me that the title Xenga cannot be traced in Burmese, and he is inclined to support the view expressed by Mr Harvey (*op. cit.*, 189) that the origin is a "nickname Nga Zinga, meaning, in the patois of the seaports, 'good man'".

[4] 'Men in authority' represents *groote meesters*. The writer uses this expression frequently; in some passages it points clearly to the chief local officials, in others its implication is apparently wider, and the phrase I have chosen retains the ambiguity.

Gentus in writing and reckoning; they observe the rule of Pythagoras strictly, eating nothing whatever that has been alive, not even eggs, or red vegetables, which they shrink from as blood. No other Gentus, however, are forbidden by their rule to eat meat, other than beef. Anyone who eats beef is regarded as an abomination, so that the very servants in the factories dare not touch it when it is in the dish ready to be served. There is, however, a caste called Pariah, the most despised caste of all, and if another Gentu touches one of them, he must *de justicie*[1] immediately bathe himself in water; men of this caste eat beef freely, [and] even if it is from an animal that has died of disease or otherwise, it is a feast for them, just as it is for the Moslems when they have a dead horse to feast on. Everywhere among the Gentus this Pariah caste lives outside the towns and villages.

There are eighteen castes[2] which cannot intermarry, but each man must marry in his own caste. In marriage, the parents of the boy have to come to make their request to the girl's father, and settle with him for a sum of money which is promised for his daughter, according to her position. Children are married very young, at from four to nine years of age. If a girl is over 12, which among them is the proper age for consummation, she can very seldom, or perhaps never, secure a husband; for it is a very great disgrace for girls to have to wait so long, and an indication that they are not respectable, or the children of respectable parents. They are exceedingly punctilious regarding their caste, beyond any other nation within my experience. Young men may postpone marriage as long as they choose, but they must not shave the beard before they marry.[3] The marriage takes place with various formal ceremonies which I have several times witnessed; and if the first wife has no children, the husband may, with her consent, marry a second, or even a third. The first, however, always remains the chief, whence, as I have often

[1] If the words *de justicie* are taken as Dutch, the meaning of this sentence can only be "the Justice must immediately bathe him in water". Nobody with the writer's experience could have made such a fantastic statement, and I read the words as an attempt at Latinism, signifying 'by right'.

[2] The number 18 must represent some popular idea; it will be remembered that Methwold gives 44.

[3] I am informed that this social rule is still known on the Coromandel Coast.

heard, great quarrels frequently arise, to the distress of the husband.

The brāhmans hold in honour some of their temples, called by them pagodas, but not in such great numbers, or with so many ceremonies, as in the Gentu country where the Moslems have no authority.

In some places there is held an annual gathering, somewhat like our country fairs, which is called *Tierton*,[1] with a great assemblage of people in honour of their idols, which are very numerous—some with extraordinary human figures, with many arms and heads, others, animal bodies with human heads, or animal heads with human bodies—with much immodest, heathen-style, fornication and other abominations carved or painted thereon,[2] as I have seen constantly in various pagodas. And in front of every pagoda there usually stands the figure of an ox[3] carved in stone, wrought in very antique fashion, as [are] also the pagodas, so that it is surprising how such heavy work can have been completed with the few tools which the artisans possess; but it may be conjectured that owing to war many things have been lost, and many ancient monuments demolished, especially in places where any Moslems live. It is extraordinary how much the Gentus will endure from Moslems, in places where there are perhaps a thousand of them to one Moslem; but I have found them a poor-spirited people, reared in cruel slavery, carrying their weapons in the mouth, [and] avaricious, though this fault is as great among Moslems as Hindus. They are very punctilious regarding their honour; but, if it be lost, their dignity can be restored with a trifle, as I have often found by experience.

Their feasts, sports, or other exceptional gatherings very seldom, or never, take place without the presence of prostitutes to entertain the company by singing and dancing,—especially when strangers come to the country from abroad, for, if prosti-

[1] Telugu *tīrtham*, 'a place of pilgrimage'.

[2] As the text stands, these carvings or paintings would be on the images, but I take it that the writer passes at this point from the images to the temples containing them.

[3] Strictly, a bull, the emblem of Siva, one of the Hindu triad.

tutes are not present, the intention is to do no honour to the strangers. In the Gentu country, they [prostitutes] have to come regularly twice a day to dance in the temples, in return for which they receive some annual [?] gratification.[1] In the country of the Moslems, who do not accept this practice, there is no custom of dancing in the pagodas, but every year in the month of April the prostitutes of the whole kingdom have to travel to Bāgnagar,[2] whither they are summoned by a *Maldaer*[3] (a sort of tipstaff), to dance in celebration of the death of the first Moslem king, a thing which seems to me very strange. The prostitutes who dance regularly in the pagodas are forbidden to associate with Christians, Moslems, Pariahs, or other foreigners, under penalty of great disgrace.

All brāhmans or Gentus are burnt after death, but there is a caste[4] among them, held in great reverence by all tailors and torch-bearers, who wear a certain stone tied on the head, or arm, or in the hair; men of this caste are buried in a sitting posture, and other castes which tie the same stone on the head are buried in the same way. If a wife does not jump into the fire when her husband dies, she allows (if she is virtuous) her hair to be cut off, and lives a solitary life, mourning for some time her lost companionship. It is a great disgrace for women to marry again, and they are regarded as no better than prostitutes, but men may marry again at any time. Eight or nine days after the death, the relations prepare a feast, at which the deceased is mourned again; and then the nearest blood-relation goes and gathers the ashes of the corpse, and carries them to a great river, where the ashes are mingled with other,[5] and thrown gradually

[1] *Solaris*, the word in the text, has not been traced in Dutch, or in any of the languages from which the writer borrowed. I suspect it is a misprint for *solaes*, *i.e.*, Portuguese *solaz*, 'consolation'.

[2] *I.e.*, Hyderābād, the new capital of Golconda.

[3] *Maldaer* probably stands for the Persian word '*amaldār*, which means an executive official of any kind, and might be specialised locally to denote officials of some particular class.

[4] The reference is obviously to the Jangamas, or priests of the Lingāyat sect, described by Methwold. The torch-bearers were, like the tailors, a separate occupational sub-section of Lingāyats, and the "other castes which tie the same stone on the head" are doubtless other sub-sections.

[5] This clause is obscure, and may be corrupt; I cannot hear of any local practice of mixing anything with the ashes.

into the water with prayers. The burning is usually carried out beside a river, or near certain ponds, if there are no rivers in the vicinity. Sometimes they bring food to the place where the deceased was burnt, as an offering to him; the crows are careful to keep watch there, for it is a feast for them.

