

THE TRAVELS OF
LUDOVICO DE
VARTHEMA,
A.D. 1503 TO 1508

John Winter Jones
and George Percy Badger



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

The travels of
Ludovico de Varthema in Egypt,
Syria, Arabia Deserta and
Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and
Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508

Edited by
JOHN WINTER JONES and GEORGE PERCY BADGER

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Founded in 1846, the Hakluyt Society seeks to advance knowledge and education by the publication of scholarly editions of primary records of voyages, travels and other geographical material. In partnership with Ashgate, and using print-on-demand and e-book technology, the Society has made re-available all 290 volumes comprised in Series I and Series II of its publications in both print and digital editions. For information about the Hakluyt Society visit www.hakluyt.com.

ISBN 13: 978-1-4094-1298-4 (hbk)

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

32

THE TRAVELS OF
LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA.

M.DCCC.LXIII.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

THE TRAVELS
OF
LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA

IN
EGYPT, SYRIA, ARABIA DESERTA AND ARABIA FELIX,
IN PERSIA, INDIA, AND ETHIOPIA,
A.D. 1503 TO 1508.

Translated
FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN EDITION OF 1510,
WITH A PREFACE,
BY
JOHN WINTER JONES, Esq., F.S.A.,

And Edited,
WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,
BY
GEORGE PERCY BADGER,
LATE GOVERNMENT CHAPLAIN IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY,
AUTHOR OF "THE NESTORIANS AND THEIR RITUALS,"
ETC., ETC., ETC.

WITH A MAP.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXIII.

LONDON: T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR CHARLES WOOD, BART., G.C.B.,
HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

THIS EDITION
OF THE EASTERN TRAVELS OF
LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA,
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY THE EDITOR.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

COUNCIL
OF
THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON, G.C.S.S., F.R.S., D.C.L., Corr. Mem. Inst. F.,
Hon. Mem. Imp. Acad. Sc. St. Petersburg, etc., etc., PRESIDENT.

REAR-ADMIRAL C. B. DRINKWATER BETHUNE, C.B. }
THE RT. HON. SIR DAVID DUNDAS, M.P. } VICE-PRESIDENTS.

J. BARROW, Esq., F.R.S.

RT. HON. LORD BROUGHTON.

CAPTAIN GRACROFT, R.N.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S.

JOHN FORSTER, Esq.

R. W. GREY, Esq., M.P.

T. HODGKIN, Esq., M.D.

JOHN WINTER JONES, Esq., F.S.A.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE LAVRADIO.

R. H. MAJOR, Esq., F.S.A.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.

SIR ERSKINE PERRY.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.

WILLIAM STIRLING, Esq., M.P.

CLEMENTS B. MARKHAM, Esq., HONORARY SECRETARY.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Map of Varthema's route	to face title-page.
Section from Gastaldi's Map	„ page cxx.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THIS translation made from the first Italian edition of 1510; truthfulness of Varthema's narrative, and simplicity of his style; later editions more or less faulty; the present version intended to be a faithful representative of the original text; Varthema's work immediately attracted attention, i-iii. Different editions and translations enumerated: Italian; Latin; German; Spanish; French; Dutch; English, iii-xvi.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR.

Deficiency of all the authorities as to Varthema's antecedents, xvii; not supplied by allusions in his dedication, xix; notice of the Lady Agnesina, Duchess of Albi and Tagliacozzo, to whom he dedicates, xix; Ramusio's preface has no information, and his edition a third-hand version, xxi; particulars derivable with more or less certainty from the narrative itself, xxii; his motives for travelling, xxiii; character of his narrative, xxiii; scanty recompense, xxiv.

Date of his leaving Europe, xxv; remarks on his notices of Cairo and Egypt under the Mamlûks, *ib.*; Syria and Damascus, xxvi; his enrolment as a Mamlûk, and reserve as to his profession of Islâm, his Musulman name (Yûnas or Jonah), and his knowledge of Muhammedanism, xxvi; remarks on such conformity to Islamism, xxvii; he joins the Hajj Caravan from Damascus, *ib.*; the only European who has reached Meccah by that route, xxvii; his sketches of the desert and Bedâwin, xxviii; his notice of a colony of Jews near El-Medinah, and the fact authenticated, *ib.*; his description of El-Medinah and correction of fables about Muhammed's coffin, xxix; his journey on to Meccah, xxx; his notice of the politics of the time confirmed by Arabic authorities, the *Kurrat El-Ayûn* and *Ruâh er-Ruâh*, xxx-xxxv; his account of Meccah, its visitors, holy places, and ceremonies, xxxv; wonderful truth of his descriptions, as confirmed incidentally by Burckhardt and expressly by Burton, xxxvi. Varthema escapes to Juddah from the Caravan, xxxvi-vii; his voyage down the Red Sea and arrival at Aden, xxxviii; suspected as a Christian spy and imprisoned, and sent to the Sultân of southern Yemen at Radââ, xxxix; corroboration of a part of Varthema's story here from the narratives of Portuguese acts of piracy at this time, xxxix-xli; outline of the contemporary politics of Yemen from Arabic authorities, xli-xliv, and incidental corroboration of Varthema's narrative, xliv; intervention of one of the Sultân's wives in Varthema's favour, and his pretended madness, xlv; morality of the harim, *ib.*; Varthema obtains leave to visit Aden, where he engages a passage to India, and spends the interval before its departure on an excursion through Yemen, xlvi; he is the first European traveller who has described that country, and scarcely any but

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Niebuhr have followed, xlvi; abstract of his route, xvii; returns to Aden, embarks, runs for Africa and visits Zaila and Berbera; truth of his descriptions, xviii; circumstantial evidence of the season at which this voyage was made, xlix; Varthema crosses the Indian ocean to Diu in Guzerat; thence to Gogo; and thence westward to Julfâr in the Persian Gulf, Mâskat, and Hormuz, l; notices of Hormuz and its history, l, li.
- Varthema's visit to Eri or Herat, lii; difficulty about his "large and fine river;" Shirâz, liii; his meeting with a Persian merchant "Cozazonor," who becomes his travelling companion; advantages of this to Varthema, liv; they start for Samarcand, but are turned back by the Sîffî's persecution of the Shî'as; confirmation of this from history, lv, lvi; Cozazonor proposes to give Varthema his niece in marriage, lvii; they reach Hormuz and embark for India, arriving at *Cheo* or *Jooah* on the Indus; they reach Cambay, lviii; truth of particulars regarding it.
- Political state of Western India at this period, lviii; accession to the throne of Guzerat of Mahmûd Shâh, surnamed Bigarrah, who reigned during Varthema's visit, lix; Mussulman kingdom of the Deccan, its vicissitudes and subdivision; 'Adil Shâh of Bijapûr, Varthema's "King of Deccan," lx; the Brahminical kingdom of Bijayanagâr; Ramrâj of that state, Varthema's "King of Narsinga," lxi; Rajah of Cannanore; kingdom of the Zamuri Rajah or Zamorin, lxii; history of his pre-eminence as given by the Portuguese; Quilon, lxiii; Chayl; kingdom of Bengal under the Purbî sultâns.
- Varthema's account of the Jains and the Joghîs, lxiv; his description of Sultân Mahmûd's mustachioes confirmed by the Mussulman historians. Varthema's journey along the coast, inland to Bijapûr and back to the coast, and so to Cannanore, lxv; his abstinence from communication with the Portuguese already established there; visit to Bijayanagâr, and remarks on his notices of the coinage; return to the coast and journey along it to Calicut, lxvi; fullness, truth, and originality of his descriptions of manners and peculiarities here, of the distinctions of castes and singular marriage customs, lxvii; remarks upon these.
- Varthema and his companion quit Calicut by the Backwaters, for Kayan-Kulam and Colon or Quilon, lxix; thence to Chayl; position of the latter; city of Choromandel, lxx, probably Negapatam; their visit to Ceylon; they proceed to Paleachet or Pulicat, lxxi; remarks suggested by the narrative as to the freedom of trade, and protection of foreign traders in India in those days, lxxi; many subordinate ports then frequented even by foreign vessels are now abandoned and have disappeared from the maps, lxxii; causes of the greater commercial centralization of the present day, and doubts whether the improvement of access to the old intermediate ports would not have been attended by better results; general prosperity which seems to have prevailed, and for which a much less equal distribution of property has now been substituted; impartial administration of justice in old India; the comparative costliness and tardiness of our system; humorous story in illustration related by an Arab merchant, lxxiv.
- Sketch of the political geography of the Transgangetic Peninsula, lxxvi; Pegu, Siam, Ava, and Toungoo; the various kingdoms of Sumatra; "Moors" and "Pagans;" Java, lxxvii; sovereigns of the farther islands visited by Varthema.
- The travellers sail from Pulicat to *Tarnassari* or Tenasserim, lxxviii; truthful features of the description; Varthema's notice of the Hornbill, lxxix; of extraordinary marriage usages; voyage to the "city of Banghella," lxxx; discussion as to the whereabouts of the city so indicated, with various quotations; wealth and abundance of products, lxxxii; meeting with Christians from the city of Sarnau, and probable identification of that place, from passage in Odorico; remarks on the interesting character of Fra Odorico's narrative, lxxxiii; these Christians advised

