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Jón

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THE LIFE

of the

ICELANDER JÓN ÓLAFSSON

VOL. II

SECOND SERIES

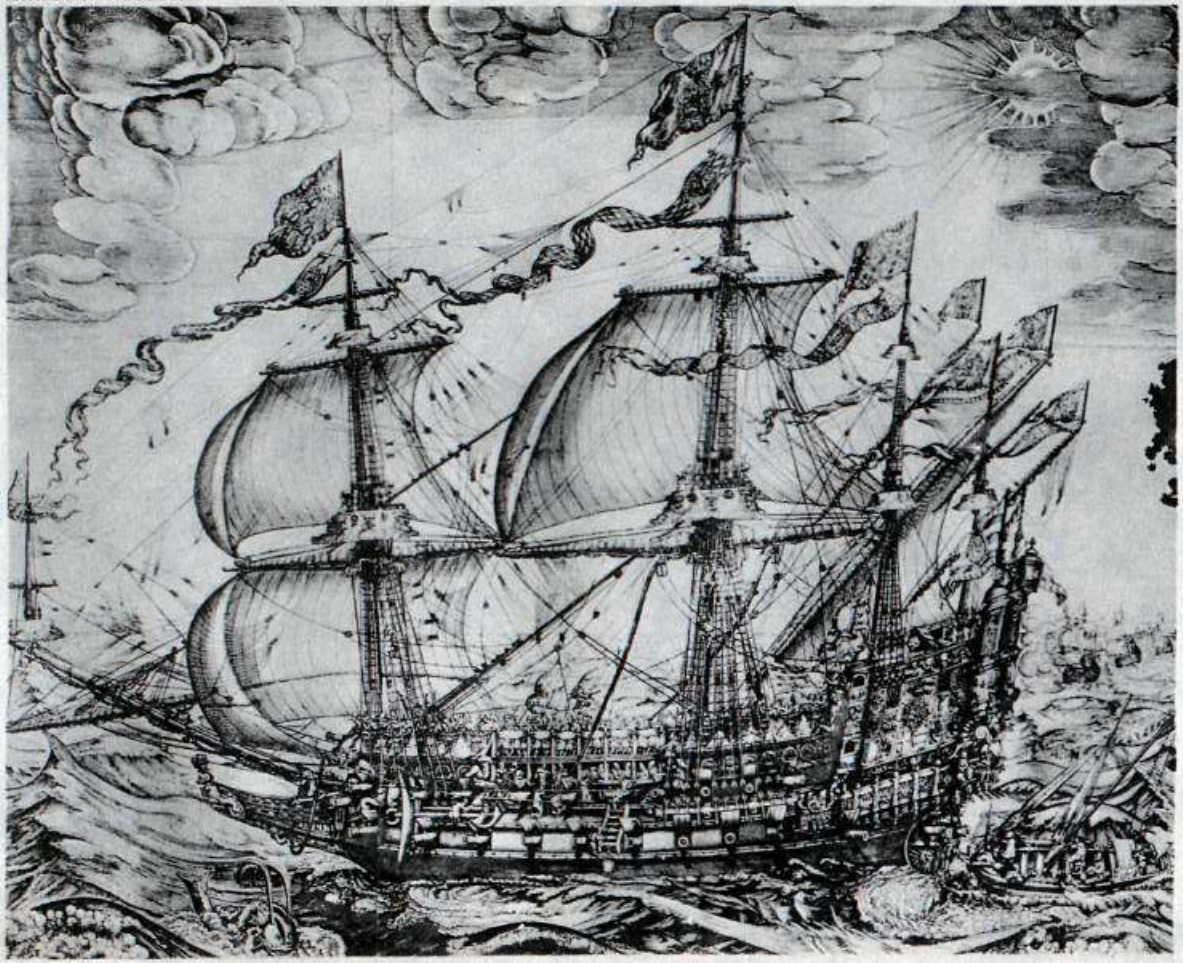
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A DANISH MAN-OF-WAR OF THE TYPE OF THE "PEARL."

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Jón

The Life
of the
Icelander Jón Ólafsson
Traveller to India

Written by himself and completed about 1661 A.D. with a continuation, by another hand, up to his death in 1679

Translated from the *Icelandic edition* of Dr Sigfús Blöndal,

by

Dame Bertha Phillpotts, D.B.E., M.A., Litt.D.
Author of *Kindred & Clan*, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama*, etc.

Volume II

Life and Travels: Denmark, England, the Cape, Madagascar, Comoro Is., Coromandel Coast, Tranquebar, St Helena, Ascension Is., Ireland, Iceland
1618–1679

Edited by

the late Sir Richard Temple, *Bart.*
C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., F.B.A.
and
Lavinia Mary Anstey

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE first part of the translation of Ólafsson's narrative made for the Society by Dame Bertha Phillpotts (now Dame Bertha Newall) was published in 1923 under her editorship. The task of dealing with the second and concluding portion, which is devoted chiefly to the traveller's experiences in India, was undertaken by Sir Richard Temple, whose labours upon the Bowrey and Mundy volumes had already laid the Society under heavy obligations to him. The work proved to be more difficult than was expected, owing to the many obscure allusions and errors of fact contained in the text; while the delay thus caused was unavoidably increased by Sir Richard's many other activities and long periods of ill-health, culminating in his lamented death in March 1931. By that time, however, almost the whole of the text had been annotated, and notes had been made for the introduction; and feeling it desirable that the work should be finished in the way Sir Richard had intended, the Council invited Miss Anstey, who had assisted him from the first in the preparation of the volume and was therefore fully cognizant of his plans and methods, to complete the manuscript for the printer, write an introduction, and pass the whole through the press. Miss Anstey was good enough to undertake this duty, and has now brought it to a successful conclusion. The index to the volume is also her work.

It should be mentioned that Dame Bertha Newall, in addition to making the translation, has contributed a number of notes and has in other ways rendered valuable assistance; while the Society is also much indebted to Dr Sigfús Blöndal, the editor of the original Icelandic edition, who has been as indefatigable in promoting the publication of the second as

he was in the case of the first volume. His services in this respect are more particularly described at the end of Miss Anstey's introduction, and members of the Society will cordially endorse the thanks there tendered to him.

WILLIAM FOSTER
President

December 31, 1931.

At the last moment, when the final proofs of this volume were about to be returned to the printer, the sad news arrived of the death of Dame Bertha Newall. In the circumstances it would be out of place even to attempt to pay an adequate tribute to one whose personality was as charming as her knowledge was profound. It can only be said that the Hakluyt Society joins most sincerely in the regret expressed on all sides at the premature close of a brilliant career, and that it will cherish a special gratitude to Dame Bertha for the care and scholarship she lavished upon the present work.

W. F.

January 21, 1932

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Made in the eighteenth century, being a copy of a much older plan, probably contemporary with Jón Ólafsson's life in India, in the possession of Captain Fr. Thaulow

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Reproduced (by permission of Mrs Frank Penny) from an illustration in the Rev. Frank Penny's *The Church in Madras* (vol. 1)

INTRODUCTION

THE second volume of the narrative of Jón Ólafsson opens with a hearsay account of the first Danish Expedition to India, 1618–1621. The story occupies the first four chapters of the book and consists of recollections, more or less imperfect, of what the author was told as a very young man. Many years elapsed before the history was committed to paper and it is little wonder that events in which Jón took no active part became confused and blurred in his memory. He, however, clearly recollected the excitement caused in Copenhagen by the visit of Marcelis de Boschouwer, the envoy from the ruler of Kandy, the eagerness of the Danes to subscribe to the undertaking in order to secure fortunes in the East, the Oriental bearing assumed by the envoy (with whom he once came in contact), and the names of some of those who took part in the expedition. The setting out of the fleet in November 1618 was also impressed on his memory by the fact that he suffered a disappointment in not being permitted to embark as a gunner in one of the ships. For the subsequent adventures of the pioneers our author had to rely on others, and he tells us that he obtained his information mainly from Søren Knappstop, like himself a gunner in the service of Christian IV, whose report was doubtless made up from the gossip of the lower-deck. For this reason Jón Ólafsson's account contains details regarding individuals not recorded elsewhere, such as Halldór Árnason (p. 6), Temperance and Hieronymus (p. 7), the lad called Diamond (p. 7) and Jens Piper (p. 9). All these bear the ring of truth and are no doubt relations of actual fact.

The history of the events with which chapters I to IV are concerned is briefly as follows. The Portuguese, who first landed on the island of Ceylon in 1505, had continued there with varying fortunes since that date. The close of the sixteenth century had seen constant hostilities between

Wimala Dharma (King of Kandy 1592–1604) and the invaders, who were endeavouring to substantiate their rights to the dominions which they claimed were bequeathed to them by King Don Juan Dharmapala, and to reduce the rulers of all the provinces (Corles) in Ceylon to their vassalage. In 1604 Wimala Dharma died and was succeeded by his brother Senevirat (1604–32). Already, in 1602, the Dutch had sent two ships to Ceylon and had obtained permission from Wimala Dharma to carry on trade and to erect a fort at Kottiar, on the Bay of Trincomali. King Senevirat maintained his predecessor's relations with the Dutch, while the unpopularity of the Portuguese in the island increased. Nevertheless, for some years after the accession of Senevirat comparative tranquillity prevailed. However, in 1612 Marcelis de Boschouwer, a factor of the Dutch East India Company, arrived at Kandy with letters from the States-General and Prince Maurice of Orange. A treaty was concluded on 11 May between the Sinhalese and Hollanders, by which they agreed to assist each other against the Portuguese, and the Dutch obtained a renewal of the permission previously given to erect a fort at Kottiar. Commerce between the two nations was to be unrestricted and the Dutch were to have the monopoly of the export trade in cinnamon, gems and pearls. Further, two Dutch representatives were to have seats in the Council of the Sinhalese King. Boschouwer was ennobled as Marcelis, Prince of Migomuwa, and the seaport of Negumbo was granted to him. He remained in Ceylon until 1615. During this period, the Portuguese, alarmed at the growing power of the Dutch, surprised their fort at Kottiar and massacred the garrison. The attack was avenged by Senevirat's forces, but later on the Portuguese were again victorious and succeeded in wresting Migomuwa from Boschouwer. In 1613 they supported the followers of a chief who had risen in rebellion against Senevirat, and a battle took place in which Boschouwer and the allies of the King were worsted. The Portuguese then endeavoured to force Senevirat to make a treaty with them

and renounce his alliance with the Dutch, but he refused, and another engagement took place on 6 August 1614, resulting in a victory for the Sinhalese. Subsequently, in 1615, Boschouwer was despatched to Holland by Senevirat to solicit assistance, pursuant to the convention of 1612, but before the return of the envoy the Emperor was compelled, in 1617, to conclude a treaty with the Portuguese and to pay tribute to them. Boschouwer's mission to Holland proved a failure, and he thereupon proceeded to Denmark and entered into a treaty with Christian IV, who furnished him with a fleet.

News of the Danish venture soon reached England. On 8 December 1617 Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at The Hague, wrote to Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State: "We heare that king [Christian IV of Denmark] doth sett owt fower Ships for the Est Indies; so, as the French going uppon the same adventure, the well will soone be drawne drie with so many buckets" (*State Papers, Holland*, December 1617; S.P. 84/81, f. 52).

But it was not until the fleet had actually set sail that we find any mention of the expedition in the records of the East India Company. At a court of Committees held on 22 December 1618 a letter was read from Captain Keeling, stationed off the Isle of Wight, reporting that two ships "from the King of Denmark" were in Cowes Road, "and expect three more, all for the East Indies, the greatest not above 300 tunnes, consigned for Zeilon, where they expecte great matters of spices, being encoraged by an ambassador sent from that kinge into Denmarke, giving out that they had contracted for all the pepper in the Great Samorins [Zamorin, ruler of Calicut] countrye" (*Court Book*, IV, p. 277). That Christian IV was anxious regarding the reception of his subjects by the English traders in the East is evident from an entry in the *Court Book* of 27 April 1619 (IV, p. 536), where it is stated that the King of Denmark had sent an ambassador to England "to entreate that amytie and good correspondency may be held betwixt the English and his people in the Indies."

The story of the expedition is summarized by Sir William

Foster in his introduction to *The English Factories in India* 1618–21, pp. xlv–xlvi, and is described more fully, as regards Ceylon, by Mr P. E. Pieris ("The Danes in Ceylon" in *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.* xxx, p. 79, part 1). There is, further, the *Diary* of Ove Giedde, the commander of the fleet, printed by J. H. Schlegel in 1773, which gives ample details of the voyage, the negotiations in Ceylon and Tanjore, and the general result of the expedition. A translation of Ove Giedde's story and the narrative by Pieris have been freely used in the notes either to confirm or disprove Jón Ólafsson's statements. Of these the most interesting are those regarding commercial relations with Siam and the regulations for the newly established fort at Dansborg (pp. 20, 25).

In this connection it is worth while to compare the views of the Portuguese and Dutch with those communicated to Jón as to the result of the negotiations in Ceylon and Tanjore.

In December 1620 the Viceroy of Goa reported to Lisbon that at the end of the previous summer there had come to Ceylon four ships from Denmark, bearing replies to an embassy from the King of Kandy, and that they had landed at Trincomali, where they fortified themselves in a pagoda with 300 men and a quantity of artillery. From thence they had carried on a correspondence with the King, despite the efforts of the Portuguese Captain-General to prevent it. However, the writer adds, "God came to our aid by visiting them with such a grave sickness that, owing to it and to the King failing in the promises he had made them, they were forced to take to the ships, although they did not altogether abandon the pagoda, leaving some men and artillery in it" (*Port. Records at I.O., Books of the Monsoons*, translations, vol. v). With regard to the success of the Danes in Tanjore, the Viceroy wrote in February 1622 (*ibid.*) that the Nāyak of Tanjore had given them a site for the erection of a stronghold, in which a few individuals were collected for trade, but that it would be easy to expel these rivals, and with

that design he had ordered Ruy Freire d'Andrade to cruise with his fleet along that coast.

The Dutch agent at Masulipatam also kept a watchful eye on the proceedings of the Danes. In February 1621 he reported (*Hague Transcripts*, at I.O., translations, vol. IV. No. 137) the arrival of the five ships at Ceylon, "where they have built, with consent of the King, a fort from the pagoda," adding the belief that they "would give the Portuguese enough to do." In April of the same year he sent a fuller account of the expedition to the Directors of the East India Company at Amsterdam (*ibid.* No. 138). He stated that the Danes "had had four ships and a yacht. One ship, called *Copenhagen*, has sailed (I think) from Trangabary [Tranquebar] with a cargo of pepper to Denmark. They obtained the pepper for some money they had still left and 18 cannon; for the rest, twenty persons and some more cannon remained as hostages. The second vessel, the *Elephant*, Admiral, had returned from Trangabary to Ceylon, they said, in order to take off some thirty persons who had remained there, being discontented, and was to sail home without cargo, unless they intend to lade their ship with Ceylon earth. The third, the Vice-Admiral, which went cruising on the coast of India, we are told, was taken by the Portuguese; the fourth was shipwrecked at Ceylon in the river of Trinchonomale, just as it intended to leave the fleet and sail for Bantam. Their yacht [the *Øresund*], as I stated, has been taken by the Portuguese at Negapatam. This was the history and the end of the miserable Danish voyage, full of discord, quarrels, fights and murder. At Trangabary they erected a fort with consent of the Nayak of Tangour, where the hostages will be kept. I have no doubt the Nayak has tried to attract the pepper trade thither by selling their cannon, etc."

Both the writers quoted above, either from imperfect information or of set purpose, distorted the facts in their accounts to their superiors, as will be seen on referring to the notes and appendix to chapter III. It was quite natural for Jón to exaggerate the success of the Danish negotiations and for the

Portuguese and Dutch to belittle them, but it is clear that for some years the footing of the new-comers, both at Trincomali and Tranquebar, was very precarious.

The remainder of this volume is concerned with Jón's personal experiences, his voyage to India, his life at Tranquebar as a gunner in the fortress of Dansborg, his return to Europe in the *Pearl* after a sojourn of fourteen months in the East, the misfortunes which befell the ship, entailing a compulsory stay on the Irish coast, and finally his return to Denmark and thence to Iceland. The narrative concludes with an account of his various activities in his native country until his death in 1679.

The outward voyage in the *Christianshavn* in 1622–3 was made via the Cape, Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, and was uneventful. We are supplied with a list of the officers and crew, and this testifies to our traveller's wonderful memory, for the variations in the names furnished by him and those in the list of Simon Johansen, the chief merchant, are inconsiderable.

As in the account of his first visit to England (vol. I, chapters II–IV), Jón's statements regarding the places touched at are unreliable, though he retained a correct general impression of Plymouth and its associations with Sir Francis Drake, of whose exploits he had a blurred recollection. The value of this part of his narrative, however, does not rest on a description of the route he followed, but rather on the information he supplies of life in the lower-deck of a seventeenth-century East Indiaman from the point of view of a gunner. Thus we have an interesting account of the routine of a ship on the voyage to India and the discipline observed on board. We are furnished with details of the necessaries that each man had to provide for himself and of the rations served out to the crew. The same remark applies after the arrival of the *Christianshavn* at the infant settlement of Tranquebar, when we are told how the garrison of Dansborg carried out their duties. The descriptions of the fort and the earliest church erected by the Danes are also of value, since no other con-

temporary account exists in such detail, while a certain interest is lent to the narrative by the fact that Dansborg was in a sense a prototype of the fort built some twenty years later by the English at Madras. Jón probably exaggerates the splendour of the fortress, but even the Dutch were compelled to acknowledge its stability, though they speak contemptuously of its equipment (*Hague Transcripts*, translations, vol. VII, No. 224): "The fortress is fine and strongly built, but everything is wanting, pieces, powder, and soldiers to keep it."

Of India and the little he saw of that country Jón's recollections are surprisingly vivid and testify to his powers of observation. His accounts of Hindu manners and customs, though hampered by his frequent misconception of what was told him, are full of interest. He evidently witnessed the religious festivals he records and retained a general idea of them, though either he was misinformed or his memory failed him with regard to the Temple dancing-women (p. 123) and also as to hook-swinging, which he classifies among "games" (p. 127). His reference to "devil-scarers" (p. 131) is especially valuable, showing that animism was prevalent among the lower classes of the Hindus with whom he came in contact. His remarks on funeral rites, though confused, are worthy of note; and, like all other travellers, he was greatly impressed by *sati*, though here again his account is not accurate.

That our traveller tried his utmost to understand the tongue of those with whom he came in contact is evidenced by the fact that more than a quarter of a century after he left India he was able to recollect some two dozen words and expressions. Many of these terms (Tamil and Portuguese) are necessarily corrupt, but they are nearly all identifiable.

Jón's remarks on Indian products are also of much interest. As an Icelander, only acquainted with berries, he was specially attracted by the globular fruits, all of which he called "apples." His description of raw cotton is fairly correct, and his remarks on the painting of cloth show careful observation, as do those on the working of iron; and though his

account of expressing coconut oil from copra is somewhat garbled, he had obviously been an eyewitness of the process.

As was to be expected, Jón's narrative adds little to our geographical knowledge of the regions covered by his story. The towns in Ceylon mentioned in connection with the first Danish expedition are ill-recollected and generally unidentifiable, as is also the case with the anchorage at Madagascar (p. 78) and the watering-place of the *Pearl* when she started on her homeward voyage (p. 195). For his descriptions of Africa and Asia Jón depends upon the 1646 edition of the *Compendium Cosmographicum* of Hans Nansen. We have, however, from his pen, a vivid picture of Tranquebar and its surroundings (pp. 147, 169).

With regard to contemporary history we are somewhat more fortunate, though our author's outlook was necessarily a limited one. His story of the meeting with Captain John Weddell's fleet at the Cape (p. 68) is confirmed by entries in the log of the *Jonas* and furnishes fresh and interesting details of the encounter. But he credits Weddell's squadron with an engagement in which it had no part, and mixes up Spaniards and Portuguese indiscriminately.

Of the change in the government of a part of Madagascar at the time of the visit of the *Christianshavn*, there is no confirmation available. It is unlikely that a third of the island was affected, and the facts narrated probably applied to a petty chieftainship.

Jón's sojourn in India took place while Raghunātha, the last but one of the Nāyaks of Tanjore, was ruler of the district. The story of his son, Vijaya Rāghava, being desirous of professing the Christian faith (p. 114) is hardly credible, and there is little to be learnt from the narrative of the political events and the constant struggles with neighbouring powers that disturbed Raghunātha's rule. The reference, however, in the same passage to Vijaya Rāghava as "prince and heir-apparent" is interesting, since it shows the prevalence of the ancient custom of a "Second King."

Jón's story of the coming of Raghunātha's emissary to

Tranquebar in 1623 and his demands from the Danes (p. 173) is entertaining, for it is evident that the garrison was impressed and awed by what was merely, as Sir Richard Temple aptly puts it, "a fine specimen of Oriental bluff."

The hearsay account of the encampment of Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) near Masulipatam in the same year is marred by many inaccuracies, and Jón's credulity seems to have been played upon by those from whom he heard the story, though it is quite possible that the account of a personal interview with the Prince (p. 159) is correct, since there was a universal desire among Eastern princes to enlist European gunners in their service.

Of the abortive attempt of the English to trade with Tanjore in 1624 (p. 188) we have both Danish and English versions. Jón naturally vaunts the success of his countrymen at the court of the Nāyak and emphasizes the discomfiture of their English rivals, but from the evidence available it appears obvious that the Danes circumvented the English by being first in the field and by the superiority of their gifts. The Governor-General at Batavia, commenting on the incident to the Directors of the Dutch East India Company (*Hague Transcripts*, translations, vol. VII, No. 222) writes: "The English had requested trade in Caricol... from the Nayak of Tan Johor [Tanjore], but they did not obtain it on account of the Danes having been in their way with great presents."

The character of our author has been discussed by Dame Bertha Phillpotts in her Introduction to vol. I, and the same qualities that were apparent in his early years are accentuated in his later life. This is especially the case with regard to his vanity, a natural failing in his position. From his narrative we might suppose that he was treated as an equal and a bosom friend by Christoffer Boye, commander of the *Christianshavn*, that his advice was sought by his superiors, and that he was on intimate terms with the three chaplains with whom he associated. Yet, although Jón tells us that Mads Rasmussen, chaplain of the *Pearl*, "held pleasant converse" (p. 204) with him daily when he was recovering from his accident,

and thanked him heartily for his admonitions to the crew (p. 210), there is no allusion whatever to Jón or his accident in Rasmussen's *Diary*. It is quite probable that the affection Jón evidently felt for Christoffer Boye was the result of that officer's kindly treatment of him, and it is also probable that the fact of his being able to read and write procured him more notice than the ordinary gunner, but as he confesses his ignorance of navigation, it is unlikely that he was "called into the cabin" and his "counsel asked" (p. 221) as to the wisdom of making for Iceland with the storm-battered *Pearl*.

Allied to his vanity, and the outcome of this failing, is Jón's tendency to exaggerate in order to impress and startle his hearers. It is natural that he should make the most of the accident which sent him home from India with maimed hands, but the credulity of his hearers must have been sorely strained if they accepted all the harrowing details with which he furnished them. His account, too, of how he was made the centre of attraction on the ship and of the attention bestowed on him is not credible, for, as Sir Richard Temple remarks, if every wounded gunner had been so treated, discipline on board would have been impossible. At the same time Jón makes no secret of the fact that, when occasion required, he suffered the same treatment as his comrades, and, though he glosses over his imprisonment for attacking a sergeant (p. 149), he tells us that he was made to ride the wooden horse as a punishment for being concerned in a brawl (p. 168).

That his nature was kindly, lovable and somewhat timid is clear by the absence in his narrative of spite or pettiness; by the affection shown to him by his native servants and by his messmates; and by his reluctance to be compelled to fight a duel with Iffuer Hansen (p. 99). On the whole he can be fairly credited with possessing the qualities he deemed essential for a long-distance traveller, namely, an even temper, docility, and meekness tempered with firmness.

The simplicity of Jón's nature made him an easy prey to the teller of tall stories, which he accepted without question. Thus he believed that a beaver could not sleep unless its tail

was in the water (p. 105): that there were man-eaters with horrid rites on the north-west of Africa (p. 52): that Hottentots were also cannibals (p. 72): and that there was a serpent, "the size of a small whale," in Java, only visible on Christmas Eve (p. 167). He gravely assures us that a man with eighteen barbed arrows "firmly set in flesh and sinews" could yet swim ashore (p. 9): that the books of an Indian sorcerer were made of human skin (p. 161): and that a nude man and woman wandered about the palace at Tanjore with "a large iron bolt driven through the calves of both of them" (p. 137). It is unfortunate that neither the log of the *Christianshavn* nor that of the *Pearl* has survived, and consequently there are no means of confirming these and many other incidents which Jón tells us were entered in the "Journal." It would be interesting to compare a seaman's account of the turtle that carried nine men from the church to the fortress gate (p. 146) and Jón's valorous encounter with a cobra (p. 164), with the author's own version of these events.

The superstition of the period and the belief in omens, dreams and sorcery loom largely in the narrative, as in the mischance to Jón when joining his ship (p. 31), the death of the first mate of the *Christianshavn*, "wrought by magical arts and spells" (p. 36), the author's "dire dream" presaging the damage to the *Pearl* (p. 210), and the sad fate of Cornelius the carpenter, a victim of sorcery (pp. 161–2).

Jón appears to have been but little affected by climatic conditions. On the outward journey he tells us that he remained in good health, and in India he seems to have escaped with only a slight attack of the dysentery which took such heavy toll of his companions. His tale of sickness and mortality resulting in the death of two-thirds of the garrison in the rainy season of 1623 makes sorry reading and is an instance of the effect of errors in diet and heavy drinking in a hot climate. On the homeward voyage Jón's accident and subsequent illness precluded him from accurate observation, and here we are fortunate in having access to the Diary of the chaplain,

Mads Rasmussen, whose sober statements serve as a check on those of our author.

That the voyage of the *Pearl* was a disastrous one and that her crew and passengers encountered great danger and suffered much privation is undoubtedly true; but had the *Pearl* been as extensively damaged as Jón would lead us to believe, she must have foundered at sea. As it was, it was almost a miracle that she kept afloat until a new rudder could be fixed, and that with her sick and disabled crew she eventually reached the Irish coast.

Of the kindness and hospitality shown to the half-starved and ailing travellers by the inhabitants of Youghal Jón has much to say. His delight in his safety and his restoration to health was tempered by the loss of his beloved captain, Christoffer Boye, who died two days after being put ashore. Jón tells us that he had an "honourable funeral," but no confirmation has been found of the ringing of "a great iron bell which had not been rung for thirteen years" as a mark of respect to his memory (p. 225). Christoffer Boye was not the only sufferer to die almost immediately after succour arrived. Many others followed him to the grave. Barely fifty per cent. of the *Pearl's* company survived and of these many were, according to Rasmussen, "in very frail health."

At Youghal Jón came in contact with a member of the crew of one of the ships manned by the pirate Captain Claes Campane, who was cruising in the neighbourhood, but from whose attentions the *Pearl* escaped. There, too, the refugees attracted the notice of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, to whom, in return for his kindness, Christian IV afterwards sent a gold chain and a medal bearing his portrait as a gift to the town of Youghal. With the condescension of the Earl Jón was greatly impressed, as well as with the entertainment he and his comrades received at the Earl's country seat (p. 233).

The remainder of the volume calls for little comment. It deals with the author's return to Copenhagen, minus his property, his efforts to obtain compensation for his injuries and losses, the intervention of the Prince Regent in his behalf,

his decision to repair to his native land, and his life in Iceland until his death in May 1679. Of this portion, the account of the raid on Iceland by the Barbary pirates in 1627 is the most important, as it contains details not found elsewhere.

Jón's closing years must have been a time of happiness for him, since his popularity never waned and his fame as a voyager to the East Indies was uncontested. It was nothing new for an Icelander to undertake a long and hazardous journey, for there was a continuous stream of Icelandic travellers over Europe during the Middle Ages. They went by sea to England and thence via France to the western passes of the Alps and so to Rome, braving many dangers in the way. But it was new for an Icelander to have journeyed to India and to have returned in safety. Hence Jón's notoriety in his own country.

The life of Jón Ólafsson (1595–1679) covered a rather longer period than that of the indefatigable English traveller Peter Mundy (1597–?1667). The two were utterly dissimilar both in character and writings, but to both we owe a debt of gratitude for pictures of seventeenth-century life and events in the East which are not elsewhere available.

A few words are necessary regarding two of the illustrations in this volume.

The plan of the fortress of Dansborg was procured through the kindness of Dr Sigfús Blöndal from the owner, Captain Fr. Thaulow, who permitted it to be photographed for the use of the Hakluyt Society. On this plan Dr Blöndal makes the following remarks: "So far as I can see, it is a copy, made in the first part of the eighteenth century, of a much older one, probably dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, which makes it almost contemporary with Jón Ólafsson's narrative. At any rate, the original must be considerably older than the plan of 1669 reproduced in my Danish translation. The reasons for this assertion are:

1. The plan of 1669 shows a well and some trees on the inside of the fortifications. It is specially noted that the trees were large and afforded considerable shadow. If then, in 1669, they were of a fair size, that plan must necessarily be at least some fifteen years older, probably more.