In January they have a festival which seemed to me very strange and extraordinary, but I have not seen it anywhere except in Nizāmpatnam. It takes place thus. About an hour before day, the men, especially those who have made any vows, are buried in the ground up to the neck, exposing only the head, which is handsomely adorned with jewels and flowers; some have the head buried in the earth with the body above ground; others appear to be impaled;[1] and many other extraordinary postures [are adopted]. They remain thus until, about sunrise, a man arrives dressed up very strangely as one of their gods, with face and body painted, a sword in one hand and bow and arrows in the other. Then a goat is brought and sacrificed, the men who are in the ground are sprinkled with the blood, and at once rise and go home. On this day every family must bring a goat to the appointed place, where it is sacrificed; the head is promptly cut off, [?] some money is left,[2] and the body taken home for a feast. There are also other strange customs followed on this day.

In the morning when they [the Gentus] wash their face, they turn it towards the sun, sometimes turning it with their hands, and making obeisance. Brāhmans, both men and women, except those who live near the rivers, usually bathe in ponds or pools; they dip the head several times under water, but, if it is too cold, they sprinkle it with water instead of dipping it, throwing some clods into the water.[3]

[1] Text, *ghespit*. The writer uses the verb *spitten* elsewhere in the sense of impaling, and I take this to be the probable meaning here, but the word may also be rendered 'dug in' or 'buried'.

[2] Text, *geldt latende*. The literal meaning I have given comes in awkwardly, and I am doubtful if it is correct. The word *latende* may also mean 'drawing blood', which is more appropriate in this context, but *geldt* is then unintelligible, and may be a misprint.

[3] This may refer to the practice, still prevalent, of throwing something into the water before bathing, usually some fruit, but sometimes merely a lump of earth.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, which they can calculate with great precision, men, women, and children go in surprising numbers to bathe in the sea, sometimes from as much as 20 or 30 leagues' distance; and those who cannot go so far bathe in the nearest large river,—an extraordinary superstition, hoping to wash away all their sins thereby.

The strangest and most terrible thing among them seemed to me the fact that some wives jumped alive into the fire beside their dead husbands, though at first I did not believe it. The first time I saw it, I was with Jan van Wesick,[1] and, being informed that it was about to take place, we went there. On arrival we were welcomed by the brother of the deceased, a respectable man, who said we did him great honour. We found a pit 10 or 12 feet square, and about a man's height deep, full of wood and burning charcoal, as hot as a burning furnace would be. Thence we were conducted to the widow, in front of whom men were dancing and playing. She ate betel with a cheerful countenance, and we had a few words with her there, trying to dissuade her, but she answered that it would be a great disgrace if she did not accompany in the next world the man who had loved her so much. Then she rose and gave us betel, and went to the river, where she bathed, and put on a cloth dyed with saffron; she distributed her necklace, ear-rings, and arm-rings among her relations, came close to the pit, round which she walked once, speaking to each of her acquaintances, and then, raising her hands, jumped with a cheerful face into the fire. Immediately she was covered with some hurdles and large logs, which were ready for the purpose, and some pots of oil were thrown on the fire, so that she should be burnt more quickly. As soon as she jumped into the fire, the relations and others [present], both men and women, embraced each other, and raised a great outcry, which lasted for about a quarter of an hour. She looked to be about 24 years of age; she left a baby three months old.

The second time, things happened as already described, but she was an old woman, about fifty, and, had she not been pre-

[1] Chief of the Dutch factory at Nizāmpatam from 1608 to 1610, when he was transferred to Masulipatam (*Terpstra*, 65, 138).

When we asked what the offering signified, they gave various explanations, saying first that it was made to God, and then to the Devil, for they knew quite well what we meant by that word, and we did not credit that explanation.[1]

Travelling pilgrims are held in great honour, even if they are big, sturdy, shameless, beggars. I knew a woman (as well as her whole family) who had borne many children, including many girls, and all had died; in consequence, she made a vow that, if she should have a daughter who should survive, she would offer her to her god as a prostitute; and this took place, so that the daughter, who was about thirty years of age when I left, has become a very famous prostitute. From this can be seen on what they rest their faith, and what fruit their vows yield.

They pay attention also to the cry of birds, and when they go out in the morning they will take careful heed whether they see a good or a bad omen; if it is a good one, they regard that day as lucky; if it is a bad one, they will turn back, or stay where they are, till someone else goes in front of them. They also count as unlucky certain hours of the night and day, known by the course of the stars, during which they are exceedingly cautious; they will undertake no commerce, tillage, journey, or other occupation, until these hours have passed. If anyone sneezes even once, they regard it as a bad omen, with much more nonsense of the same kind. May God Almighty grant them his holy blessing, so that they may be enlightened with the true light of the Christian faith, for they sit in utter darkness!

The dress worn by men and women is as follows. Men working at home, in the fields, or elsewhere, are absolutely naked, except for a single small cloth on their private parts; at other times they wear a cloth from the waist to the knees. Those who have intercourse with men in authority, or who serve them, in the towns usually wear *cabayas*.[2] Women ordinarily wear a

[1] This paragraph is not a verbal translation but a paraphrase, giving the general sense, which is clear. The authorities I have consulted agree that the text as it stands cannot be translated literally, and while various emendations might be suggested, there is no way, except guessing, of arriving at the writer's actual words.

[2] A long coat of muslin or other material, worn by persons of some position. For the history of the word see *Hobson-Jobson* and *Dalgado* (*s.v.*); the original is the Arabic *qabā*, a coat or tunic, but the migrations of the word are uncertain.

cloth, 12 cubits long and 2 broad, first tied round the waist, and then [brought] over the right shoulder; the head is never covered, except that the aforesaid cloth passes over it. Some of them wear a small bodice, fitting closely under the arms and breasts, where it is fastened, and reaching below the elbows, leaving the body naked from the breasts to the navel. Children up to the age of three, four, or five years sometimes run about stark naked, boys and girls alike.

Their means of livelihood are tillage, salt-making, lifting and planting chay.[1] Chay, a small thin root, a span or a span and a half long, is used for dyeing red, but the quality varies greatly; in one place it may be half as good again as in another. The best found in these parts grows on the island called Tambreve,[2] opposite Nizāmpatnam; the next best is Gansam, though that of Manar also is esteemed, if it is genuine. It does not fade, but the more it is washed, the better it becomes.