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Varthema's companion to visit Pegu with them, lxxxiv; description of Pegu, lxxxv; Varthema's statement about the existence of Christians there, lxxxv; interview with the King of Pegu, lxxxvi.
- Departure for Malacca, lxxxvii; "Great River," viz. Straits of Malacca, lxxxvii; character of the place and people, and corroboration of Varthema's narrative; Sumatra, lxxxviii; questions raised by the text regarding coins and silk in that island; voyage to the Spice Islands undertaken, xc; this part of the route never previously recorded by any European, but it would be rash to say never travelled, xci; the Nutmeg or Banda Islands; Monoch or the Moluccas; which of the latter did Varthema visit? xcii; visit to Borneo, the part not determined, xciii; curious particulars as to appliances for navigation, xciv; the Southern Cross, xc v; and stories heard of apparently antarctic regions, xc v; curiosity of the Sarnau Christians about Western Christendom; this may have awakened Varthema's desires for home and the abandonment of his false profession, xcvi; arrival at Java; a plea for the account of it given by Varthema against Mr. Crawford's condemnation; mutilated children, xc vii.
- Return to Malacca and thence to Negapatam, and Calicut, xc viii; the two Milanese gun-founders; Varthema's appearance as a physician, and as Imâm; his journey to Cannanore and escape into the Portuguese garrison, xc ix.
- Varthema present at the sea fight off Cannanore, c; employed as factor at Cochin; in the attack on Ponani; his knighthood; remarks on the fanaticism and violence of the Portuguese.
- Varthema finally quits India, ci; remarks on the rapid growth of the Portuguese power in the East, and its rapid decay, cii; their religious conquests have survived their temporal sovereignty, ciii; success of Roman Catholic mission in India greater than that of the Reformed churches, civ; remarks of Heber quoted.
- Mozambique, cvi; summary of history of the Muhammedan settlements on the coast of Eastern Africa from Krapf, cvii; the Portuguese rule and its fall, cviii; inscription over the gateway of Mombasa; rise of the 'Ammân Seyyeds of Maskat and Zanzibar, cx; Varthema's inland excursion at Mozambique, and the illustration it affords of the dealings of the civilized with the uncivilized, cx i.
- Varthema's arrival in Europe, and conclusion of his narrative, cxii.
- The Editor's acknowledgments to various gentlemen, cxiii.
- POSTSCRIPT. On the site of the ancient city of Bengala.
- Further evidence as to the existence of Bengala as a city and port distinct from Satgong and Chittagong, cxiv; some authors, however, mention the two latter and not Bengala, cxvii; abstract of the data as to these three cities afforded by the principal old maps in the British Museum, cxix; Bengala appears for the last time in 1740; the site of Bengala, and its probable destruction by the river as supposed by Rennell, cxx.
- Advantages of Travel, from the Arabic.

TRAVELS OF LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA.

(The headings in the larger type are those of the original text.)

Privilege of printing granted to Varthema by Raphael Bishop of Portucri and Cardinal of St. George, the Pope's Chamberlain.

Dedication to Countess of Albi and Duchess of Tagliacozzo, 1-4.

First Chapter concerning Alexandria, 5.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Chapter concerning Cairo, 5, 6.
Size of the city, 5; Sultan, Mamelukes, and Moors, 6.
- Chapter concerning Baruti, Tripoli, and Aleppo, 6, 7.
Sails to Baruti (Beyroot), 6; St. George and the Dragon, 7; goes to Tripoli, *ib.*; to Aleppo, *ib.*
- Chapter concerning Aman and Menin, 8.
- First Chapter concerning Damascus, 8-11.
Beauty of Damascus, 8; Varthema learns Moorish (Arabic); Castle of Damascus; story of its builder, a Florentine, 9; government of Damascus under the Sultan of Cairo, and oppressive exactions, 10; watchmen, 11.
- Second Chapter concerning said Damascus, 11, 12.
Riches; fruits and flowers; water and fountains, 11; Mosque of St. Zachariah; legendary sites of St. Paul's history and others, 12.
- Third Chapter concerning [the Mamelukes in] Damascus, 13-15.
Mamelukes, their training, pay, and customs, 13; rudeness to ladies; dress of ladies; divorces; cheese, milk, and goats, 14; truffles; dress of Moors; Mameluke oppression; Christian merchants, 15.

BOOK CONCERNING ARABIA DESERTA.

- Chapter showing the route from Damascus to Mecca, wherein some Arabs are concerned, 16-19.
Varthema joins the caravan to Mecca in the character of a Mameluke; travels to Mezeribe, 16; Zambai a great Arab lord; his plundering excursions; Arabs described, 17; numbers in the caravan, and its marshalling; length of the journey to Mecca; food of camels; halts to water, 18; fights with the Arabs at watering places; excellence and skill of the Mamelukes as soldiers, archers, and horsemen, 19.
- Chapter concerning the city of Sodom and Gomorrah, 19-21.
Valley of Sodom; barren and blood-red soil, 19; deaths from thirst in the caravan; mountain with a well, and fight with 24,000 Arabs; camel intrenchment, 20; black-mail paid; fight renewed and many Arabs killed, 21.
- Chapter concerning a mountain inhabited by Jews, 22-25.
Mountain in which dwelt Jews, naked, short and black, 22, 23; tank of water, and turtle-doves, 24; arrives at Medinathal-nabi (El-Medinah); barrenness round it; palm-garden; fables about Mahomet's tomb denied, 25.
- Chapter concerning where Mahomet and his Companions were buried, 26-28.
The mosque described; books of Mahomet and his Companions, 26; tombs of Mahomet, Haly, Babacher, Othman, Aumar, and Fatoma, 27; dissensions of Mahometan sectaries, 28.
- Chapter concerning the Temple and Sepulchre of Mahomet and his Companions, 28-31.
Superior of the Mosque tries to trick the caravan, 28; Varthema's Arabic, 29; pretended supernatural illumination of the sepulchre, 30; no truth about the loadstone, 31.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Chapter concerning the journey to go from Medina to Mecca, 31-35.

Pilots of the caravan, 31; well of St. Mark, 32; sea of sand (which should have been mentioned before the Jews' mountain) and its dangers, 33; remarkable mountain and grotto, 34; two fights with Arabs; arrival at Mecca; four brothers fighting for the lordship thereof, 35.

Chapter showing how Mecca is constructed, and why the Moors go to Mecca, 35-37.

Description of Mecca, 35; its governors; caravan enters the city, 36; barrenness round the city renders it dependent for food on foreign parts, 37.

Chapter concerning the merchandize in Mecca, 38.

Chapter concerning the pardoning in Mecca, 38-41.

The Great Temple or Mosque described, 38; the tower (El-Käaba), 39; the well, 40; ceremonies performed by the pilgrims, 41.

Chapter concerning the manner of the sacrifices in Mecca, 42-46.

Sacrifices of sheep at a mountain; poor pilgrims, 42; discourse of the Cadi; returns to Mecca; stone-throwing, and legend of its origin, 44; doves of Mecca, 45.

Chapter concerning the unicorns in the Temple of Mecca, not very common in other places, 46-49.

Chapter concerning some occurrences between Mecca and Zida, a port of Mecca, 49-52.

Varthema recognized as a European by a certain Moor, 49; but professes to be a Mahometan convert, 50; the Moor conceals him in his house, and the Damascus caravan departs, 51; whilst Varthema goes with another caravan to Zida (Juddah), 52.

Chapter concerning Zida, the port of Mecca, and of the Red Sea, 52-54.

Zida described; Varthema hides in a mosque, 52; agrees with a ship-master going to Persia, and sails, 54.

Chapter showing why the Red Sea is not navigable, 54.

THE SECOND BOOK.—OF ARABIA FELIX.

Chapter concerning the City of Gezan [Gâzân], and of its fertility, 55, 56.

Chapter concerning some people called Baduin [Bedâwin], 56-57.

Chapter concerning the island of the Red Sea called Chamarâm [Camrân], 57, 58.

The island and its productions, 57; the mouth of the Red Sea, and island of Bebmendo (Bâb el-Mandeb); arrival at Aden, 58.

Chapter concerning the city of Aden, and of some customs respecting the merchants, 59, 65.

Aden described; intense heat; Castle (of Seerah), 59; mode of securing the Sultan's dues from ships; Varthema denounced as a Christian spy, and put in irons, 60; sent to the Sultan at a city called Rhada (Radââ), 61; dialogue with the Sultan; the author

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

professes to be a Mahomedan, but cannot utter the creed, and is cast into prison, 63; Sultan's guard of Abyssinians; their dress and arms, 64; camels and tents, 65.

Chapter concerning the partiality of the women of Arabia Felix for white men, 65-68.

The Queen's kindness to Varthema, 65; he feigns madness, 66, 67; he is removed to the palace, 68.

Chapter concerning the liberality of the Queen, 68-73.