2. It may be objected that the plan reproduced in this volume gives the church, commandant's rooms, etc., which are not shown on the plan of 1669, but, as I mentioned in my explanations given in the Danish edition, that plan only shows the ground floor, where the magazines marked C were situated. The church etc. occupied the first floor. This plan (facing p. 110) shows the whole of the building, but only mentions the chief apartments on the first floor.

3. The water tank is shown on both plans, but is not marked specially on the plan of 1669, while on the older plan it appears as D.

4. Besides the trees and the well already mentioned, the plan of 1669 adds another well outside the kitchen and a cistern for bathing (marked I) which do not appear on the older plan.

The legend of the older plan is in German—a little 'Frenchified'—and may be translated as follows:

PLAN OF THE CASTLE OF DANSBURGH
IN THE EAST INDIES

A. The drawbridge.
B. The vaulted passage.
C. The two bastions.
D. The water tank.
E. Commandant's apartments.
F. The church.
G. Chaplain's apartments.
H. Merchants' apartments.
I. Guard room.
K. Rooms for private soldiers.
L. The prison.
M. The arsenal.
N. The kitchen.
O. The buttery.
P. The water gate.
Q. Powder magazine.
R. Pigeon house.
S. Forge.
T. Stables."

The picture (frontispiece) of the Danish man-of-war of similar build to the *Pearl* (in which Jón Ólafsson returned from India) forms plate 5 in *The Rigging of Ships* by R. C. Andersen (Marine Research Society, 1927). On this reproduction and on the *Pearl* itself Captain G. Holck, through whom Dr Blöndal obtained the illustration for the present volume, has supplied the following notes: "In R. C. Andersen's article the ship is dated 1625, but according to my researches the bonadventure mizzen had been abandoned in Danish ships before 1618. The *Pearl* was built at Enkhuysen in 1620 and offered to Christian IV in that year. Her dimensions were: length, 165 Amsterdam feet; beam inside, 38 ft.; hold, 15 ft.; with 60 guns in two tiers; of 500 lasts (a capacity of $500 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of grain), being built for commercial purposes as well as for war. Jón Ólafsson, in vol. I, p. 220,

gives her capacity as 700 lasts, but this is an overestimate. For her voyage to the East Indies she was only mounted with 32 guns in one tier."

As in vol. I, the translation is the work of Dame Bertha Phillpotts. For chapters XXVIII and XXIX, dealing with the storm at sea, she has had the help of two nautical experts, Mr R. C. Andersen, F.S.A., and Mr H. H. Brindley, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, to whom she desires to express her indebtedness for assistance with technical details. Dame Bertha Phillpotts, besides translating the notes in Dr Blöndal's Icelandic edition, has also annotated nearly the whole of the last section and has contributed various notes to the body of the volume. These last are distinguished by the letters B.S.P.

To all those scholars who have assisted in elucidating the author's puzzles, due acknowledgment has been given in the notes for which they are responsible. The authorities of the Natural History Museum and the Royal Botanic Gardens have, as usual, spared no trouble in tracking vague references to their sources. The translation of the portions of Ove Giedde's *Diary* and of the relevant passages in Kay Larsen's book is the work of Miss M. J. Bremner. The advice and assistance of the President, Sir William Foster, and that of Mr C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., throughout the work, and especially since the death of the editor, have been invaluable.

Lastly, and chiefly, hearty thanks are due to Dr Sigfús Blöndal, for whose help and collaboration Sir Richard Temple desired to place on record his deep indebtedness. In addition to the notes that have already appeared in his Icelandic edition, Dr Blöndal has contributed others of interest. These, when not under his name, are marked B. Dr Blöndal has, moreover, generously furnished a translation of the whole of Rasmussen's *Diary* for use in the notes and he has been the means of procuring the contemporary illustrations of the fortress of Dansborg and of the war-ship similar to the *Pearl*.

ADDENDUM TO VOL. I.

THOMAS TWIDD

At the time of the publication of vol. I nothing had been found regarding the Thomas Twidd, innkeeper at Harwich, with whom Jón Ólafsson came in contact in 1616 (pp. 20, 23, 24). Miss Ethel Seaton has since lighted on references to an individual of that name and a resident at Harwich, who is presumably identical with either the innkeeper or his father. The dates of the allusions which Miss Seaton has been good enough to supply are as follows:

24 December 1581. Thomas Twyde *re* precautions against Papists passing through Harwich (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1581–2, p. 500).

11 December 1587. Thomas Twitt *re* fortification of Harwich (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1581–90, p. 444).

3 and 5 February 1587/8. Thomas Tweede *re* contribution from the county of Essex and fortification of Harwich (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1587–8, pp. 351, 354).

24 March 1589. Thomas Twytt, a "sea-maister" and a man of "great experience" (*ibid.* 1589–90, p. 447).

23 September 1596. Thomas Twidd *re* transport of soldiers from Harwich to France (*ibid.* 1596–7, p. 196).

c. 1643. Thomas Twitt, a signatory to a letter on behalf of the towns of Colchester and Harwich (*Hist. MSS. Commn.*, Report VII, p. 562*a*, No. 744).

ERRATA TO VOL. I.

p. 129, note 2, line 1. *For* D.S.C. *read* D.S.O.

p. 217, l. 9. *For* take down *read* take in.

l. 15. *For* lowered *read* taken in.

l. 17. *For* lower away *read* take in.

l. 2 *from bottom, insert comma after* topgallant mast.

THE SECOND PART OF THIS STORY CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF MY VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES AND OTHER MATTERS RELEVANT THERETO

CHAPTER I

FIRST MUST BE MENTIONED WHAT CAUSES LED OUR KING CHRISTIAN IV, OF BLESSED MEMORY, TO BE PLEASED TO SEND THOSE FIVE SHIPS TO INDIA, WHICH WERE DESPATCHED (SO FAR AS MY MEMORY SERVES) IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1618, IN THE MONTH OF OCTOBER[1], AS IS RELATED IN THE FOLLOWING

IN that third part of the old world, Asia, in India beyond the Ganges, lies a large and very fertile island, called Ceylon. In it are nine kingdoms, which are all subject to one lord. The chief town, where the ruler of this land has his seat, is called in their tongue Colmucki[2]. It so chanced that about the date which we write 1616, a certain Christian man, Dutch by extraction, was in the service of this great sovereign and ruler[3], who took counsel with him on one occasion as to how he should deal with those Portuguese men, to whom he had some time before granted permission to settle in his neighbourhood to carry on commerce, as they do in many parts of India. He asked the Dutchman if he did not know of some king in

[1] Really November 1618.

[2] Dr Blöndal conjectures that Colmucki may be Colombo, but it seems more likely that it is some garbled form of Kandy, with whose ruler, Senevirat (1604–32) negotiations were carried on.

[3] Marcelis de Boschouwer, who had been sent by the Dutch to Senevirat in 1612 with offers of friendship, had concluded a treaty with that monarch and had remained at his court, being created "Marcelo, Prince of Migomuwa," with other high-sounding titles. It was in 1615, not 1616, that Boschouwer undertook his mission to Europe.

Europe, who could or would drive them out of the land, for he said that he had conceived a loathing for them because they had forced him, in his own dominions, to pay tribute to them, and, in defiance of his royal authority and express prohibition, had built three fine towns therein and fortified them with cannon, weapons, swords and powerful troops, so that he could not obtain his dues, and was thus obliged, reproached by his own conscience, to put up with their presumptuous and overbearing conduct[1]. To which the Dutchman made answer that he knew no more likely monarch than the noble King of Denmark, King Christian, for he did not send his ships to other lands, and was withal much inclined to wield authority and to carry on warfare. He was therefore entrusted with a mission thence to the Northern countries to bear thither the written message clearly set forth of this heathen King. He came first to Holland and first made such offers to the Government of that country as were contained in the King's letter, namely, to drive out the said Portuguese from Ceylon, in return for which he promised them their place, settlements and commerce, so long as they neither presumed against him, nor cowed him, nor exacted tribute. But since the people in Holland already had enough on their hands with their wide foreign commerce, and therefore refused the bountiful offer of this Emperor of Ceylon[2], the Dutchman at once proceeded to Denmark to seek audience of our gracious Lord and King, King Christian IV, and through an interpreter and go-between announced to him the contents, meaning and purport of this Ceylon King's missive. To this

[1] In 1612, the Portuguese, who had established a footing in Ceylon in 1518, alarmed at the growing ascendancy of the Dutch in the island, had massacred the Dutch garrison at Kottiar on the south of the bay of Trincomali, and Senevirat had subsequently avenged the attack on his allies. Later, however, the Portuguese again took the field and wrested from Boschouwer his province of Migomuwa. In 1614 also the Portuguese had assisted rebels, who had taken up arms against their sovereign, but in the same year their attempt on Kandy was frustrated and they were defeated with heavy loss.

[2] Boschouwer's application to the States-General was refused, partly on account of his arrogant bearing and partly because the Dutch were too preoccupied with the political complications that led to the Thirty Years' War to attend to his representation.

our Lord and King of blessed memory[1] made a friendly answer[2], and with the consent of the Council of Denmark, our King issued a letter, published throughout all his realm, which announced that all persons, whether men or women, willing to adventure their money on this voyage, as much or as little as they pleased, should be allowed to do so.

This declaration of the King was warmly received by many persons, both male and female, so that for this first Indian voyage many ship-owners readily produced their money, and even sempstresses contributed. Some contributed 60, 70, 80, 100, 200, 300, 400, 1000 or 2000 dollars, and no reckoning was to be held until twelve years had passed. For the said voyage five ships were fitted out with the utmost speed and with splendid gear, and beside all the crews, 300 soldiers were despatched. The chief, or the highest general, of that fleet was Erik Grubbe[3], who sold his family estate and all his lands and houses before he set out. And a noble maiden, who had pledged her love and faith to him, prepared to travel with him, at first, in a strange fashion, having clothed herself in the garb of a lad. But the vessels lay windbound at Kronborg [Helsingør, Elsinore] for a fortnight, and it so chanced that certain sailors became aware of this, and forthwith published it abroad, for which they nearly got into trouble. But since these twain had pledged their faith in such great love and affection and would allow none to part them, they were

[1] This remark is a proof that Jón wrote his narrative subsequent to the death of Christian IV, which occurred in 1648. See also the heading of this chapter.

[2] The negotiations between Christian IV and Boschouwer took place in 1617–18. On 20 March of the latter year a treaty was signed at Copenhagen and the expedition described by Jón was the immediate result of it. For an account of Boschouwer's relations with Christian IV and the terms of the treaty, see *The Danes in Ceylon* by P. E. Pieris, an introduction to Miss Mary Mackenzie's forthcoming translation of Ove Giedde's *Diary* of the expedition (*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.* XXX, p. 79, part 1).

[3] Jón is incorrect. The commander of the fleet was Ove Giedde. His *Diary* of the voyage and his account of the negotiations which took place in Ceylon and Tanjore are printed in J. H. Schlegel's *Sammlung zur dänischen Geschichte*, published in 1773 (of which at present no English translation exists), and the expedition is fully described from original documents by Kay Larsen in his *De Dansk-Ostindiske Koloniers Historie* (1907). Erik Grubbe did, however, go with the expedition.

joined together in holy wedlock. This noble lady lost her life in childbirth on the voyage[1].

The names of the ships were these: first, the *Christian*; second, the *Christianshavn*; third, the *Copenhagen*; fourth, the *David*; fifth, the yacht whose name I do not recall[2], on which travelled Rollant Crappe as merchant, having previously travelled seven times to India, and this being his eighth voyage thither[3]. Later he became General.

The messenger of the Ceylon King was commonly called ambassador. He was very arrogant, haughty and consequential. He had a priest with him of an evil appearance, with long thick hair reaching to his belt[4], and a lad who served them both. I was once sent by Grabow[5] to do business with this ambassador and had to stand outside the door of his lodging for fully three hours, and though I knocked three times at the door and the lad opened it, I might not be admitted until the ambassador himself ordered it. He was reading in a large volume whose boards and edges were gilded[6]. And when I came in and made my obeisance before

[1] Erik Grubbe (1597–1631) married, in November 1618, at Elsinore, Ingelborg, daughter of Hans Gere; she, as here narrated, came out to the fleet in male garb. She died in her confinement on the voyage, 22 July 1619, and the child immediately after. It was said that Grubbe went half mad from her loss. (B.)

[2] The names of the ships, imperfectly remembered by Jón, were the *Elephant* and *David*, men-of-war, the *Christian* and *Copenhagen*, merchant vessels, and a Dutch flyboat or fast-sailing coasting vessel. The yacht, the *Øresund*, had started earlier. From Ove Giedde's *Diary* (Schlegel, p. 78) we learn that the Dutch flyboat was sent back to Denmark on 10 April 1619.

[3] Rollant Crappe, a Dutchman, entered the Danish service on the formation of the Company in 1616, and it was probably at his suggestion that the expedition of 1618 was fitted out. He sailed in advance of the fleet, in command of the armed yacht *Øresund*, on 18 August (see Larsen, *op. cit.*). Crappe had certainly been in India earlier, for he was in Tanjore as a youth, but the story of his seven voyages to the East before 1618 must be an exaggeration.

[4] No confirmation of Jón's statement that the ambassador's attendant was a priest has been found and it is probably incorrect, but the remark on this man's "long thick hair reaching to his belt" shows that he must have been a native of Ceylon.

[5] Adolph Frederik Grabow, Chief Master of the Arsenal at Copenhagen, frequently mentioned in vol. I. He was Jón's principal officer, while he was a gunner at that city.

[6] Boschouwer appears to have adopted an Oriental bearing with a view to impressing the Danes. The volume he is described as reading was probably a Sinhalese sacred book on palm-leaves, with wooden covers, all gilded.

him, he asked first who I was, or whose servant, and thirdly what my business was with him, which I at once laid before him on behalf of the Chief Master of the Arsenal, namely that he should give himself the trouble of paying a visit to the Arsenal to examine and choose such bronze cannon as he desired to take to India. To this message of Grabow he replied curtly and with protests, but said that he would come nevertheless, if it pleased himself, when the clock struck one. Before he granted me leave to depart he had some *aqua vitae* of an excellent flavour poured into a silver tumbler for me, and after taking it, I took my leave with gratitude, wishing him farewell with an obeisance. After midday he came up to the Arsenal with his priest and his servant, and the gates were flung open for him as for the King's self or very great lords. But he mocked at it all, and when the officers of the Arsenal humbled themselves before him, he puffed himself up and did not uncover his head. And when he came to where the cannon were set out in a row in the yard, he struck them with his cane and placed a mark on them with chalk, and then walked haughtily off. He had no good name in the Arsenal thereafter. And now I will speak of him no more for a time.

But when those gunners, who had, at their own wish, had their names entered for this voyage, were to be mustered and removed from the Arsenal (my name also standing on that register) the King himself was present, and gave leave to those whom he wished to make that voyage, namely those who had recently entered the service and who were masters of various handicrafts; but as for those who were well tried and had served a long while, nought would serve him but that they must remain at home, willy-nilly. And although I had, like many others, been put to much expense in the matter, and most humbly pleaded to the King that I might be permitted to go, it was of no avail, and he refused my plea that time, but said I might still undertake that journey soon enough, as indeed happened. The King rated Grabow soundly for having allowed the best men to leave the Arsenal.

A certain worthy Icelander, Halldór Árnason[1] by name,

[1] He was the son of Árni Narfarson at Narfeyri. His brother Jón was a silversmith. See Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II, pp. 71, 72. (B.)

had agreed with me to go on this journey and we had pledged and bound ourselves to steadfast comradeship, so that I was much grieved at being thus parted from him, and he likewise. He went out on the ship *Christian* and I procured a good comrade for him on that vessel; but Halldór was not long for this world, for I heard later that he had died this side of Barbary[1]. And when his brother Jón Árnason came over to Denmark to seek news of him, he received the tidings of his decease, but not a single penny of his money, for the ship-owners declared that he had earned nothing, because he had died before the end of the two months' wage, which he, like all others who took the voyage, received from them before they set out from home.

Many a gallant lad set forth on this voyage, and many a young noble; also four females, who married before they started, for no unmarried woman might be received on board for that voyage. And on the way, two of them died in child-birth, one a noble lady[2], the other of humble birth.

[1] By Barbary Jón apparently means the north-east coast of Africa. The death of Halldór Árnason is not chronicled in Ove Giedde's *Diary*.

[2] The "noble lady" was Ingelborg, wife of Erik Grubbe, for whom see p. 4, n. 1. Her death is also not recorded in Ove Giedde's *Diary*. For the son of the other woman who died on the outward voyage, see *infra*, ch. IV, p. 27.

CHAPTER II

AND when they were clear of Norway they had a fair wind to England and to the Isle of Wight[1]. In England they took on board a very beautiful woman whose name was Temperance. She married on the instant the book-keeper or chief clerk, a worthy and excellent man, named Hieronymus[2].

And so they sailed from England and across the Spanish Main[3], as it is called, and got a fair wind, and so south past Barbary and to Black Land[4], to the place called Cabo Verde[5]: it is one of the place-names given by seafaring folk, and lies in Africa. Near there they captured a vessel called the *Patientia*, manned by pirates[6]. They took the ship with them to India, and a young lad belonging to its crew came back with them to Denmark: he was called Diamond[7]. They landed in many places to secure fresh meat wherewith to refresh their sick, it being of great value to those tried by such

[1] We learn from Ove Giedde's *Diary* (Schlegel, p. 61) that, at a General Council held on 14 November 1618, before the departure of the fleet from Denmark, orders were given that the first stopping-place should be off the Isle of Wight, where the ships were to remain for three weeks.

[2] Giedde's *Diary* contains no confirmation of this story, nor any mention of Hieronymus by name, but on 1 December 1621, when at Tranquebar, he notes (Schlegel, p. 100) that the book-keeper's wife wished to sail to Ceylon on the *Patientia*, whose capture is related below. Jón's story is therefore probably correct.

[3] The term "Spanish Main," properly the mainland of the north-east coast of South America from the Orinoco to the Isthmus of Panama, appears to be used here for the Bay of Biscay.

[4] By "Barbary and to Black Land" Jón means the north coast of Africa and thence to Senegambia.

[5] The Isle de May (Maio), Cape Verde Islands, was to be the second port of call for the fleet, and here and at subsequent stopping-places, at each of which three weeks' halt was enjoined, a wooden cross was to be set up, and behind it, five feet inland, a box containing letters was to be buried (Schlegel, p. 61).

[6] Ove Giedde (Schlegel, pp. 65–6) and Kay Larsen (pp. 16–17) give an account of the engagement resulting in the capture of the *Lion d'or*, subsequently named the *Patientia*, in the neighbourhood of the Cape Verde Islands, then notorious as a pirate haunt. A second ship, the *Prinsens Jagt*, whose name was changed to *Jaeger*, was also taken on this occasion.

[7] There is no mention of this lad in Ove Giedde's *Diary*.

long voyages. At one place, called Anabon[1], they landed for this purpose, namely to secure fresh food, but were not successful, for the natives treated them as if they knew not whence in the world they were come. But the crew made it clear that, according to the ancient usage of mariners and the habit of fighting men, they would lay hands on as much as should suffice them, if they could neither purchase at full price nor exchange. And the natives listened to their words and heeded them. After that the sailors returned to their ships and slept through the following night, paying no heed to the doings of the natives. And next morning men went ashore from the admiral's ship, accompanied by many soldiers; and when they reached the land, the soldiers and sailors were ordered by their officers to lay aside their weapons and fill with water the empty vessels they had brought with them. They obeyed this order, though unwillingly, and were fully engaged on their task, their weapons laid aside, suspecting nothing, when the natives fell upon them on three sides with bows, swords and spears. They could see no retreat save into the sea, but their boat lay moored somewhat far out, and only a few of the company could get at their weapons. So that in their flight fifteen men were slain, and the others had to swim for the boat, and many of them were wounded[2]. On one man,

[1] The island of Annobon lies in the Gulf of Guinea. The battle here narrated did not take place there, but at Portudal in Senegambia (Schlegel, p. 71). (B.)

[2] Jón's account of this engagement, obtained at second-hand, and related long afterwards from memory, is somewhat confused. From Ove Giedde's *Diary* (Schlegel, pp. 68–71) we learn that on 26 February 1619 an agreement was entered into at Portudal, by which the fleet was to obtain wood and water from the natives in exchange for iron bars. The natives failed to ratify the bargain and "defied us with threats." In consequence, on 8 March, "the King's envoy and people" were detained on board the commander's ship as hostages. Subsequent events are thus narrated by Ove Giedde (Schlegel, pp. 70–1):

"11 *March* 1619. I proceeded to land with Thyge Stygge and two lieutenants and an ensign, with fifty armed men and soldiers, to see whether the place was so situated that we could get our water without losing men. We found water in two places, but one was 100 and the other 1000 paces from the shore where our boats could lie. And, since I found that the nearest place was more convenient and safer than the other, I ordered water to be got there, although it was somewhat, but not very, brackish....But while the water at that place was being drawn, all the

by name Jens Piper, eighteen arrows were stuck fast when he got out to the ship, and they had to be cut out by the surgeon, for they were firmly set in flesh and sinews[1], so that he declared he suffered much from them and was long in healing in the surgeon's hands. These his eighteen scars I have myself felt and clearly discerned. He said that when he first fled from the shore and leapt into the sea, he had not been able to catch hold of the boat owing to the grip of two black men upon him, who had pursued him violently, jumping into the sea after him and holding him down to the bottom, with intent to put an end to him, which he said must certainly have happened, but for God's help and the circumstance that he got hold of his two jack-knives, with which he said he had killed them. And since he could swim somewhat, he ended by overtaking the boat, which had got a little way from land, and in the end the crew pulled him in[2].

In the morning they went ashore again, proposing to take vengeance on the natives, and they took much gear with

officers who were ashore, as well as all the men, demanded leave to fetch the fresh water from the other place, affirming (though unreasonably) that they would rather risk their lives in that way than die at sea from drinking salt water. They said they would keep such good watch that even if the inhabitants did make any attempt against them, it would be impossible to do them any injury. When finally I was obliged to grant their request I said openly before them all that they would all be killed if the inhabitants made any attempt against them, since they must have no expectation of assistance from the boats; wherefore they must be so much the more careful. And I went with them to the said place and divided the soldiers into three bands between the beach and the water, with an officer to each. But when I, with Thyge Stygge, had rowed out to the ships again, the ensign who commanded the middle body of soldiers left the place assigned to him and led his troop to the one which was nearest the shore. And moreover, not only went himself to the beach to bathe, but also allowed the soldiers under his command to do the same, so that only a few men were near their arms when they were attacked by the inhabitants. Wherefore ten of our men were wounded and thirty-one men killed and taken prisoner. Eleven of these we afterwards at different times got back, but even so, there remained twelve men in captivity among them, whom we could not recover."

[1] This means that the arrows were barbed, a common occurrence amongst savages.

[2] The hero of this story appears to have played upon the credulity of his companions. It was scarcely possible that, so much wounded as he is said to have been, with barbed arrows, he could have escaped in the manner narrated.

them. But they saw no man and durst not seek them out, for forces on their native soil oft-times multiply wondrously: and so they accomplished nothing. And since they saw no profit in tarrying longer, they came out to the ship and sailed away again the next day[1]. And a little later they landed at another place, called Caput de Leo. There they got some help for the healing of those who survived[2], but they had lost many of their people[3], for on account of the large numbers they started with, the crews became unruly and given overmuch to liquor, which was dangerous to health.

Now after they were come a long way, the evil ambassador of the Emperor of Ceylon began to try to lead them astray and alter their course, and wished to turn in another direction than Ceylon, for which their course was set. But when the helmsmen discovered what mischief he was up to, they and their officers protested vehemently and made a great to-do, seeing how much was at stake. And when he saw that his false design would not answer and could not be put into execution, he went into his separate cabin and brewed himself a draught of poison with which he destroyed himself. And they, noting the ugly looks of the priest, and knowing not what plan of vengeance he might hit upon (their lad having given them a

[1] Jón was incorrectly informed as to the after events of the fight. Ove Giedde tells us (Schlegel, p. 73) that he endeavoured to land in order to arrange for the ransom of his captured men, or to deliver them by force, but failed on account of "the breakers which began more than three musket-shots from shore; wherefore we were all in great danger, but escaped without damage, each to his ship, and thereupon set sail." On 20 March 1619 Giedde anchored off Cape Verde and on the 30th the Portudal "Alcair" (Sp. *alcaide*, governor), who had been detained as a hostage, was surrendered to the "Alcair" of Cape Verde, in exchange for some of the captives.

[2] Dr Blöndal conjectures that "Caput de Leo" represents Cape Lopez in French Congo, but there is no evidence that the fleet anchored anywhere between Cape Verde and the Cape of Good Hope. It seems more probable that "Caput de Leo" is the Lion's Head, one of the two wings of the front of Table Mountain (see Mundy, ed. Temple, II, p. 325). It was on 4 July 1619 that Table Mountain was sighted and it was at the Cape that Ove Giedde landed his numerous sick men (Schlegel, pp. 81, 83).

[3] Ove Giedde reports (Schlegel, p. 88) that when he sailed from the Cape, on 4 August 1619, he had lost about 200 men out of the fleet and had "still quite a multitude of sick, who were brought to the ships from the land; the majority of these afterwards died."

hint), hanged him forward on the bowsprit; and so these persons are now out of our story[1].

[1] Jón is in error regarding the end of Boschouwer, whose relations with Giedde were acrimonious from the beginning. On this Pieris (*op. cit.* pp. 171–2) remarks: "Unfortunately the Admiral was wanting in that tact which was essential for the maintenance of harmonious relations with the haughty Envoy, while his excessive severity soon made him disliked among the men. The friction culminated in a violent scene at Table Bay, where the Admiral attempted to intercept the correspondence which Boschouwer was sending to Copenhagen by the English fleet which was met at that port. The result was that when the fleet set sail again, the *David* slipped away from her companions and made her way to Stephen van Hagen's Bay [Ceylon] where she arrived in September 1619. Here Boschouwer, who had been ailing for some time, as well as his little son, died." There is no evidence that the envoy's death was due to poison nor any allusion in Ove Giedde's *Diary* to a companion who could represent Jón's "priest."

CHAPTER III

NOW they reach Ceylon with their five ships, having sent the yacht away shortly before[1]. Rollant Crappe was well acquainted with all India[2] and was therefore able to find his way in most parts; but before they parted, they promised to visit him, if their health was spared, as soon as they should have made some progress with the business in hand[3].

We will begin by telling how they struck their yards and dropped their anchors off Ceylon. At once the before-mentioned Erik Grubbe made ready to visit the Emperor[4]; and at first he was well received, and with the interpreter[5] and go-between he explained to the Emperor the errand he was on, on behalf of the King of Denmark; and he made a great deal of his prowess which would soon be displayed and proved on the Portuguese. These big words and boastings made by him and others were not long in reaching the ears of the Portuguese chiefs. But while Erik Grubbe was sojourning with the Emperor of Ceylon, a terrible storm bore down on the Danish vessels, so that the admiral's ship *Christian* (if I remember rightly) was lost[6], on which all the money was kept for the purchase of necessaries for all the vessels. But the

[1] Giedde, with three ships, the *Elephant*, the *Christian* and the *Patientia*, anchored off Panawa on 19 May 1620, the *Copenhagen* and *David* having preceded him. The yacht *Øresund*, in which Rollant Crappe sailed, had, as previously stated, left Europe before the fleet.

[2] This is, of course, a great exaggeration. By "India," in this instance, only the extreme south is meant.

[3] This statement is incorrect. Giedde and Crappe had no personal intercourse at this time and it was not until early in June that letters were received from the latter through the mate of his yacht (Schlegel, p. 112).

[4] Jón has confused Erik Grubbe with Ove Giedde.

[5] Giedde had his first audience with the King of Kandy on 17 August 1620, his interpreter being Morten Finche, who translated Giedde's German into Portuguese.

[6] Jón is wrong. The *Elephant*, and not the *Christian*, was the "admiral's ship." Giedde learnt of the loss of the *Christian* on 21 March 1621 and also that the "crew had divided the money among themselves" (Schlegel, pp. 132, 133). On the following day he sent "the skipper of the *Elephant* with boats to the wreck of the *Christian*," but all they could see of her was "the mast, with the foresail, the yard and the main topmast, nothing of which could, however, be salved."

other four received no injury, among them the French vessel *Patientia*. So there they stood helpless, and all their soldiers had to give themselves up to their enemies, and were scattered far and wide about those places and towns where the Portuguese had their trade; and they were treated like captives. And when Erik Grubbe returned from the Emperor he was helpless and could succour himself or others less than not at all, when the soldiers demanded pay and victuals[1]. Thereupon he repaired again to the Emperor of Ceylon, and promised on his life to return within three weeks; but they waited for him twelve weeks and he never came; and thus dishonourably did he palter with his life and reputation, and has remained there since with his servant, wandering in forests and deserts like a lost sheep, living by the chase and by the help of the King, which yet was given secretly on account of the wrath of the Portuguese, who bore a fierce grudge against him. But at such times as ships were expected from Denmark, he would bid his servant lie in wait for them, and they would let him have somewhat for his nourishment and clothing, especially a few shirts. But never durst he meet them himself, and if he had come to them and yielded himself up into the King's power, they would certainly have taken him to their fortress in India and never have brought him back to Denmark. And so we need say no more of him[2].