The entire kingdom yields the King an annual revenue of 1,700,000 pagodas. When travelling through the country, I have often wondered whence so much money could be collected, for they [the people] usually live extremely poorly and meanly. Perhaps it is that no prosperous person dares to let the fact be known for fear of the Governors, who lightly take all they have on some petty claim, without anyone opposing them seriously, for they do just as they please.

[1] The prominence given here to the production of chay-root is doubtless due to the fact that the writer's experience was gained in a locality where it was exceptionally important. The mention of lifting, as distinct from planting, points to the fact that, while the plant was widely cultivated, the best dye was obtained from the roots which grew wild (*Dict. E. P., s.v. Oldenlandia umbellata*).

[2] Modern maps show a deltaic formation, broken by various channels, between Nizāmpatam and the sea, but none of the islands is named on them. The form Tambreve is probably correct, for *Baldæus* (p. 161) says that the special quality of chay-root obtainable at Nizāmpatam was called Tambrevelle, which I take to be a derivative of the name Tambreve. Dr Terpstra (pp. 49, 50) took the two names as synonyms, both denoting the root, but in the text Tambreve is clearly the name of the island, not the product. Gansam represents Ganjām; the reference may be to the headquarters of the district of that name, but I suspect it is some smaller place nearer Nizāmpatam, perhaps Chinna Ganjām, a coastal village shown on the map about 30 miles south-west, or Peda Ganjām, three miles further south. Manar may be either some local name, or the island of Manār; *Baldæus* mentions (p. 160) that chay-root grew in the islands to the north of Ceylon.

They [the people] are not particularly scrupulous in eating, but they are more careful to be clean in their persons, both men and women usually washing themselves with warm or cold water once or twice a day; and, since they usually wear their hair long, they wash the head with oil every 10, 12, or 14 days, those who have some little means using scented oil for the purpose, in order to cleanse the head of all dirt.

Practically all the Moslems who live in the country derive their livelihood from the King. Among them, the greatest respect and profits are obtained by the Persians, a nation exceedingly haughty and self-regarding, beyond all other Indian nations. Next to them come the other Indian nations in general, especially those [men] who have some official position. When they [Persians] lend money on usury, the least they obtain is four per cent per mensem, although sometimes they get even five per cent from Governors or others who are in difficulties; which is great, intolerable, interest, whereby they have become exceedingly rich, draining the Gentus to the dregs, though they have no regard for those of their own nation.

The chief fortresses in the country are Kondavīd, Kondapalli, and Golconda, but there are also various others, all of less importance, such as some which I have seen when travelling in the country. The fortalice or castle of Kondavīd is the protection of the whole country[1] on this side of the river [Kistna] against the Gentus,—a place which, they say, cannot be taken except by treachery, as the Moslems obtained it about 34 or 35 years ago. It is always provisioned for two years, and there is no lack of water. The exit is very high and crooked, and there is no other means of entry. Above, it is so extensive that cultivation can be carried on. The soldiers of the garrison are mainly Gentus, and practically slaves, for they can seldom or

[1] Kondavīd, lying south of the Kistna, dominated the coastal plain which was the route followed by the Vijayanagar forces in the days when they were striving to extend the kingdom northwards. It was taken by Vijayanagar in 1516, and by Golconda in 1536; it was subsequently lost, but was retaken in 1579 (*Impl. Gaz.*, XV, 393); the latter conquest must be the one referred to in the text. According to an anonymous chronicle it was effected by force, not treachery (*Briggs*, III, 437); but the distinction is not very important, for at this period traitors sometimes arranged for a show of force to be made.

never leave it. Some cavalry, too, are stationed in the town below.

The fortress of Kondapalli is similar. Each has usually from 3000 to 4000 soldiers, though the commandants sometimes are not blessed with half that number. Whoever holds these two fortresses is master of the open country, for they are naturally impregnable, situated on very high mountains, with only a single entrance; Nandigāma, Rājahmundry, and Ellore,[1] with other minor fortresses, could not give any great protection. The chief Commandant is a Moslem, assisted by some Nāyaks, who are Gentus, and have authority over the people of the country.

All these places and territories are divided into districts, which are farmed annually. I know the following names and places[2]:—Kondavīd; Bellamkonda, Vinukonda[3] (both with castles or fortresses); Nizāmpatnam; all of these are situated on this side of the river [Kistna]. Of these, Kondavīd is the chief place, the farm yielding annually 40,000 pagodas, in money, chay-root, salt, and painted and woven cloth. Kondapalli; Masulipatnam; Naglawance, Sandrapatla, Game, Gelupondy, Ecour;[4] in the villages round these five places is made most of the indigo which is purchased by us, as well as by other merchants for despatch northwards [westwards] to Chaul and Dābhol;[5] but this has not been done in the last two years owing

[1] Nandigāma, in Kistna district, is north-west of Kondapalli; Rājahmundry, or Rājamahendravaram, and Ellore, or Yelūru, lie to the north-east.

[2] It will be noticed that the passage which follows is not in narrative form, but is a list of places, with notes regarding some of them. The printing of the names is again very erratic; I give only the conventional forms in cases where there is no doubt about the identity, preserving the spelling of the text in cases of doubt.

[3] Vinukonda, now in the Guntūr district, with traces of a large fort.

[4] The position of Naglawance (Nagalwancha) has been indicated above, under Schorer's Relation. For the other four places, the only clue is that the indigo trade centred in Masulipatam, not Nizāmpatam, and consequently they probably lay north of the Kistna. I suspect Ecour to be a mis-reading of Elour, *i.e.*, Ellore, mentioned just above; and Gelupondy may stand for Jālipūdi, a village about three miles south-east of that town. No names closely resembling Game or Sandrapatla have been traced in this region, and while various places could be conjecturally identified with them, there are no reasons for choosing one rather than another.

[5] Chaul and Dābhol were seaports on the West Coast, lying south of Bombay. The war at Chaul, mentioned just below, is referred to in the Introduction, § 5.

to the war (which has impoverished them[1] greatly) which the people of Nizāmshāh are waging against the Portuguese of Chaul. Rajahmundry; Tātipāka,[2] which is an island, having the sea on one side, and on the other the river of Narasapur Peta, which flows past Perūru to the sea,—very productive, well supplied with all necessaries. The river of Narasapur Peta is very large, wide, and convenient; ships of as much as 200 last burden can be sheathed or built in it, but there is difficulty in bringing them out, until the northerly monsoon begins to blow in October. The timber[3] for ship-building is brought down from higher up the river. In the district of Rajahmundry are manufactured large quantities of betilles,[4] as well as salempores and percalles; in Tātipāka, many fine white dungarees, called Peta dungarees, and betilles; and at Narasapur and Kondapalli, many fine percalles.