The Queen makes much of him, but he evades her advances, 68-70; she procures his release from the Sultan, 71; he goes to Aden and engages a passage to India, 73.

Chapter concerning Lagi, a city of Arabia Felix, and concerning Aiaz, and the market in Aiaz, and the castle Dante, 73-75.

Whilst the ship delays he travels over Arabia Felix; to Lagi (Láhej), 73; Aiaz ('Az'az), 74; Mahomedan sects; strong city of Dante (Damt), 75.

Chapter concerning Almacarana, a city of Arabia Felix, and of its abundance, 75-77.

Goes to Almacrana (El-Makránah), a city on a mountain, 75; great reservoir; and the Sultan's treasure kept there, 77.

Chapter concerning Reame, a city of Arabia Felix, and of its air, and of the customs of the inhabitants, 77, 78.

Goes to Reame (Yerim), 77; fat-tailed sheep; seedless grapes; longevity of people, 78; fashion of horns.

Chapter concerning Sana, a city of Arabia Felix, and of the strength and cruelty of the King's son, 78-80.

Goes to Sana (Sanāa), 78; the Sultan's endeavours to capture it, 79; the Sultan of Sana's mad son, who eats human flesh, 80.

Chapter concerning Taesa and Zibit and Damar, very large cities of Arabia Felix, 80-82.

Goes to Taesa (Ta'ez), 80; its antiquity and buildings, 81; goes to Zibit (Zebid); goes to Damar (Dhamár), 82.

Chapter concerning the Sultan of all the above-mentioned cities, and wherefore he is called by the name of Sechamir, 83, 84.

The name explained; the Sultan puts no one to death but in war; but had thousands in prison.

Chapter concerning apes, and some animals like lions very hostile to man, 84, 85.

Returns to Aden, 84; finds a mountain with numerous apes, and destructive animals like lions (supposed hyenas), 85; goes on board ship.

Discourse touching some places of Ethiopia, 85.

An accident sends them to the coast of Ethiopia, where they enter the port of Zeila (Zaila).

Chapter concerning Zeila, a city of Ethiopia, and of the abundance

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

of it, and concerning some animals of the said city, such as sheep and cows, 86-88.

Traffic of Zeila, slave trade, &c., 88; products; oil of zerkalino; fat-tailed Berbera sheep, 87; twisted-tailed sheep; stag-horned cows; one-horned cows; the Sultan, his soldiers, &c., 88.

Chapter concerning Barbara, an island of Ethiopia, and of its people, 88-90.

Arrival at Barbara (Berbera), 88; sails for Persia, 90.

THE BOOK CONCERNING PERSIA.

Chapter concerning Diobandierrumi, and Goa, and Giulfar, lands of Meschet, a port of Persia, 91-93.

After twelve days reaches Diobandierrumi (Din in Guzerat), 91; goes to Goa (Goghá), 92; to Giulfar (Julfár in the Persian Gulf), 93; and Meschet (Máskat).

Chapter concerning Ormus, a city and island of Persia, and how they get very large pearls at it by fishing, 94, 95.

Chapter concerning the Sultan of Ormus, and of the cruelty of the son against the Sultan his father, his mother, and his brothers, 96-99.

The Sultan's eleven sons, the eldest a devil, the youngest simple, 96; the former murders his father, mother, and brothers, except the youngest; he tries to get rid of two powerful favourites of his father, and is slain by one of them, 97, 98; who causes the younger brother to be proclaimed Sultan, 99; the many merchants of Ormus.

Chapter concerning Eri in Corozani, of Persia, and of its riches, and of the abundance of many things, and especially of rhubarb, 99-101.

Varthema passes to Persia, and travels to Eri (Herát) in Corazani (Khorassán), 99; abundance of silk and rhubarb; population, 101.

Chapter concerning the river Eufra, which I believe to be the Euphrates, 101-103.

Arrives at a large river called by the people Eufra (? Pulwán), 101; reaches the city Schirazo (Shiráz); turquoises and rubies from Balachsam (Badakhsán), 102; musk, and its power when pure; character of the Persians; liberality and kindness of Cozazionor (Khawájá —), a Persian merchant who proposes that Varthema should travel with him; they set out towards Sambragante (Samarcand), 103.

Chapter concerning Sambragante (as it is called), a very large city like Cairo, and of the persecution by the Soffi, 103, 104.

The greatness of Sambragante and its king, 103; but they are hindered from going thither by the Soffi's (Sháh Isma'íl es-Súfi's) violence against believers in Bubachar, Othman, and Aumur (viz. Sunnis); Cozazionor proposes to give Varthema his beautiful niece Samis (Shams) to wife, 104; they return to Eri, and thence to Ormus, and take ship for India, where they arrive at the port of Cheo (Jooa in the Indus delta).

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

THE FIRST BOOK CONCERNING INDIA.

- Chapter concerning Combeia, a city of India, abounding in all things, 105-107.
The Indus, and city of Combeia (Cambay), 105; its spices (or drugs), 106; cotton; and precious stones, 107.
- Chapter concerning the estate of the Sultan of the very noble city of Combeia, 107-110.
Sultan Machamuth (Mahmūd Bigarrah), 107; the Guzeratis, their virtues and dress, 108; the Sultan's pomp and elephants, 109; his huge mustachioes; his daily eating of poison, and spurning it on those he desires to kill; his embraces fatal, 110; great trade and riches of Cambay, 111.
- Chapter concerning the manner of living and customs of the King of the Joghe, 111-113.
The Pagan king of the Joghe, his people, and their pilgrimages, 111; their dress, and various acts of devotion, and reputed sanctity, 112; their wars with Sultan Machamuth, 113.
- Chapter concerning the city of Ceval [Chaul] and its customs, and the bravery of its people, 113, 114.
- Chapter concerning Dabuli, a city of India, 114, 115.
- Chapter concerning Goga, an island of India, and the King of the same, 115, 116.
Varthema and his companion go to Goga (Goa), 115; *Pardai* a gold coin of the country (pagodas); Mameluke garrison and their wars with the King of Narsinga, 116; goes on to the city of Decan.
- Chapter concerning Decan, a very beautiful city of India, and its many and various riches and jewels, 117, 118.
The city of Decan (Bijapur) and its Mohamedan King, 117; beautiful palace and houses; splendour of the court, 118; mountain from which diamonds are dug; veiled ladies.
- Chapter concerning the activity of the King in military affairs, 118.
His wars with Narsinga; his navy hostile to Christians; Varthema goes to Bathacala, 118.
- Chapter concerning Bathacala, a city of India, and of its fertility in many things, and especially in rice and sugar, 119, 120.
Bathacala (Bathcal, Beitkul, or Sedashevaghur), 119; its trade and fertility, 120; absence of horses, mules, and asses; Varthema goes to Anzediva island.
- Chapter concerning Centacola, Onor, and Mangolor, excellent districts of India, 120-122.
Arrives at Centacola (Uncola in North Canara), 120; at Onor (Honahwar), 121; its productions, fine air, and longevity of the people, 122; Mangolor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Chapter concerning Canonor, a very great city in India, 123-125.
The King of Portugal's castle at Canonor, 123; importation of horses, 124; spices (properly so called) begin; the King's Naeri (Nairs) and their costume; the travellers take their way to the kingdom of Narsinga, and reach the city of Bisinegar, 125.
- Chapter showing Bisinegar, a very fertile city of Narsinga in India, 125-128.
Great size and defences of Bisinegar (Bijayanagâr), 125; a paradise of a place, 126; the power of the Pagan King; his horsemen and elephants; equipment of the war elephant; his docility, 127; his dread of fireworks; how elephants were employed in Varthema's presence at Canonor to beach a ship; the absence of joints a fable; description of the animal, and power of his trunk, 128; height of the elephant; pace, and how they are mounted.
- Chapter showing how elephants generate, 129-131.
They generate in secret marshes, 129; parts of an elephant eaten in some countries; various values of elephants; their great discretion; riches of the King of Narsinga; dress of the people and the king; his coinage, 130; lions; the Portuguese honoured in Narsinga, 131; return to Canonor, and go to Tormapatani.
- Chapter concerning Tormapatani, a city of India; and concerning Pandarani, a place one day distant; and concerning Capogatto, a similar district, 131-134.
Tormapatani (Dormapatam), 131; misery of the people, 132; timber for ships; houses worth half a ducat; Pandarani; Capogatto, 133; go to Calicut; has reserved till now the description of the manners of the preceding places (because similar to those of Calicut), but he will now describe that kingdom, for the King of Calicut, called Samory, is the most important, 134.

THE SECOND BOOK CONCERNING INDIA.