[1] Jón's account of the doings of the Danes in Ceylon in 1620–21 is naturally confused and defective, since at best it was but a hearsay story, related many years after it was handed down to him. A clear narrative of the events and the treaty eventually concluded with Senevirat, drawn from Ove Giedde's *Diary*, is given by Pieris (*op. cit.* pp. 171–80).

[2] Jón's information regarding Erik Grubbe is somewhat incoherent. The facts are as follows. After his return from Kandy, Giedde left Grubbe to superintend the building of a fort on the ground acquired from Senevirat, while he himself proceeded to Tanjore. When he came back to Trincomali in the following year and found nothing done, he despatched Grubbe to Kandy with messages and letters to the King, in the hope of inducing him to fulfil his promise to supply men and materials and of seeing some result of the negotiations before sailing for Europe. Grubbe failed to return at the appointed time and Giedde was compelled to leave India without any news of him. As a matter of fact, Grubbe had accomplished nothing in Kandy and did not venture to come back and confess that his mission had proved abortive. He roamed about in Ceylon for a considerable time, but eventually must have found his way to the Coromandel Coast and the Danish Colony there, as about 1625 he was employed by Crappe in various diplomatic missions. See Dr Blöndal's note 1 on p. 195 of vol. II of the Icelandic version of Ólafsson's *Travels*, and Larsen, p. 22.

And we must now tell how these five ships[1] left Ceylon to seek out their yacht [the *Øresund*], on which Rollant Crappe was merchant, as was mentioned before. At first when they had passed Ceylon they sailed in a north-easterly direction, until they came off the Coast of Carmandel [Coromandel Coast], where stands the Danish fortress called Dansborg[2]. There they learnt that the yacht had first come to land about four miles from where this fortress now stands. Close by is a fortress called Nicopotan [Negapatam], where the Portuguese were in possession. They sent out four vessels from the fortress to discover what manner of men these were who had newly arrived, and when those on board the yacht told them the truth, that they had been sent out by the Danish King, they would not believe them and took them prisoners, treating them harshly; and they sailed the yacht ashore, so that it was wrecked. The crew got ashore on planks and so saved their lives. Then they were seized and made prisoners and all their goods carried to this said fortress, and according to the custom of war all the crew were scattered far and wide through India to all their [the Portuguese] trading stations. But four of the ship's officers, namely the captain and the master, the chief merchant and the one next to him, the master-gunner and Søren Knappstop[3] (who told me this tale more fully than I have time to set it forth) were sent under a guard to the King at Travanzour [Tanjore], and there they were kept under observation and in gentle confinement until these other vessels came to the country Carmandel [Coromandel Coast] making enquiries as to what had become of the yacht and her crew[4]. And when they learnt what had

[1] Giedde had still five ships, as the loss of the *Christian* did not occur until his return from the Coromandel Coast.

[2] The fortress of Dansborg, subsequently erected on the ground granted to the Danes at Tranquebar by the Nāyak of Tanjore. Ove Giedde records (Schlegel, p. 121): "We anchored off the town Trangebari [Tranquebar] which has since been called Dannisborg." On 16 December 1621 he appointed overseers "to see that the rampart was properly made and the sods well laid" (p. 125).

[3] Dame Bertha Phillpotts tells me that Søren Knappstop (Knabstaab) died before 1656, when his widow is mentioned in O. Nielsen's *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium*, I, p. 49.

[4] The main facts, taken from Ove Giedde's *Diary* and Kay Larsen

happened, with all details, such as have been here related in briefest fashion, all the officers of the ships gathered together on shore with no delay, at the place called Carical[1], where the ship lay, about four miles below the spot where the fortress now stands. This Carical is a port inhabited by fishermen, and shall be spoken of later if God gives time and opportunity[2]. And so these Danish gentlemen left Carical with a fair company, as soon as they had come ashore from their ships, and repaired to Travanzour, where was the seat and government of the Indian King[3], and the distance thither was fully forty-eight miles[4]. And when the King received news of their approach, he had his palaces decorated, and the gateways and streets swept and adorned in gala array. This royal city Travanzour is large and of a great circumference with eleven gateways, each further in than the last, and at each gateway

(pp. 17–18), are as follows: On his arrival off Ceylon in May 1620, Giedde learned "that our yacht had been captured by the Portuguese and that they [the yacht's crew] had previously taken five Portuguese sampans [native boats] laden with areca" and that the captain with thirteen men survived, unhurt. Some of the crew had been taken prisoners and two of them executed as pirates. With the thirteen survivors Rollant Crappe repaired to the Nāyak of Tanjore, who took him under his protection. On 2 June the mate of the yacht came on board the *Elephant* bringing letters from Crappe (Schlegel, p. 112), in consequence of which Giedde prepared to leave Ceylon in order to meet Crappe on the Coromandel Coast.

[1] Kārikāl (*kāraikhāl*, fish pass), in Tanjore District. On 15 September 1620 Giedde records (Schlegel, p. 121): "We anchored two sea-miles away, near a town called Karchal [Kārikāl], which might well be called Kracheel [swindle], where the Portuguese seized our yacht *Øresund*."

[2] See *infra*, p. 18 and ch. IV, p. 25.

[3] By the "King of Travanzour" Jón means the Nāyak of Tanjore (not Travancore), at that date, Raghunātha. It will be noted that, throughout his MS., Jón persistently writes "Travanzour" for Tanjore. On this Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar has remarked to me: "In the early part of the seventeenth century the prevalent name of the Tanjore country was, as in modern times, Tanjāvūr, of which the Anglo-Indian term Tanjore is a corruption. Travanzour is nothing more than Tanjāvūr by metathesis, with an *r* interpolated, as often happens when Europeans try to pronounce Oriental names. The classical name of the place was, and is, Tanjai (also called Tanjaimānagar), and this form is occasionally used with *tiru* (= Skt. *srī*, prosperous) as a prefix. But a traveller, such as Jón Ólafsson, is not likely to have heard the classical Tirutanjai, which, moreover, would be more difficult to transform phonetically into Travanzour than Tanjāvūr, and would besides be regarded as an absurd combination of a popular name with a classical prefix."

[4] Actually, about forty English miles.

were two elephants, *fílar* as the Indians call them[1], and two guards who direct them for whatever purpose they may be needed[2]. They passed through these eleven gateways, all the chief men among them being borne in *palakíns*[3], that is beds of the shape of this figure: [4]: most of them being made of ivory, and others of precious woods, and each having twelve men set apart to bear it, but only four carry it at the same time; so there are three sets to take it in turns. The King ordered his fighting men, who are there called *talíaris*[5], to line a certain street, with sword at side and spear in hand, all the way from the city walls to the King's hall and palace. Then he sent his gentlemen to receive them [the Europeans] and conduct them into the royal palace. And the interpreter, who was appointed for them, went to and fro between them and the King, with deep obeisance, bearing the words of each to the other, as the conversation proceeded between them. The five men and the captain's servant had been released at once, as soon as the news of their arrival was brought, and the King acknowledged that all the report of their journey had been true; and he praised their truthfulness very highly. He entertained them with much honour for a fortnight, and had great compassion on their misfortunes. He displayed to them all his glory, jewels and treasures, and at times they would accompany him to the playing-fields, and there be shown all kinds of games, sports and trials of skill,

[1] This is a particularly interesting statement. Dame Bertha Phillpotts informs me that *fill*, plu. *fílar*, is Icelandic for "elephant," brought over quite early from the Persian *fīl* or *pīl*. *Fīl* is similarly also a common Indian term for "elephant" from the Persian: *e.g. do zanjīr-i-fīl*, two chain of elephants (two elephants), where the expression "chain" is a numeral coefficient. The native Indian word (through Sanskrit) is *hāthī*. Jón probably added "as the Indians call them" from his recollection that the Icelandic and Indian terms were identical, and perhaps because few of his readers were likely to know what an elephant was.

[2] This is a hearsay description of the old fort at Tanjore, which is still in good preservation. The eleven gateways, each guarded by two elephants, were probably a stretch of imagination on the part of Jón's informant.

[3] For the history of the term palanquin, of which *palakín* is an interesting form of the vernacular *pālki*, see Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, s.v. Palankeen. The terminal *n* is due to Portuguese influence, and *palakín* is nearer to the vernacular than *palanquin, palankeen*.

[4] Illustration [in Icelandic ed. p. 198] from *MS. Lbs.* 723, 4to. (B.)

[5] Taliar, taryar (Tam. *talaiyāri*), a South Indian watchman.

such as are practised in that land, sometimes the old custom of slaves wrestling (with the life of him at stake who should be overcome, for he might come to the captive's rock and be put to death on the steel blade which lies across it). Furthermore, tame elephants fought, standing upright on their hind legs, and it was esteemed great sport to watch them[1].

He himself and his son or daughter exhibited all his gold, silver and jewels to them with great humility and condescension. His precious stones were kept with special wrappings in the river which flowed by the gable-wall of his sleeping-chamber[2]. They were drawn up as from a well in gilded buckets and exhibited to them. Each had its own name, which I do not clearly recall, save for the best-known, such as emerald, turquoise, diamond, ruby, sapphire and three kinds of crystal, and cats' eyes[3].

And amid his other talk, the King grieved over the misfortunes of their expedition, and thought that the Danish King would be the less inclined to try a new mission, since the first had turned out so ill. But yet, in his great pitifulness, he said he would make an attempt and let them have 3000 florins in the Danish King's name, with which to buy a cargo for one ship, so that they should not return quite empty-handed, but with this condition, that he should receive the full amount from them again, or useful wares to the same value[4].

[1] This fight, to which Ove Giedde alludes, was really between elephants and buffaloes, and took place on 12 November 1620. (See Schlegel, Negotiations at Tanjore, p. 90). The reference to the "captive's rock" is obscure and is probably due to Jón's imperfect recollection of what he was told.

[2] By "the river" Jón probably means the moat, now filled up, by which the fort was then surrounded.

[3] Here again Jón's account is confused. Of course no daughter of a Hindu Nāyak would be present at such an exhibition. Giedde's description of the occurrence (Schlegel, p. 93) is as follows: "On 16 November 1620, I was with the Naik at noon and he had all the gold and jewels shown to me, which he and his 365 wives used. It was great in amount but poor gold. The stones were large but full of flaws and unwrought. Among them were great strings of pearls and large ornaments with uncut diamonds, emeralds, cats' eyes, sapphires, jacinths and rubies, which I greatly praised, although such praise was undeserved, except for quantity. At which he was very much pleased."

[4] For a summary of the negotiations between Giedde and the Nāyak of Tanjore and for the text of the treaty concluded between them, see the Appendix to this chapter. Jón's story of the advance to the Danes of 3000 florins (a currency unknown in Tanjore, unless rupees are meant) has no foundation in fact.

And secondly, this heathen King desired to make a treaty with the King of Denmark, that a ship should come out from Denmark every year with those wares which he most desired, namely silver and lead. The which agreement they willingly entered into, trusting in the King of Denmark, and on these terms the heathen King promised them a full cargo of Indian wares for the Danish King's ships, *viz.*, pepper, precious stones, and all kinds of gold and silver cloth, copper, black lead[1], silk and cotton, also the dye which is called indigo and is made out of the ashes of some herb[2] and is very precious, and many other things which I forget.

Thirdly, in pursuance of the said treaty, the heathen King lent [us, for] our King, a pleasant and smooth place by the sea, four miles south-east[3] of the little fishing town Carical which I spoke of before, where the Danish ships first came to land, and whence the Danish gentlemen proceeded to Travanzour. Close to this pleasant place lay a fair little town called Trangobarich[4], which to-day lies a bowshot from the fortress, and the King gave permission to build and erect this fortress within defined limits. The which fortress [Dansborg] was 360 fathoms in circumference, and with four towers, one at each corner or bastion of the wall, and one large tower, which was later erected on the new church within the walls.

Fourthly, the heathen King promised to choose out and appoint from among his own subjects a master-mason and 500 men to work until the said fortress was finished, but the Danes were themselves to pay their wage, and the fortress was to be built according to Danish prescription. That country contains the best and most skilful master-masons.

Fifthly, this King ordered that all suits which arose in the

[1] Graphite from Ceylon.

[2] By "ashes" Jón means "sediment." See Mundy's account of the "Makeing of Indico," II, pp. 221–3.

[3] Really north-east.

[4] Tranquebar, Tarangambādi (Skt. *Taranga*, "wave" and Tam. *pádi*, "village"), a place against which the breakers dash. Ove Giedde records (Schlegel, p. 121): "On the 13th [September 1620] we anchored off the town Trangebari, which has since been called Dannisborg, and found the ship *Copenhagen* before us."

town should be dealt with in the fortress, and that all the law-courts of the town should be removed thither.

Sixthly, the King gave and appointed all those tolls by land and by sea to which the town had a rightful claim[1].

Seventhly, the heathen King made the condition that all the said wares which might come from the King of Denmark or from the Company were first to be offered and traded and sold to him and to his commissioners. In return he promised that the royal vessels from Denmark should secure a sufficient cargo from the country every time they came, of all specified wares, whatever they might be.

Eighthly, the Indian King made the condition that all Indian natives should be left in peace and quiet by the Danes wherever they should meet or consort together. But if this condition was infringed, so that the Danes either struck or killed Indians of that country, it would involve the banishment of all Danes, and the forfeiture of all their goods.

Ninthly, the Indian King made the condition that the Danes should slaughter no cattle there: this he strictly forbade on pain of life and outlawry. The meat they might bring with them from Denmark was to be allowed them for their food, and they might partake of all other meat, both of beasts and birds.

Tenthly, the King strictly forbade the Danes to enter into the Indians' *Pagógas*[2], churches or idol-houses: if any person or persons broke this rule, it was at the stake of their life or of outlawry.

The Danes agreed willingly to the above and other minor matters and stated conditions. And eleventhly, and lastly, to support this King in case of need, against other neighbouring heathens, if they could conveniently do so without great hindrances, loss or damage[3]. And all this being agreed upon,

[1] Jón seems to have thought that all the local customs were ceded to the Danes.

[2] *Pagóga* is a curious form of Pagoda, temple.

[3] The terms of the treaty with the Nāyak of Tanjore are detailed so fully by Jón that it would appear he had actually seen the document. Unfortunately, however, for our author, the actual terms of the agreement, dated 19 November 1620, between the Nāyak and Ove Giedde, are printed in Schlegel, p. 133, and Kay Larsen, pp. 167–9, and bear no resemblance

ratified by clasp of hands[1], and signed, the Indian King sent his written greeting on golden paper[2] to the King of Siam, 2400 miles away, with one of the Danish vessels, the *Copenhagen*, which was of 300 lasts[3], and urgently requested him to provide the vessel as quickly as possible with produce of the country, and that merely at his request, promising him his goodwill and help if needed, in return.

The Siamese King carried out his part well, so that the ship got a full cargo. And the Siamese King offered the King of Denmark such terms and conditions as could best be granted by himself and his subjects, in such matters as permission to settle, and honourable conditions for trading. And in order to prove his good faith and earnestness, he took seven men from this vessel the *Copenhagen*, and conferred on them houses and the right of settlement, granting them what they most needed, and proclaiming their lives to be especially sacred among his subjects[4].

whatever to Jón's recollections. This seems to indicate that he put into documentary form what was really only camp talk about the terms on which the Danes held Tranquebar. The true version has therefore been translated and added as an Appendix to this chapter.

[1] Here we seem to have an allusion to the custom of settling bargains by clasp of hands under a cloth, which is as common in India as it is in some parts of Europe.

[2] By "golden paper" Jón means the Oriental paper, covered with figures of flowers in gold leaf, used by the great for their letters.

[3] "Last," an obsolete term indicating two tons (but occasionally, as in the quotation given in the *O.E.D.* for 1643, only one ton) used in the measurement of a ship's burden.

[4] Jón's account of commercial relations between Siam and the Danes is confirmed by Kay Larsen who states (p. 22): "With the Nāyak of Tanjore as intermediary, a treaty had been concluded with the King of Siam, which gave the Danes freedom to trade in his land. The Viceroy of Tenasserim (which at that time belonged to Siam) confirmed this licence and everything tends to show that Rollant Crappe procured in Tenasserim the valuable cargo of pepper which he sent home in the *Copenhagen* in the autumn of 1621." Further confirmation of the settlement of members of the crew of the *Copenhagen* in Tenasserim will be found in chap. xv. Though the treaty as given by Jón in such circumstantial fashion clearly purports to refer to that drawn up between the Nāyak of Tanjore and the Danes, it might possibly refer to the "terms and conditions" which he states were arrived at between the King of Siam and the Danes. No details, however, of these nor of "the treaty" referred to by Kay Larsen are forthcoming, and so those contained in Jón's text must remain unconfirmed.

Siam is a vast country. It contains eight kingdoms, notably Siam and seven others. Tenasseri is in the Kingdom of Pegu; and it was near there that these seven men remained whom I have just mentioned. This kingdom Pegu has more than six royal realms under it. From the Danish fortress Dansborg it is 2400 miles to Tenasseri[1].

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

OVE GIEDDE'S PROCEEDINGS IN TANJORE

Ove Giedde's own account of his negotiations in Tanjore, given at length in Schlegel (part 3, pp. 75–117), is prolix and confusing. His experiences with Raghunātha, the reigning Nāyak, at whose court he remained from 28 October to 20 November 1620, resembled those with Senevirat of Kandy in the early part of the year, and he was equally impatient with the vacillation displayed and the delays he was forced to endure. In this case, however, he did obtain certain advantages, the outcome of prolonged conferences being the signing of a commercial treaty (a copy of which is appended below), the grant of the district of Tarangambādi, known to Europeans as Tranquebar, with permission to erect the Fort subsequently called Dansborg, and the promise of a consignment of pepper for his ship's lading.

Rollant Crappe, whom (as stated above, note 4 on p. 14) the Nāyak had befriended, had already ingratiated himself at Tanjore and alleged that the town of Tranquebar was a personal gift to him and the survivors of the yacht *Øresund*. This led to altercation and fierce opposition on the part of Giedde, who claimed the grant on behalf of his royal master. In the end, Crappe gave way, amicable relations were restored, and on Giedde's departure for Denmark in June 1621, he guaranteed indemnity to his rival for the loss of the yacht and left him in command of the infant settlement at Tranquebar.

[1] Jón's fairly accurate remarks on Siam and her dependencies in the seventeenth century were probably derived from members of the crew of the *Copenhagen*. He has, however, unnecessarily and incorrectly brought "Pegu" into the narrative. In the sixteenth century Pegu was the capital of the Burmese princes of Toungoo, and early in the seventeenth century was subdued by Ava. Tenasserim did not then belong to it, but to Siam itself.

TRANSLATION OF THE TREATY AS GIVEN IN SCHLEGEL AND KAY LARSEN BETWEEN THE NĀYAK OF TANJORE AND OVE GIEDDE ON THE PART OF CHRISTIAN IV OF DENMARK, DATED 19 NOVEMBER 1620

1. We Ragonado Naigus [Raghunātha Nāyak], King of Tanjore and all surrounding lands, make known for us and our descendants Ragonados and Kings in Tanjore, in what manner His Excellency our beloved friend and ally, Christian the Fourth, etc., has most graciously despatched to these lands in India his ambassador Herr Ove Giedde, who now has happily arrived here and asks on behalf of Your Royal Majesty a lasting peace and alliance. And because we approve such a friendly and peaceful request, we have agreed after careful deliberation to these points following:

2. His Majesty of Denmark's subjects or Company shall always have freedom to trade throughout our territories without hindrance or the payment of duties.

3. We will always defend and favour the subjects of His Majesty of Denmark in their religion, called Religio Augsburgica [the Lutheran Religion in accordance with the Confession of Augsburg, 1530].

4. We will always defend the Danes in the whole of our territory against all enmity.

5. The Danes shall be allowed to trade, not only with our own subjects but also with those of foreign nations.

6. Our subjects shall never falsely alter nor unjustly sell their merchandise to the subjects of His Majesty of Denmark.

7. We will never allow any other Europeans or other Indians in their name to trade or attempt to trade or deal in merchandise or traffic in any of our lands except only the Danes and the Portuguese in Negapatam.

8. The Danes shall always be permitted to trade throughout our territories with His Majesty of Denmark's silver currency, called *coronas Danicas* [Danish crowns] as also with Larinas of silver [silver larins] of Ceylon. Each *Corona* shall be worth 14 or 15 *fanous* [*fanams*] of gold, according to its [exchange] value.

9. All those who trade with base coin shall be punished with death, and further their goods and possessions shall be confiscated, those of the Danes to His Majesty of Denmark and those of our subjects to us.

10. His Majesty of Denmark shall have jurisdiction in these territories over his subjects who are guilty of crime, as occasion requires, just as we ourselves have over our subjects.

11. The inhabitants of Tranquebar and the inhabitants of Negapatam shall always be friendly in these territories to all.

12. If any disaster happens to any sampans [junks or native craft] or other ships of His Majesty of Denmark through tempests or other misfortunes in our country or harbours, such wrecks, as also all goods on board them, shall belong to His Majesty of Denmark and to his subjects only and to no one else.

13. The village called Tranquebar shall be in the hands of the King of Denmark during the next two following years, but on condition that the proceeds from the foreign sampans and from foreigners who desire to sell or buy their goods in this village are collected by us, unless we make a separate arrangement.

14. His Majesty of Denmark and his subjects and members of his Company may also build fortresses in the same place at their pleasure; moreover we will assist them with as much lime and stone as they need in the building of such fortresses.

15. The Danes shall never (after the aforesaid two years are over) carry in their ships any goods or merchandise belonging to other nations so that we may not be deprived of the proceeds or dues.

Written in our Royal Town of Tanjore on 19th November 1620.

EXPLANATIONS

Paragraph 7 further declares (which is my [Ove Giedde's] demand) that we will never allow the Dutch, English or French to trade or deal in any merchandise nor have any traffic in any of our lands.

1. That the Danes and Portuguese shall always be friends in our lands and seaports and that neither shall make war on or do damage to the other.

4. That His Majesty of Denmark and his subjects may also build a fort on the same place [Tranquebar] for the security of their goods which they have there, and for this purpose we are to give them no lime nor stone, but they are to bear the expense themselves.

The three explanations appended above are those which Rollant Crappe brought into order after Ove Giedde's departure from Tanjore.

The eighth clause shows that a middle way was found in the matter of the Danish crowns and their value was fixed at 14–15 *fanous*, as Giedde was to pay them out for 15 *fanous* and the Naik to accept them at 14.

The eleventh clause and its repetition in the appended explanations show how important it was to the Nāyak in trading with the Danes to retain at the same time the trade with the Portuguese. It was therefore always an advantage to us that the Nāyak promised in the seventh clause to allow no other foreign trading in his territory and in the explanations explicitly shut out Dutch, English and French.

CHAPTER IV

NOW I return to my story where the Indian King escorted these Danish grandees from his royal city with gifts and presents, and in all honour; and they took with them a royal letter from him to our King, couched in the most friendly language, to establish what we have said before[1]. Thence they repaired to Trangobarich, where the fortress was then to be erected, and the King kept all his promises which he had made to them, both with regard to a master-mason and labourers, tile-burners, plasterers and timber-cutters, and whatever else was needed[2], and also that all kinds of wares and victuals, both from sea and land, should be sold within the fortress.

And in this fortress strict justice and ordinances were established[3] in every point according to Christian wont and the praiseworthy custom of the military, as shall be touched upon later. The five men also returned to their company (those who had previously been confined in Travanzour [Tanjore]) from the yacht, which the Portuguese had, with their vessels from Nicopatam [Negapatam] forced to run on shore, to its damage and total wreck, to the south-west of Carical. These five were Rollant Crappe, the ship's master and the master-gunner, the trumpeter and their servant[4].

[1] Giedde records (Schlegel, pp. 77, 97) the receipt of presents of coloured cloth from the Nāyak, and also the receipt, through Crappe, on 24 November 1620, of a letter from Tanjore regarding the revenue of Tranquebar, but there is no mention of any communication from the Nāyak to Christian IV.

[2] The only allusion in Giedde's *Diary* to labour for the fort is an entry on 24 December 1620 (Schlegel, p. 126): "On the 24th I made an agreement with some masons to build at their own expense a vaulted gate for Dannisborg, which was to be 17 ells long, 5 ells wide, the guard house 8 ells long, 6 ells wide and 4 ells high. For this I promised them 55 dollars, but on condition that they had it finished within 40 days thereafter." Kay Larsen, however, remarks on the difficulties experienced in the erection of the fort and says (p. 20) that the "materials had to be brought from a distance since the Nāyak would not furnish stones and lime."

[3] Jón is referring to the Danish regulations for the government of the fortress and its inmates.

[4] As stated above, note 4 on p. 14, Crappe and the thirteen survivors of the *Øresund* had been protected in Tanjore and were not treated as prisoners.

Thereupon they anchored their vessels off the spot where the fortress was being erected, a short way from Trangobarich, the town which lies close to it. They cut up the French ship they had captured[1] to make those small huts which were erected within the fortress, to serve the garrison for sleeping-quarters[2]. A Rector[3] or chief merchant was appointed to the fortress. His name was Christoffer van der Mohlen, a pious and excellent man, born in Holland[4]. He was placed in authority over all merchants, clerks and assistants, and the Danish and Indian wares, and all that pertained to the building of the fortress and the payment of wages for the work. Another man, called Henrik Hess, was set over the soldiers and military; he was also a worthy man, born of wealthy folk in Elsinore[5].

The soldiers and gunners in the fortress were divided into three shifts or watches, or companies, and each was separately to keep watch and ward over the fortress for twenty-four hours, that is, a day and a night, according to the usual custom in all Christian countries. The official title of this Henrik was Gubiner or Gubernator, that is to say army-chief[6]. He had

[1] The "French ship" was the *Lion d'or*, captured off the Cape Verde Islands in 1619 and renamed the *Patientia* (see ch. II, note 6 on p. 7). Ove Giedde records (Schlegel, part 3, p. 110) that Crappe wrote to him on 6 February 1621 requesting him to allow the *Patientia* to be sunk, and that he replied on the 9th, he "could not demolish" her "unless they [Crappe and the officials left at Tranquebar] on the Company's behalf insured my Lord against the loss." The *Patientia* had been plundered by the crew of the *Christian* after the wreck of the latter, and as there was insufficient cargo for all the Danish vessels, it is quite probable that the prize ship was broken up as related by Jón.

[2] The buildings in the fort constructed out of ship's timbers must have been very uncomfortable for Europeans in the South Indian climate.

[3] *Rector*: the term is used in its obsolete sense of ruler or governor of a city or fort: a functionary exercising supreme directive control. This individual was, according to Kay Larsen (p. 25), "appointed at the suggestion of the Nāyak of Tanjore" to "maintain order in the town" and "collect the taxes and frontier dues."

[4] This man was a Dutchman by origin and had entered the service of the Danes in 1621. (B.)

[5] Henrik Hess came of a good Elsinore family. Cp. Schlegel, I, *passim*; Lind, *Kristian IV og hans Mænd*, p. 242. (B.)

[6] Fr. *gouverneur*, Dan. *governor*, Eng. *governor*, Lat. *gubernator*, Port. *gubernador*. The sense here is chief of the garrison: the Commanding Officer.

one man next to him in rank, his lieutenant, Christoffer Hansen by name[1], and one overseer of the watch, called Claus. Among the three companies of soldiers were three persons of noble birth, who were corporals, one in each company and watch, and each of them was the first man in the first rank when the soldiers were drawn up. There was also a turnkey, the man who locks up and releases those who are confined in prison and have committed some offence. And when all this was laid down, according to old royal and military custom, and as soon as each had learnt to conduct himself fittingly in his office, the mariners started on their return voyage with the two vessels the *Christianshavn* [*Copenhagen*] and the *David*[2]. How they fared on their voyage home I do not recall clearly enough to relate it, but I fancy that it was without mischance[3]. A certain young boy-child was reared from its mother's womb by two men in one of the vessels, his mother having passed away shortly after his birth. And in the spring, when they were recently returned home, one Sunday, in a large gathering of people on the shore at Copenhagen, I saw this lad, who was then four years old, comely, and well clad in silken clothes with a silver belt round him, and ostrich plumes round his hat. By this tending and fostering the two men gained much praise and an honourable reputation. And because such a thing was regarded (as was fitting) as a glorious miracle wrought by the Highest and most merciful God, and this lad was both fatherless and motherless, much money was given to him in the town that day, as often happened, and when the two came walking, leading the boy between them, high esteem and honour were shown them, and they were lovingly accosted by worthy and notable persons, who gave them wine and ale[4].

[1] For Christoffer Hansen, see vol. I, p. 211, n. 2.

[2] The *David* sailed for home before the rest of the fleet. Giedde heard of her departure when he returned to Ceylon in March 1621 (*Diary* of 21 March, Schlegel, p. 132). The *Copenhagen* followed (*ibid.* p. 138), and the *Elephant* set sail on 1 June (*ibid.* p. 148).