Masulipatnam produces salt, rice, and some chay, but the

[1] It is not clear from the text who were impoverished by the war, but presumably it was either the growers of indigo or the local merchants.

[2] Tātipāka is the deltaic island between the Vasishta and Vainateyam mouths of the Godāvari. It is described in the *Godāvari District Manual* as "the island of Nagaram"; the map shows Tātipāka village two miles west of Nagaram. The description in the text is not exact, for Narasapur is on the Vasishta, while Perūru is close to the Vaineteyam, but it would be possible to go by water from one place to the other.

[3] Presumably teak, which grows abundantly along the course of the Godāvari, and is floated down the river (*Godāvari District Manual*, 67).

[4] As explained in a previous note, *betilles* was the trade name for the muslin woven in this region. *Salempores* were fairly stout calico, and were soon to become an important article of export to Western Europe; the name apparently means 'weaver-town', but the town has not been identified, and at this period the cloth was woven in many places, not at one centre. *Percalles* were the highest grade of calico woven on the East Coast, and, a little later, were exported largely to Europe. The guess in *Hobson-Jobson* (*s.v.* Piecegoods, percaulas) that they were 'some kind of spangled robes' is disproved by a multitude of commercial records. It is possible that the derivation there suggested, from Hindi *parkāla*, 'a spark', may be correct, for the name has survived in French *percale*, *percaline*, which denote smooth calico with a lustre, and possibly the original cloth may have been subjected to some finishing process which made it shine. More probably the name is Persian *parkāla*, 'a piece'; that is to say, cloths of this quality were the 'pieces' chiefly demanded for the Persian market. *Dungarees* were usually among the coarsest grades of cotton cloth, used for sails, and for packing other goods; I have found no other mention of 'fine' dungarees. The origin of the name is obscure (*Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*). Further particulars of these goods will be found in the *Indian Journal of Economics*, January, 1925, where I attempted a classification of the grades exported during the seventeenth century.

chay is not so good as that of Nizāmpatnam; also calicoes and other merchandise. The revenue-farm yields 180,000 pagodas. Nizāmpatnam is farmed from the King for 55,000 pagodas, but the present Governor pays about 1000 pagodas a year more, because he has had to take it from another man.[1] For the maintenance of his position, and of those who are employed in the administration, the Governor [of Masulipatnam] is allowed by the King the sum of 8000 pagodas out of the farm, and the Governor of Nizāmpatnam is allowed 5000 pagodas; but very few of their subordinates receive cash from them, being paid in unhusked rice, salt, or some other grain, reckoned at one-third at least above the true value. The men in authority, however,—the harbour-master, the priest, the judge, and others,—have to be paid in cash. The Governor lives in magnificent style, quite as a grandee might do in our country; he has ten roundels,[2] as well as one kittysol, to shelter him from the sun, and at night ten torch-bearers. The harbour-master has four roundels and four torch-bearers.

The administration is carried on by means of annual farms, given to the highest bidder, who thereupon fleeces [the people], and exercises his powers with quite sufficient severity[3]—deplorable for the inhabitants. The rent has to be paid in three instalments, every four months; it has to be collected with so much toil that it seems incredible that all of it should really be gathered in; and if the Governors fail to make full payment by the end of the year, they are often flogged to such an extent that sometimes they can never recover their health during their whole life, as indeed I have known to occur in several cases. If it happens occasionally that they make a large profit, they nevertheless pretend that they have lost; for they are so jealous of each other that, for a trifling cause, a charge is made against them, whether innocent or guilty, by which they are brought to

[1] Sub-letting was a not uncommon practice in connection with the revenue-farms in north India, and persisted, at any rate to the end of the nineteenth century, in the analogous case of farms of rent given by landholders.

[2] Roundels and kittysols were two forms of sunshade, carried as emblems of rank. *Hobson-Jobson* (*s.vv.*) gives numerous illustrative passages.

[3] The words 'quite sufficient' are an attempt to reproduce the idiomatic use of *genoeg* (literally, enough) as implying excess.

disgrace. It is rarely possible to obtain any office except by great craft, or great gifts. The Governors, or Farmers, are usually brāhmans or banyans, in my judgment the most crafty and cunning nation in all India, experts in knavery, marvellously fluent, knowing well how to accommodate themselves to circumstances; if they have need of anyone for a matter of importance, they can behave very humbly to him; they are as exceedingly importunate and shameless as it is possible to describe. You find few Moslems[1] troubling themselves with farms or administration, except as Supervisors, [to see] that the Governors duly fulfil their obligations, and also to endeavour to benefit themselves; for, through them, the eyes of the Governors are blinded, so that the complaints of the poor do not reach the ears of any men in authority, who could bring them before the King, so that he might take the necessary action; whence there is great distress among the country-people. The Governors do just as they please, provided only that they are friends with the harbour-master and other chief officials. If these are occasionally hostile, the Governors understand how to use the fact as an excuse to all those who are concerned in giving the farms, the supervisors and the principal revenue authorities, urging that such or similar obstacles have prevented them from collecting the full amount of the farm; whereby it may well happen that, through the Governor's explanations, the supervisors and harbour-masters may also sometimes come to trouble, for, as has been said already, their knavery is unfathomable.

I have been unable to hear of any written laws whatever in the country, which is administered as the different governors and harbour-masters think fit. All disputes of any importance are heard in the presence of the parties by the leading Moslems, and some others[2] also are entrusted with this duty.

[1] The passage which follows is unsystematic, and confused in detail, but it gives a fair general idea of the mass of intrigue generated by the system of auction-farms: a 'ring' of local officials could do practically what they chose, but when local officials were at variance, each would naturally work against the other, striving to influence the men at headquarters, who were concerned mainly with their own interests.

[2] The phrase 'some others' may mean that Hindu officials also were concerned with the disposal of these cases.

During the whole time of my residence I never saw a case of capital punishment, but occasionally one or two thieves are caught, who are forthwith impaled, or their heads are cut off, and then left on stakes. When the King's daughter died more than four and a half years ago, a whole family was executed in the belief that they had bewitched her. Once in Masulipatnam, some thieves came into the town in the evening with some following, one of them sitting in a palanquin like a man in authority; they entered the house of a Moslem, which they robbed with violence, some of them being wounded; and when they had to run away owing to the tumult, one of them was captured, but some time after he was released without penalty — the more so that they are not naturally inclined to bloodshed.[1]

The thieves are most powerful between February and May, because the rivers are then beginning to dry up and become fordable, and hence entire villages are often plundered in that season. They rob each other on both sides of the river, and consequently the roads which run some distance into the country are unsafe; the thieves spend the day in the woods or mountains, their food being supplied to them by some villages in order to escape being plundered. The Governors do very little to remedy this; and I have even heard it said that some of them supported the thieves, and went shares with them.