- Chapter concerning Calicut, a very large city of India, 135, 136.
Description of the city and poverty of the houses.
- Chapter concerning the King of Calicut, and the religion of the people, 136-139.
The king worships the devil, 136; why, 137; description of the devil's chapel and images of Deumo and Sathanas; rites and ceremonies of the Brahmins in worshipping, 138.
- Chapter concerning the manner of eating of the King of Calicut, 139-141.
The King's food first offered to Deumo, 139; and how the Brahmins wait on the King when eating, 140; and carry their relics away and give them to the black crows, 140.
- Chapter concerning the Brahmins, that is the priests of Calicut, 141.
The Brahmins are the chief persons of the faith; royal marriage custom.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Chapter concerning the Pagans of Calicut and of what classes they are, 141, 142.
Classes of the Pagans, 141; Brahmins; Naeri (Nairs); Tiva, or artisans, 142; Mechua, or fishermen; Poliar, who collect pepper, wine, and nuts; Hirava, who plant rice; degradation of the two last before Brahmins and Naeri.
- Chapter concerning the dress of the King and Queen, and others of Calicut, and of their food, 143.
- Chapter concerning the ceremonies which they perform after the death of the King, 143, 144.
Succession goes to sister's son, 143; reasons for this, 144; customs on the King's death; betel eating.
- Chapter showing how the Pagans sometimes exchange their wives, 145-147.
Varthema shows his Malayalim, 145; dialogue between two merchants exchanging wives; polyandria of the other classes of pagans, 146.
- Chapter concerning the manner of living, and of the administration of justice among the Pagans, 147, 148.
How they eat, 147; punishments; impaling; fines; curious mode of enforcing payment of debts.
- Chapter concerning the mode of worship of the Pagans, 149.
Their matutinal washing; prayers; and customs of cooking, &c.
- Chapter concerning the fighting of these people of Calicut, 149-151.
Army of the King, 149; dress, 150; customs of battle; the Naeri (Nairs), 151; customs as to burning and burial; money of Calicut; great variety of nations found trading there; great numbers of Moors (Mohamedans).
- Chapter concerning the manner of navigating in Calicut, 152-154,
Mode of ship-building, 152; timber, 153; sails; anchors of marble; seasons of navigation; names of the different classes of vessels, 154.
- Chapter concerning the palace of the King of Calicut, 155, 156.
The palace and its small value, 155; why they cannot dig foundations, 156; the King's jewels, and his bad humour, with the reasons thereof; his treasures.
- Chapter concerning the spices which grow in that country of Calicut, 157, 158.
Pepper described, 157; ginger, 158; myrobalans.
- Chapter concerning some fruits of Calicut, 159-163.
Fruit called ciccara (jack), 159; amba (mango); corcopal (?), 161; fruit like a medlar; comolanga (?); malapolanda (plantain), 162.
- Chapter concerning the most fruitful tree in the world, 163-166.
The tenga (cocoa-nut tree), 163; its many uses, 164; the nuts; sub-

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

stance like flax which is woven, 165 ; another made into cords ; charcoal ; excellent water contained in the nut ; oil ; sap drawn and used for wine ; the cutting down of these trees not forgiven, 166 ; mode of cultivation ; the oil of zerzalino (sesamum).

Chapter concerning the practice they follow in sowing rice, 166, 167.
Ploughing, sowing, and devil-dancing, 167.

Chapter concerning the physicians who visit the sick in Calicut, 167.

Devil-dancers employed to visit the sick, 167 ; potion of ginger.

Chapter concerning the bankers and money-changers, 168-170.

Their balances and touchstones, 168 ; the brokers, and their curious mode of bargaining with the fingers ; weights used in trade, 170.

Chapter showing how the Poliari and Hirava feed their children, 171-173.

Singular treatment of the children, 171 ; their agility ; the many animals and birds of Calicut, 172 ; parrots ; starlings (or mainas) ; apes and their tricks.

Chapter concerning the serpents which are found in Calicut, 173.

Great marsh serpents (crocodiles), 173 ; venomous serpents ; protection of them ; protection of cows, 174 ; superstitions.

Chapter concerning the lights of the King of Calicut, 174, 175.

Vases used in the king's house for lamps described, 174 ; feasting customs on expiry of mourning, 175.

Chapter showing how a great number of people came to Calicut on the 25th of December to receive their pardon, 175-177.

Temple in a tank, 175 ; manner of the sacrifice ; the great Sathanas ; the vast number assembled, 177.

THE THIRD BOOK CONCERNING INDIA.

His companion cannot sell his goods, because of the war with the King of Portugal, 178 ; they go by a beautiful river (backwater) to Caicolon, 179 ; Christians of St. Thomas, 180 ; go to Colon (Quilon), 182 ; and thence to Chayl, 184 ; pearl-fishery.

Chapter concerning Cioromandel, a city of India, 186-188.

City of Cioromandel, 186 ; body of St. Thomas, 187 ; miracle at his tomb ; war with the King of Tarnassari, 188 ; Varthema and his companion go to Zailon (Ceylon).

Chapter concerning Zailani, where jewels are produced, 188-190.

Four kings in the island, 188 ; their wars, 189 ; elephants ; rubies, 190 ; mining customs ; excellent fruits.

Chapter concerning the tree of the canella [cinnamon], 191-194.

Cinnamon-tree described, 191 ; Adam's Peak ; no rice in Ceylon, 192 ; dress and character of the people, 193 ; no artillery ; flowers ; summoned to show their goods to the King, 194.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Chapter concerning Paleachet, a country of India, 194, 195.
Paleachet (Pulicat), 194; its trade, 195; war with Tarnassari; they set out for that place.
- Chapter concerning Tarnassari, a city of India, 196-199.
Description of Tarnassari (Tenasserim), 196; the King's wars with Narsinga and Banghella (Bengal) 198; his army; products of the country.
- Chapter concerning the domestic and wild animals of Tarnassari, 199-202.
Animals detailed, 199; bird with great beak (hornbill), 200; great cocks and hens; cock-fighting; goats, remarkable sheep, &c.; buffaloes, 201; great bone of a fish; dress of the people.
- Chapter showing how the King causes his wife to be deflowered, and so also the other pagans of the city, 202-204.
White men employed, 202; dialogue between merchants and the author's companion recited.
- Chapter showing how the dead bodies are preserved in this city, 204.
Burning of the dead and preservation of the ashes, 204; odoriferous woods, &c., used in burning, 205.
- Chapter showing how the wife is burnt alive after the death of her husband, 206-208.
Description of the ceremonies of widow-burning, 206, 207; another custom of proving affection, 208.
- Chapter concerning the administration of justice which is observed in Tarnassari, 209.
Punishment of murder, 209; conveying, &c.; the King heir to foreign merchants; funeral customs of Moorish merchants.
- Chapter concerning the ships which are used in Tarnassari, 210.
- Chapter concerning the city of Banghella, and of its distance from Tarnassari, 210-212.
They go to Banghella (some city of Bengal), 210; the Moorish Sultan and his great army, 211; great plenty in the country, 212; wealthy merchants; names of the stuffs exported.
- Chapter concerning some Christian merchants in Banghella, 212-214.
Christian merchants from a city called Sarnau, 212; their dress, 213; their belief, mode of writing, observances; they offer to take Vartema and his companion to a good market, 214; these go with the Christians to Pego (Pegu).
- Chapter concerning Pego, a city of India, 215.
The city of Pego, 215; Christians employed by the King, 217; animals, 218; parrots; timber (teak); great canes; rubies from Capellan; the King's wars with Ava; they go in search of the King, 219; but return to Pego, and are admitted to an interview when he comes back victorious.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Chapter concerning the dress of the King of Pego above-mentioned, 219-222.

The King described, and his jewels, 219; Varthema's companion shows his corals, 220; and presents them to the King, 221; the King gives rubies in return; his wealth and liberality, 222; products of his country; approach of the King of Ava; women burning themselves.

Chapter concerning the city Malacha and the river Gaza, otherwise Gange, as I think, and of the inhumanity of the men, 223-228.

Go to Melacha (Malacca), 223; great river more than twenty-five miles wide, called Gaza (the Straits of Malacca); Sumatra; Sultan of Melacha; tributary to the King of Cini (Siam), 224; great amount of shipping; trade and produces, 225; the people described, 226; their violence and insubordination, 227; the travellers go to Pider (Pedir) in Sumatra, 228.

Chapter concerning the island of Sumatra, and concerning Pider, a city of Sumatra, 228-232.

Circumference of Sumatra, 229; he identifies it with Taprobane; the inhabitants and their customs, 230; their money, 231; great elephants, 232.

Chapter concerning another sort of pepper, and concerning silk and benzoin, which are produced in the said city of Pider, 233, 234.

Pepper and long pepper, 233; silk, 234; benzoin.

Chapter concerning three sorts of aloes-wood, 234-237.

Three kinds of aloes-wood, viz., calampat, loban, and bochor, 235; the first and best chiefly purchased in Gran Cathai, in Cini, Macini, Sarnau, and Giava, 236.

Chapter concerning the experiment with the said aloes-wood and benzoin, 238.

The Christians show by experiment the excellence of kalampat and of benzoin; lacca-wood used for dying red.

Chapter concerning the variety of dealers in the said island of Sumatra, 238.

Beautiful work in gold, 238; numerous money-changers, 239; timber; great junks, with prows each way; swimmers, and fireworkers.

Chapter concerning the houses, and how they are covered in the said island of Sumatra, 240-243.