[3] Ove Giedde reached Copenhagen on 4 March 1622 after an uneventful voyage (*Diary*, Schlegel, pp. 148–58).

[4] This story seems to relate to the child of the second woman who died on the outward voyage. See ch. I, p. 6.

Now we must return to our story and take it up when these two vessels first arrived in Norway at the place called Flekkerø[1]. At once a fisherman came rowing out to the vessel. They received him well and were very curious to learn what was happening in Copenhagen. The captain, Christoffer Boye[2], questions him closely in the cabin, and he answers fully, according to what he has heard. And amongst other things he says that a captain's wife had fallen into sin and was living in adultery with a man called Jens. The other asks him the name of the woman and of her husband. He gives full details, and so heedless is the fellow, that he never asks the captain's name. But it was the captain's own wife who had thus misconducted herself (and he had thought she could never have been persuaded to it). He was so violently moved that he would have run this foolish fellow through with his rapier, if those who stood by had not hindered him. Thereafter he withdrew to his bed in sore grief and took but little nourishment until he got to Copenhagen: by then she had gone to Jutland to her parents. Her seducer, who had first enticed her into drinking and then into the said sin, and had squandered all the captain's substance, goods and clothes, had also fled away and was gone abroad, but letters were despatched in all directions by His gracious Majesty for his apprehension. This Christoffer Boye was given leave by royal grace to marry any female that he might desire, whether of noble or non-noble birth, for he was a man of parts beyond others in everything. And when he next made a journey to the East Indies, the King promised, if God granted him the good fortune of a safe return, that he would make him a nobleman;

[1] For Flekkerø in Norway, see vol. 1, p. 55, n. 2. Ove Giedde says (*Diary*, Schlegel, p. 157): "On the morning of the 4th [February 1622] we sighted the Naze on the coast of Norway and since we could not round it, we sailed into Karmsund and arrived there on the night of the 5th." Thence Giedde obtained transport to Denmark and reached Copenhagen on 4 March, as stated above.

[2] Jón understood the name Boye as the Icelandic name Bogi and inflects it accordingly, and indeed the pronunciation is about the same. In the MS. the name is variously spelt, oftenest Bogie. (B.) For the supposed identity of Christoffer Boye with Christoffer Hansen, see vol. 1, p. 211, n. 2.

but to this he never attained, as shall be told later, if God permits it.

Now I will amplify this account no more, but return to where I started, when my name was entered on the register of those persons who were engaged for India, and to each of us was handed two months' wage before we started. But one day before I went on board I removed my revered and beloved landlady, Christine Svale, to the house of her brother-in-law, Captain Stephanus, and of Mistress Ermegaard[1], her dear sister, whence three weeks later she was called away by God's grace to eternal life, whereof I am confident in Christ, for this female was in my opinion singularly wise and God-fearing, and I commended her to God and she me. And so I quitted her house on friendly terms and with a fond farewell.

[1] For Christine Svale, Jón's landlady, Captain Stephanus (Steffen Sørensen) and his wife Ermegaard, see vol. 1, p. 208, n. 2.

CHAPTER V

WHICH CONTAINS AN ACCOUNT OF MY DEPARTURE FROM COPENHAGEN ON THE INDIAN VOYAGE

NOW the time was drawing near when we were to start on the voyage to the East Indies. Three days beforehand we were summoned with trumpets and the beating of drums to the Company's premises, where our gracious Lord the King with many noble persons, also the Burgomaster and the most important citizens, were awaiting us; and the names of all were read out by our muster-clerk, and then the regulations of His Majesty, and thirdly the purport of our oath of obedience was recited to us in a loud voice: after which, with three fingers raised aloft[1], we swore our oath of obedience to our King and the East India Company, each of us in a loud voice. When all this was done, the King thanked us both on his own and on the Company's behalf, admonishing us all to godly living, true obedience and honest conduct and manly bearing in strange places, to the praise and glory of God Himself and to the honour and lasting renown of the Danish realm and its illustrious Government and people, and to the eternal honour, credit and reputation of each one of ourselves, so that we might not give cause either to Christians or heathens to blaspheme or mock God's name, or to be ill-spoken of by them. After this, having ended his sermon and fatherly admonition, the King, baring his head, gave us his blessing by sea and by land, at home and abroad; and to his loving words and good wishes, all said Amen. And after that each of us was given leave of absence that we might prepare for our journey; and before we went, each of us bade farewell to his acquaintances, and all bade us farewell with wishes for our good fortune and safe return by the help and ever-present assistance

[1] See Mundy, IV, p. 174, for attesting with two fingers raised. See also Tyler, *Oaths*; Ford, *On Oaths*.

of God's grace. And before we entered the boat which lay moored to the Town Quay, we drank our foy[1] or toasts for a prosperous journey, wishing to all among us, those in and under authority, on board ship and off it, to those left behind as well as those departing, good fortune and blessing from God, both for body and soul, that we might meet again in joy, according to God's good will. Thereupon in the name of Jesus, we stepped down from the quay into our boat, many of us weeping, but some with dancing steps, singing and laughing.

And as we were rowing out of the harbour, it happened that two men were coming towards us in a smack laden with timber. We repeatedly bade them turn aside or lay to, but they paid no heed, rather with big words and insolent behaviour rowed towards us as hard as they could. But when our boat and their smack met and shot past each other at full speed, what with their anchor hanging overboard and my being seated aft on the gunwale, as is usual, next to the chief boatswain, and paying no heed, for we were having a quiet talk, the anchor caught me behind in my breeches, which it penetrated, and wrenched me from where I sat. In all haste I freed myself and leapt on to the smack's deck and gave one of the men two boxes on the ear, and then jumped back into our boat, which was by then under their gunwale, and all those present thought they had never seen anything done so smartly. But if the breeches had given way and I had fallen into the sea, they said it would have been the end of me, for which none would have had such heavy guilt as those two of the smack's crew, who had been so mightily spiteful and unpleasant. But our chief boatswain, who was called Jost[2], declared that it was certain I should find myself in some peril before our journey was ended; but that nevertheless God had showed me a sign of which I must not be forgetful, and had clearly indicated that I should escape from that peril, though

[1] Foy (adapted from Dutch *fooi*, probably from French *voie*, way, journey), a parting entertainment, a cup of liquor given to one starting out on a journey.

[2] His full name was Jóst Hermansen. (B.)

not scot-free[1]. This boatswain was of a mature and equable disposition, a man of great wisdom. He was from Holland and was married to a worthy wife, who was sitting opposite to me when this occurred.

And in the morning of the next day we weighed our anchors and vailed our topsail[2] in Jesus' name. Then bell and trumpet called us to mattins and prayer, which is called *Corum*[3]. And so we sailed from St Anne's Quay[4], which is a mile from Copenhagen, and in a north-westerly direction along to the Sound. But when we came to Skodshoved, as it is called, a sea-mile from the town, there sprang up a violent north-west storm. We were loath to turn back, and for the most part of the day we tried beating against it, for ours was one of the best ships for sailing that could be.

The captain was Christoffer Boye, whom I have mentioned before[5]. The ship's master was Peter Andersen[6], my master-gunner Niels Dreyer[7], and the gunners were these: Anders Ólafsen, Bernt Andersen, who became my companion and faithful comrade on the voyage: also Niels Friis, Niels Skoster[8], Peter Alkmaar, Peter Koning. I do not remember the names of the others[9]. The purser or steward

[1] This omen, drawn from an incident before a voyage commenced, is remarkable. Jón no doubt referred the terrible accident he afterwards met with on his return voyage to this occurrence at its commencement.

[2] As a mark of respect.

[3] See vol. I, p. 212.

[4] The ship, which was the *Christianshavn*, left Copenhagen 8 October 1622. At that time the name St Anne's Quay was given to a narrow strip of land, which ran out into the harbour from the spot where the Fridrik Hospital now stands (in Amaliegade). Cp. Bering Liisberg, *København i gamle Dage*, p. 195. (B.)

[5] See above, note 2 on p. 28.

[6] Dame Bertha Phillpotts tells me that Peter Andersen, skipper, is mentioned as owning a building site in Roskildegade, Copenhagen, in 1650 (O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium*, III, p. 333).

[7] Niels Dreyer is probably identical with the master-gunner of the *Justitia*, mentioned earlier in the year. See vol. I, p. 211.

[8] See vol. I, p. 148.

[9] Dr Blöndal has a long note here as follows: "In the Royal Archives in Copenhagen there are to be found the accounts of expenditure on fitting out the ship. Among these accounts is a list of the money paid to the men, dated 3 October 1622 and signed by Simon Johansen. Some of those mentioned by Jón Ólafsson as shipmates are not on the list, and some of the other names are doubtful, because the list sometimes drops

was a worthy man of the name of Peter Frandsen; his mate was Anders Nielsen. The cook was called Anders Hansen; his mate Christian Hansen. The first mate's name was Claus. It is he who has command over all the forecastle and sees that no one hangs any washing over the ship's gunwale, and has authority to cut it off if this rule is broken. Our chief surgeon was called Master Henrik, born in Holstein, an excellent and worthy man, my especially good friend, and his assistant was Master Hans Sunderborg. The chief gunner's mate was called Hermann Rygaardsen, a most faithful and beloved friend of mine, who had been here in Iceland as superintendent of merchandise during the winter. There were these three merchants: Simon Johansen, Peter Stot and Daniel Lammers, which last was younger than the others, and in his thirteenth year had sailed through the Straits of Magellan and all round the world[1]. There were also three assistants, the worthy Niels Gertzen, a man well on in years, and his stepson Anders Michelsen, and Niels Jensen. These were all worthy men. The sailmaker was Jan Jansen. Our kindly minister was called Master Christian, a worthy and admirable young man, always especially kind and indulgent to me. And now that I have named all the officers of the ship (except that I have forgotten the Provost, whose name was Niels Lauritzson[2],

the family names and sometimes Jón does the same. It must be remembered that Jón wrote his book in his old age and it is not improbable that his memory played him false about certain names; also the list states that it only consists of those members of the crew who had had two months' pay. It is therefore by no means certain that it includes all the crew, though it seems probable that it does, as it tallies with what Jón himself says when he specially mentions these payments."

[1] Probably with Joris van Speilbergen, August 1614–July 1617. See *The East and West Indian Mirror*, Hak. Soc. 2nd series, vol. XVIII, where, however, the name of Daniel Lammers does not appear.

[2] From the names furnished by Jón here and in other portions of his narrative and from those given by Simon Johansen and supplied by Dr Blöndal, the appended list of the ship's company has been drawn up, the variations and additions in Johansen's list being printed within square brackets:

[Adrianssen], Jacob, boatswain.
Albert, first mate (boatswain).
Alkmaar, Peter, gunner.
Andersen, Bernt [of Engelholm], gunner.
Andersen, Franz [Clausen, Franz], smith.
Andersen, Peter, ship's master.

and the size of the vessel, which was 180 lasts)[1], I will take up my story again where the high north-west storm waxed more and more in violence against us and we tried tacking as long as it was possible, and then had to take in all our sails. By then we were come eastward, off Landskrona, where we had to cast our two largest anchors, and lie there all night in a very high sea and impending danger, so great that we expected every moment to break loose. And death seemed more certain to us than life.

Bergen, Peter van, gunner.
[Bertelmeus (Bartholameus), Henrich] Henrik of Holstein, chief surgeon.
[Dirichsen], Claus, first mate (boatswain).
Dreyer, Niels [Ólsen, Niels], constable (master-gunner).
Frandsen, Peter, purser.
Friis, Niels [Fris, Niels Petersen], gunner.
From, Claus [Fromme, Claus], carpenter.
Gertzen, Niels [Gerdtsen, Niels], assistant merchant.
Hansen, Anders [Søffrensen, Anders], cook.
Hansen, Christian, cook's mate.
Hansen, Ivar [Iffuer], seaman.
Hermansen, Jóst, chief boatswain.
Jansen, Peter [Jensen, Peter, of Copenhagen], seaman.
[Jensen of Skelskør], Master Christian, minister.
Jensen [Jansen], Jan [of Alkmar], sailmaker.
Jensen, Niels, merchant.
[Jensen], Thomas, seaman.
Johansen, Simon, chief merchant.
Jørgen, trumpeter.
Jøris, boatswain.
Koning, Peter, gunner.
[Knudsen], Big Anders, carpenter.
Lammers, Daniel, merchant.
Lauritzson, Niels [Börgesen, Gunder], provost.
Michael, seaman.
Michelsen, Anders, merchant.
[Monting], Franz, cabin-steward.
Mortensen, Peter, steward.
Nielsen, Anders, purser's mate.
Nielsen, Søren, assistant master.
[Nielsen], Thord, carpenter.
Ólafsen, Anders, gunner.
Ólafsson, Jón, gunner's mate (the author).
[Pedersen, Lauritz, steward.]
Rod [Roude], Jacob, quartermaster.
Rygaardsen [Søderward], Hermann, constable's mate.
Skoster, Niels, gunner.
Stot, Peter [Henrichsen, Peitter], merchant.
Sunderborg [Naunesen], Hans, assistant surgeon.

[1] See ch. III, note 3 on p. 20.

We had one man on board who did not belong to our company, and the crew thought little good would come of him. This man was Adolph Frederik Grabow[1]. Because he was of the [Danish] East India Company he had declared that he wished to show us honour by accompanying us on our way as far as Kronborg on the Sound. Now, the next morning the weather gradually moderated. When we set ourselves to weighing our anchors the cable of one of them gave way, for the anchor was stuck fast in the bottom so that we had to leave it there. Immediately thereupon there sprang a favourable wind up from the Sound, south-east, and next night we anchored off Kronborg. And in the morning before we set our sails, Grabow was conveyed to land; but before he stepped down the side all the crew were by his wish summoned on deck. And when we were standing there with all the officers, Grabow began his speech by saying that he wished to admonish all to act bravely and well, so that each might gain prosperity and a good reputation. But amongst other things, he said that he had forgotten one matter, namely that there was on board one of the King's gunners, by name Jón Ólafsson, who had once been dear to him, but it had come about that they had been at loggerheads together for a while. But that as we were now to part, it would please him best if we might do so at peace with one another, so that wherever we might meet again, here or in the next life, it might be as friends. Whereupon he pledged me in a silver jug containing a full quart of Rostock ale[2], and we shook hands upon it, and he gave me an intimate fatherly admonition with his good wishes, and similarly he wished the ship and its crew all prosperity in the name of God. This was the manner of our parting and I have not seen him since.

[1] See above, p. 4, and note 5; and vol. I, p. 167 and frequently thereafter, for Jón's quarrel with Grabow.

[2] See vol. I, p. 108, n. 1, p. 142, n. 2.

CHAPTER VI

AS soon as our ship's boat returned from shore, the anchors were hoisted and the sails spread, and so in the name of Jesus Christ we sailed on a north-westerly course out of the Sound and along the coast of Skåne and Halland[1]. The second night after this, our first mate Peter died[2]. We thought his death had been wrought by magical arts and spells[3], and he was thrown overboard into the sea. And so we held on our course till we came to Norway, and because for five days the wind blew from the south-west, dead against us, we tarried at Flekkerø[4] and made such things as we lacked, casting small shot of many kinds, and various other matters that were needed. Within this harbour were lying eighty-two ships, come from far and near, which had run in during the storm, as is their wont in case of need. On the sixth day the wind veered during the night to the south-east, so every vessel began hoisting her anchor, and that being accomplished, shook out her sails, and all held on a westward course to England, Spain, France, Holland, Hamburg and Germany. Though we were no later in setting to work, all the other ships were quicker in getting out of the harbour, because our anchor was as fast as a rock on the bottom. We thought it a gloomy outlook for us, seeing that on the first or second day out we had lost one of our best anchors, and it looked as if our trials would grow greater and greater. Such foolish thoughts often arise through the weakness and dim-sightedness of the flesh, which can but seldom conduct itself as it ought in affliction or prosperity. But just as we were making up our minds that our anchor must be left behind, and many of us were distressed and in tears thereat, it suddenly jerked itself free of the bottom. Then it proved, as often, that laughter and tears

[1] See vol. I, p. 124.

[2] In Jón's list (see above, p. 34) the name of the "first mate," who seems to have been the boatswain and is so called by Simon Johansen, is Claus.

[3] A clear example of the superstition of the period.

[4] See vol. I, p. 55, n. 2.

are close neighbours. Whereupon, with anchor hoisted and sails shaken out, we held away seawards with a fine wind. And when we were come out of the harbour mouth our minister began mattins with prayer and thanksgiving and blessings; and when the service was ended nearly all the ships which had sailed out of our view were in sight again. We went so well that we had caught up nearly all the ships by the time the sun was in the south-east, or about nine of the morning, whereat many were astonished. There was one ship in that fleet, which our Dutchmen on board recognized and declared to be a pirate, and our captain Christoffer Boye wished to engage her in battle, but the merchants refused, so that he could not carry out his wish. But for a while she sailed close beside us so that we could exchange speech.

The second day we sighted the southern part of England, south of London. And the next morning we sailed into the Straits, as they are called, that is the sea which lies between France and England[1]. And when we were off Dover in England, we saw land on both sides and two cities, *viz.*, Dover in England and Calais in France. And because we were lacking a first mate in the stead of him who died[2], although we had two others, Jacob and Master Jøris[3], we yet had to find a third, for fear of sickness and misfortunes. So when we had got further to the south-west, to a place called Newport in the Isle of Wight, we sailed in[4] for this sole purpose just mentioned, but were not successful, for mates were not to be had at that time of the year. We lay off [the Isle of] Wight the night of All Saints, together with three Biscayan[5] ships and many others. The Biscayans, who lay close to us, had the custom on All Saints' Eve of hoisting lanterns on all mast-tops, and aft in the quarterdeck, also on the point of the bowsprit[6],

[1] The English Channel: La Manche.

[2] See p. 36, and n. 2.

[3] In Simon Johansen's list there is no Jøris, but a Jacob Adrianssen is mentioned.

[4] The meaning seems to be that the Danish ship sailed into the Medina estuary, at the head of which Newport is situated.

[5] For Biscayans (Basques) see vol. I, p. 147, n. 2.

[6] Lanterns were lighted, in default of the bonfires kindled ashore on All Hallow-E'en.

and they sang songs until the night was far advanced. The second night we lay in that harbour a storm sprang up from the south-east, so that a Dutch ship which lay outside us drifted down on us in the night, in pitch darkness, so that our bowsprit penetrated into their cabin and crushed to powder everything that could be broken therein. If the sea had been high our bowsprit would certainly have been smashed, and other things besides. In the morning they had to tow their ship out of our bowsprit and they gave us the blame, in which however they were wrong, for we were lying quiet when they drove down on us.

The next following day we held away thence and to Plemen. Just opposite to where we lay was the town Hanton[1], the same as was described before[2]. A large and well-equipped pirate ship was lying there[3], but the side we lay on was called Drake's houses. Those are the halls[4] built at the direction of Captain Drake who lived in England at the time of Elizabeth, a maiden queen of England in past times, in the year 1590. She was the maternal aunt of King James[5].

Close to the entrance to the mouth of the harbour which lies nearly a sea-mile east of Hanton, there stood a large

[1] Dr Blöndal thinks that "Plemen may indicate the River Plym, or more likely, Plymouth Sound, and Hanton would then be the town of Plymouth itself at the mouth of the Tamar River (Hamoaze)," but it seems more likely that by "Hanton" Jón meant Southampton, of which Hanton was a common contemporary form, and that, writing in his old age, he confused it with Plymouth. See *The World Encompassed* (Argonaut ed.), p. 221.

[2] Jón has no allusion to either Southampton or Plymouth in his first volume.

[3] By "pirate" Jón must mean "privateer," for no recognized pirate vessel would have been permitted to lie off Plymouth undisturbed.

[4] By Drake's "houses" and "halls" Jón probably means the flour-mills erected by Sir Francis Drake in 1590 to provide the fleet with biscuit, after he had, at his own expense, supplied the town with fresh water by a conduit several miles long; or the allusion may be to the fortifications on Drake's, or St Nicholas's, Island. See Jewitt, *History of Plymouth*, III, pp. 123, 125; Corbett, *Sir Francis Drake*, p. 192. Dame Bertha Phillpotts points out that Jón would use the word 'hall' to convey to his readers buildings higher than the Icelandic farm houses.

[5] James I of England and VI of Scotland. Elizabeth was not his maternal aunt and was only distantly related to him, her paternal aunt, Margaret Tudor, being his great-grandmother.

blockhouse with cannon and defences[1], and all who sailed in there had to vail their topsail; else it was ordained that they should be fired at on the sea from the blockhouse [while still] on the sea. Drake's halls were roofed with copper and lead, and we were told by the natives that he lies there sunk in the haven in three coffins, first a wooden one, outside that a leaden coffin, and outermost of all an iron coffin, and that he lies there thus undisturbed and moored by three anchors[2]; and also that this William [*sic*] Drake was a great sea-captain and one of the most venturesome, who had sailed round the world in a tiny ship which could be screwed asunder into four parts, so that each quarter of it should be easier to handle if it had to be carried overland or if it came into a tight place[3]. And with this scrap of a vessel he sailed through Veigat and so came here to Ísafjörð Deep from the north, and had lain for a long while off Arnarnes[4], and the Icelanders called his vessel Drake's Dogger[5]. Also that he once gained a great prize to the south-west of Ireland, in the time of the maiden queen Elizabeth, he with five ships against sixty great Spanish vessels[6]. And when at last he should leave this world, he had

[1] By "Hanton" Jón clearly here means Plymouth, and by the "blockhouse" probably the fort built on the Hoe cliffs in 1592 (see Jewitt, *op. cit.* p. 127), for the fortifications on Drake's Island.

[2] This story seems to be a lapse of memory. Sir Francis Drake died off Puerto Bello, Central America, on his flagship the *Defiance*, on 28 January 1596, and was buried at sea in a leaden coffin (see Corbett, *op. cit.* pp. 208–9). As Jón was in Plymouth in 1622 there was hardly time for the rise of such a legend there as that related in the text. It is possible that he has misplaced a story heard later on.

[3] Jón had evidently been told about the "three dainty pinnaces made in Plymouth, taken asunder all in pieces and stowed aboard" two of Drake's ships, the *Pasha* and the *Swan*, when he set out on his voyage to the West Indies in 1572. The ship in which he finally encompassed the world was the *Pelican*, afterwards the *Golden Hind* (see Jewitt, *op. cit.* p. 108).

[4] There is no evidence forthcoming to support the statement in the text. Dr Blöndal is of opinion that the error arose from the fact that "some English vessel, with a master of the name of Drake, may have come to the West Firths of Iceland in the latter half of the sixteenth century or just after 1600."

[5] Dogger, a two-masted fishing vessel. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they frequently acted as privateers. Dame Bertha Phillpotts tells me that the term was applied in Iceland to foreign vessels.

[6] Jón is referring to Drake's participation in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 when, as Vice-Admiral, he made prize of a large galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez.

a sore struggle in dying, and for that reason he asked that he might be conveyed on board his ship, for that then God would summon him, and he directed that all should be done about his burial as has just been told.

Close to these Drake's houses and in the town by the shore our officers landed to seek out a mate, and in a tavern they found one who had already travelled to India. His name was Albert and pirates had enticed him to sail with them as mate, he thinking at the time that they were men of peace. But afterwards he became aware of their evil tricks, namely that they were pirates, and he was therefore fain to be quit of them by joining us, if we could at once deliver him from the pirates, who were at this time lying a little to the south of us among other ships, on a small but fine and fast vessel, the yacht of the large ship[1] which lay outside to the south-west of Hanton. Late in the evening, when it was dusk, we manned our boat with picked men, as they had planned with this man on shore. We had three small bronze guns called falcons[2] in the fore part of the boat. But as soon as we approached them they all raised a loud shout and refused to give him up that evening, and they held their lighted matches ready glimmering on either side, and made as if they were prepared for worse work unless we turned back, but said that we might fetch him without hindrance next morning, if they did not bring him themselves. We had to turn back again at all costs, but in the morning they brought him to us, and were ill-content with the turn affairs had taken, and said they would have been slower in letting him go if their admiral had been nearer. But as things were, they had to swallow the bitter pill in silence. These men were little better to look upon than if they had hung for a while on gallows, and in countenance they resembled the most loathly wild beasts[3].

The next morning we made ourselves ready for the start,

[1] The so-called pirate ship. See p. 38.

[2] See vol. I, p. 151, n. 2.

[3] See note 3 on p. 38. This story of a pirate ship lying openly in an English harbour is a strange one for Plymouth, even in Elizabeth's days. It sounds as if Jón were drawing on his imagination, especially as no more is heard of the mate "Albert" later on in the story.

and before dawn we were under sail in the moonlight. Owing to a wind on the beam as we were steering out of the harbour, we came into danger off the said blockhouse[1], for we shot past it so close that we could not tell whether we should escape with our lives. But the merciful God guided us so prosperously past the rock that there was no damage nor scraping, though we ran so close to this rock where the blockhouse stood that the starboard side of our ship all but grazed it. And as soon as we had passed it, we were at once come into the Spanish Main[2], which washes all the western part of England, and the surf from the huge ocean waves which come up from the wide Atlantic and out of the Spanish Main reaches right up to the forest which lies out beyond Hanton facing the sea[3].

[1] See note 1 on p. 39.

[2] By "Spanish Main" Jón obviously means, as before (p. 7 and n. 3), the Bay of Biscay, or possibly here the Western Atlantic. He probably thought that the term applied to the open sea in the direction of Spain.

[3] Perhaps the wooded slopes of Mount Edgecumbe are meant.

CHAPTER VII

AFTER midday the wind veered to the north-east, which was the most favourable wind we could have. When we came off Barlis in Spain[1], all the crew were summoned on deck by the ringing of bells and afterwards with the blowing of trumpets. The regulations were read out and the crew exhorted to godly ways and good behaviour, also to obedience and honourable conduct before God and man. Thereupon the distance hence to India was declared, and it was 3500 sea-miles as the crow flies, not reckoning all deviations in our course, which add greatly to the distance[2]. All the ship's crew were divided into three companies or watches, with an equal number of men in each, and three lists or registers of the crew were posted on deck in front of the cabin door so that they were on either side of those going to the helm. The first company was called the King's watch, the second the Prince's watch, the third, Duke Ulrik's watch[3]. To these fell all work in turn on board and off it: namely, rowing of boats, ship's watch which was in three shifts; sweeping and washing of the vessel every single morning before the beginning of mattins, by the shift to which the day or morning watch is allotted. In each watch all the work [of sweeping and washing] was done in turns, so that to each falls the same toil—standing over the gunwale drawing up water, whatever the weather, when it is possible, while others receive it and pour it into buckets and carry it to and fro on the ship, and down below, brushing up all dirt with hard brooms and mopping it with hempen swabs. Also there was the going below, turning over the sails, and shaking the powder so that it did not run into lumps, attending to the pump, and all else that is needed.

[1] Dr Blöndal suggests that "Barlis" represents the Barlinga Islands, west of Portugal, but it seems more likely that Jón means Cape de Vares on the north-west of Spain, a point east of Cape Ortegal.

[2] The calculation is roughly correct.

[3] For Prince Christian and Duke Ulrik, eldest and youngest sons of Christian IV of Denmark, see vol. 1, p. 91, n. 2.

Over each of these watches there was set a quartermaster, who also had the management of the boat and gave orders and admonitions about everything which came up in the watch, whether work or anything else to attend to. At every change of watch he had to shout to summon his men[1]. I was in Duke Ulrik's watch and my quartermaster was Jacob Róð[2], a worthy man who became my good friend. He was born in Stralsund, but was reared there only till he was nine years old, and after that in Holland, and he had therefore entirely Dutch ways, both in religious matters and in everything else.

We only had one trumpeter, by name Jørgen. The number of all the persons on board was eighty-eight, counting young and old, officers and ordinary seamen, of which fifty-eight had duty at the helm, so that nineteen were in each watch[3]. Two young men, one called Thomas and the other Michael, were appointed to tend the lamp at nights: it burnt in the binnacle between the ship's compasses.

One man called Franz[4], born in Denmark but brought up in Holland, very young, not quite twenty-two years of age, sat in confinement from the time we were off the Isle of Wight until now [off Barlis], on account of a misdeed, namely, that against ship's law and His Majesty's regulations, he had committed the grave fault of drawing his knife in a rage against another man in the boat, and also afterwards on board. Now, by the King's regulations it is laid down that if any person acts thus on such a voyage, the Provost shall pin his right hand against the mainmast with the same knife. So it was to be with the said fellow, and he had already been conducted to the mainmast by the Provost, but because this was the first offence to call for punishment on that voyage, and because all the crew made a general plea in his behalf, it was

[1] These remarks are valuable as showing the routine of a ship on the voyage to India in the seventeenth century, from a sailor's point of view.

[2] In Simon Johansen's list he is called Jacob Roude. (B.)

[3] In Simon Johansen's list only 73 men are mentioned. (B.) Jón appears to reckon three watches of 19 men each (really 57, not 58): supercargoes, 6; minister, surgeons and provost, 4; ship's officers, 8; and cooks, stewards, etc., 13.