The Gentus count twelve months to the year,[2] beginning about 20th March. The Moslem year begins on 10th January, according to the moon, so that Moslems count thirteen moons in the year. The year is divided into three parts, viz., the hot season, from March to June, the rainy season, from July to October, the cold season, from November to February. In December and January it is moderately cold; from the middle

[1] The logic of this clause is obscure; possibly there is an omission in the text, or it may be that the writer was reflecting on the rarity of severe punishments, and wrote down one only of the explanations that occurred to him.

[2] The reference is presumably to the Samvat era, which in Prinsep's time still prevailed in Telingana (*Useful Tables*, II, 26); the year begins in the middle of March. The Moslem year contains normally 354 days, so that its beginning moves backwards in the solar calendar; it shifted from March to January during the period of the writer's experience, 1608–14. The statement that thirteen moons are counted in the year is not true of the Moslem year; it may possibly mean that thirteen Moslem moons fall in a calendar year.

of May to the middle of June it is exceedingly hot, [with] the wind from the North, which is sometimes almost unbearable, and when facing the wind, it is like standing in front of a hot furnace. Wood and stone, too, are incredibly hot, while on the other hand the water for drinking is exceedingly cold. At this season many die merely from the heat, because they are tempted to drink milk or cold water, as happened to the late lamented Pieter Isacksz.,[1] apart from what I have seen more than once among the Gentus. For this reason they nearly all drink hot water; and at this season they rarely travel after nine o'clock, starting again about three in the afternoon. Travelling is then comfortable, especially after the hot season is over. They divide the day and night into eight parts, and reckon sixty hours to the day,[2] or our 24 hours.

Weights or measures[3] are twofold throughout the country; the candy or bahār is in some places 480, and in others 500, pounds. One candy contains 2[0] maunds; one maund, 8 viss; one viss, 5 sers; and one ser, 24 tolas. Measures are reckoned accordingly.

The coins of the country are of four denominations, *viz.*,

[1] Pieter Ysaacx Eyloff, who had already visited Masulipatam in 1605, was made Chief of that factory on its establishment in the following year. He left for Java in 1607, but resumed his duties in 1608. In May, 1610, he went to Nizāmpatam, where a Dutch vessel was being loaded; and when the ship sailed for Masulipatam to complete her lading, he, with van Wesick, hastened overland to that place. When near the end of the journey, Ysaacx was overcome by the heat; after a short halt he seemed to be recovering, and van Wesick rode forward to make some arrangements in Masulipatam, but was recalled to find Ysaacx dying, in consequence, it was said, of having been tempted to drink a large quantity of milk (*Terpstra*, 34, 42, 52, 62, 137). In the text, the name (in distinctive type) is followed (in ordinary type) by the word *eylacy*, which is not in the dictionaries, but can be read as an adjectival formation from *eylaes* (alas!), and I have rendered it 'lamented'. Possibly, however, it is a mis-reading of Eyloff, the surname which appears in the records.

[2] The division of the day into 60 parts (*ghari*), each of 24 minutes, is a feature of the Hindu scientific calendar (*Useful Tables*, II, 19). The other division into eight parts (*pahar*, each of three hours), is familiar all over the country.

[3] The scales of weights and coinage are discussed in the Appendix. It is difficult to make sense out of the statement that "measures are reckoned accordingly"; as it stands, it is no nearer the truth than it would be to say that capacity is measured in pounds and ounces. Probably the writer meant that commodities sold elsewhere by measure were on the Coast sold by weight, a statement which would be correct.

pagodas, fanams, nevels, and cash, while other merchants import xerafines,[1] larins, and reals (which are imported by our nation). One pagoda is worth 15 fanams; one fanam, 8 or 9 nevels; one nevel, 3, 4, 5, or 6 tār.[2] One xerafine is worth 16 or 17 fanams; 7 or 8 larins go to one pagoda; 10, 10½, or 11 fanams, to one real.

The fruits are as follows; mangos, bananas, and lemons, also pomegranates, pine-apples in abundance, oranges, citrons, yams, but these are not very plentiful. There is also the *jamood*, a small sort of apple, the size of a black cherry, with a stone inside; these are quite black, and contract the mouth with the sourness.[3] You find these trees all over the country in such abundance as to form great woods, and they are used mostly for timber; they [*sc.* the fruits] yield an exceedingly pleasant drink, provided it is not adulterated. The whole country is also full of tamarind trees. In April great quantities of grapes are brought from Golconda to the low country, where vines will not grow owing to the brackishness and bitterness of the soil. The banyan[4] and other wild trees are also plentiful.

There are many kinds of animals, tame and wild, *viz.*, tigers, elephants, bears, leopards, civet cats, monkeys in abundance; deer[5] with the body covered with white spots, and horns like those in our country,—and if one of them is bitten by a snake, it only loses a white spot. Another kind of deer,[6] not spotted, have the horns erect, and twisted like a screw, very smooth and handsome in appearance; if they are found while small, they can be tamed so as to follow a man anywhere, and come to eat at

[1] Xerafines were silver coins struck at Goa; larins were also silver, and were current in Persia and some neighbouring countries; reals-of-eight were Spanish. For the two former, see *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.vv.*

[2] I take *par* in the text to be a misprint for *tar*, the word used by Schorer.

[3] The description points to the *jambu*, or *jāmun*, the fruit of *Eugenia Jambolana*; it is not a 'sort of apple', but at this period the Dutch word *appel* was applied to various fruits, such as oranges. The tree is classed among the more valuable timbers of the Nellore district (*Impl. Gaz.*, XIX, 16).

[4] Text, *Arbre de Rays*, *i.e.*, the Portuguese *arvore de raizes* (tree of roots), the *Ficus Indica*.

[5] The spotted deer, *Cervus axis*. The statement as to the effect of snake-bite is a popular idea, which, I am told, still survives.

[6] The Indian antelope, or black buck, *Antelope cervicapra*.

In some parts of India, the units used in retail trade were smaller than the commercial units bearing the same names. It may be well therefore to point out that the units given in the text are those which were employed in wholesale commerce; if there were smaller retail units in Golconda, they are not mentioned in the Relations.