Houses covered with turtle shells, 240; great elephants' teeth, 241; very great serpents; they wish to see spices growing, but are informed that the nutmegs and cloves grow much farther off; their Christian companions teach them what they must do to go there, 242; they buy two small vessels, and persuade the Christians to accompany them, 243.

Chapter concerning the island of Bandan, where nutmegs and mace grow, 243, 244.

Pass many islands, 243; arrive at Bandan, 244; description of the

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

people, and of the nutmeg-tree; stupidity of the people; determine to go to the clove island.

Chapter concerning the island of Monoch, where the cloves grow, 244-246.

Reach the island of Monoch (Moluccas), 245; the clove-tree described, 246.

Chapter concerning the island of Bornei, 246-248.

The Christians propose to show them the largest and richest island in the world (apparently Java), 247; but they must first go to another island called Bornei (Borneo); which they reach accordingly, 248; the Christians are charmed with Varthema's conversation about the saints, and wish him to go home with them; notices of Bornei; they charter a vessel for Giava.

Chapter showing how the mariners manage the navigation towards the island of Giava, 248-251.

The captain carries compass and chart with lines, 249; how he navigated thereby, but tells them how beyond Giava there are some races who sail by certain stars opposite to the north (antarctic); and that there the day is only four hours long, and 'tis colder than in any part of the world, 251.

Chapter concerning the island of Giava, of its faith, manner of living and customs, and of the things which grow in the said Island, 251-255.

Arrive at Giava, 251; religion of the island; its products, 252; character and features of the people, 253; birds; dress of the people; arms, 254; blowpipes; food.

Chapter showing how in this island the old people are sold by their children or their relations and afterwards are eaten, 255-257.

Fathers when aged sold in the market for food, 255; sick persons killed and sold, 256; Varthema's comrade takes alarm.

Chapter where, at midday, the sun casts a shadow in the island of Giava, 257, 258.

The sun casts a shadow to the south in June, 257; their fear of being eaten; purchase of emeralds and mutilated children, 258.

Chapter concerning our return, 258-263.

Charter a junk and return to Malacha, 258; part with the Christians of Sarnau, to the great grief of these, 259; sail to Cioromandel, and take another ship to Colon (Quilon); they proceed to Calicut, where Varthema finds two Milanese Christians who made ordnance for the king; Varthema plays the hypocrite, pretending to be a Mussulman saint, and is much venerated, 262.

Chapter showing how I made myself a physician in Calicut, 263-266.

Varthema called to visit a silk merchant, 263; his medical practice, 264; and its success; his fame as a saint spreads, but he keeps up secret communication with the Christians, 265.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Chapter concerning the news of the ships of the Portuguese which came into Calicut, 266.

Two Persian merchants of Cannanore report the arrival of the Portuguese fleet there, and the commencement of a fort; Varthema pretends to denounce them, 266.

Chapter showing how the Moors summon to the church those who are of their sect and faith, 267, 268.

Takes occasion to describe the call to prayer (*adhân*), 267; Varthema sets forth (as Imâm) to lead the prayers of the congregation in the mosque; gives his version of the prayer (*Fâtihah*); pretends illness, and his comrade proposes his going to Cannanore for change, 268.

Chapter concerning the flight from Calicut, 268-270.

Varthema after doubts and fears sets out by sea with the two merchants of Cannanore, 268; they are stopped by the Nairs; they start by land till they find a boat which takes them to Cannanore, 270; where a friend of his (Mussulman) comrade receives him hospitably.

Chapter showing how I escaped from Cananor to the Portuguese, 270-274.

He makes his way to the Portuguese factory, and takes refuge with Don Lorenzo de Almeyda, 271; to whom he relates all the preparations at Calicut; and is then sent to the Viceroy at Cochin, 272; the Viceroy receives him well and gives him a safe conduct for the two Milanese; he makes many attempts to induce them to escape alone with their jewels and money; but their avarice causes delays and they are betrayed, 273; the Moorish merchants combine to bribe the King of the Gioghi, who was then at Calicut, to have them murdered, 274; Varthema protects the son of one of them, who dies a year later.

Chapter concerning the fleet of Calicut, 274-280.

Description of the great fleet which issued from the ports of Calicut, 274; the Viceroy's son having but eleven ships to meet them, 275; he exhorts his officers and men; the chaplain follows with a discourse and absolution; but the main fight takes place next day near Cannanore, 277; gallantry of Captain Joan Sarrano and of Captain Simon Martin, 278; rout and pursuit of the Calicut fleet, 279; great slaughter of the enemy; bravery of the Portuguese; and joy of the Viceroy, 280.

Chapter showing how I was sent back to Canonor by the Viceroy, 280-286.

Varthema made factor by the Viceroy and sent to Cannanore, 280; King of Cannanore dying, the new king is hostile, 281; war breaks out and the fort is beleaguered from April to August, 282; when they are relieved by the fleet from Portugal; miraculous aid hinted at, 284; superstition of the Moors, 285; enchanters among them, 286.

Chapter concerning the assault of the Portuguese upon Pannani, 286-288.

Varthema obtains leave to go to Europe, 286; but first takes part in the assault on Pannani, 287; desperate fighting; Varthema is knighted by the Viceroy, 288; return to Cannanore.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

THE BOOK CONCERNING ETHIOPIA.

Chapter concerning the various islands in Ethiopia, 289, 290.

They sail from India, and arrive at Mozambich, 289; notices of Me-
hindi, Mombaza, Chiloa (Kilwah or Quiloa), Zaphala (Sofála), Gogia
(Angoxa), Pati (Paté), Brava, the islands of Socotra, of Cumere (Co-
moro), and Penda (Pemba), 290.

Chapter concerning the island of Mozambich and its inhabitants,
291-296.

Products of Mozambich are gold and oil, 291; natives, their low state,
292; wild elephants, 293; extraordinary speech of the negroes; barter
with them, 294; proceed on their voyage, passing the island of San
Lorenzo (Madagascar); the Portuguese conversions in India merit
success for the king's arms.

Chapter concerning the Cape of Good Hope, 296-298.

Pass the Cape of Good Hope at a distance of 200 miles, 296; pass near
St. Helena, where they see two great and extraordinary fishes, 291; find
the island of Ascension, and certain stupid birds thereon; begin to
see the north star; reach the islands of Astori (Azores); and Lisbon;
Varthema has an interview with the King of Portugal, 298, who con-
firms his patent of knighthood; Varthema proceeds to Rome.

P R E F A C E,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE following translation has been made from the first edition of Varthema's work printed at Rome in the year 1510, or, as stated in the colophon: "Nel Anno M.D.X. a di - vi de Decembrio." It is impossible to peruse Varthema's narrative and not feel a conviction that the writer is telling the truth, that he is recording events which actually took place, and describing men, countries and scenes which he had examined with his own eyes. There is a manifest absence of all attempt at composition. The tale is told with a charming simplicity and all the concise freshness of a note-book, and the author has evidently not stopt to consider whether the word he used was Bolognese, Venetian, or "Lingua Toscana." Neither has he felt any qualms of conscience as to his grammar. This latter circumstance has occasionally rendered the meaning of a passage somewhat doubtful. The printers also have added their mite to the obscurity by sometimes uniting two words or sentences together, or separating one word or sentence into two, or by leaving out a word alto-

gether. This edition, however, is the only one which gives Varthema's text truly. Even the Latin translation by Archangelus Madrignanus (a monk of the abbey of Clairvaux), which was finished on the 25th day of May 1511, or within six months after the publication of the first Italian edition, is not always an exact exponent of Varthema's text. Later editions vary still more, and the English translation, which is given in Eden's Collection of Voyages and Travels, printed at London in 1577, is extremely imperfect: many passages are totally at variance with the original, and many others are omitted. It has, therefore, been thought advisable by the Council of the HAKLUYT SOCIETY that a new version should be executed, which should as far as possible be a faithful representative of the original work. With this object in view, the translator has endeavoured to preserve the quaint dry style of the author. This must be his excuse for retaining some expressions which are hardly suited to the refinement of the present day, and for not omitting some anecdotes which a writer in modern times would hardly venture to record. They, however, afford an additional voucher for the truth of the narrator: it is impossible to imagine them to be inventions, and they only make us feel the more assured that we are really travelling with Varthema, and sharing with him in all his adventures. His work at once attracted attention. It was, as stated above, immediately translated into Latin, shortly afterwards into German, then into Spanish and French, again into

German, then into Dutch and English, a third time into German, and again into Dutch in the middle of the 17th century.

All the early editions, as well of the original Italian as of the translations of this work, are extremely rare and costly. The consequence is, that there is, perhaps, no work which has been so frequently reproduced, of which the lists given by bibliographers are so inaccurate and imperfect. They have been obliged to copy one from another without the means of testing the accuracy of their statements. The translator has had the advantage of seeing most of the editions of which he gives the titles, and has described them somewhat fully for the benefit of those to whom the originals may not be conveniently accessible.

The following is a list of the most important editions of this work :—

Italian.

1. Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egipto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta & felice; nella Persia, nella India & nella Ethiopa. La fede, el uiuere, & costumi de tutte le prefate Prouincie con Gratia & Privilegio infra notato.