[4] Of Thomas, Michael and Franz, Dr Blöndal remarks: "I regard it as uncertain whether these three men are mentioned in Simon Johansen's list. Franz is perhaps Franz Monting, cabin steward, and Thomas may be Thomas Jensen, who is included among boatmen in the list."

so far granted that he was to be delivered from this severe punishment on that occasion. But yet the law was to be satisfied in some way, so that His Majesty's justice should not be flouted, and it was decided that he should be struck one blow with a cable-end by every man, saving all the officers, so that he received eighty blows on his back, he standing in linen drawers only. But the man being young and in many ways capable, we four young fellows were liked by him and were attached to him in innocent friendship and comradeship. We had therefore agreed among ourselves that when our turn came we would spare him, but without letting such gentleness be noticed. But when the punishment had been carried out and performed by all, and the Provost was about to hand over the rope's end (plaited and about a fathom long) for safe keeping, the captain Christoffer Boye sternly ordered him to take us four and conduct us to the mainmast and give each of us four strokes to pay us out (for being evil hypocrites) as a lasting and serious warning to us and to others, so that no one might presume in future to practise such hypocrisy when punishment had to be meted out, or deride the majesty of the law, which is of such great importance.

After the reading of the regulations (the purport and number of which it is impossible for me to write out or to describe here), and the ship's punishment carried out, the crew were registered and divided into messes, seven men in each, and a capable and God-fearing man, one out of each seven, chosen and appointed as master of the mess. This man was directed to silence and put down such as showed ill-breeding in unseemly words or in other improper behaviour during meals, and any one being found disobedient to him was to be reported to the Provost, his name published in the cabin, and to receive punishment according to the gravity of his offending. Further, his wage was to be curtailed, and such curtailment was always to accompany bodily punishment. All this was for the discouragement of swearing, oaths, ill-temper, ungodly talk and much else that was unfitting in word and deed, both at mealtimes and elsewhere. Especially we were exhorted to pay good heed to the admonitions of the minister in all that concerned his office on board.

And beyond all this, the Provost had pledged himself, by an oath taken on the Book, to strict supervision, attention, faithful enforcement of duty, and impartial vigilance without consideration of persons, both in what he saw and heard, and in what concerned men's words and deeds, wherever he might be, save only in the cabin. But all the officers, who had their places in the cabin, were called "The Broad Council[1]," and in this Council the Provost has a place, together with the others, the captain, merchants, master, undermaster, mates, trumpeters, boatswain and the chief assistant, together with the minister. These were all present every time that justice was to be done, and were all to uphold the laws and regulations by their decorous demeanour.

Out of each watch certain men were appointed to take in the topsail, and they were called topsail-hands or topsail-climbers. None was free of the duty of holding watch save the minister, the merchants (unless in case of need), and the senior assistant Niels Gertzen. Our minister was Christian, an excellent young man, always very well disposed to me. Four carpenters started with us, but one of them died in Africa, on the outward voyage. His name was Thord. The chief of them was called Claus From[2].

And when all was settled in such wise as has now been described, there were written orders setting out the rations of bread, butter, meat, dried and salted fish, French and Spanish wine, also Rhenish, French and Spanish brandy. To each man was apportioned: Firstly, on meat days, *viz.*, Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, two pounds[3] of raw meat, intended for two meals; further, on fish days, *viz.*, Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, to each man was assigned for

[1] Dame Bertha Phillpotts tells me that "Broad Council" was the name applied to the Ships' Council (Shipping Committee) in Denmark at this time.

[2] See note 2 on p. 33 for these names. If, as Jón says, all on board ship, excluding those mentioned, were liable for duty, there is something wrong in his calculation on p. 43. As regards the carpenters, Dr Blöndal notes that in Simon Johansen's list six are mentioned and that Claus From (Fromme) appears to be the senior, but that no Thord is amongst the number. However, a Thord Nielsen is included in the cabin stewards and it may be to him that Jón refers.

[3] The Danish pound is slightly heavier than the English commercial pound, as it contains an additional 40 grains.

his midday and evening meals two pounds of Kildin klipfish[1], which is beaten, soaked and boiled. For each mess or for every seven men, for a whole week, one pound of butter for dipping[2] was given out, also one quart measure of groats on fish days and an equal measure of peas or beans on meat days. Also butter and bread was weighed out every Saturday, and to each man was given $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bread and one pound of butter. Also a bare half-pint (which they call a mutchkin)[3] of wine, one for dinner and one for supper was doled out to each man after he had partaken of his meal. At first (until it turned sour) this was French wine, and then Spanish wine. This ration or portion each man had to drink at once by the buttery door (that is, the purser's room) and not carry away. But of ale, while it lasted, which was three months, each man was given a can containing three pints, which was called a *flapcan*[4], for the day and night, or twenty-four hours. But as soon as we came south of Barbary[5] and all the way further south, the ale is no longer fit to drink or to keep on account of its sourness, and for that reason water is given for the remainder of the voyage, however long it lasts; and any person on shipboard committing the crime of stealing half a flapcan of water from another has brought hanging upon himself, if proved guilty. The water is as hot as if it were taken from the fire, and moreover it spoils greatly in vessels and pipes, so that these have to be encircled with iron bands, else they do not avail for that voyage, except they are thus preserved and strongly secured in other ways[6].

Now follows what each person must have or purchase to take with him on that journey. Firstly, many shirts, tobacco,

[1] Salt fish from Kildin in the Arctic Ocean, for which place see vol. I, pp. 119, 127, 129, 135.

[2] That is, it was melted for sauce and the men dipped their food in it. (B.S.P.)

[3] Mutchkin (adapted from early modern Dutch *mudseken*), a measure of capacity, the fourth part of the old Scots pint or about three-quarters of an imperial pint.

[4] Du. *flapcan*, a pewter pot with a lid.

[5] By Barbary, North Africa is meant.

[6] Jón, who was an Icelander accustomed to drink cold water, had evidently been greatly impressed by the heat that water can acquire in the tropics, when placed in barrels or pipes, in which it can only be kept sweet by making them air-tight with iron bands.

cloves, nutmeg, caraway seeds, ginger powdered and whole, also brandy and various other matters. Also one linen cloth for every two persons, which is used to catch the rain that falls when great thunderstorms disturb the air with lightnings and thunderclaps. It is fastened at each corner and is hung up to catch the pelting rain: one small leaden ball is placed in the middle, and under it is set a jug until it is filled. This water men drink in their great need and overpowering thirst, whereof come various diseases, so unwholesome is that water at times[1].

One of the manifold things forbidden to all in His Majesty's regulations is the laying of oneself down to sleep in woollen clothes which have been made wet with rain, for it often happens that men who have tried sleeping in wet clothes have got pink worms into their flesh. These the surgeon pulls out with twine, but if one chances to break, it will be the death of him to whom the mishap occurs[2].

And now I will cease to talk of these things for the present, but turn to the matter from which I digressed, namely the publishing of ordinances of every kind which were to be properly and carefully observed during the voyage. Further, we were all sternly exhorted at all times and places to heed and obey the minister in all his admonitions, exhortations and instructions. And if any neglected to do so, or made mock in word or deed, he should forfeit his life. Each of us was to be careful to attend *Corum* [mattins] both morning and evening when the bell was rung, the which bell hung on the beam by the helmsman's platform. It was also rung every Monday when the regulations were read out to the entire crew, and always to summon us to table.

[1] The ill-effects of the water would be owing to the action of air and water on the leaden ball, because the liquid was drunk from a jug, which caught the drippings collected round it. Pure water has no action on lead, unless it has been calcined, but in the presence of air the lees which would collect round the ball would be quickly attacked and an alkaline liquid would be formed. This liquid would become a cumulative poison acting on the kidneys, among other vital organs.

[2] Jón seems to be describing the tape-worm *Tænia*, which is conveyed to the human alimentary canal through food from an intermediate host. If, however, he is right as to the regulation he mentions, it is quite possible that in his time the cause of tape-worm was thought to be the wearing of wet woollen clothes.

CHAPTER VIII

AND when all this had been fittingly announced and everything else that pertained to it, the bell was rung for dinner, and to each mess was given a wooden vessel containing nine pints of Spanish wine in addition to our ration. After that, the mates started every midday to take and reckon the height of the sun, which they began off Barlis in Spain, as was said before[1]. We kept the north-east wind from England, which was very favourable, and at first steered very much to the west from thence, to the north of Ireland[2], and so across the Spanish Main, along the coast of Barbary[3], which I should fancy to be 600 sea-miles.

One day during this fortnight of our voyage through the Spanish Sea, close to the Straits, which they used to call Njörfasund[4], we met a vessel armed like a warship, and they said they were on their way to Amsterdam from Brazil and declared that they were men of peace. They had four trumpeters on board, who blew their trumpets exceedingly well. We made ourselves known and fired three guns: two of these were in my charge; they were somewhat forward on the starboard side. Now there was a swell from the Atlantic Ocean and a choppy sea from the north-east, so that it was no easy task to load the guns from over the side, and few were willing to try; but in order that the strangers might not attribute timidity to us, the master-gunner bade me load my guns from outside (for that side of the ship was turned to-

[1] See p. 42.

[2] An obvious error for the "south," but Jón's recollection must be at fault. A north-east wind from Cape Vares, or any other point on the Hispano-Portuguese coast, could not take a ship anywhere near Ireland, and indeed Jón, after a fortnight's wandering on the ocean, found himself off the Straits of Gibraltar and the North-west African coast, and then between that and the Canaries, which he mistook for the Azores, as will appear later on.

[3] Barbary, also called Tyrkiri, the Corsair kingdoms on the north coast of Africa (Morocco, Tunis and Algiers). (B.)

[4] Straits of Gibraltar.

wards them), and the crew let the sails flap. And when I had finished loading the first gun and was lying outside the gunwale upon the other, three huge billows struck the port side and drove the ship down on the starboard side, so that the guns were all plunged into the water, and I with them, head and all, so that I swallowed much water, and was near floating off the gun, but by God's grace I got such a good hold during those three waves that I came to no harm save a drenching; yet my master-gunner [Niels Dreyer] thought me lost. And for this I was much praised, but God above all. The captain sent me a stoup of brandy from the cabin for my health, and through this I came still more to his notice and friendship. Afterwards those unknown seamen held away from us, but if the weather had been more favourable than it was at that time, we should have more closely examined their story and enquired into their righteousness, for our officers thought them doubtful customers.

In these fourteen days nothing of importance happened, except that one Sunday morning our vessel ran up into the wind unexpectedly on account of the inexperience of the man at the helm. His name was Franz Andersen and he was a smith by trade[1], for there were certain men on board entirely unused to sea voyages, who had had their names entered for the journey while yet employed in various handicrafts. The wind being strong and buffeting, we might well have been capsized or have lost our mast or sail; and as it was, it was very perilous to go along the deck owing to broken ropes, which whipped round the heads of all who ventured there, though only a few received much harm from them—except for one, Thomas[2], who tended the lamp next the compass at nights, and who lay unconscious for a while. Now this worthy man Franz was so terrified that he lost his head and bore himself in unmanly fashion. However, by God's grace the ship was laid on her course again with the wind behind, and the sails set rightly. And because Franz was new to seamanship and only a prentice hand at it, this misdeed was

[1] Franz Clausen (or Andersen). See the list on p. 33.
[2] Thomas Jensen in Simon Johansen's list. See note 4 on p. 43.

forgiven him, he being a worthy fellow. He was moreover a man of great strength, but yet as quiet-mannered as could be.

Now when our ship had run for full fourteen days from England, the mates told us that we were off the coast of Barbary, and men thought that a perilous place to be come to, for the Turks may be expected on either hand, both in ships and galleys, in which they are rampant and strive to capture folk. These are sent out continually by the petty kings who have overlordship in many parts of Barbary and are there called *Baska*[1], and not least by the dukes and petty kings who rule over the islands within the Straits[2], against whom the Duke of Malta is perpetually striving, an admirable and wealthy lord to whom tithes are paid by all Christendom[3]. But because the Lord was our continual shield we met with no danger, neither at their hands nor from other enemies of God, and the mates now planned to sail between the outermost point of Barbary and the African or Flemish islands, which are also called Azores[4]. These are situated nearly 200 sea-miles west of Lisbon in Spain and are counted as part of Africa, though they lie nearer Europe and belong to the King of Spain[5]. The more important of these islands are seven in number, namely Tercora, St Michael, St Maria, Gregoria, St Georgi, Faial and Pisco[6]. If we had sailed round the north of them, it would have increased the distance nearly 100 sea-

[1] *Baska*, Danish *Pasja*, a Pasha. (B.)

[2] "Within the Straits," *i.e.* in the Mediterranean.

[3] By the "Duke of Malta" Jón means the Grand Master of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. The convent of the Order was transferred from Rhodes to Malta in 1530 and the island garrisoned by the Knights of St John. In 1622 Alof de Vignecourt was the fifty-second Grand Master. He died in September of that year and was succeeded by Louis Mendes de Vasconcelles. For the revenues of the Grand Master and an account of the Order, see Whitworth Porter, *Hist. of the Knights of Malta*, II, p. 191, *passim*.

[4] Peter Mundy in 1638 (III, p. 419) also calls the Azores the "Flemmish Islands," a name they acquired on account of the settlement there of a number of Flemings at the close of the fifteenth century.

[5] Jón's distance is roughly correct and he is right in his statement of the subjection of the Azores, together with the rest of the Portuguese kingdom, to Spain, the period lasting from 1580 to 1640.

[6] The several islands named by Jón are usually known as Terceira, São Miguel, Santa Maria, Graciosa, São Jorge, Fayal, Pico.

miles, and therefore we thought to shorten the voyage by sailing between Barbary and these Flemish islands. But since, as I mentioned before, we had many men on board who had never been to sea nor stood at the helm, the mates had much trouble before such men could be trained and gain understanding; for it is no easy task to stand at the helm and hold a straight course when the wind is dead behind, especially in a high or choppy sea. And now, through the said cause, it so chanced, as often, that we were near falling into great misfortune and the peril of death, but that God aided us with His grace and His outstretched helping hand. When we thought to be sailing on the said course between Barbary and the islands, through bad steering we had come too much to the port side, near the continent Barbary[1], so that the night following Saturday, when the first watch had been relieved and the next watch had come, and I had just fallen asleep, there was a stamping on deck and shouting of "Land! Land!" and "Up, up, every man!" Now he who stood at the helm, a man called Peter Jansen, ran away, saying he must secure his money, and abandoned the helm, but one called Peter van Bergen[2], who was lying aft opposite me, by the helmsman's platform, as it is called, rushed breathless up to the tiller, so that he caught hold of it just before me.

But I seized the extra lines which are used in addition when there is a great storm and when many have to be at the helm. And with no consciousness of what I was about, but only by the design of God, the rudder turned the right way, so that the vessel veered at once up to the wind, and as she got way on, the aft part of the ship dipped three times, so that many fell down on deck, and the captain wept, and all the officers of

[1] North-west Africa. It is quite possible, however, that the situation was created as much by the set of the current as by bad steering.

[2] Dr Blöndal thinks that Peter Jansen may be the Peter Jensen of Copenhagen, and Peter van Bergen (the gunner), the Peter Pedersen of Simon Johansen's list, but he finds a difficulty in identifying the former, since later on in the chapter he is spoken of as a Dutchman. The fact seems to be that Jón has confused the two men and that it was the Dutchman Peter van Bergen (probably from Bergen op Zoom in Holland) who deserted his post and Peter Jensen who saved the situation. If this is correct, Dr Blöndal is no doubt right in suggesting that Peter van Bergen got off with his life on account of the scarcity of artillerymen on board.

the ship. But God granted us good fortune so that the ship ran rather smartly out to sea as soon as she felt all her sails fill. But the wind drove against us from the north-eastern ocean right upon the land, and where we had drifted in, there was a broad bay and it was mighty awkward to get out into the open sea, for the bay ran into a point on either side, and we had to hold on as best we could, with all sail spread, so that masts and spars bent like bows. But in this part of the country and on the outlying headlands live man-eaters, who place men upon iron grids and roast them for their food; and this was a special and mighty miracle of our beloved and merciful God, which it would least become me to forget. His hallowed name be heartily praised and glorified by us and all nations. Amen.

In the morning, when it had become light, we could see the land, which was fair to look upon, as smooth as the shell of an egg, with fair villages and sands white and yellow, and people gathered together in great numbers, for in the night they must certainly have heard our alarums and shoutings, and therefore gathered together in such numbers armed, and in war array. But the man who abandoned the tiller was that night placed in confinement, and our captain wished to hang him, but could not manage it (for he was a Dutchman and a countryman of the merchants)[1]; but he got some strokes at the mainmast from the Provost. They call every four strokes a month's pay, which is an old gibe and mariners' custom[2]. After this a sermon was preached before midday on this holy twenty-second Sunday after Trinity[3], and we were tenderly exhorted by the chaplain to thank God humbly and heartily for His work of mercy and fatherly benevolence, and to bear it long and clearly in mind, and also to conduct ourselves righteously according to God's will and commandments, and be always heedful not to anger our God or rouse Him to wrath, so that He should not hand us over to less tender hands.

After this we steered a west and west-south-west course,

[1] See above, note 2 on p. 51.

[2] The "old gibe" does not appear to have been current among English sailors.

[3] 17 November 1622.

away from Barbary, between it and the said islands, and land was out of sight before dusk fell[1]. And so we sailed night and day with a highly favouring wind, straight on the shortest course, and kept the same wind, which they call *tapass* or *masson*[2]. In the African sea there is a certain reef which lies athwart the course, and it is a long way round it. This reef they call *Ambroul*[3], and many a ship has been lost on those sands in the past. Seamen who steer that course have to sail a long way to the west, out of the direct course, and as long as they are not past it the chaplains use a very beautiful prayer, which is read morning and evening when *Corum*[4] is held.

[1] Although Jón describes the Azores with much accuracy, perhaps from books, he also calls them "the African islands," which is a clear misnomer, and his other remarks on this part of the voyage seem to show that he has confused the Azores with the Canaries which lie close to the North-west African coast. Assuming this conjecture to be correct, his narrative becomes intelligible. The commander of the expedition thought to shorten the voyage by sailing between the Canaries and the African coast, and it is not unlikely that the current, or perhaps, as Jón says, bad steering, drove the ship too close to the coast at night at a point where there is a broad bay enclosed by headlands. Having escaped from this dangerous situation, first a westerly and then a south-easterly course was taken to avoid "the said islands," *i.e.* the Canaries, not the Azores; and it succeeded. This description would be correct if we may assume that "the broad bay" was Puerto Cansado (Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña), due east of Fuerteventura, the easternmost land of the Canaries.

[2] Dr Blöndal conjectures that "tapass" is a corruption of "passat" and that Jón means *passat vindana* (Danish), trade-winds. "Masson" is his rendering of "monsoon," also used in the sense of "trade-wind." For other forms of this word, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Monsoon.

[3] Jón's "Ambroul" represents Port. *abrolhos*, rocks, breakers. On this passage Mr Edward Heawood has kindly supplied me with the following note: "I have studied the charts of the N. Atlantic without arriving at any satisfactory explanation of Jón's remarks as to the reef in the 'African sea.' The only solution that occurs to me is that he is speaking of the Salvages, his intention being to contrast the course sailed by his ship with one much nearer the African coast and more dangerous. This seems supported by a rather striking parallel statement in Findlay's *Directory for the North Atlantic* (15th ed. 1895, p. 776) which runs: 'A sailing vessel bound from Funchal to Tenerife should keep well to the westward, steering about S. by W. ¼ W. in order to avoid the Salvages and Pitous which are very dangerous in the night.' It goes on to speak of the possible difficulty of weathering those islets by the swell set up by westerly and south-westerly winds, which may set the ship much to leeward, and this might make the early sailors exaggerate the E. to W. extension of the reefs and shoals."

[4] See p. 32. In this instance "*Corum*" seems to indicate both morning and evening services.

To the west of the Flemish islands are two islands called Covo and Floris, on which are four towns[1]; these also belong to the Spanish King. The Canary Islands lie somewhat to the north-west of Caput de Bajador [Bojador] in Africa: there are seven of them. In these islands there is much sugar, wine and other wares, and there are four towns there. They are inhabited by Spaniards and Portuguese and are under their rule[2]. The Capoverde Islands lie somewhat west of Capoverde in Africa, and there are ten of them[3]. The island of St Thomas lies just below the line. On it is much sugar and a large town which is called Pavoasa[4]. South of the line is an island called Anabon, and the island St Helena which the Portuguese first discovered and settled[5], and with God's help I will speak more of it in the proper place, which is on my return voyage from India[6].

On this course in this great ocean we observed four kinds of fish[7], which they call alcorem, duradd, bonet, and the flying-fish. The alcorem is caught with a seven-barbed spear, which is put on a harpoon-rod. The fisherman must sit out on the spritsail yard, which is attached to the bowsprit, and when the fish comes up to the surface, he harpoons it in the back with this spear. There was a man on our ship named

[1] Flores is the most westerly of the Azores group and Corvo is twelve miles to the north of it. The chief town of Flores is Santa Cruz. Corvo is little more than a rock with a large crater in the centre.

[2] The Canary Islands are, as Jón states, seven in number, with six uninhabited islets. The sovereignty of the group was established by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1479 and it was still under Spanish rule in 1622. Wine was the staple product until 1853, the widespread cultivation of the sugarcane being of recent date.

[3] The Cape Verde Islands are, as Jón says, ten in number.

[4] St Thomas Island lies immediately north (not south) of the equator. The sugar trade, which was at its height in the middle of the sixteenth century, had greatly declined at the date of the voyage. The capital of the island bears the same name, St Thomas (São Thomé), and Jón's Pavoasa has not been identified. The word may, however, have some connection with Jão de Paiva, who began the colonization of St Thomas in 1485.

[5] Annobon or Anno Bom, in the Gulf of Guinea, 1° 24′ south of the equator. St Helena was discovered by the Portuguese in 1502.

[6] For Jón's later remarks on St Helena see ch. XXVIII.

[7] Albacore (*Thunnus albacorus*); dorado (dolphin, *Coryphæna hippuris*); bonito (*Thunnus pelamys*); flying-fish (*Exocœtus volitans*). See Mundy, III, pp. 340–2 for all these fish.

Anders, a very strong man, called Big Anders[1], and he harpooned all the nine which were caught on our voyage. It happened once that he harpooned one of them, the weather being fine but very windy, and none of us knew anything about it until he climbed up on the starboard side of the vessel, drenched from head to foot, so that we were mightily startled. The spritsail yard that he had been sitting on lay broken in two pieces, but the tackle held it fast so that it did not float away. The fish had been so stubborn and Anders so strong, that in their encounter the yard had snapped clean into two parts, so that Anders fell into the sea and the fish escaped with line and spear. But although the vessel was running under full canvas, God granted that when Anders drifted again against the side, he caught hold of the slack of the anchor-stock gear, which hung so far overboard that it nearly reached the water-line, and we had him back as it were from the very jaws of death; and it seemed to all a great mercy of the Lord, as indeed it was to be regarded, and it was a witness to itself that it should not be forgotten; and so it was immediately set down in our Journal, like all else that happened each day during our whole voyage there and back. After that the carpenters made another spritsail yard, stronger and better fashioned. This Anders also harpooned on that voyage nine dolphins and seven porbeagles[2]. The dolphins were all grandly cooked with a sauce, sometimes made with honey, sometimes with prunes. The porbeagles were also cooked, boiled in sharp salt and eaten with vinegar. I and many others could not fancy their taste, save the first time. When fair weather obtains on the voyage, men suspend themselves overboard by tackle while they are first learning to swim, while one man forward and one aft must keep diligent watch over those who are in the water, for the sea is full of these pests, namely sharks, which eagerly seek after human flesh, and it has often happened in the past that they have been the

[1] Perhaps Anders Knudsen, carpenter, in Simon Johansen's list.

[2] Here Jón seems to be referring to the common bottle-nosed dolphin or porpoise (*Delphinus delphis*). Porbeagle is a Cornish term for a shark of the genus *Lamma*, especially *L. cornubica*, which has a pointed snout.

death of many a man through carelessness; so there is much to take heed for.

The other kind of fish is the durado, which is about the size of a large salmon, though some are smaller, appetizing and very good to eat[1]. It is caught with a hook to which a three-cornered piece of red cloth is attached. The hook is on a line of a certain length, so that it is about half an ell below the surface, and the line is fastened well forward on the sprit-sail yard. In the middle of this line is bound a square cloth, about the size of a kerchief, and extended by wooden pins, and when the wind is behind it blows into this sail, so that the hook is snatched up above the surface, and it looks as if something of a red colour went sprawling along the water. When this fish is near and can see the play of the hook, it thinks it is a red living fish, and leaps after it with jaws open to seize it; and so it is caught. And in the same manner the third fish, the bonet, is caught[2].

But the catching of the flying-fish is done in this wise. As soon as their fin-wings are dry, they drop at once, whether it be water below them, or a vessel, or whatever it be; and therefore when the weather is fine and settled, men let their boats float behind the ship, attached to long cables, and in the morning, at sunrise, schools of these fish emerge from the ocean, rising at once in great flocks. And as regards their flight, I should say it might be nearly 900 fathoms; and so they fall down into the boats, sometimes four at a time, sometimes eight, sometimes twelve, more or less, as chance will have it; and sometimes they fall on the decks of the vessel itself. They are a foot long and are good eating[3].

There are many wildfowl on this ocean, and in the evening

[1] See Mundy, III, p. 342, n. 2.

[2] This is a good general description of the existing method of catching big fish of the kind described. I have myself caught bonito in a similar way in the Bay of Bengal. See Mundy, III, p. 341.

[3] Jón's information regarding flying-fish (*Exocœti*) is largely incorrect. These fish dart out of the water when pursued by their enemies or frightened by a vessel, and also without any apparent cause. They never fall on board of vessels except during a breeze, or at night after striking the weather board, when unable to see. Jón greatly overestimates the length of their flight, which seldom exceeds 500 feet. See Mundy, II, pp. 331, 332; III, p. 341.

they perch on the yard ends and are captured, so that in the morning the boat which lay fastened on deck was often full of them, and we used to choose those for food which we thought the best. The others we used to let go, for they are unprofitable eating owing to their being so lean. All these birds are dark grey, long in the wing and short in the body, and so are all species of birds in those countries. We frequently saw gannets[1], but not on the open ocean, for they never travel out of sight of land, and sailors take it as a sign, when they see the gannet, that they are come within sight of land, wherever they may be. The Dutchmen call this bird Johan de Genti[2]. In those seas the halcyon is also found, of which our captain once shot two. They were easily to be descried half a sea-mile away, for they are of a white hue and half as large again as a swan[3]. In flight they measure two fathoms from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other. They were thin, but yet good eating.

A certain fish is sometimes seen on this voyage. We saw two at different times. It is called sun-fish, and it has this property, that if it comes to the surface and does not go down again before the sun rises, it is unable to go down again all that day, until the sun has set. It is a large and awesome-looking fish, and so all day it is tossed about in the billows, like a grey-brown monster of the sea. Its body is thicker than a shark[4].

[1] The gannet of the southern hemisphere is the *Sula capensis*, but Jón's remarks seem rather to point to the pintado or storm-petrel (*Procellaria pelagica*), known as "Mother Carey's chicken."

[2] Jan van Gent, *i.e.* John Gander (Du. *gent*, gander).

[3] Jón is at fault here. He cannot be describing the kingfisher or any of the Alcedinidæ or Halcyonidæ, and no doubt Dr Blöndal is right in suggesting that the albatross belonging to the Diomedeæ is meant.

[4] Jón appears to be describing the rough or short sun-fish (*Orthagoriscus mola*), which in calm weather rise and rest or play on the surface of the water. But his remarks also apply to the basking-shark. The legend he repeats regarding this fish was doubtless current in his day.

CHAPTER IX

ONE remarkable occurrence may sometimes be seen on that voyage. They call it *slúkupp*, and this we saw twice not further away than about a sea-mile: and a fearful sight it is. It stands upright as a staff, and the water rises up into the heavens out of the ocean, and falls back again, and when it begins to fail and die away, it ceases first at the top, at the highest point a man can see, and then it disappears as quickly as the eye can follow it; and wise men say that this pull of the sea or sucking upwards is caused by the opening of the sky, and whatever is underneath must needs rise up, even though it were a large vessel. The mates and others who had sailed to India told us that once the half ship was removed thus, the fore part. As soon as we caught sight of it we snatched our hats from our heads and fell to prayer[1].

Another occurrence which sometimes befalls men on this voyage is that the vessel seems to have got into shallows or on a mudbank. This happens mostly of an evening. So it befell with us, as we were dispersing after evensong, and we were sorely startled by it. Our captain knew what it was at once, and also those mates who had sailed to the East Indies, but as a precaution the mates paid out 100 fathoms, which however did not reach the bottom, it being the wide ocean[2].

There are very strong currents in these oceans, and sometimes they race so that one can hardly credit it, either with or against the vessel. Once we were sailing with a fair breeze behind us from noon on one day to noon on the next, and when the mates had taken the sun's height, according to their habit, they enquired of me and some others how many sea-miles we fancied we had sailed in those twenty-four hours.

[1] Jón is describing a waterspout. On the term *slúkupp* Dr Blöndal remarks: "The word exists in Low German and Danish of the period (Dan. *slugop*, Low G. *slukop*) signifying 'that which swallows everything into itself; a glutton,' and hence it could easily be used by seamen in the sense of a waterspout."