MEASURES

I begin with measures, as the simplest topic. There are no indications that merchants on this part of the Coast used measures of capacity, all ordinary goods, other than cloth, being sold by weight. The only measures of length mentioned in the Relations are the cubit and the *gaz*. The Portuguese gave their names for the former (*covado, cubido*) to whatever measure they found in use, so that in Gujarāt 'covad' denotes about 26 inches; but on the East Coast it denotes the *hāsta* or true cubit. The Dutch invoices regularly take 100 *hāsta*, or *cobidos*, as equal to 70 ells; the Holland ell was approximately 0·68 metre, so that the *hāsta*, or covad of Masulipatam, was about 18·7 inches.

The *gaz* used at Masulipatam was, according to Schorer, about 1¼ Holland ells, or nearly 33½ inches.

WEIGHTS

Here we meet with a common Indian phenomenon, a uniform scale, with varying units; but on the East Coast the divergence of the units is so small as to suggest a common origin, with local variations. The scale, as given by Schorer, is as follows:

5 sers make 1 viss,
8 viss or 40 sers make 1 maund,
20 maunds make 1 bahār, or candy.

The anonymous writer gives the same scale, his two maunds to the candy being an obvious misprint; he adds that the ser contained 24 tolas.

This is the usual Indian scale, but the nomenclature[1] is

[1] See *Hobson-Jobson, s.vv.* Seer, Viss, Maund, Bahār, Candy; also *Dalgado* (*s.v. Candil*) for Candy.

heterogeneous. SER is of Sanskritic origin, and is used throughout India. VISS (Tamil *visai*) is used only in the South, the equivalent term in the North being *panserī*. MAUND comes from the Indian word *man*, which the Portuguese, following their usual practice, pronounced mão, and apparently the English fused this form with 'maund', the name of a measure which is now obsolete in England. The origin of the Indian word *man* is too complex a question to be touched here, but it may be pointed out that if, as suggested in *Hobson-Jobson*, Arab merchants brought the word to India, they did not bring the unit, but must have applied the name to units which they found in existence; the *Book of Weights* shows that, outside the Indian area, from Sofala to Ormuz, the *man* of the Arabs was about 2 lb., as was the *man* which the first Moslem conquerors used in Northern India; and the 25 lb. *man* of the south must have had some different origin.

BAHĀR belongs to both Sanskrit and Arabic, but apparently on the Indian coasts it was treated as an exotic term, equivalent to the local CANDY. The latter word, in slightly different forms, is common to Marathi, Konkani, and Malayalam; the Portuguese must have met it first at Cochin, or in the neighbourhood, and the Malayalam form *kandi* is doubtless the actual origin of the word as we have it.

TOLA is Sanskritic, and is used in most parts of India to denote the largest denomination in the scale of minute weights used by jewellers and other workers in costly materials; this scale is ordinarily linked to the commercial scale by saying that a ser contains so many tolas, as is done in the anonymous Relation.

Schorer gives the following equivalents for the maund:

Tegnapatam	23 Holland pounds (nearly 25 lb. avoirdupois).
Pulicat	24 'pounds or raetels' (nearly 24¼ lb.).
Nizāmpatam	25 pounds, presumably Holland (27¼ lb.).
Masulipatam	24 Holland pounds (just over 26 lb.).

The anonymous Relation gives the candy as either 480 or 500 pounds, presumably Holland, giving either 24 or 25 Holland pounds to the maund.

which must have materially disturbed the previous gold-copper ratio.

GOLD. In this region the seventeenth century was marked by two unusual phenomena, the separation of the larger coin, the pagoda, into 'old' and 'new', and an alteration in the number of the smaller coins, fanams, equivalent to the pagoda. The literature of the subject is thus full of apparent discrepancies, while the numismatic data so far published[1] are so scanty as to afford little help.

It is clear that the coin called PAGODA[2] by Europeans, but really named *varāha*, *pon*, or *hon*, a very old unit in South India, was the standard of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the sixteenth century, and was current also in the Moslem kingdoms of the Deccan. I have not found definite evidence that pagodas were being struck in Golconda, but the mint was an essential appanage of sovereignty in India, and it is reasonable to assume that they were. They were certainly being minted in Bījāpur, and, not long after Schorer wrote, they were being struck by the Dutch at Pulicat, the Danes at Tranquebar, and the English at Madras. The original coins, called 'old', went to a premium as compared with the 'new', or later issues, and this premium increased as the century progressed. Tavernier states[3] that the premium was due to the action of the money-changers, who paid a large annual sum to the King of Golconda in order to ensure the old coins being retained in circulation, with considerable profit to themselves; but he does not mention the fact, which appears from the English commercial correspondence,[4] that the farmers of the revenue were required to make their payments in the old coins, a rule which must have ensured a constant demand for a denomination of which the supply could not be increased.

This distinction is not mentioned in the Dutch Relations. Possibly their silence is accidental, but it suggests that, up to

[1] In the leading authority on the subject, Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, the Moslem coinage was reserved for a separate work, but none has yet appeared; and the museum catalogues I have seen throw very little light on this period.

[2] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*

[3] *Tavernier*, II, 71.

[4] *English Factories*, XII, 327.

about 1614, the premium on the old coins was not so great as to constitute a disturbing factor in commerce. The earliest reference[1] I have found to the distinction is in 1621; the amount of the premium is not stated in that reference, but entries in the invoice of the *Naerden*, which sailed in that year, indicate about 14 per cent. Twelve years later the premium was 25 per cent.; in 1651 it was over 30 per cent.; in 1655 it was 43 per cent.; and in 1667 it was forced up temporarily to 70 per cent., apparently because the Golconda Treasury had 'cornered' the stock of the old coins.

This premium was, however, purely factitious. While there are occasional suggestions of debasement, the new coins were ordinarily equal to the old in metallic content,[2] and we can therefore regard the pagoda, other than the 'old', as a stable unit from the days of the Vijayanagar kingdom throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. The weight[3] was approximately 52–53 grains, and the fineness about 21¾ carats; the value when these Relations were written was from 7*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*, but it increased somewhat as the century went on, because the silver-price of gold was rising, and Bowrey and Fryer agree[4] in putting it at 8*s.* in the last quarter of the century.

The smaller gold coin was the FANAM.[5] Schorer tells us that the pagoda contained 15 fanams in Pulicat and Masulipatam, but 16 in Nizāmpatam. The anonymous Relation, which refers primarily to the latter town, has 15; a different fanam in a place of this size is improbable, though not impossible, and I suspect Schorer's 16 to be a slip or a copyist's error. The figure of 15 cannot be checked by the *Book of Weights*, which gives the Portuguese coins in terms of fanams, but does not mention pagodas; but it is confirmed by the early English correspond-

[1] *English Factories*, I, 262; IV, 277; IX, 15; X, 42; XII, 327.