Colophon.—Stampato in Roma per maestro Stephano guilireti de Loreno & maestro Hercule de Nani Bolognese, ad instãtia de maestro Lodouico de Henricis da Corneto Vicëtino. Nel Anno M.D.X. a di .vi. de Decembrio. 4°.

This edition contains 102 leaves, besides the title, 100 of which are numbered, and the two leaves containing the last page of the privilege, and the first

three pages of the table being unnumbered. This is the first Italian edition, and is of excessive rarity. Until recently, very few bibliographers were aware of its existence. A copy is in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

2. Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema Bolognese nello egypto nella Suria; nella Arabia deserta et felice nella Persia nella India et nella Ethiopia Le fede, el viuere et costumi de tutte le p̄fate prouincie. Cū Priuilegio.

Colophon.—Impresso in Rome per Mastro Stephano Guillereti De Lorēno Nel anno M.D.XVIIJ adi . xvi de Junio Cum gratia et Priuilegio del S. Signore N. S. Leone. p̄. p̄. X. in suo anno quinto. 8°.

This edition contains title, seven leaves of preliminary matter (viz. the privilege and table of contents), and 123 leaves of text not numbered. Signatures A ij to Q vj.

The Privilege is dated 10th of June 1517. In this Privilege it is stated that licence is given to Stephanus Guillereti de Lothoringia to print the book, “Ludovico defuncto, neminem ex heredibus superesse qui ex nova impressione vel jactura vel injuria afficiatur.” It is also stated that all the copies of the former impression were sold.

The only known copy of this edition is in the Grenville Library.

Mr. Grenville, in a note upon this copy, speaking of some of the editions of the book, says:—

“It was a third time printed in Italian, at Venice in 1518, and this third Italian edition is by Haym, and most of the books of bibliography, described as the first. In truth, the

two first Italian editions of 1510 and 1517 are so rare, that I find no notice whatever of either of them, except in Croft's Catalogue, No. 8045—8046, and quoted by Brunet from Croft's. This copy [of the edition of 1517] comes from the Blandford sale; it had been bought at Croft's sale. I have seen no copy but this of this edition. It is unknown to Panzer, Maittaire, Haym, &c."

3. Itinerario De Ludouico De Varthema Bolognese ne lo Egypto, ne la Suria, ne la Arabia Deserta & Felice ne la Persia ne la India ne la Ethiopia. La fede el viuere & costumi de tutte le p̄fate p̄uicie, Nouamēte imp̄sso.

Colophon.—Stampata in Venetia per Zorzi di Rusconi Milanese: Regnando linclito Principe Miser Leonardo Loredano: Nella incarnatiōe del n̄o signore Jesu xp̄o m.d.xvii. adi vi del Mese de Marzo. 8°.

This edition is printed in double columns, and contains ninety-two unnumbered leaves. Signatures A ii to M. The table of contents occupies four pages, and commences on the verso of sig. M.

This edition was printed in 1518, new style, the year then commencing on the 25th of March. A copy is in the Banksian Library in the British Museum.

4. Itinerario De Ludouico De Verthema Bolognese ne lo Egypto ne la Suria ne la Arabia Deserta e Felice ne la Persia ne la India: e ne la Ethiopia. La fede el uiuere e costumi de tutte le p̄fate prouincie. Nouamente impresso.

Colophon.—Stampata in Milano per Ioanne Angelo Scinzenzeler Nel Anno del signor m.ccccxix. Adi vltimo de Mazo. 4°.

This copy contains fifty-eight unnumbered leaves. Signatures a ii. to g iii. The colophon is printed on

a separate leaf, and is followed by two leaves of the table of contents.

A copy of this edition is in the Royal Library in the British Museum.

5. Itinerario De Ludouico De Verthema Bolognese ne lo Egipto ne la Suria ne la Arabia Deserta & Felice ne la Persia ne la India: & ne la Ethiopia La fede el uiuere & costumi de tutte le prefate prouincie. Nouamente impresso.

The type in the *colophon* has got shifted. It reads:—

¶ Sta

m.ccc mpata in Milano per Johanne Angelo
Scinzenzeler nel Anno del Signor
CCXXIII. adi. xxx. de Aprile. 4°.

This edition contains title, forty-one leaves numbered II to XLII, and two leaves of table of contents not numbered. Signatures A ii to F ii.

A copy of this edition of 1523 is in the Grenville Library.

6. Itinerario de Ludouico De Varthema Bolognese nello Egitto, nella Soria nella Arabia deserta, & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nela Ethyopia. Le fede el viuere, & costumi delle prefate Prouincie. Et al p̄sente agiontoui alcune Isole nouamēte ritrouate.

Colophon.—Stampato in Vinegia per Francesco di Alessandro Bindone, & Mapheo Pasini compani, a santo Moyse al segno de Langelo Raphael, nel m.d.xxxv. del mese d'Aprile. 8°.

The Itinerary of Varthema terminates on the recto of page 89, with the following words:—

“ Qui Finisse lo Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese, de li paesi et Isole la Fede el vivere et costumi loro. Nuovamente per lui visto in piu parte.”

Followed by—

“ Qui comencia lo Itinerario de Lisola de Iuchatan nouamente retrouata per il Signor Joan de Grisalue Capitan Generale de Larmata del Re de Spagna e p il suo Capellano cōposta.”

This edition consists of 103 leaves, of which 99 are numbered; the title-page, and table of contents, and device at the end, are not numbered. The colophon is printed at the end of the table; the device occupies a separate leaf, and represents the “ Archangelus Raphael ” leading with his right hand “ Tobiodo,” (who is represented as a little child with a large fish in his hand), and having on his left Tobit’s dog.

The Itinerary of the Island of Yucatan is printed in this edition of Varthema for the first time.

A copy of this edition is in the Grenville Library.

7. Itinerario de Ludovico De Varthema Bolognese nello Egitto, nella Soria, nella Arabia deserta, & felice, & nella Persia, nella India, & nella Ethyopia. Le fede, el viuere, & costumi delle prefate Prouincie. Et al Presente Agiontovi alcune Isole nuouamente trouate.

Colophon.—In Venetia per Matthio Pagan, in Frezzaria, al segno della Fede. 8°.

The type in the colophon has got shifted. This edition reads page for page with that of 1535. One has evidently been closely reprinted from the other.

Mr. Grenville was of opinion that this edition was printed in 1518. This, however, must be a mistake,

as Matthio Pagan or Pagano printed at Venice between the years 1554 and 1569 (see also "Saggio di Bibliografia Veneziana, composto da E. A. Cicogna." Venezia 1847), and his name is not found in any list of printers prior to that date. The circumstance which renders it important to fix the date of this edition is that of the "Itinerario de l'Isola de Juchatan," being printed for the first time with the work of Varthema. If Mr. Grenville be correct, then the Itinerary was printed in 1518; if not, it was not printed until 1535. It is not included in any edition bearing a date prior to that of 1535.

A copy is in the Grenville Library.

Varthema is also inserted by Ramusio in his "Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell' Africa, et del paese del prete Janni con varii viaggi dal Mar Rosso a Calicut et infin all' isole Molucche dove nascono de spetierie," &c. Venetia, 1550. Fol. Ramusio had evidently never seen the first or second editions, as he tells us that he had made use of the Spanish translation from the Latin, in order to correct the corrupted text then in use. It may naturally, therefore, be supposed that such a process cannot have restored the language of the original.

Boucher de la Richarderie ("Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages") mentions an edition in Italian printed by Rusconi at Venice in 1520, and another printed at the same place in 1589; and Ternaux Compans inserts in his "Bibliothèque Asiatique et Africaine" the title of an edition printed by Scin-

zenzeler at Milan in 1525 in 4°. Beckmann (*Vorrath*) mentions an edition printed at Venice in fol. in 1563.

Latin.

We have already said that the travels of Varthema were translated into Latin within a few months after the appearance of the Italian edition, the dedicatory epistle of the translator bearing the date “Mediolani octavo caleñ. Junias MDXI.” [25 May, 1511.] Although there is no date to this edition, it was most probably printed in the year the dedication bears date, or very shortly afterwards. The title is as follows:—

Ludovici Patritii Romani novum Itinerarium Æthiopiæ: Ægypti: vtrosque Arabiæ: Persidis: Sirix: ac Indiæ: intra et extra Gangem. 4°.

The dedicatory epistle bears the following inscription:—

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Domino Domino Bernardino Carvaial episcopo Sabino: Sancte crucis in Hierusalem Cardinali amplissimo: Patriarchæ Hyerosolimeo: ac utriusque philosophiæ monarchæ eminentissimo, Archangelus Carævallensis.

In this epistle the translator gives a rapid geographical sketch of the various parts of the world, showing the interest and importance of Varthema's work, which, he says, “tuis auspiciis effectus est romanus et, quasi serpens, exuto senio elegantioreque sumpto amictu juvenescit.”