[2] The description in the text seems to apply to a mirage at sea, such as occurs in misty or foggy weather.

We guessed thirty, and some forty, but they told us that we had drifted back eighteen sea-miles. Every noon ten men took note of the course of the sun, namely first the three mates, then the captain, Christoffer Boye, the three merchants, the ship's master, my good friend, the assistant [master] Søren Nielsen, and one of the gunners Anders Ólafsen[1].

As soon as we had started, the captain offered to teach me navigation and to take the height of the sun; but I had engaged to instruct three men in the art of reading, which I also accomplished with God's assistance. Each of them had promised me three months' pay, but I never had any of it, for it is forbidden in the regulations that any man having a wife, children, parents, or brothers and sisters, should pledge his pay unless he survived; and all these three men met their death in the Indies.

And when we came to the line, Equinoctialis[2], which is the geographical dividing line of the earth and is therefore called the Equator, the mates told us that we had crossed it on New Year's Eve [1623]; and as I seem to recall, they reckoned it out from the sun having passed the line[3] a full twelve or thirteen weeks. It is said that when the sun is on the line, it is so hot that no man can endure it. About the time we were there, the heat was exceeding great, so that the sea water which was drawn up for our needs was so hot that a man could hardly hold his hand in it, when it was first brought on board, and the water might not stand on such food as was to be soaked to free it of salt, more than four turns of the sand-glass, that is 1½ hours[4]. If it remains longer the food is as black as soot when it is boiled, and has to be cast overboard[5].

When the sun is right on the line, which happens twice in

[1] See the list on p. 34 for these men. Søren Nielsen appears to have been an assistant-master and would thus, though not a ship's officer, be able to "take the sun."

[2] The equator was sometimes so termed in the old days, as can be seen on old maps. (B.)

[3] Literally, "been on the line." (B.S.P.)

[4] Jón seems to be reckoning a "glass," as usual, as half an hour, and his "four turns" are really three, so far as the time is concerned.

[5] This statement sounds like an exaggeration, unless the food was in a state of partial putrefaction before soaking.

every year, namely in spring and autumn, as its course is towards us or away, then all the winds blow out of the middle of the sky, so that no vessel can escape thence for twelve or thirteen weeks. This has happened in the past, and at the same time men are smitten with strange diseases. But now all avoid the line at these seasons for the reasons I have just named[1]. On this voyage there are no east or west winds, but only north and south winds. The north wind blows in the winter, and it is then that men must travel thither from hence, and the south wind sets in in the summer. Each lasts half a year[2].

In the summer there is not a streak of cloud to be seen in the sky all through the Indies (and the reason of the great heats is that the sun is never veiled), but in the winter the north wind brings immoderate rain, not to be compared with what we have here[3], with lightning and thunderstorms, thunderclaps and earthquakes, and this lasts until Easter[4].

When men have come south of the line, and have sailed until all the constellations have passed over their heads, it seems to them as if these were all going the wrong way, namely, sun, moon and stars. The new moon looks like the last phase of our moon here, and at first men are very much amazed at these things[5]. The clouds in the sky frequently

[1] These remarks are Jón's attempt to describe the Doldrums.

[2] Here Jón is giving his idea of the monsoons or trade-winds.

[3] Jón means to say "incomparably greater than we have here," *i.e.* in Iceland.

[4] These remarks refer to the weather that Jón experienced on the south-east coast of India, at Tranquebar, which gets both monsoons, most of the rain in that district being received during the north-east or winter monsoon. The "earthquakes" are a myth.

[5] Mrs A. S. D. Maunder, to whom I referred Jón's statement, has kindly supplied me with the following illuminating remarks on the passage: "The extract is very interesting. I am pretty sure that Jón's explanation of what he observed was due to the fact that he had long ago left the South, where he had only his hands to give him his points of direction. He was visualizing what happened with regard to his own person. When he sailed the North Sea or remained at home, in Iceland, his cardinal points were clear; when he faced the sun when it southed, that is at midday, the east or rising point was on his left hand and the west or setting point was on his right hand. The 'old' moon was bowed towards the horizon on his left, thence the sun and stars came up and sloped down towards the horizon again on his right hand. But when he

appear in various shapes, which is due to the strong influence of the sun, and their drying up thereby. The heat of the sun is so exceedingly great that when a man is standing forward on the ship and wishes to come aft, he must make himself ready and then run his swiftest, for the decks are as hot as if they were burning or as if he had trodden into a flame, and all the pitch comes off the vessel and off all its gear, so that the vessel looks glistening white[1]. But the kind of worm which burrows into some of the timber which drifts here to Iceland, bores into most of the vessels going to the Indies, so that under their fir skin they must have a lead skin[2].

When we were come three degrees south of the line, we saw a ship proceeding towards us, as if away from the land, and we thought it would prove hostile. But when we saw their mast-head sign, which they call a flag, we recognized at once who these men were, for some eleven or twelve weeks before we started, a ship called *Flensborg* had been despatched by our King to India to the country called Moritzen[3], for black wood[4], which is as heavy as lead, and is measured by weight, and with which they adorn chests, wainscoting, the

rounded the Cape of Good Hope going to India and he faced the sun at midday, it was *northing* not *southing*; there the sun and stars came up from the horizon on his right hand, and in the afternoon sloped down to the horizon on his left hand where they set. The 'new' moon was like a bow on his left hand, just as when he was in Iceland, the 'old' moon was like the same bow on his left hand. Yet he knew that the 'old' moon was rising and the 'new' moon was setting. What other conclusion could he come to—not knowing that he had turned himself round—but explain it to the people who asked him by saying that sun, moon and stars 'were all going the wrong way.'"

[1] Jón is thinking of barefooted sailors.

[2] The worm described is the *teredo* or ship-worm, for which see Mundy, III, p. 173 and *Papers of Thomas Bowrey*, p. 250. For lead sheathing of ships at this period, see also the last-named work, pp. 167, 180 and notes. The action of the *teredo* was still a wonder a hundred years after Jón's voyage. "[The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty] shew'd to their Majesties [George II and Queen Caroline] about twenty pieces of planks, taken out of the keals, sides and rudders of Men of War lately returned from the West-Indies, that were all like so many honeycombs, being worm eaten in an uncommon degree. They shew'd also to their Majesties a parcel of the worms alive." *Weekly Journal* (*British Gazetteer*), 30 November 1728.

[3] The island Mauritius. (B.)

[4] The "black wood" is ebony. See Mundy, III, p. 349 for a good contemporary description.

butts of muskets and other things suited therefor. They were themselves to cut down this wood, which grows in forests. There was a joyful meeting between us, and our course lay alongside for a long while, which was a great pleasure for us. When we next sighted land it was Africa, forty-eight miles from the Caput de Bona Sperantia, at the place called Bay van Sardinien[1], and it was then a full eighteen weeks, and two days over, that we had not seen land, from the time we lost sight of Barbary. This was a Tuesday. The man who first sighted land received a half *flapcan*[2] of wine, and we all rejoiced greatly. One man on the other vessel [the *Flensborg*], a Dutchman (as were all the others), had once before landed at this place on his Indian voyage.

Where we sailed in, it was like a broad fjord, and the coast very fair on either side, prettily grown with forest. Out in the mouth of the bay was a large island, on which were many seals, walking like men,[3] and we thought they were persons. When we sailed in past it, this island lay on our port side, very lovely to look upon, and on it were multitudes of birds of many species, especially peacocks, which measure two fathoms when their wings are extended, and are of an exceedingly beautiful colour. Also halcyons, which are of a white colour[4]. And thirdly, what they call *Krobgans*, as large as halcyons, but of a grey colour[5], which we also ate. Fourthly a lesser fowl which they call *pihvin* or *pichvin*; it has the properties both of a seal and of a bird; a seal's skin and a bird's form. Its wing feathers adhere together like the webs of a bird's feet, and it is as large as an eider-duck: its eggs are like eider-ducks' eggs. It can fly no further than across broad

[1] Cape of Good Hope in Saldanha Bay. In the seventeenth century Saldanha (commonly "Soldania") Bay and Table Bay were synonymous. The former term is now restricted to the small inlet due north of Cape Town. See Mundy, III, pp. 12, 321.

[2] See note 4 on p. 46.

[3] Robben or Seal Island, then known as Penguin Island. See Mundy, III, p. 327. By "seals" Jón must mean penguins.

[4] Jón's description (except as regards colour) does not apply to peacocks, which are not indigenous to the Cape. He would see these birds in South India and is here applying the name to some other bird, possibly a species of pelican. Jón's "halcyon" is an albatross. See note 3 on p. 57.

[5] Du. *kropgans*, Dans. *kropgaas*, pelican (*Pelecanus onocrotalus*). (B.)

dykes[1], and when it is lying on its eggs it will not fly out of its nest, but bites the hand and fingers of any who tries to take the eggs, so that one man must always keep the bird away, while another takes the eggs. It happened once to me that our chaplain and I went ashore together, as often, and were to take eggs, and he was to hold back the birds with his stick; and while he was so doing the bird got at me notwithstanding and gave me a nasty bite in the fingers of my right hand, for which the chaplain held himself much to blame.

[1] Jón is describing penguins (*Aptenodytes*), flightless sea-birds, and he is therefore wrong in crediting them with even limited powers of flight.

CHAPTER X

WHEN we first entered we anchored near this [Penguin] island, and our officers proceeded thither with a few men in the small boat, and also those of the other vessel, the *Flensborg*. But I and my watch began that day to man the large boat, which they call a *skiötte*[1]. We had not manned a boat for more than twenty weeks, except once the small one, when our captain shot the two birds[2]. We had on board two nets, of which one was 200 fathoms long, and the other 150 fathoms, and these we took with us and rowed somewhat further into the fjord, more than half a sea-mile, and as we saw no flying-fish stirring, we went ashore to look round. On the beach lay fair empty shells, which can hardly be broken, and are nearly as beautiful as precious stones[3]: we took some of these and then we went up into a very dense forest which stretched up to the tops of the highest mountains and a long way along the shore. The trees were as soft as if one cut into butter, so that with our swords or cutlasses we could cleave asunder every tree a fathom thick that we tried them upon, in one or two blows[4]. But if one tries to cut some of the wood from this forest after it has been kept for six weeks and allowed to dry, then it is as hard as a bone. We cut down some pumpkins, as they are called in Denmark, but in Spain *simpherphei*[5]: it is in shape exactly like a picture of the sun:

[1] *Skøjte*, from the Dutch *schuit(je)*. (B.)

[2] Jón forgets that he has not mentioned this incident.

[3] Mr G. C. Robson, Assistant Keeper of Zoology, Natural History Museum, to whom this passage was referred, states that it is impossible to say what shells are meant. See his comments on Jón's further remarks on the same shells, *infra*, p. 67.

[4] Jón is describing some kind of *Euphorbia*, perhaps *Euphorbia tirucalli*, which Sir David Prain thought was the variety indicated by Peter Mundy (III, p. 350, n. 1).

[5] For "pumpkin" Jón uses the term *grasker*. On this Dr Blöndal remarks: "In Danish there is a herb-name *grasker*": "simpherphei" is obviously the Spanish *siempreviva*, used of various everlasting plants, but it is probably in error that Jón uses it of this plant. It was probably not *grasker* either (Lat. *cucurbita*, Sp. *calabaza*), though it may have resembled it in appearance. Sir Arthur Hill, Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew,

in the middle of it is a large globe, the size of a small human head: in its shining rays and globes, when it is broken, is a fat green oil, which is full of healing almost as soon as it is applied, the best unguent for hurts and wounds. Dr Hans Resen (of blessed memory), formerly archbishop of Sjælland, thought that this was that tree which God caused to grow over the prophet Jonah, with these same properties, which is not unlikely[1]. Afterwards we returned to the ship empty-handed and with no profit from the fishing.

Many birds, of the kind I have mentioned before, were then come on to the ship, and were to be prepared for food. These might be caught in the hand on the island, as also the seals, which looked up in our faces and bellowed at us. Men take the smallest and youngest of them for food, and serve them up with prunes and honey[2]. On this island it is hard to find footing where there are skerries[3] or grass, owing to the ordure of the birds and seals. On its highest point stands a high post, to which a broad board or plank is nailed, and on this board there are more than a thousand marks or initials[4]. There we too raised another post and nailed a board to it,

to whom I submitted Jón's remarks, writes as follows: "The information is insufficient to identify the 'pumpkins' concerned. They presumably belonged to the gourd family, *Cucurbitaceæ*, and possibly to the genus *Cucurbita* (pumpkin), but no species of *Cucurbita* seems to be known possessing the appearance and properties described. The comparison with 'a picture of the sun' and the mention of 'rays' suggests the genus *Cucumis*, several South African species of which are covered with spines or bristles. One of these, *Cucumis metuliferus* E. Meyer ex Sond., has a pulp which has been used as an unguent, but the fruit differs from Ólafsson's description in being oblong."

[1] For Hans Resen see vol. I, p. 40, n. 3. Dr Blöndal remarks here: "In his [Dr Resen's] Bible translation he maintained that the prophet Jonah sat under a gourd-tree, and the Hebrew word has been understood so in many translations (*e.g.* in the ordinary English and Spanish translations). In the Icelandic translation, Oxford 1866, the word is translated 'miraculous angelica'" [?].

[2] Mr Martin A. C. Hinton, Deputy Keeper of Zoology, Natural History Museum, tells me that "practically all seals can be eaten and probably the young ones are quite good—especially with prunes and honey and red-currant jelly and *preiselbeeren*—and many a good Papist has been safely sealed and delivered from the trials and perils of Lent by such means."

[3] Stretches of rock covered by the sea at high water: reefs.

[4] See Mundy, III, p. 415 for a similar practice before he and his companions left Madagascar in 1638.

and Claus From, our carpenter[1], carved   on it, and there my signature stands with many others on this board, according to mariners' custom.

By the cliff of this island, close to where we were wont to land, lay a whale of exceeding great size; it was thought to be 400 or 600 ells[2] in length, with many scab-like excrescences on its head and back, and with a surpassingly loud bellow, so that the earth seemed to tremble at it. It was very terrifying, both by its awful size and its great bellowing voice.

To the side of the island which faces the ocean there is much surf, which tossed about the seals intending to land, sometimes bearing them over the reefs and sometimes back on to them. But when the waves receded and took them with it, this whale devoured a great multitude of them, and some were vomited forth again, so that it was both terrifying and entertaining to watch[3]. The chaplain and I shot at him in turn many times, but he paid no more heed than if it were dust. Once three of our men flayed a living seal and then set him free in the surf among the others, and there was much barking and commotion among them when they saw him in his red suit[4].

Two days afterwards both our vessels weighed anchor and sailed further into this broad fjord, as far as an island which lay within[5]: there we lay fourteen days and scoured the hulls of

[1] See note on p. 34, list of names of the crew.

[2] Dame Bertha Phillpotts tells me that from the fifteenth century up to 1776 the Icelandic ell was that of the Hanseatic Towns, $21\frac{1}{11}$ inches.

[3] On this truly remarkable description Mr Martin A. C. Hinton comments: "I think Ólafsson's account is based on memories of many strange things, more or less imperfectly observed a considerable time before it was written. The whale with scab-like excrescences was probably a Humpback; the length is surely exaggerated, but perhaps it was measured by compass bearings after a somewhat stormy evening. The bellowing voice was probably the roaring of sea-elephants." Devouring of seals and vomiting forth again may have been based on a view of the Killer Whale in action and possibly on the stranding of an individual Killer or Sperm Whale.

[4] An instance of the callousness of the age towards any form of suffering among so-called "brute beasts."

[5] Mr Heawood, to whom I referred this passage, agrees that Jón's "Penguin" Island represents Robben Island at the entrance to Table Bay, but says that there appears to be no other island further in, although, he adds, "a second is marked in Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*, Florence, 1646–7."

our ships, which were very much overgrown with seaweed and crusted with barnacles[1]. The vessels were also blacked down and caulked from topmast to water-line[2]; that is to say tarred and the seams filled up, outside and inside, along decks and wherever else it was necessary. The pretty shells were crushed down into the seams, and adhered in the pitch, and when it was all crushed and hardened, the fragments of shell glistened in the sunshine, as if precious stones had been screwed down and set into the decks[3]. While this work was adoing, the men of each watch went a long way into the fjord, a good sea-mile, with nets to catch fish. There we lay in a large tent and also made an arbour for ourselves, and there the two sick men lay for nine or ten nights, namely Thord and Anders[4], and there they had fain died and been buried, but the Lord had appointed them a different hour of death and a different burial-place, for one of them on the land, for the other on the sea. Within there we made good catches of fish, which were despatched in turn to the two ships. The Dutchmen who were on the *Flensborg* had no net, and we gave them a full half share with us. Once we drew in one catch twelve barrels of the most

[1] Mr G. S. Laird Clowes tells me that this statement refers to the cleaning of the underwater portion of the hull, for which work the ships must have been heaved down or careened.

[2] Mr G. S. Laird Clowes remarks here: "This is a portmanteau expression for 'the vessels had their yards and mast-heads blacked down, that is to say tarred, and also the wales on the water-line; and the seams were caulked and filled both inside and out.'" Mr Laird Clowes has further supplied me with the following informing note on this passage: "In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the yards and also the mast-heads—that part of the mast between the top and the cap—were blackened, *i.e.* covered with a mixture of tar and lamp-black. The main length of the masts, where chafing in hoisting yards, etc. occurred, was covered with yellowish melted turpentine or pine varnish. The wales, or thick pieces along the sides, just above the water-line, were also blacked with the tar and lamp-black mixture, while the seams between the planking on the ship's sides were caulked with oakum covered with hot melted pitch (black)."

[3] Mr G. C. Robson remarks here that the identification of the shells depends on the signification of the word "glistened." He does not think it means that they were "nacreous" and therefore it cannot be applied to the South African pearl oyster.

[4] See the list on p. 34. Thord is Thord Nielsen, carpenter, and Anders perhaps Anders Olafsen, gunner, or one of the other three members of the crew bearing that first name.

splendid fish, which we could not tell the name of, though they knew the names of many of them, according to the designations given to them by the Spaniards. But I have forgotten these, as much else. The fish they call carvala is long and thin, like an eel, but yet flat and not round: it is very good eating. There are some perch among them and also carp. One of them is in shape like a pane in a glass window, very pleasant and appetizing to eat. Another looks at first sight, while it is as yet uncut, like a jelly-fish, very fair to see; and when the skin is taken off it there is a gleaming fish underneath, and when it is split, there wells from its belly excellent ink as good as the best that is made[1]. The others are very various in form, beauty and taste. There is also the mackerel, which they also call *mackrael*, very pleasant and excellent to eat.

The natives who inhabited this land would not and durst not come to visit us. We often found their food on the sea-shore, for where they catch fish in their nets, they at once broil them and prepare them for eating. Up on the mountains, which are all grown with thick woods and splendid herbs and flowers, they kindled a great fire, round which stood a multitude of people, but they would not come down to us, nor durst we go up to them. Some said they were signalling to us with their beacon to visit them. But others thought it was to lure us into their snares; and others again thought these were the sacrificial fires to their idols.

After thirteen days we held away and sailed forty-eight miles the next day to Caput de Bona Sperantia. And when we came off the coast and were about to proceed to land, we saw three large vessels close under the shore and were greatly afraid, for we thought they would be Frenchmen, for they go

[1] On these fish Mr J. R. Norman, Assistant to the Keeper of Zoology, Natural History Museum, writes: "I have been unable to trace the name 'carvala' and can only suggest that it may be a Cutlass-fish or Hair-tail (*Trichiurus*). The fish 'in shape like a pane in a glass window' beats me, as there are quite a number of deep-bodied forms that might answer this description. As a very long shot, I suggest the Batfish (*Platax*)." Dr F. A. Bather adds: "The creature like a jelly-fish was certainly a kind of squid or cuttle-fish, one of the *Cephalopoda*, but it is of course impossible to define it more precisely."

far afield whale-fishing, and on the island where we had stayed to tar our vessel, we had found three barrels of unrendered whale-oil left by them. Now at that time we were at enmity with them. How that arose between the Kings I do not remember[1]. But we could not divert our course, for the wind was inshore, and we had to hold in whether we would or no. Moreover, we had great need to go there to take in water and get fresh meat for our people, who were much weakened by the long journey. We made ready to fight, if need should arise, and the others promised to stand by us till death. But when we approached the shore, we saw by their mast-head flag that they were Englishmen, whereat we were greatly rejoiced. However, when we sailed up closer to the land, passing between them, neither of us struck sail for them, which displeased them much, and their admiral at once boarded us and was mighty wroth. But our captain was English on his father's side, though Norwegian by his mother[2], and he spoke good English, and peace was soon established; and accordingly they drank together far into the night. Two of these ships were on the homeward voyage, but one was outward bound[3], and I will now speak of the homeward

[1] Dr Blöndal explains the cause of ill-feeling between Danes and French at this time to be owing to the capture of the *Lion d'or* and the *Prinsens Jagt* (see ch. II, p. 7 and n. 6) by Ove Giedde in 1619, under the impression that they were privateers. In consequence, says Dr Blöndal, "each played the other ugly tricks when they met, though there was no official breach of the peace between the nations."

[2] See vol. I, p. 211, where Jón also remarks on Christoffer Boye's English ancestry. See also Dame Bertha Phillpott's note on the statement.

[3] There were really four ships, the *Jonas*, *London* and *Lyon* under Captain John Weddell, homeward bound, and the *Roebuck* outward bound to Java. The Log of the *Jonas* is extant (*Marine Records*, I.O., vol. XXXIV) and from it the date of the encounter can be ascertained. On 12 March 1622/3 Weddell's fleet anchored off "Pengwine Island" and found the "*Roebuck* riding, b[o]und for Bantame." On 19 March the Log records as follows: "This day there arrived two of the king of Dunmarks shipps in Soldania Bay...they had bene five moneths out of England, the Admirall [the *Christianshavn*] bound for the Coast and the other [the *Flensborg*] for the Maureshes [Mauritius] for ebiny wood." There is no record in the Log of the incident to which Jón refers, but his recollection is probably correct, since Weddell would brook no disrespect, for he was returning with the news of his success in the capture of Ormuz from the Portuguese. See also Mundy, vol. III, for his attitude to the Chinese.

bound ships, which had great treasure on board, having captured a Spanish vessel laden with pure minted silver, namely pieces of eight[1]. The flagship was 700 lasts and the other 500 lasts, and they had fought the Spaniards for two nights and two days, and lost five men. All their pepper and Indian wares they had thrown overboard. Never, they said, had two such wealthy vessels entered the port of London. But the Spanish vessel was so much larger than they that they could not take nor stow away all the money on board of her, so they left what remained, which they could not take, to the Dutchmen, and bade the fellows to set fire to the vessel when they had done[2].

[1] Reals of eight, Spanish dollars.

[2] Jón's facts here are confused. He had doubtless heard of the fight of the Anglo-Dutch squadron with a Portuguese fleet off Mozambique in July 1622, when, from the wreck of the vice-admiral, 680,000 pieces of eight were said to be taken, and "an infinite wealth," and 400 Portuguese perished in the sea (see *English Factories*, 1622–3, p. 210), but it was not Weddell's fleet that engaged in the fight, though possibly his ships carried home some of the treasure, as it was shortly after their arrival in the Downs, in July 1623, that the Duke of Buckingham required the Court of Committees to make a grant to the King from the spoils of Ormuz (*Court Book*, vol. VI, p. 21 *et seq.* and *English Factories*, 1622–3, p. xiii). It will be noted that Jón speaks of Portuguese as Spaniards, since Portugal was at that date under Philip IV of Spain.

CHAPTER XI

THE officers of these ships carried themselves in a grand manner, with much display and handsome clothes, and when they went ashore they had a gilded cap[1] borne on a staff over them, according to the Indian practice, to keep off the heat and glare of the sun; and this they call a *chipsol*[2]. There was none so mean on board their vessels, not even their small *pickers* or cabin-boys, who did not fling Spanish dollars into the air and catch them again when they went ashore with their masters, as children here do with sheeps' knuckle-bones.

One day Master Henrik[3], our surgeon, and I had ourselves carried over to the larger of their ships[4] when the officers were on shore. And when I stepped up from our boat (the first of us to board their ship) and was close by the gunwale, a young Moorish[5] fellow was sweeping their deck, and as soon as he saw me, he blew into his hand, Indian fashion[6], and at once a serving lad came and asked me who I was. I told him, and also similarly who the surgeon was. He set up loud calls, one to the master-gunner and another to the master-surgeon[7], so there came one man for Master Henrik and one out of the gunnery for me, and we were entertained by them in the

[1] This, Dame Bertha Phillpotts tells me, is Jón's way of describing an umbrella to his Icelandic friends, who would never have seen such a thing.

[2] *Chipsol* is Jón's rendering of kittysol, a corruption of Port. *quita-sol*, used especially for an umbrella of bamboo and paper. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Kittysol.

[3] Henrik of Holstein (Henrich Bertelmeus). See the list on p. 34.

[4] The *Jonas*, commanded by Captain John Weddell.

[5] Jón uses "Moor," as usual at that period, for any Muhammadan, Hindu, or other "dark man."

[6] This is a very interesting statement, as the only people I know who blow upon the hand by way of greeting are the Andamanese. They are small and very black (Jón's "young Moorish fellow"), but in Jón's day the Andamanese were, though wrongly, regarded as murderous cannibals and their country so avoided that nothing was known about them. Malays, however, raided it for slaves, and it is possible that Weddell had on board such an Andamanese slave.

[7] No list of the crew of the *Jonas* is extant, but one of the gunners, John Bonner, is mentioned after his return to England in August 1623 as petitioning for his "pepper got by private trade" (*Court Book*, VI, p. 73).

handsomest fashion with the best Spanish wine. I gave the master-gunner two ells of good dressed tobacco[1] and half an ell for his mate. These he greatly prized and thanked me for, and presented me with Indian linen, which is called *caton*, and is made of cotton, enough for two shirts. But his mate lay much maimed in his berth, his arm having been broken by a shot. He gave me a little bowl made of mother-of-pearl. At the end of their entertainment, when we had said farewell and expressed our grateful thanks, we took our leave, and they ordered four men to take us back to our ship. These we made as merry as we had the means to do.

One day I and my watch went ashore with our officers and the Englishmen. The sailors were ordered to fill the water-vessels, while twenty-four of us with muskets and matches ready burning were to keep guard over them against the evil folk of the country, who frequently conceal themselves in the bush along the shore at such times as strange seamen and voyagers are about, although there is no settlement near the sea on account of lions and other harmful creatures[2], which greatly abound there. But these wretches who wander about there are man-eaters: they had killed and devoured seven men off the English vessels on their outward journey, having secured them by cunning wiles, concealing themselves in the scrub and shooting at them thence with their bows[3]. They are also in quest of iron and copper for their arrow-tips, and often give sailors an ox in exchange for some[4]. But it is so far inland to the settlements, where the decent folk live, that men can hardly get there and back in two days and nights. What these others can secure of the aforementioned goods from strangers visiting the coast, they sell again to those who live up inland. A large cow can be got for the third part of the

[1] "Twist" tobacco for chewing or smoking. For the Icelandic ell, see note 2 on p. 66.

[2] The lion, rhinoceros and giraffe were all to be found at the Cape in Jón's day.

[3] Jón's credulity was probably played upon by his companions, for the Hottentots, then inhabitants of the Cape, were not cannibals.

[4] For trade by barter at this period in Madagascar, see Mundy, III, p. 367.

iron hoop round a two-tun cask[1]. They call iron and copper *bras* and our bread they call *vúracka*[2]. Their great desire for iron at that time was due to the continual warfare between two chiefs, of which news was carried to the coast. In other parts this people is called *Capher*[3]; I had a sight of three of them at this place: they are black, smiling, mild-eyed, with curly hair, it being somewhat similar to the wool of young lambs. Their lower lip drops somewhat, and they have snow-white teeth in their heads. These three danced for us both on shore and on the ship, in return for bread and kerchiefs, and they went wholly naked, only covering the parts where modesty constrains. Their dance was after this fashion—on uttering the word "Hottentott[4]!" they snapped two of their fingers and clicked with their tongue and feet, all in time. These three promised us a cow for our refreshment, and sorely did we need it, for most of our people began to be heavy and stiff in their limbs, although blood-letting and purging were resorted to on the voyage. We left, however, before they returned; but they had already taken half the payment.

[1] Dr Blöndal, to whom I referred this passage, says that "it is difficult to say exactly what kind of tun (*tunna*) is meant here, probably a tun of liquid, then (in Iceland) 120 *pottur* = about 1 litre."

[2] Dr Blöndal has a note here as follows: "*Bras* seems to be borrowed from English *brass* but I cannot say with certainty what language *vúracka* comes from. It seems most likely that these men were Hottentots, perhaps Namaqua-Hottentots, [and] in their language 'he who has enough bread' is called *berecha*, but bread [is] *berēb*. See Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin-Namaqua-Hottentotten*, 1889, p. 42. But this is a mere guess." They may, however, have been Hottentots using the Cape dialect, no longer spoken and only preserved in the records of early voyagers and settlers. See W. H. J. Bleek, *A Comparative Grammar of South African Languages* (1862).