[2] *Tavernier*, II, 71; *English Factories*, XII, 327.

[3] *Fryer*, II, 132. He gives the fineness in terms of the local standards, which can be converted into carats (approximate) by his reference to the 20*s.* piece, which, as the Curator of the Royal Mint informs me, was of 22 carats at this period.

[4] *Bowrey*, 114; *Fryer*, II, 132.

[5] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*, for the derivation. The word is apparently an Arabic form of Tamil *panam*.

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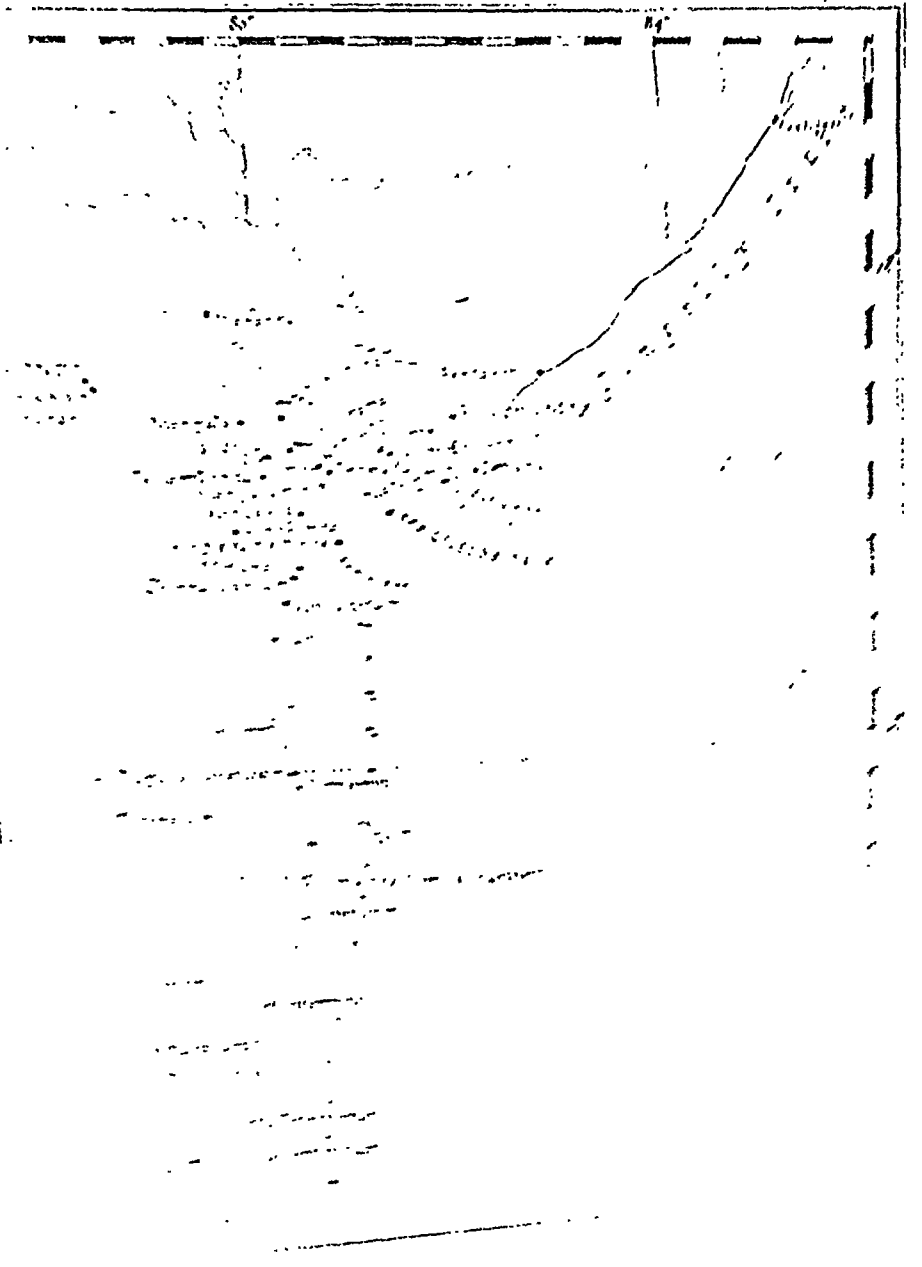

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C.

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1899 Oxford and Cambridge Club, 71, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1847 Oxford Union Society, Oxford.

P.

1911 Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1925 Pares, Richard, Esq., All Souls College, Oxford.
1923 Parker, George A., Esq., 394, Roslyn Avenue, Westmount, P.Q., Canada.
1926 Parsons, Edward A., Esq., 901, Whitney Building, New Orleans, La., U.S.A.
1880 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1926 Peake, Frederick Gerald, Esq., Amman, Transjordan.
1904 Peirce, Harold, Esq., 222, Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
1920 Pennsylvania University Library, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
1930 Penrose, Bois, Esq., 1720, Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
1911 Penrose, R. A. F., Esq., Bullitt Buildings, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
1919 Penzer, N. M., Esq., 12, Clifton Hill, St. John's Wood, N.W.8. [2 COPIES.]