Colophon.—“Operi suprema manus imposita est auspitiis cultissimi celebratissimiq: Bernardini Carauaial hispani. Ep̄i sabinē. S.R.E. Cardialis cognomēto sancte crucis

amplissimi. quo tpe quibus nunq̄: antea bellis: Italia crudelē imodū uexabaſ.”

This edition consists of sixty-two numbered leaves, besides eight preliminary leaves. Sigs. AA. A. to I v.

Ternaux Compans (*Bibliothèque Asiatique et Africaine*) gives the title of an edition of Madrignan's translation of 1508; but this is clearly a mistake, the Italian not having been printed until 1510, and the epistle to the Latin translation bearing date 1511.

A copy of the edition of 1511 is in the Grenville Library.

Another Latin edition was printed at Nuremberg in 1610, and again at Francfort in 1611. It was also inserted in the “Novus Orbis” of Gryncæus.

German.

Four years after the Latin translation a German version was published with the following title:—

1. Die Ritterlich vñ lobwirdig rayss des gestrengen vñ über all ander weyt erfahren ritters vnd Lantfarers herren Ludowico vartomans vō Bolonia Sagent vō den landen, Egypto, Syria, vō bayden Arabia, Persia, India, vñ Ethiopia vō den gestalte, sytē vñ dero menschen leben vnd gelauben. Auch von manigerlay thyeren vöglen vnd vil andern in den selben landen seltzamen wüderparlichen sachens. Das alles er selbs erfahren vñ in aygner person gesehen hat.

Colophon.—Auss welscher zungen in teytsch transferyert und seligklichen volend worden in der Kayserlichen stat Augspurg in Kostung und verlegung des Ersamen Hansen Millers der jar zal Christi 1515. An dem. sechzechen den Tag des Monat Junij. 4^o.

This edition consists of 76 leaves not numbered.

Signatures a ii to t. iii. The printer's device occupies the last leaf.

A copy is in the Grenville Library.

2. Die Ritterlich und lobwürdig reiss des gestrengen vñ über all ander weyt-ērfarnē Ritters vñ landtfarers herrē Ludowico Vartomans vō Bolonia Sagend von den landen, Egypto, Syria, von beiden Arabia, Persia, India, vnd Ethiopia, von den gestalten, sitten vnd dero menschen leben vnd glauben. Auch von manigerley thieren, vöglen vnd vil andern in den selben landen seltzamen wunderbarlichen sachen. Das alles er selbs erfahren vnd in eygner person gesehē hat.

Colophon.—Auss Welscher zungen in Teutsch transffert. Unnd selighlichen volendet unnd getruckt in des Keyserlichē Freystat Strassburg. Durch den Ersamē Johannem Knobloch, Als man zalt vō der geburt Christi unsers herrē MCCCCXVJ. Jar. 4^o.

This edition contains 113 unnumbered leaves. Signatures A ij to X. v.

A copy is in the British Museum.

Both these editions are copiously illustrated with engravings on wood.

Panzer (*Annalen der älteren Deutschen Literatur*, p. 421,) gives the following:—

“3. Die Rittertich vnd lobwirdig raiss des gestrēgen vnd über all ander weyt erfarnen ritters vñ landfarers, herren Ludowico Vartomans von Bolonia. Sagent vō den landen Egipto. Syria, vō bayden Arabia. Persia. India. vñ Ethiopia. Das alles er selbs erfahren vnd gesehen hat.” *Colophon.*—“Getruckt in der kaiserlichen stat Augspurg, in der jar zal Christi M.D.XVIII.” 4^o.

Panzer is of opinion that this translation may have

been made by Michael Herr. It will be shown, however, hereafter, that this cannot have been the case. It was reprinted at Augsburg in 1530.

In 1532 Simon Grynæus published at Basle, in folio, a collection of voyages and travels, under the title, "*Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica et aliquot aliis consimilis argumenti libellis,*" in which he included the Latin translation of Varthema. This collection was translated into German by Michael Herr, under the title, "*Die New Welt,*" and printed at Strasburg in 1534. In the introductory epistle to Regnart Count of Hanau, he says, that if he had met with the German translation of Varthema (whom he calls Varthoman) before he had made his own, he should have been glad to have been spared his trouble. It is clear, therefore, that Herr did not make the German translation published in 1515 and 1516. Herr's translation was executed from the Latin—that of 1515 from the Italian.

Another translation by Hieronymus Megiserus, historiographer of the Elector of Saxony, was printed at Leipzig in 1610, with the following title:—

"4. Hodeporicon Indiæ Orientalis; das ist, Warhafftige Beschreibung der ansehlich Lobwürdigen Reyss, Welche der Edel gestreng und weiterfahrne Ritter, H. Ludwig di Barthema von Bononien aus Italia bürtig, Inn die Orientalische und Morgenländer, Syrien, beide Arabien, Persien, und Indien, auch in Egypten und Ethyopien, zu Land und Wasser persönlich verrichtet: Neben eigentlicher Vermeldung Vielerley Wenderbahren Sachen, so er darinnen gesehen und erfahren, Alss da seynd manñigfaltige sorten

von Thieren und Gewächsen, Dessgleichen allerhand Volcker sitten, Leben, Polycey, Glauben, Ceremoinen und gebräuch, sampt anderer seltzamen denckwürdigen dingen, daselbst zu sehen : Und endlich, Was er für angst, noht und gefahr in der Heidenschafft vieler ort aussgestanden : Alles von jhme H. Barthema selber in Italianischer Sprach schriftlich verfasst und nu aus dem Original mit sonderm fleiss verdeutscht : Mit Kupferstücken artlich geziert, und auffs new in Truck verfertigt : Durch Hieronymum Megiserum. Leipzig. 1610. 8 .”

This edition is copiously illustrated with maps and plans engraved on copper by H. Gross. A copy is in the British Museum.

Ternaux Compans has inserted in his *Bibliothèque* the title of an edition of Megeserus's translation, printed at Augsburg in 4° in 1608. This date may be correct, as the preface to the edition of 1610 is dated 1 October 1607. He also mentions an edition printed at Francfort by H. Gulferichen in 1548. An edition was also printed at Leipzig in 1615.

Spanish.

The first edition of the Spanish translation was printed in 1520, and the translator, Christoval de Arcos, informs us that he made it from the Latin version, because he could not procure the Italian. He recommends those who doubt the truth of Varthema's relation to go and see for themselves ; and to those who may find fault with his translation, he excuses himself on account of the obscurity of the Latin from which it was made. The title is :—

Itinerario del venerable varon micer Luis patricio ro-

mano : en el qual cuēta mucha parte de la ethiopia Egipto : y entrābas Arabias : Siria y la India. Buelto de latin en romance por Christoual de arcos clerigo. Nuncia hasta aqui impresso en lengua castellana.

Colophon. Fue impressa la presente obra enla muy noble y leal ciudad Seuillapor Jacobo crōberger aleman. Enel año dela encarnaciom del señor de Mill y quincentos y veynte. Fol.

This edition consists of fifty-four numbered leaves (from II to LV), besides the title, and also the colophon, which is printed on a separate leaf. The book is printed in double columns. Signatures a iii to g v.

A copy of this edition is in the Grenville Library. Brunet states that this translation was reprinted at Seville in 1523 and 1576 in folio, and Ternaux Compans mentions an edition printed at Seville in 1570.

French.

No separate translation into French has been published of this work, but a French translation is printed in the "Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde contenant ses royaumes, regions, viles, cités, chateaux et forteresses : iles, fluves, animaux tant aquatiques que terrestres, &c. Escrite de notre tems par Jean Leon, Africain." Tome second : "Contenant les Navigations des capitaines Portugalois et autres faites audit païs, jusques aux Indes, tant orientales que Occidentales, parties de Perse, Arabie Heureuse, pierreuse et deserte. . . . L'assiette desdits païs, iles, royaumes et empires : Les figures, habits, religion et façon de faire des habitans et autres singularités cy devant incogneues." Lyons, 1556. Fol.

Dutch.

The *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus was again translated, and this time into Dutch by Cornelis Ablijn, and printed at Antwerp in 1563 in folio. The translator addresses his work to William Prince of Orange, and, speaking of the original, announces his own labours in the following words:—

“Dwelek ich Cornelis Ablijn openbaer notarius residerende inder vermaerder coopstadt van Antwerpen, door bede van sommige vrienden wt der Hoochduytscher in deser Nederduytscher oft Brabantsche taelen getranslateert ende oveghesedt hebbe.”

This translation, therefore, is further removed from the original than any of the others. The privilege is dated 1561.

De uytnemende en seer wonderlijcke zee-en-Landt-Reyse vande Heer Ludowyck di Barthema, van Bononien, Ridder, &c., gedaen Inde Morgenlanden, Syrien, Vrugtbaer en woest Arabien, Perssen, Indien, Egypten, Ethiopien, en andere. Uyt het Italiens in Hoogh-duyts vertaelt door Hieronymum Megiserium, Cheur-Saxsens History schrijver. En vyt den selven nu eerstmael in't nederdeuyts gebracht door. F. S. Tot Utrecht, 1654. 4°.

A copy of this edition is in the British Museum.