[3] Kaffir. The name came originally from Arabic *kāfir*, heathen, and has been used to designate various S. African peoples, especially those who speak the Bantu languages. Sometimes the Hottentots are reckoned as belonging to this group. (B.) The term *kāfir*, unbeliever, has been extended to mean any non-Muhammadan African.

[4] Dr Blöndal remarks here: "The word Hottentot and the national name Hottentot originated in this way. In the Bantu languages there are several sounds non-existent in other languages and made by clicking the tongue in various ways against the palate. In English these sounds have been termed 'click-sounds.' The Dutch made the phrase 'hot en tot,' = hott and tott, to imitate those sounds, and this gradually became a name for a special tribe and its speech."

Now I must return to where we went ashore from the boats, with our officers and the Englishmen, and walked along the shore, where there were beautiful sands of an especially pleasant appearance. The seaweed which is thrown on shore there is of quite another kind to that which is common here. It is mostly in the form of the tube of a trumpet and hollow within: there is another kind in form like an egg, also hollow within, so that it would contain as much as half a tun and some a whole tun[1], and yet as light in the hand as paper: sailors take some of it as anchor-stocks[2], when need is. And as we were thus engaged in taking a walk along the shore, we saw a band of these evil rascals off the land and away, having set their nets without a boat, by swimming. But we who were unacquainted with the country took them to be a school of seals. While we were considering them and other things that we chanced to see, we forgot about our men, whom we were to hold guard over. And when we came to the place where our officers and the Englishmen and their people had taken up their position, they were lighting a fire, and some of the men were setting themselves to washing linen, and others to

[1] See note 1 on p. 73 for the content of an Icelandic tun.

[2] Mr Geoffrey Tandy, Assistant to the Keeper of Botany, Natural History Museum, to whom this passage was referred, informs me that the seaweed which Jón saw at the Cape was probably either *Ecklonia buccinalis* or *Fucus buccinalis*, but that his description is more applicable to *Nereocystis*, found on the north-west coast of America. *Ecklonia buccinalis* is "the Trumpet Weed of the Cape colonists and has a stem twenty feet high, covered with a fan-shaped cluster of leaves more than half as long. The stem, which is hollow above, is often used as a siphon or converted into a trumpet" (*Treasury of Botany*, p. 658). *Fucus buccinalis* Linn. is "a plant well known to navigators, among whom it has acquired the name of Trumpet-weed, and is regarded as a certain sign of the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope. Osbeck...says the specimens he saw were above a yard long, as thick as an Indian cane, and commonly grew with some stalks joined together" (*Fuci*, etc. by Dawson Turner, III, p. 12, table 139). See also Mundy, II, pp. 7, 323 and III, p. 420. Jón could not have seen a specimen of *Nereocystis*, "one of the most remarkable of the *Laminariaceæ*," at the Cape, but he may have heard it described in later years and have confused it with what he really saw. This weed "has a stem 300 feet long, which bears above a huge air-vessel six or seven feet long, shaped like a great cask" (*Treasury of Botany*, p. 658 s.v. *Laminariaceæ*). On Jón's statement that the seaweed was used as anchor-stocks, Mr Tandy remarks that "the idea seems ridiculous, though it is not utterly impossible that one of the long giant kelps should be used as a cable, 'when need is.'"

various sports. But the trumpeters did not cease blowing, and the gentlefolk had taken their seats in this pleasant glade and were starting to drink wine, and all this was nearly two miles from our people and from the boats. And when we were about to return thither, an Englishman came towards us walking somewhat hurriedly and brought us the ill news that all our people that we had left behind at the river had been killed by those evil man-eaters. It can be imagined what a grievous shock this was, and we set to running as fast as we could. Many of us uttered gloomy prophecies on the way that we should all be put to death for our heedlessness, so that I and another man called Niels Friis[1] had enough to do with checking their cowardice and unmanly talk. And when we got so near that we could see the place where they should be, we could discern each standing at his work, none missing, whereat we greatly rejoiced from our hearts, weeping and giving God humble thanks. We were weary indeed with our running when we reached them, and told them what we had heard, whereat they said there was no other cause for it than that five men from their abominable troop had come and begged them to give them half a barrel-hoop. And when they had declared by signs that they could not, the black knaves had pointed up into the scrub. This the Englishman had seen, and had instantly run off.

So the vessels were filled, and other matters on hand were mostly accomplished, namely the washing of the linen and woollen clothes. And I refilled there the twenty-pint vessel[2] which I had kept full of water under the head of my bed from Copenhagen all the way thither. Then came the officers, both Danish and English, and we went back together to our ships. But the following morning we went ashore again with a man who had died, one of those aforementioned, who had lain sick a long while, and though he was buried deep, the next night his grave was dug up by lions[3], as happens with all those who are buried there. At the same time we took our letters

[1] Niels Petersen Fris (Friis), a gunner. See the list on p. 34.

[2] The word translated "pint" is Icel. *mórk*, which Dr Blöndal tells me = ½ *pottur* or about a pint English.

[3] Dr Blöndal conjectures that Jón means hyenas.

ashore, in which we had written to Denmark of our prosperous voyage thither, and according to the usual custom[1] they were placed on the shore in a box in a very deep hole, over which a post was set up, and on it a little board is nailed with this sign:  , and thereon these words written: "Here below lie letters which are to go to Denmark, from the ship *Christianshavn*." It is the usage of sailors, that all who are homeward bound take the letters of those who are outward bound, which they find in the said spot, with the said signs. It is not needful to set forth this matter further.

And now in a very few words I will describe Africa[2], which is the fourth part of the world, and is larger than Europe and smaller than Asia, for Asia is as large as Europe and Africa. This region, Africa, lies right under the course of the sun: it is divided by the equatorial line into two parts, and extends both to the north and to the south of the line nearly twenty-five degrees, so that the whole region receives most heat from the sun in all the world. It reaches to Asia, in Egypt, and to Arabia, and is surrounded by the sea. Between it and Asia is the Red Sea and the Moorish Sea[3], but where it faces north, between Europe and Africa, are the Straits[4]. Africa is not so thickly populated as Europe; there are deserts in many places and a great lack of water. In these regions are many wild beasts, such as elephants, lions, panthers, dragons, monkeys, gluttons, porcupines, snakes, basilisks, crocodiles and various other harmful creatures. Africa is divided into thirteen parts, of which Egypt is one, and Barbary, and Numidia, and they extend to Mount Atlas, which is like Hekla here in Iceland, and to the desert Libya, and westwards to the Atlantic. In Nigritia[5] there are twenty-five kingdoms. In that land are few towns. The inhabitants are black: they live in houses with

[1] See note 4 on p. 65 and Mundy, III, p. 357.

[2] This description is taken from the *Compendium Cosmographicum* of Hans Nansen. (B.)

[3] Jón probably means the Mediterranean Sea, but in his day the "Moorish Sea" may equally well have meant the Indian Ocean.

[4] The Straits of Gibraltar. Dr Blöndal remarks that the same term is sometimes used for the Mediterranean itself.

[5] The Sudan.

turf roofs and turf walls. All these lands are fertile with rice, barley-meal[1], cotton, cattle, gold and ivory. Abyssinia is a good and large kingdom. It is ruled by Preto Johann, or Johann Belul[2]. The outermost Moorland[3] is a great part of Africa, the southern part of this region, as it were the whole end of Africa. The further it goes the narrower it gets, until it runs into a headland or cape which is called Caput de Sperantia, which is the very point to which we were now arrived and which has been here mentioned, where most voyagers to the Indies must needs come to take water and refresh themselves, when the winds favour them.

Now we must return to where we had finished taking water, and having settled various other matters which occurred we no longer wished to tarry there. And the fourth day after our arrival, after a feast which each party, the Danes and English, gave to the other, we stood away from land, at the same time[4], each on the course he desired, the two English vessels with their enormous riches, of which the captain claimed a fifth part and 80,000 dollars of the goods above deck, as his share apart from the crew[5]. But the third English ship[6], which was outward bound like ourselves, went with us until a great storm separated us.

When the day came that we and our mates should part, the

[1] Probably maize (mealies).

[2] Dr Blöndal's note on this passage runs as follows: "Preto Johann: this name originated in various stories brought to Europe in the Middle Ages about a Christian Kingdom in Asia, later about the Christian Kingdom in Abyssinia. Its King was called Priest Jón in these stories, and the name became corrupted in various languages: *e.g.* in English, Prester John, etc. For the name Johann Belul, see G. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, Berlin, 1864, p. 10 n." For the documentary history of a legendary Christian priest-king, known in Europe as Prester John, and for the history of the name, see Sir Denison Ross's "Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia," in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, ed. A. P. Newton. See also Paul Pelliot, "Christianity in Central Asia in the Middle Ages," in *Journ. Cent. Asian Soc.* XVII (July 1930), p. 308.

[3] Moorland is apparently a mistake for Kafirland, as the people were not Muhammadans.

[4] The Log of the *Jonas* records, on 23 March 1622/3: "This day in the break of day...wee wayed and steered to the Northward betwixt Pengwine Island and the mayne," but there is no mention of the outward-bound vessels.

[5] See note 2 on p. 70.

[6] The *Roebuck*. See note 3 on p. 69.

officers on the two vessels drank to a prosperous voyage, and they sailed their way and we ours in Jesus' name. The first land we sighted, where we wished to land, was Madagascar; we were five weeks on the way thither, and the distance between the Capo de Bona Sperantia is nearly 300 sea-miles. This country is also called Sankti Laurentz[1], and it is exceedingly large, longer than the whole of Italy, and very fertile in everything which serves to maintain mankind, especially rice, cotton, sugar, lemons, cloves, ginger, saffron and many other wares.

On this island are no towns, only a few villages, of which six are the most important. It lies north-east of Capo de Bona Sperantia, and the sea is very deep right up to the shore. A short distance from the land, where we lay, it was 100 fathoms in depth, and yet not more than two miles from the shore. It was late in the evening when we reached it and dropped our anchors. Early the next morning the boat was manned by the men of the watch, and sent ashore to look for people and settlements, in which they were not successful. We sought for five days and found no one, for the inhabited parts were not in that neighbourhood[2].

One Sunday after mattins and the midday meal we went ashore with our officers, and as we were about midway across the Sound a fish quite an ell long leapt out of the sea, with no warning, and dashed itself against the breast of our carpenter, Claus From, so that he fell off the rowing-bench in a swoon. We seized the fish and cooked it afterwards, and very good eating it was[3]. That day we rowed into a fjord, and the land on each side was very fair to look upon. It was high tide, and when we reached the head of the fjord we went ashore,

[1] St Lawrence. Madagascar was so named by the Portuguese in 1500 and the name persisted for more than a century.

[2] It is not possible, from Jón's description, to ascertain exactly where the *Christianshavn* anchored off Madagascar, but it could not have been at St Augustine's Bay in the south-west, the neighbourhood of which was peopled (see Mundy, II, p. 12 and III, p. 364). The vessel probably skirted the low flat shore of the south of the island.

[3] Probably a flying-fish (*Exocœtus volitans*). Mundy (II, pp. 331–2) describes one he saw at St Helena in 1634, of "18 and 19 inches longe," and he also found it "daintie meate."

and it was all overgrown with forest. In some places we found traces of men, and the spots where they had cooked fish and had a meal. But when we tried to come back again we had to make our way along the stretches left dry by the ebb, with sandy reefs and deep water between, and over this we had to carry our heavy boat with very great exertion, so that we did not reach the ship before sunset, and were very much exhausted[1].

The next morning it was the turn of the Prince's watch[2] to go out rowing, and with them went the youngest of the merchants, Daniel Lammer[3], with every kind of wares, but yet not the usual sort, for there neither silver nor gold is regarded, nor yet linen, nor anything that is valuable among us, but puppets and children's toys, in especial small mirrors and children's bracelets of what we call *kúríel* [coral], and for two of these bracelets they get two very large cows with large horns[4]. And the cows of this country have this quality to distinguish them from the cows of all other lands, so far as I know, that on the ridge between their shoulders they have as it were another horn (or so it is in shape), but it is no real horn, for it is covered with hair and is nothing but fat inside, underneath the skin. It slopes backward somewhat[5]. On all the rest of the animal the flesh is lean. Those who went in the boat were altogether twenty-five in number. When they came to shore they left half their people behind with the boat, all armed, and the others, likewise all armed, left them and walked until midday before they found inhabited land. Soon afterwards they saw a great farm building, and a young girl issuing from it, and when she caught sight of them she was sorely startled and ran in. At once the master of the house

[1] Jón seems to be describing the mouth of the River Manambovo, which runs out on the south coast. If this view is correct, it settles the point at which his ship touched on Madagascar.

[2] Ulrik was Duke, not Prince. (B.S.P.)

[3] See the list on p. 34.

[4] Another instance of oxen currency. See above, p. 72 and n. 4.

[5] Jón is describing the African humped cattle, not indigenous to, but introduced into Madagascar several hundred years ago. The content of the hump is fatty flesh and good to eat. See Grandidier, A. et G., *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, II, p. 344.

came out, but neither side understood the other save by signs. However, the merchant Daniel knew a few words of the speech of that land, as of others. The farmer conducted them into the house where there was a wood fire burning and over it an earthenware vessel containing fresh fish, which was at once dished up for their entertainment, and they unfastened their bread-sack and dealt bread out to those who were in the house.

CHAPTER XII

AS soon as our men had come to the farm, the farmer sent to his neighbours to announce what was happening, after he had heard the business our people were on. After a short time, more than forty persons came to this farmer, bringing with them five cows and 300 fowls. But no fruits were ripe at that time of year except bitter oranges[1] and bananas, of which they took a few bunches. These grow in their fruit gardens, thirty or forty together in one bunch. They are about the size of a guillemot hung up to dry[2], and are especially good fruit, refreshing and of a good taste, as if there were fat in it; they are excellent to eat with bread. Also there was brought some wine *de palme*, which we call palm-tree wine, and which comes from palm-trees and has a very sweet taste[3]. It was night time before these men of our watch came back to the ship.

Now on this occasion it fell to my lot to hold watch on the ship during the evening (for when anchored close to the land it is customary to have only one man on watch at a time), and the captain begged me earnestly to listen well and to pray God that our men might be sent back to us alive. A long time went by before they came. The captain was filled with fear for them, as also the merchants, that they had been deprived of life by the natives, and he was continually coming up to me, and he and all the crew became troubled and tearful, for all thought great trials were hanging over us, as indeed they would have been, had we lost our boat and its crew. About six

[1] Dr Blöndal remarks that *pómerans*, used by Jón for "orange," was in Icelandic called "gold apple" and is allied to the orange, and Dame Bertha Phillpotts tells me that she has seen Seville oranges in Copenhagen sold under the name "pomeranser."

[2] Jón is alluding to dried sea-birds, a common article of fuel round the coasts of Iceland in his day.

[3] By "wine *de palme*" Jón means palm-wine, *i.e.* the fermented sap of one of the species of palm-trees, generally called "toddy" by travellers. See Mundy's account of the method of making "Wyne of the Palme tree" at Mauritius (II, p. 319).

hours after sunset the captain came once more to me, weeping and much cast down, and said that all hope of seeing them had now ebbed away. I urged him to be in no doubt as to their return, and he went away in tears and praying God that I might bring him good news. And shortly after this visit of his, I seemed to hear the murmur of men's voices, first very low and then louder and clearer; and then I hastened to the cabin and told the captain that they were coming. He leapt out of bed at once and on deck, and heard it himself. Thereupon he became so joyful and merry (and the merchants too) that he brought one of his bottles and bade me drink as much as I listed. As soon as they came on board they were warmly welcomed, the five cows taken on board, and the fowls, which were tied together in bundles by the feet, were killed, and before midnight an excellent meal was made ready, with spiced meats roasted and boiled, and the captain roused the people from their sleep to come and eat, to strengthen and heal them.

The next morning there came on board a king's son to whom the government of a third of the island had recently fallen, on the demise of his father, who had ruled within those limits (for it is said there are three kingdoms in this large island)[1]. This king's son was nearly twenty years of age, and round the middle he had wound a splendid and glittering garment of gold web, set round with precious stones; it reached down to his calves and up above his navel. He had a similar piece of gold cloth, set and adorned with noble jewels, wrapped round his head, and bore magnificent bracelets on his arms, exceedingly and finely wrought, inlaid with precious stones. Further, he wore great ornaments in his ears, jewels of gold and precious stones. In his nostrils he had two gold rings which are inserted through holes which are made when they

[1] There is no means of verifying Jón's statement regarding the death of one of the chieftains of Madagascar, since no record exists of their names, nor is there any other traveller's account of the island at this date. For earlier and later accounts, see Grandidier, A. et G., *op. cit.* vol. II. See also Mundy, III, p. 366 and footnotes, for the government in his day. Jón is in error in thinking that one chieftain ruled a third of the island, for it was then, as Mundy says, under numerous "petty governments."

are young: these were also set with jewels. He had a gold ring on each finger and on each toe, and above his ankles he had large gold rings set with precious stones[1].

The fashion of his countenance was gentle, and as it were smiling, with a pale dark complexion[2]. He was very merry, animated and friendly. He was conveyed on board in one of their boats, which are made of a single tree-trunk and called canoes[3]. Across the middle is a long piece of wood, which projects far beyond the gunwale on each side, and there is a handsome hewn stone on each end of it, each of equal weight, so that the boat, though it be but cranky, may not capsize[4]. And when he first came on deck three guns were fired and the trumpets merrily blown. Over all his skin various pictures were printed, of animals and birds, and so with his companions[5], whom he dismissed and sent ashore with his canoe, as a sign that he trusted us well. He brought bananas, wine from palm-trees, and tamarinds, as they call them, which are in appearance like treacle[6]: they are sour to the taste but very wholesome both to eat and mixed in drinks, especially when stood in water, which water resembles in flavour that in which vinegar has been blended. It is especially good against scurvy. He offered us this palm-wine very eagerly, patting us with his hands. He only partook of a little Spanish wine and a little bread: and he stayed that night

[1] Jón seems to have drawn on his imagination in this description, especially as regards the head-dress, for which I have found no authority, though there are contemporary accounts of elaborate methods of hair-dressing by the inhabitants of Madagascar. As to the jewels, he is no doubt correct. For Malagasy attire, ancient and modern, see Grandidier, *Hist. physique, politique et naturelle de Madagascar*, IV, part III, pp. 169–71, and for ornaments, pp. 177–8; see also Grandidier, A. et G., *op. cit.* II, pp. 337–8.

[2] Compare Grandidier, A. et G., *op. cit.* II, p. 349.

[3] From the Sp. *canoa*, from an American-Indian word, but, as may be seen here, soon used for similar boats in other parts of the world. (B.)

[4] Jón is describing an outrigged canoe. See Mundy, III, p. 373, n. 1 and Illustration No. 46. See also D'Escamps, *Hist. et Géog. de Madagascar*, p. 448.

[5] For tattooing among certain sections of the inhabitants of Madagascar and the various methods employed, see Grandidier, *op. cit.* IV, part III, pp. 167–8; see also D'Escamps, *op. cit.* p. 424.

[6] Jón means to say that the decoction made from tamarinds was like treacle (theriac, theriacle), using the term in its now obsolete sense of a medicinal compound.

with us. He would not lie in a bedstead, but desired, and showed by signs, that he should take his night's rest on the cabin floor, which was done according to his wish, and under him for his comfort were spread Indian mats, cushions and pillows. He gave up his sword to the captain as soon as he came on board, and also his three small spears which are called *hasagayer*[1], and are of this shape  With them they can almost strike any single hair on a man's head. His sword was beautifully wrought with a superb belt, which men said must be worth 5000 dollars, for it was all embroidered in gold and set with precious stones.

In the morning he and our officers proceeded to shore. There was a great forest on the shore where we landed, the trees being very high, men thought fifty or sixty or seventy ells. They were all blood-red, and as straight as a taper, but their wood was as soft and yielding as butter, or as fresh-grown dock, though it becomes as hard as bone when it is cut down and dried for any purpose[2]. The king's son set to shooting with a musket which we call a matchlock, but he succeeded better with his *hasagayer*.

He invited our officers and us to visit him at his home, which we accepted for the following day. But we were not able to see the queen, his mother, for she lay mourning for her dead king.

In that place or village there was a handsome school, and at its doors a walled fountain with two water-pails on a wheel, which are hauled up by the young lads and maidens who go to the school, to wash their feet therein; and over the school door there was a writing carved in strange letters which neither our chaplain nor others could interpret[3]. And on the market-place where many people were assembled to look at us, there was an aged woman with a lad of eighteen years, who

[1] See Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, for the history of the word assegai, now naturalized in South Africa.

[2] Jón is again describing imperfectly one of the species of *Euphorbia*. See note 4 on p. 64.

[3] Here again Jón seems to be drawing on his imagination and it is impossible to ascertain what building he mistook for a school or what was the "writing carved in strange letters."

was sorely misshapen, for he had no issue to his body, but everything (by my reader's leave) had to come up out of his mouth[1]. He bade us give him something in charity: some gave him bread, others kerchiefs. After this we parted from the king's son in all friendship.

On this day, when we had come back to the ship, our anchors weighed and our sails set, we stood away from the land in God's name, and sailed day and night, making the best of a fair wind and of the *masson*[2], except when *dravaðer*[3] came against us. These fall upon vessels from the south-west with great violence and in the following manner. At the beginning when men are sailing with the most direct and favourable wind, they see a dense cloud come up as black as coal against them, and it spreads out almost in a twinkling, so that they have to take in all sail. Out of this dense cloud comes such a portentous storm that it passes belief. If the wind should rise before this monstrous apparition arrives with furious downpour, thunder and lightnings, it is more endurable. But if the downpour come first, it is more intolerable: the water comes down from the air as thick as if a sea were being poured down. I did not take that water to drink, through the wholesome counsel of my good friend Hermann[4], who urgently dissuaded me from drinking it, there being matter in it that causes men to fall sick in various ways. No one dares to stand out in the open while such an awful storm rages, on account of the lightnings and thunderclaps which flit and roar about the vessel, so that a man would think that heaven and earth were all passing away; and often it seems that the ship must be lost through the fire and the terrible squalls, all the masts being bowed and bent, and

[1] Continuous fæcal vomiting, the result of an obstruction of the intestines, due to absence of an opening in the rectum, is not compatible with life, but Dr Legh Phillips tells me that one of the tricks of sufferers from hysteria comprises the inversion of the normal peristaltic movement.

[2] Monsoon, trade-wind. See note 2 on p. 60.

[3] From Port. *travados*, which is especially used for squalls at sea in the tropics: from it is derived the Dutch word *travaat* and the Dan. *dravat* of squalls in general. (B.)

[4] Jóst Hermansen, chief boatswain. See the list on p. 34.

the ship on her side and almost capsized. Meanwhile, men in their terror at the awesome look of things long for a quick death but do not get it. It is said that ships have often been lost in such terrible squalls, and on account of the lightnings and thunderclaps it is necessary to stow the powder away under the stern, as near as may be to the keel and to guard it with the greatest care, so that these terrible flames may not get near to it, as must have happened to many. And now we have spoken enough of the *dravaðer* (or cross-squalls) which are frequently met with on the voyage, and cause great delay and hindrance to navigation, though they do not last more than a matter of an hour and a half, or seldom twice as long. And as soon as this squall has moderated and fallen, the good *masson* at once springs up, with ordinary weather, whereby men are refreshed again.

CHAPTER XIII

AND when we had sailed some weeks (five, if I remember aright) from the island of Madagascar, wherein are said to be three kingdoms, we came to three islands, very splendid and fertile, with many kinds of fruits and produce. The mates called these the Comoriscan or Mayottan islands, and one is called Mayotha, the second Malala, and the third Ansuan[1]. Of these three Malala was the best. We did not reach it on account of the surf, but landed on Ansuan, and there we found at once the inhabitants of the island, who showed themselves well-pleased and friendly, and offered everything for sale that we desired to ask for, namely nine cows, and fruits and apples[2] of many kinds, given them by God in generous measure. Of these apples I got thirteen baskets, and their delicious sweetness making it impossible to keep them more than three nights, I was obliged to throw them all overboard at once, which I did with tears, wishing that they might all drift to Iceland. These islanders bought from our merchants some yards of the finest linen, also puppets and children's toys, or trifles of that kind. They showed us all honour in the friendliest and humblest manner: wherever we walked or were standing, the chiefs bade their boys or servants strew apples before our feet; and bananas, though not quite full-grown or ripe, were brought out of their gardens to nourish and refresh us. From some of their fertile fruit-trees there grow as it were jugs, some with handles and some without, and some are like a pint-pot with a double bottom, and contain a sweet scented wine. These are called

[1] The Comoros, a group of volcanic islands now belonging to France. The four largest are Great Comoro or Angazia, Anjuan or Johanna, Mayotte, and Moheli or Mohilla. Johanna was the usual port of call for ships bound to India in the seventeenth century. See Mundy, III, p. 36 and *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, I, p. 233. Five weeks would be a very long voyage from the south of Madagascar to the Comoros.

[2] See vol. I, note on p. 9, where Dame Bertha Phillpotts remarks on the novelty to an Icelander of any fruit but berries and where she tells us that Jón used the word "apple" to designate any globular fruit. In this case he probably refers to oranges.

calebatzer[1], and they are as light as paper, yet if they are flung against a rock they do not break nor crack, so tough and stout is the material.

One fine day it happened that the captain was standing under a tree in a great gathering, expecting no harm. A very large horned cow was a short distance off, and stood perhaps for a matter of three hours in the same spot, staring at him, when suddenly she moved and with great ferocity and rage, with full intent to transfix the captain and pin him against the tree, which had certainly happened if our smith Franz[2] had not seized him with the utmost haste with his right hand, while with his left, in which he was holding his great hammer, he struck the cow on the forehead, so that she stopped at once and lay for an hour and a half as if she were stone-dead. After that long swoon she leapt to her feet with a great bellow, span round like a wheel and rushed through the crowd, and flung herself into the sea, and her swollen body drifted by the up-tide into a river mouth or estuary. The islanders made much fun and uproar out of this.

And when we had sojourned there for four days, and had settled everything with the islanders, and had got many sacks of grass (which felt very coarse and harsh), to feed the cows, which were to be slaughtered later, we stood away from the land and were accompanied by the same favouring wind as before. Now our course lay through a very difficult sea, on account of the 11,000 islands (some large and some small) which we were to sail through or past[3], and for nearly a month there were men in each mast-top during the night, to keep a look-out, whatever the weather might be. Twice I had to keep the most faithful watch in the bowsprit look-out, for our lives were at stake, but the darkness was so thick that we could almost hold it. The first time I had good weather, but

[1] Calabash, from Span. *calabaza*, a gourd or pumpkin: the shell of a gourd made into a vessel for holding liquids.

[2] Franz Andersen. See the list on p. 33.

[3] This refers to the group of islands east of Africa (Amirante, Seychelles, etc., etc.) which were previously regarded as much larger than they actually are. (B.) It is quite possible, however, that the Laccadives and Maldives, off the Indian coast, were also included in this exaggeration. See most maps of the period.

the second time there was a great storm, so that every time the ship ploughed through a sea which broke on board, the water went over my head. But God granted us His grace, so that by good fortune we came through with no hurt. And on this course we sailed once more across the line which encircles the globe. For one sails eastward up towards it, so that the Pleiades, the Great Wain and the Fisherman, as we call them, which have long passed out of sight, when they are seen again all stand upside down, what here is uppermost being there underneath[1].

An island lying out in the Red Sea is called Zocotora[2], and belongs to Africa. This is enough said of it. Out of the Red Sea come certain small vessels and smacks, called *barkar*[3], right into the course of vessels going to India, and these capture them and all their wares by force. Their crews are Egyptians and Arabians: some the Indian voyagers set free empty-handed, but some, who are murderers and pirates, they put to death. There they often gain great booty, when it so chances that these small vessels come out of the Red Sea into their course, but on our voyage this did not happen, and we came to no land until we reached Ceylon.

There we lay for two nights, and went ashore[4]. Close by, not far from the sea, stood an empty castle, which according to rumour had not been inhabited for 300 years. Most of it was covered with moss. The door, which was of stone, was jammed half-open, and I thought that ten or twelve men would have enough to do to stir it. It was very awful and strange to look within through that doorway. Outside the castle gateway was a large walled well, eight-sided, and on each corner of the well were iron posts, and resting on these

[1] See note 5 on p. 60.

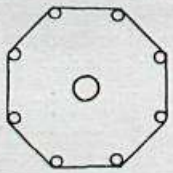
[2] Socotra.

[3] Port. *barca*, a barge, also a sailing-vessel. Jón is apparently referring to the sambook, Ar. *sanbūq*, a small vessel formerly used in Western India and still on the Arabian coast. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Sambook. The text is very confused. Jón apparently means that off Socotra Arabian pirates in small vessels attacked ships on the Indian voyages and robbed them, sometimes with murder, and that his ship escaped without meeting any of them.