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1925 School of Geography, University of Oxford.
1920 Scholefield, Dr. Guy Hardy, O.B.E., Pownall Street, Masterton, New Zealand.
1899 Sclater, Dr. William Lutley, 10, Sloane Court, S.W.1.
1847 Scotland, National Library of, Edinburgh.
1931 Searles, Robert, Esq., 66, San Fernando, San Francisco, Cal. U.S.A.
1899 Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
1906 Seligman, C. G., Esq., Court Leye, Toot Baldon, Oxford.
1919 Selinger, Oscar, Esq., 7, Wadham Gardens, Regent's Park, N.W.3.
1923 Shafroth, J. F., Jr., Commander, U.S.N., 3009, Cathedral Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1898 Sheffield Free Public Libraries, Surrey Street, Sheffield.
1914 Sheppard, S. T., Esq., Byculla Club, Bombay, No. 8.
1920 Sheppard, T. Clive, Esq., Correo Casilla 84A, La Paz, Bolivia.
1847 Signet Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
1926 Singmaster, J. A., Esq., 2, Durham Road, Lawrence Park West, Bronxville, New York, U.S.A.
1913 Skinner, Major R. M., R.A.M. Corps, c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., 3, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
1929 Sloggett, George, Esq., 35, Stacey Road, Cardiff.
1930 Smith, F. Vere, Esq., Cross Park, Ivybridge, Devon.
1921 Smith, Gordon P., Esq., Pasaje de Aguirre, Guatemala, C. America.
1924 Smith, Irving G., Esq., P.O. Box 77, Papeete, Tahiti.
1906 Smith, J. de Berniere, Esq., The Hermitage, Marlborough, Wilts.
1928 Smith, Major John W., 54, Warwick Avenue, Bedford.
1920 Snow, G. H. A., Esq., c/o Kailan Mining Administration, Tientsin, N. China.
1847 Société de Geographie, 10 Avenue d'Iéna, Paris, XVIe.
1920 Solomon, Lieut.-Colonel Harold J., O.B.E., M.C., 49 Campden House Road, W.8.
1925 Soper, Ellis, Esq., 17, East 45th Street, New York, U.S.A.
1899 South African Public Library, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
1916 Soutter, Commander James J., "Cairnton," The Avenue, Branksome Park, Dorset.
1923 Sprent, F. P., Esq. (*Hon. Secretary*), British Museum, W.C.1. (2).
1930 Sprent, Mrs. R. A., Holmhurst, Godmanchester, Huntingdon.
1926 Spilhaus, Mrs. Margaret Whiting, Marigold Garden, Simon's Town, C.P., South Africa.
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1919 Stevenson, J. A. D., Esq., c/o Messrs. R. and H. Green and Silley Weir, Ltd., Royal Albert Dock, E.16.
1847 Stockholm, Royal Library of (Kungl, Biblioteket), Sweden.
1920 Stradbroke, Colonel the Earl of, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., C.B.E., Henham Hall, Wangford, Suffolk.
1926 Sulaiman, Meer, Esq., 69, 26th Street, Rangoon, Burma.
1920 Superintendent Hamidya Library. Bhopal State Central India.
1919 Sutton, Morris A., Esq., Fair Fell, Howick, Natal, S. Africa.
1930 Swan, Captain Ernest W., R.N.V.R., Newbrough Park, Fourstones, Northumberland.
1909 Swan, J. D. C., Dr., Millvale, Umberleigh, N. Devon.

1908 Sydney, University of, New South Wales.
1899 Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Molesworth, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.
1919 Symons, C. T., Esq., Government Analysts' Office, Colombo, Ceylon.

T.

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1894 Thomson, Sir Basil Home, K.C.B., Garrick Club, Garrick Street, W.C.2.
1906 Thomson, Colonel Charles FitzGerald, late 7th Hussars, Kilkenny House, Sion Hill, Bath.
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1914 Toronto Legislative Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
1896 Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
1890 Toronto University, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
1911 Tower, Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1. and Memories, Ash, Canterbury.
1847 Travellers' Club, 106, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1913 Trinder, W. H., Esq., Northerwood Park, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1847 Trinity College, Cambridge.
1902 Trinity College Library, Dublin.
1847 Trinity House, The Hon. Corporation of, Tower Hill, E.C.3.
1922 Truninger, Ulrich B., Esq., Estancia "San Diego," Rocamora, F.C.E.R., Argentina.
1911 Tuckerman, Paul, Esq., 43, Cedar Street, New York, U.S.A.
1918 Turnbull Library, The, Bowen Street, Wellington, New Zealand.
1922 Tuson, Mrs. Isabel, Eldama Ravine, Kenya Colony, B.E. Africa.

U.

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1847 United States Congress, Library of, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1899 United States National Museum (Library of), Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1847 United States Naval Academy Library, Annapolis, Md., U.S.A.
1916 University Club Library, Fifth Avenue and 54th Street, New York, U.S.A.

1920 University College Library, Cathays Park, Cardiff.
1931 University of the Witwatersrand, P.O. Box 1176, Johannesburg, South Africa.
1847 Upsala University Library, Upsala, Sweden.
1925 Urquiza, Sr. Eduardo Obejero, Parera 114, Buenos Aires.

V.

1920 Van den Bergh, Henry, Esq., 8, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.8.
1922 Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.
1919 Vaughan, Paymaster-Lieut. H. R. H., c/o Westminster Bank, Ltd., Haymarket, S.W.1.
1899 Vernon, Roland Venables, Esq., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.
1899 Victoria, Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of, Melbourne, Australia.
1909 Villiers, Sir John A. J. de, St. James's Club, 106, Piccadilly, W.1.
1925 Vyvyan, J. M. K., Esq., Balliol College, Oxford.

W.

1920 Wakefield, Lieut.-Col. T. M., D.S.O., The Nightingales, Hangman's Hill, Southborough, Kent.
1919 Wales, National Library of, Aberystwyth, Wales.
1921 Walker, Harry Leslie, Esq., 144, East 30th Street, New York City.
1929 Walton, George, Esq., c/o The Dept. of Railways and Canals, Fort Churchill, Hudson's Bay, Manitoba, Canada.
1925 Ward, E. S., Esq., 10, Grosvenor Street, W.1.
1847 Washington, Department of State, D.C., U.S.A.
1847 Washington, Library of Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1924 Washington University Library, St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.
1918 Watanabe, Count Akira, 7, Takanawa Minamicho, Shibaku, Tokyo, Japan.
1899 Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.
1923 Weil, Miss Elsie F., c/o Corn Exchange Bank, Sheridan Square and Grove Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1921 Weir, John, Esq., "Dunbritton," The Drive, South Woodford, E.18.
1899 Weld, Rev. George Francis, 122, Eucalyptus Lane, Santa Barbara, California.
1913 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, U.S.A.
1899 Westminster Public Library, Great Smith Street, S.W.1.
1898 Westminster School, Dean's Yard, S.W.1.
1927 White, F. Puryer, Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.
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1899 Williams, O. W., Esq., Fort Stockton, Texas, U.S.A.
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1920 Wilson, G. L., Esq., c/o Patrick & Co., Exchange Chambers, Bury Street, London, E.C.3.
1895 Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, Madison, Wisc., U.S.A.

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1918 Wood, A. E., Esq., Education Department, Hongkong.
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1899 Worcester, Massachusetts, Free Library, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.
1910 Worcester College Library, Oxford.
1928 Worlledge, Lieut.-Col. J. P. G., R. Signals, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
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1913 Wright, R., Esq., Post Office Box No. 46, Delhi, India.

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1847 Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
1928 Youssouf Kamal, H.H. Prince, Mataria, Egypt.

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1847 Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Switzerland.