Meusel, “*Bibliotheca Historica*,” vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 340, says that the German translation of Megiserus was translated into Dutch, and printed at Utrecht in 1615 in 4°; and Ternaux Compans inserts in the “*Bibliothèque*” the title of another edition printed at Utrecht in 4° by W. Snellaert in 1655.

English.

In 1577 Richard Eden published a collection of voyages and travels in 4°, which he entitled "The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies," &c., in which he included the Itinerary of Varthema with the following title:—

"The navigation and vyages of Lewes Vertomannus, Gentleman, of the cite of Rome, to the regions of Arabia, Egypte, Persia, Syria, Ethiopia, and East India, both within and without the ryver of Ganges, etc. In the yeere of our Lorde 1503 : conteynyng many notable and straunge thinges, both hystoricall and naturall. Translated out of Latine into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. In the yeare of our Lord 1576."

A short extract, greatly abridged, from Varthema's work, is also inserted in "Purchas his Pilgrimage." London, 1625-6. Fol.

J. WINTER JONES.

Dec. 10, 1863.

INTRODUCTION,

BY THE EDITOR.

WHO was LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA? Unfortunately, scarcely any record of him is forthcoming except what he tells us himself. I have searched every available repository of such information, to learn something of his antecedents, and have searched in vain. Zedler finds no place for him in his *Universal Lexicon*; our own Biographical Collections pass him over; and all that the French have to say is this:—“*Vartomanus*, gentilhomme Bolonais, et patrice Romain, fut un voyageur célèbre dans le xvi^e siècle. Il est presque inconnu dans le nôtre, parce que l'abbé Prévost, et ceux qui ont écrit l'histoire des voyages, ont négligé de parler du sien, quoiqu'il soit un des plus importants pour l'histoire de la géographie, et pour l'histoire en général.”¹ I had hoped to glean some stray notices of him in the writings of his own countrymen; but they are as barren of what we wish to know as the rest. Zurla² does not even mention him in his Dissertation on the most illustrious Italian

¹ *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne*, Paris, 1827.

² *Di Marco Polo e degli altri Viaggiatori più illustri, Dissertazione* da P. AB. D. PLACIDO ZURLA, 2 vols. Venezia, 1818.

travellers ; and Fantuzzi, the only Italian historian who devotes more than a few lines to him, begins his article on "*Lodovico Bartema*" with an admission which I have been obliged to imitate, and ends it by erroneously stating that our author's *Itinerary* was first published at Venice, and by hazarding a doubt respecting his return to Italy,—a fact which is plainly stated at the conclusion of his narrative. Fantuzzi's notice is as follows:—"Of this person, we know nothing beyond what the Co. Valerio Zani has written in the Preface to the *Genio Vagante*, tom. i. p. 32, *viz.*, that Lodovico Bartema, a Bolognese by birth, flourished in the sixteenth century,—that he left Bologna for Venice, from whence he crossed over into Asia, and arrived first at Alexandria," *etc.* "This is all we learn from the Co. Valerio Zani in the abovenamed Preface, subsequent to which we possess no information about Lodovico Bartema ; hence, we do not know whether he returned to Italy, or where he died, except that, inasmuch as his *Itinerary* was printed for the first time in Venice, we are led to believe that he did return thither ; for it is not easy to suppose that he sent his manuscripts from Portugal to be printed in Italy, which they appear to have been during his lifetime."¹

¹ The following is appended to the foregoing extract in a footnote:—"This writer's name is spelt in different ways. In his *Itinerary* comprised in the edition of Ramusio, by Ferdinando Leopoldo del Migliore in the *Firenze Illustrata*, p. 310, and in P. D. Abondio Collina's Dissertation *De acus nautica inventore*, contained in the *Commentarj dell' Accadem. dell' Istituto*, tom. ii.

This is very unsatisfactory, and the deficiency is not supplied by any incidental allusions in the author's dedicatory epistle. Agnesina, the illustrious lady to whom he dedicates his *Itinerary*, was the fourth daughter of Federico di Montefeltro, Count and second Duke of Urbino, by his second wife Battista Sforza, and was married in 1474 to Fabrizio Colonna, Lord of Marino, Duke of Albi and Tagliacozza. Of the lady Agnesina, Dennistoun says: "She inherited the talents and literary tastes which had descended to her mother, and transmitted them to a still more gifted daughter, the illustrious Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara."¹ Her brother, whose

part iii. p. 382, he is called *Lodovico Bartema*; but in the title-page of the edition of the said *Itinerary*, from the edition of 1535, of Bumaldi, in the *Biblioth. Bonon.*, p. 158, of Orlandi's *Notizia degli Scritt. Bologn.*, he is styled *Lodovico Vartema*. This is noticed by the Co. Mazzuchelli; but it must be borne in mind, that the permutation of the letters *B* and *V*, in pronunciation, is very common with the Portuguese and Spaniards, as has been the case, moreover, among almost all nations in almost every age. So, likewise, the ancient Florentines used to say *Voce* and *Boce*, *Voto* and *Boto*, and so forth. By Konig, in the *Biblioth. Vetus et Nova*, p. 831, he is called *Lodovicus Vartomannus*, alias *Varthema*. Doni, in his *Libreria*, p. 33, styles him merely *Lodovico Bolognese*; and Simlero, in his *Epit. Biblioth. Gesneri*, p. 121, has *Lodovico da Bologna*. Besides Mazzuchelli, who speaks of him in his *Scrittori d'Italia*, he is also mentioned by Sig. Ab. Tiraboschi, in his *Storia della Letter. d'Italia*, tom. vii. part i. p. 211." FANTUZZI'S *Notizie degli Scrittori Bolognesi*, Bologna, 1781.

¹ *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, vol i. p. 277. Writing of Battista, Agnesina's mother, the same author remarks:—"She was a remarkable instance of the transmission of talent by female descent. Her great grandmother, Battista di Montefeltro [daughter

genius and acquirements are justly eulogized by Varthema, was Guidobaldo, who succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his father in 1482, and died on the 11th of April 1508. As he appears to have been living at the time the Dedication was written, it must have been prepared immediately after the author's return to Italy.¹

of Count Antonio di Montefeltro,] was conspicuous among the ladies of high birth, whose acquirements gave illustration to her age. By cotemporary authors, her talents and endowments are spoken of in most flattering terms, whilst her character is celebrated for piety and justice, benignity and tranquillity. Though married to a man of miserable character, she had a daughter, Elisabetta Malatesta, who inherited her misfortunes as well as her genius. Elisabetta's daughter was Costanza Varana, the associate of scholars and philosophers, whose gifts she is said to have rivalled, notwithstanding an early death that deprived her infant Battista of a mother's care." The latter, the mother of Agnesina, displayed remarkable talents while yet a child, and subsequently made rapid acquisition of solid knowledge. She was married to Count Federigo, Duke of Urbino, in 1459. (See *Id.*, pp. 206-7.) According to Litta, the lady Agnesina died in 1522, while returning from a visit to the Sanctuary at Loreto. Her brother Guildobaldo having been deprived of the dukedom by Leo X., her son Ascanio Colonna, Duke of Palliano, was subsequently invested with that dignity by Clement VII. ; but the bull of the former pope not having been carried into effect, he never succeeded to Urbino. See LITTA, *Famiglie Celebri Italiani*, tom. ii. tavola vii.

¹ I am inclined to think, indeed, that the Dedication may have been intentionally antedated, otherwise Varthema must have had an extraordinary quick passage from India ; for as he left Cannanore on the 6th December 1507, stayed fifteen days at Mozambique and two at the Azores, there only remain three months and eighteen days for the homeward voyage, and for the preliminaries connected with the preparation of his book, or at least of the

One would have thought that Ramusio might have picked up some information respecting the early life and subsequent career of our author ; but his “ *Discorso Breve*” to Varthema’s book is briefer than many of the notices prefixed to other far less important Voyages and Travels contained in his valuable Collection. Moreover, it is clear that the first authorized edition of the *Itinerary*, printed at Rome in 1510, was either unknown to him or beyond his reach ; since he tells us that his revised exemplar was prepared from a Spanish version made from the Latin translation,—a third-hand process, which accounts for the many variations existing between his copy and the original Italian edition. The following is all that he says:—

“ This Itinerary of Lodovico Barthema, a Bolognese, wherein the things concerning India and the Spice Islands are so fully and so correctly narrated as to transcend all that has been written either by ancient or modern authors, has hitherto been read replete with errors and inaccuracies, and might have been so read in future, had not God caused to be put into our hands the book of Christoforo di Arco, a clerk of Seville, who, being in possession of the Latin exemplar of that Voyage, made from the original itself, and dedicated to the Most Reverend Monsignor Bernardino, Cardinal Carvaial of the Santa Croce, translated it with great care into the Spanish language, by the aid of which we have been enabled to correct in many places the present book, which was originally written by the author himself in our own vulgar tongue, and dedicated to the Most Illustrious Madonna

dedicatory epistle, up to the death of Duke Guidobaldo, which, according to Dennistoun, occurred on the 11th of April 1508.