[4] At Trincomali. See below, page 90.

was a *karnat*[1], as it were like a cap. On the top of this was a knob which a bird poised for flight clutched in his talons[2]. But for what reason this castle lay uninhabited and empty I do not clearly know, though I have heard say that exceedingly evil folk lived in it of old, and that a heavy vengeance fell on them from the Lord, and for this cause none has been permitted, nor dared, to dwell therein since[3]. The name of this castle was Trinchlumala, which learned folks say signifies "the abode of evil[4]." There we fired off three guns, for that reason only that Erik Grubbe might still chance to be alive[5]. Of him I have spoken before: he went out on the first voyage and was to be general, and was sent to the Emperor of Ceylon from our noble lord King Christian IV of blessed memory, to oust and expel the Portuguese who forced the Emperor to pay them tribute in his own country. But since he was not successful in this, as I have said before, everything turned out awkwardly for him, so that the Emperor durst not keep him in his court for fear of the Portuguese. Moreover, he failed

[1] If *karnat* stands for *qanāt*, a Persian word, then its usual meaning is "canvas walling," but it is also used for a screen. What Jón means is a light ornamental roof over a wall, with a ground plan thus:



[2] This seems to imply a recollection of the tall posts Jón had seen in India, outside sacred places, with a *Garuḍa* bird on the top.

[3] Mr J. R. Walters, C.C.S., Asst. Govt. Agent at Trincomali, to whom this passage was referred, writes as follows: "It is true that the Portuguese pulled down the 'Konesar Kovil,' which stood near Samy [*svāmi*] Rock in Fort Frederick, and used the stones for building their fort. Some of the carved pillars and slabs are still to be found in the walls of the present (Dutch) Fort. The earliest Portuguese Fort was, I think, near the site of this temple and at the top of Fort Frederick, where old, roughly formed, dry stone walls are still visible."

[4] Jón's explanation is wrong. Mr J. R. Walters tells me that "the present accepted derivation of Trincomali is from *Thiru-[Srī]-kona-malai*, the sacred hill of Koner (Konesar, Kandasamy), the god who is worshipped at Kataragama, a very sacred site in another part of Ceylon."

[5] See p. 13 and note 2.

to return to the Danish ships, which waited twelve weeks for him, and he had broken his oath of fealty, so that he durst neither appear before the Danes nor before the Emperor of Ceylon, and must needs hide in the forests and nourish himself with hunting wild beasts, and with him his servant, who could neither part from him nor give him up. This lad of his he sent to us, and by him he was sent some linen clothes and victuals.

After two days we held away from thence and to the coast of Carmandel, where stood our fortress, which was called Dansborg. This realm was called Narsinga, and is a huge kingdom; the following towns are in it[1]: Narsinga, Bisnagar[2], Maliapar[3], Tarnasseri[4] and our fortress Dansborg[5], where the Danes had their trading station. It contains other kingdoms and towns.

These kingdoms here named are in that part or region of the Indies which is called *intra Gangem*: first Cambaia, which is also called Guzarath, and which contains the towns Campaia,

[1] Dr Blöndal has a note here stating that this geographical description and those that follow concerning Asia generally, are, as in the case of Africa, taken almost verbatim from Hans Nansen's *Compendium Geographicum*, and that many of the names are corrupt and occasionally uncertain.

[2] Narsinga was the Portuguese name for the Vijayanagar Empire of South India, though it was really that of its rulers. Bisnagar was the Portuguese form of Vijayanagar, its capital city. See Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, pp. 198–204 and footnotes.

[3] Maliapar. Mylapore or St Thomé, now a suburb of Madras.

[4] Tarnasseri, a town in the "kingdom of Narsinga." On this statement Mr C. E. A. W. Oldham has supplied the following note: There is an echo here of an old tradition of the existence of a place (and kingdom or state) of some such name on the Coromandel coast, as disclosed from many early maps. For instance:

Schoener's *Globe* (1523–4) shows Tanceri and Temasseri on the east coast of the peninsula, below Orissa.

Orontius Finaeus on his map (1531) shows Tanasseri between Malipar (Mylapore) and Adisa (Orissa).

Gerardus Mercator on his double cordiform map (1538) shows Tarnasseri Regnum and a town of the name on the east side of the peninsula.

The Nuremberg *Mappa Mundi* (*c.* 1540) shows Tarnasseri regnum on the east coast above Narsinga regnum.

Gerardus Mercator on his map of 1569 shows Tarnassari (as a town) not far from the mouth of a river (perhaps meant for the Penner) about the position of Nellore.

Baldaeus (who was on the Coromandel coast in 1660) on his map, *Regionum Choromandel, Golconda et Orixa*, marks Tarnassari a long way up the Nagundi (Kistna) river, about half-way between the mouth and Bisnagar (Vijayanagar). In his text, however, he does not appear to mention the place.

[5] See pp. 18, 25–7.

a very large city, and secondly Campenel[1], thirdly Madabar[2], fourthly Dium[3], fifthly Bazuinum[4], sixthly Ravellum[5], seventhly Canacor[6], eighthly Surate, ninthly Bandora[7], tenthly Damanum[8]. Then Malabari[9], which contains seven kingdoms, namely: 1. Calicut, 2. Cranganor, 3. Coccin, 4. Culan, 5. Cananor, 6. Travancor[10]. Then Narsinga, in which are the places I have already named, the coast of Carmandel, Dansborg and the others. The other part of the Indies, which is called *India extra Gangem*, contains many countries, but there is one among them which is called Bengala, and is a very large kingdom. The chief places are: 1. Bengala[11], 2. Gauro[12], 3. Marazaia[13], 4. Chatigam[14], 5. Sati-

[1] Cambay (Khambāyat), which, however, "contains" no towns, but was the principal seaport of the kingdom of Gujarāt, to which Campanel = Chāmpāner also belonged. See Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, pp. 108, n. 1, 123, n. 1.

[2] Madabar cannot be intended for Malabar, as it is named as a town of Gujarāt. I suspect it is a mistake for Amadabat (cp. Amadavat), *i.e.* Ahmadabad, but there is uncertainty as to this.

[3] Dium. Diu: see Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, p. 151, n. 1.

[4] Bazuinum. Bassein, the Baxay of Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, p. 151, n. 1.

[5] Ravellum. The modern Rander on the north side of the Tāptī estuary. Raval is the spelling in the Spanish version of Barbosa and in Ramusio. See Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, p. 145, n. 1.

[6] Canacor. This cannot be Cannanore, as Cananor is named below as a town in Malabar. I suspect it was intended for Chintacor (the modern Chitākul, close to Kārwār) which appears under a great variety of forms from the Arab geographer Sindabur onwards. It was a site of importance in early times. It might, however, be meant for Chandor, an old place in the Nāsik district. This lay in old Gujarāt, whereas Chintacor was beyond the limits of that kingdom.

[7] Bandora. Bāndra, about nine miles north of Bombay, at the southern extremity of Salsette Island.

[8] Damanum. Damān: see Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, p. 150, n. 1.

[9] Malabari. The Malabar coast.

[10] Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, Coulam (Coilam, Quilon), Cannanore, Travancore.

[11] By "Bengala" in Bengal, Jón may mean the "City of Bengala," the identity of which is still a disputed point. See Barbosa, ed. Dames, II, pp. 135–45.

[12] Gauro. Gaur, a ruined city in Mālda district, Eastern Bengal, the old Hindu and Muhammadan capital.

[13] Jón's "Marazaia" is a town visited by Nicolo de Conti in his way up the Ganges (?) and is called by him in the Latin text (Paris ed. of 1722, p. 131) Marahatia. It appears on numerous sixteenth-century maps under various names, such as Maarazia, Maraazia, etc., but up to date has not been certainly identified, although several suggestions have been put forward.

[14] Chatigam. Chittagong (Chatgānw), in Eastern Bengal.

gam[1]. It also contains many kingdoms: Pegu is a mighty Kingdom and has more than six kingdoms under it; Ternaseri is within its borders[2]. Sian is a very large country: it contains seven kingdoms, Sian in especial, and seven others. Of Ceylon I have already written: it contains nine kingdoms, which are all subject to one lord: the chief city is called Colmuchi[3]. Sumatra is a very large island comprising ten kingdoms: the chief towns there are Margana[4] and ten others. Java Major is a large island, and contains eight kingdoms; the chief cities there are Sunda[5] and Bantam, and three others besides. Borneo is a large and fertile island. The chief city there is called Borneo[6], and there are four others. The Moluchian Islands are mainly five, namely Ternate, Tidor, Motir, Machian and Bachian[7]. In these islands is a great wealth of many kinds of fruits, roots and spices, especially cloves. Some small islands are called Bandan[8]: they contain much nutmeg and nutmeg-flowers, which are ginger and cinnamon[9]. Japan is a very large island, and off it lie two islands, Bungo and Tonsa[10], they lie somewhat east of China. In these islands are many kingdoms and many beautiful towns, the chief of which is Meacum[11], and there are six

[1] Satigam. Satgaon, a ruined city in Hūglī district, Eastern Bengal.

[2] Jón is wrong. In his time Tenasserim was under Siamese dominion.

[3] See p. 1, n. 2.

[4] Margana is not traceable. Dr C. Otto Blagden is of opinion that it cannot stand for Menangkabou which, though not a town, was at that time a state of some importance. He suspects that the word was probably badly spelt in the original MS. and has been misread and so turned into its present impossible shape.

[5] See Barbosa, ed. Dames, II, p. 189, n. 3, where Dames remarks that Sunda seems to have been a name originally applied to the west coast of Java rather than to the island in the straits so called.

[6] Borneo. Brunei.

[7] Ternate, Tidor, Motir, Machian and Bachian are islands in the Molucca group, "foure high piked ilands" west of Gilolo. See Drake, *World Encompassed*, ed. Temple, pp. liv, 66 and map facing p. lviii.

[8] The Banda Islands form part of the Molucca group.

[9] Jón evidently meant to say "nutmeg-flowers and other spices, among which are ginger and cinnamon."

[10] Dr Blöndal has a note here: "These names are found on old maps as the names of two of the Japanese islands. Bungo is a district in the island Kiushiu (Sakaido) and once applied to all the islands. Tonsa is Tosa, a district in Shikoku, and the term was also applied to all the islands."

[11] Meacum represents Miyako, the popular name for Kioto, the former capital of Japan.

others. The Philippine Islands lie off the Indies and belong to the King of Spain: the chief of them are Luconia, Tandair, and Mindanano[1]: the chief towns there are six in number. Besides these there are many other excellent islands in the East Indies. I will not write about Persia, to which many countries and great towns are subject. And here I will make an end of my account of Asia.

[1] Luzon, Panay, Mindanao.

CHAPTER XIV

INDIA, which we call East India, is a huge wealthy land. On its west side it borders on Persia: on its north are certain lands of Tartary; towards the east is China and the great ocean, and so also towards the south. In this country are many pearls, precious stones, costly fruits and spices, and other splendid and costly wares which are brought thence to our countries. These are the chief rulers of India: the King of Pegu: he has under him the following countries: Pegu, Sian, Tangut, Proma, Melinta, Colom, Bacom, Mirandu, Ave, Brama, Araran, Macin[1]. The second is the great Mogor[2]: he has under him these countries: Cambaia, Delli, Sanca, Mandro, Bengala[3]. The third is the realm of Calicut. The fourth is the ruler and king of Narsinga and Bisnagar[4].

Asia, the fourth part of the world, is a very vast region in circumference, very near as large as Africa and Europe. It extends to Europe along the Russian boundary to the River Tanais[5]. Further there is between Asia and Europe the Moorish Sea and the Egyptian Sea[6] and the Red Sea, so that Asia is nearly surrounded by the sea[7]. It is a region very

[1] This statement is quite wrong, but the King of Pegu loomed large in the eyes of European merchant travellers in Jón's day. The names of the countries and towns mentioned in his list are very corrupt, but the places indicated may be taken to be: Pegu, Siam, Taungu, Prome, Myinzaing (Pinya), Sagaing, Pagān, Martaban, Ava, Burma (itself a very corrupt form of Mrammā, now pronounced Bamā) and Arakan. Macin (Machin) was used to indicate Southern China in the seventeenth century.

[2] The "great Mogor," or Mughal Emperor, of Jón's day was Jahāngīr (1605–27).

[3] Here again towns and kingdoms are mixed up. Cambay, Delhi and Bengal are recognizable. There was never any kingdom with a name in the least resembling Sanca. It is possible that Mewār is meant, since the name of its greatest chief, who was defeated by Bābur, was Sanga. Mandro probably represents Mālava (Mālwā), being either a corruption of the name, or standing for the name of the fortress Māṇḍū, or Māṇḍogaṛh.

[4] See note 2 on p. 91.

[5] River Tanais. The River Don.

[6] See note 3 on p. 76. The "Egyptian" sea is the Aegean and eastern end of the Mediterranean, off the coast of Palestine.

[7] This is an interesting statement if such was generally held to be a fact in Jón's day.

wealthy in precious stones, pearls, gold, silver, copper, iron, much silk, velvet, grogram[1], rhubarb, incense, myrrh, every species of spice and all kinds of merchandise. Asia is divided into six parts. The first is Turkey and all those countries subject to the Great Turk; the next is that which the Russians rule over in Asia[2]; the third is Great Tartary, comprising all those countries which the great Cam[3] rules; the fourth part is the mighty realm of China, wherein are fifteen kingdoms; the fifth is India with many kingdoms; the sixth part is Persia with all those lands which are subject to the Persian King. Belonging to Asia are also many noble islands, among others too numerous to name there is especially the fair island Ceylon, which I have mentioned before, Sumatra, Java, Banda and the Moluchian Islands. The lands of the Turks in Asia are called Natolia, among which is Little-Asia[4]: thence came those men who took our people here in Iceland captive in 1627[5]. Then there are Pamphilia, Cilicia, Little-Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Great-Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Syria with Smyrna and the islands of Rhodes and others[6]. From these countries are exported much silk, damask, velvet, grogram, cotton, scarlet dye[7], balsam, incense, oil, myrrh and many other costly wares. Those aforesaid countries border on Tartary, the Caspian Sea to Persia and Egypt. Cilicia is a mountainous country; it contains five cities, Tarsus being one of them. This country with Pamphilia is now called Caramino[8]. In lesser Armenia are five

[1] Grogram (Du. *grofgram*, Fr. *gros grain*), a mixture of silk and mohair.

[2] The allusion seems to be to Siberia, which became a penal colony in the seventeenth century.

[3] The great Cam. The Mongolian Khan: a reference to the general Mongolian conquests in Central Asia.

[4] Natolia. Anatolia (Gr. *anatolē*, sunrise, *i.e.* eastern land), used for the south-east coast of the Aegean, that is Asia Minor (Jón's Little-Asia).

[5] It was to Algiers that they were taken, as is well known, but Jón was confused by the fact that "Tyrkiriid" was used both for the whole Turkish kingdom, as here, and also sometimes specially for the raiding communities on the north coast of Africa (Barbary). (B.) For the story of the raid by Turkish (Barbary) pirates on Iceland in 1627, see *infra*, part III, ch. II.

[6] These names are chiefly from classical history or the New Testament.

[7] Scarlet dye. The shell (*Murex*) dyes of the Mediterranean, the most famous of which was the Tyrian purple.

[8] Caramino, Karamania, in Southern Asia Minor.

cities, Nichopolin[1] being one of them. Cappadocia is a sandy land; it contains six cities; Magnopolis[2] is one of the chief of them. Gallicia or Gallogrecia contains seven cities, among which are Pompejopolis[3] and Antiochia. Rodes is a fair island, 120 miles in circumference; it contains four cities. Arabia is a large country and is divided into three parts; one of them belongs to the Turk, another to the King of Persia, and the third part is independent[4]. Stony Arabia is a barren land; in it is the mountain Sinai. At Talnaby[5] Mahommed is buried. Syria is a large country and contains many chieftainships; in it is Damascum. In Palestine are these countries: Idumaea, Judaea, Samaria and Galilea, in which last is Jerusalem, which is now called Cadz[6], Joppe, Jericho, Samaria, Gaza, Bethlehem, Capernaum, Nazareth and Cana. In Phenicia are Tyro, Sidon and Damascum[7]. Cyprus is a fair island and very fertile; it lies in the Straits[8] and contains the cities Famagusta, Nicosia, Paphos and others. All these countries of Asia are under the rule of the Turk. China is a very large and powerful land: to the south of it is India[9], to the west Tartary, from which it is separated by high moun-

[1] Nichopolin. Apparently Nicopolis in Cappadocia, founded by Pompey on the spot where he defeated Mithridates.

[2] Magnopolis seems to be Megalopolis-Sebasteia, the ancient name of Sivas in Asia Minor.

[3] Gallicia or Gallograecia, Galatia (Roman Gallograecia). Pompejopolis = Soli (modern Mezetlü) on the south coast of Asia Minor, south-west of Tarsus.

[4] This statement reads like an extract from a much earlier date. It may refer to the beginning of the sixteenth century when Yemen passed into the hands of the Turks, at which time the Persians claimed authority over Oman. But in Jón's day Arabia was split up into small governments and groups of wandering tribes.

[5] In Nansen's *Compendium* this place is given in the 1633 and 1635 editions as Medina Talnaby, but in the 1646 edition which Jón used (see vol. I, p. 132, n. 1) a comma has been inserted between the two words, and Jón probably thought, as Dr Blöndal remarks, that they were two separate towns. The name, of which Medina Talnaby is a Hobson-Jobson, is really Medinatu'n-Nabi, the City of the Prophet, *i.e.* Medina, not far from Mecca. See *Ind. Ant.* LII, p. 39.

[6] Cadz. Ar. *Quds*, holy, Paradise, Jerusalem (now called *Quds-i-charīf*).

[7] For "Phenicia" read "Syria."

[8] By "the Straits" Jón means the eastern corner of the Mediterranean. See p. 76, and Dr Blöndal's note on the use of the term.

[9] The term "India" included all the countries east of it. These were "India" and "Further India."

tains and a long wall, said to be 1000 miles long, which stands between Cathay[1] and China. This land China is said to be the wealthiest land under the sun and its king the wealthiest king. The inhabitants of this country are very clever and full of parts: they had guns, powder and shot, and printed books long before we did[2]. It is a very fertile land, with corn, wheat and barley[3], gold, silver, copper, iron, pearls, precious stones, sugar, silk, and other costly wares; and it may well be termed the earthly paradise. It is divided into fifteen different chief countries, in which there are said to be 590 large cities, of smaller towns 1674, and villages and hamlets beyond all counting.

The capital city is Paquin, where the King of China holds his court. Next to it in importance is Quinsay[4], which is said to be twenty-five miles in circumference, and Canton. In this great kingdom of China there is much commerce of all kinds, and a great deal of trading.

Now we will return to our story at the point where I left it, namely where we arrived off the fortress of Dansborg, lowered our sails and dropped our anchors nearly two miles from shore, let our flags fly from the maintop, fired off three guns and ordered the trumpets to be sounded. And as a ship called the *Spaniel* or *St Lawrence*, sent out from Denmark a year and a half earlier[5], was lying in the same anchorage, they fired three shots in their turn, to pay us honour, hoisted their flag and sounded their trumpets. At once their captain, by name Ernst[6], a Dutchman by birth, came on board our vessel, and each had news from the other, and there was a

[1] Cathay. A name formerly applied to the north of China (Manchuria and Mongolia), but often used for other parts, and sometimes for the whole country. (B.) Here it is obviously Central Asia or Mongolia, from the reference to the Great Wall. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Cathay.

[2] The Confucian Canon was printed from wooden blocks in A.D. 932.

[3] Here Jón is referring to Northern China, where wheat, barley, millet, etc. are the staple crops.

[4] Paquin is Pekin. Dr Blöndal identifies Quinsay with Hangchow and refers to Ivar Hallberg, *L'extrême Orient*, s.v. Pekin.

[5] The *Spaniel* sailed from Denmark six months before the *Christianshavn*, in April 1622. See Kay Larsen, p. 23, and vol. I, p. 210, n. 3.

[6] His full name was Ernst Gerritsen Pricker. Cp. Lind, *Kristian IV og hans Mænd*, p. 202 and note R.C. (B.)

joyful meeting between us, for each had good and glad news to tell the other.

Now I must tell how when the men of the fortress descried us, they recognized us by our flag, and as soon as we were lying at anchor they broke their flag and fired off three of their largest guns from the walls, with blowing of trumpets. Those who were then the officers of the fortress were the Rector, whose name was Christoffer Milner, and the Governor, by name Henrik Hess[1]. This last was born in Elsinore, of notable parents, the other in Holland[2], and both were excellent persons of much experience.

On the same day as we arrived off the fortress a great carousal was held with both the captains present, and there was nearly a quarrel between them, because the Dutch captain, Ernst, twitted our captain, Christoffer Boye, with his wife's misconduct, whereof I have spoken before (namely that she committed adultery while he was on his first voyage to the East Indies). At this our captain was violently moved, so that he would have run the other through with his rapier, if a man had not flung himself between them, for the one was no match for the other in valour or skill in weapons. But all our people using their friendly offices to reconcile them, they succeeded in making peace by dint of persuasion. After all this, they gave up their wine drinking in the cabin and the cannon salutes ceased, and we went to wash after our toil (for we had been firing off the guns nearly the whole day) shortly before we went to our meal.

But it happened that a certain man on board called Iver Hansen[3], of Jutish family, a very large and violent man, had certain shirts lying to be washed in the tub. This man was a boatswain and in great favour with our captain, because he had been with him on his previous voyage to India. When I was drying myself he came up and thought to take his shirts

[1] For Christoffer Milner (Christoffer van der Mohlen) and Henrik Hess, see ch. IV, p. 26. Dr Blöndal informs me that Henrik Hess, who went to India with Ove Giedde in 1618, was appointed commandant of Dansborg in 1621.

[2] See notes 4 and 5 on p. 26.

[3] In Simon Johansen's list there is a boatman of the name, Iffuer Hansen. (B.) See the list on p. 34.

out of the tub to wash them, when he saw that one of them had a little grime on it from gunpowder, and at once he told me very vehemently that I had done it, which in a friendly tone, I denied. But on account of his arrogance and violent temper my excuses were of little or no avail, and he declared he would have my life, and challenged me, if I wished to keep an honourable name and reputation henceforth, to fight a duel with him the next morning. My master-gunner, Niels Dreyer, now came up and many of the crew, to soothe his violent temper and compose the quarrel, but in this no one succeeded, and the captain had gone to bed, so we shook hands on a bargain that this duel should take place as he had said, and I prayed God that it should go according to which of us had right and truth on his side. The master-gunner and all the others declared me innocent. The master-gunner had a good sword, and went straightway to whet its blade, and then gave it to me, and bade me wield it well and manfully and defend myself as best I could, but he said if I should lose the day he would avenge me, and thereon he gave me his hand as a pledge. But the reason of his many promises was because he knew the true facts of which I had not the least suspicion. Afterwards Iver went over to the cabin and waked the captain and asked leave to go ashore, which was granted (but the captain did not know what was in the wind). So Iver went ashore in a great passion and with evil thoughts: he was conveyed by some Indians who had come on board in a boat which they call *zelinga*[1]. Iver said he would wait for me on shore until midday, and fixed the time for the duel with many penalties if I should fail to appear.

And so that night passed, and the next morning about six o'clock, as the custom was, trumpet-blasts and bell-ringing summoned us to service, and after mattins were ended and the blessing given, we all went to our breakfast. While the meal lasted one of the ship's crew was placed on watch, and this man shouted out in a loud voice that an Indian boat was rowing towards us from land, in which he could hear the sore

[1] This is an early instance of the term *shalandī*, for which see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Chelingo.

groaning of a sick man. Some of the men said that perhaps Iver had come to harm. And so it proved when the boat came under the vessel's side that Iver lay there sick of an almost intolerable pain in the eyes[1], so that men could hardly endure to hear his cries and wailing. The news was soon brought to me that I need not fear Iver nor put myself to the trouble of fighting with him. He was drawn up on board by a rope and laid in his bed, and sent me a message bidding me come quickly to his bedside, which I did: the most of his fury had then ebbed away, and he confessed that he knew my innocence was proved by this thing which had befallen him and asked my forgiveness with tears. We became good friends thereafter. But our master-gunner confessed that he had been guilty of the deed which Iver thought I had committed, and so the whole matter was finally cleared up. After six weeks time Iver was cured of his sore disease, and so this incident closes.

[1] Probably acute *conjunctivitis*.

CHAPTER XV

ON this same day, which was the next after our arrival, our captain went on shore and to the fortress, and was well received by the Rector and Governor: nine shots were fired from the walls which enclose the fortress Dansborg, and the same was done on each of the two ships. A few days later the half of our people, newly arrived with the ship *Christianshavn*, was ordered on land by the Rector and Governor, to be soldiers in the fortress. Amongst these I was also bidden to proceed thither and hold watch. But the other half of our company, together with Captain Christoffer Boye, was ordered to the other ship, called the *Spaniel* (or, by its other name, *St Lawrence*), and they were to be despatched to Ternasseri, where seven men from the first voyage were engaged in commerce[1]. It was a matter of 600 sea-miles to sail thither, and they would have the monsoon from the south to take them there, before it had exhausted its force, and then again the monsoon from the north back to the fortress[2]. The vessel was to lie at Ternasseri the following winter, and towards Easter it was to return to us, if nothing hindered it. It was because there was no winter harbour at our fortress Dansborg that the ships had to remain at Ternasseri all the winter. These places are usually about six weeks' sailing apart[3]. But the captain, Ernst, who had come thither from Denmark in this vessel, was to go home again on our ship the *Christianshavn*, for it is the custom that those men who have been there longest and are desirous of returning should be permitted to leave by the first vessel which arrives from Denmark, Holland, or England. Four men of our crew re-

[1] See ch. III, p. 20, and n. 4.

[2] In the Bay of Bengal the south-west monsoon blows from about May to September and the north-west monsoon from about October to April.

[3] The small sailing vessels of the early traders evidently sailed, for safety's sake, when the monsoons were at their lightest (in October–November), from South India towards Tenasserim, and then again (in March–April) south-west to Southern India. The voyage would thus be necessarily very slow.

turned to Denmark by the same ship, amongst whom was my good friend Peter van Bergen[1], by whom I sent the letter which I wrote to my brother here in Iceland, Halldór Ólafsson, from the fortress Dansborg. They had never heard the like, that a letter should be written and sent from the Indies to Iceland[2].

Our chaplain Christian[3] had to obey orders like other folk, and was to sail with our captain, Christoffer Boye, and his companions to Ternasseri, on the which voyage he lost his life, so that it was not granted to me to see him again. He was but a young man, wise and learned, and a good preacher. I was intimate with him and much beloved by him, as also by our captain, Christoffer Boye, who had a special love for me, so that I often had to stand by him on his watch, to amuse him; it often happened that he took hold of me and hindered me from going below or taking in top-sail, declaring that he had often seen me more forward in voluntarily doing these and other things when others shunned them; this he said he had silently observed. So all men treated me especially well, and at that time none could think meanly of me for unmanliness, thanks be to God! But I will tell anyone who will heed it that every single man who undertakes such journeys and has neither kinsmen on board, nor money, nor powerful friends, must have three good qualities, namely gentleness and an even temper towards his officers and others who are worthy of it, and secondly, willingness, so that he does not wait to act till he is bidden. Thirdly, he must stand firm in troubles, must suffer ill well and yet must not put up with too much, and must defend himself with honour, manliness and understanding. The sum of it all is to act and behave honourably in word and deed, so that he need not fear to answer boldly for himself. And this may suffice on this matter.

We were nearly ten days on the ship before we were properly summoned to the fortress. On the voyage each two of us had been given ten cheeses in addition to other victuals, and these we were to use as food when there was no oppor-

[1] See the list on p. 34.

[2] See vol. I, pp. 7, 9, 15, 35, 158 for Jón's brother. It is a pity that this first letter from India to Iceland has not survived.

[3] See the list on p. 34.

tunity of cooking, but if it proved that anyone traded in them or reserved them for sale when he came to India, he should be punished therefor and mulcted by loss of pay[1]. Now it fell to my lot when I left home to have such a good comrade as Bernt Andersen[2], who might be compared to a good wife in his thoughtful care and in everything concerning my daily necessities or that it was in his power to do for me, so that he could not bear to see or hear that I suffered in any way. But God Almighty gave me and him good health, so that I suffered no ill, save that one day I had a slight attack of ague and he was so deeply concerned that he took no food all that day. Earlier in his youth he had been apprenticed to a tailor. He was not more than thirty years of age. We consumed one cheese on the voyage and threw overboard another which was damaged, but we had eight when we arrived in India, though we kept it secret, and we received for each of them a piece of eight, that is to say a rixdollar, and each piece of eight is as good as ten dollars at home in Denmark[3]. Now it so chanced that some Indians came on board one day, before we had altogether left the ship, and we secretly sold to one of them two cheeses for two Spanish dollars[4]. But after they had landed our captain met them, and when he got back to the ship all the crew were called on deck and were informed by him that he had met these persons, and he threatened those who had done it with great penalties. But when he heard and observed that I was concerned in the affair, he let the matter drop.

One day when we were intending to go ashore, we saw a huge and terrible sea-serpent, which dozed on the surface for more than three hours, right on the course we had to row to come ashore. The water flowed over it in nine places and men thought it must be 900 ells long, or maybe, somewhat

[1] Similar rules were formerly enforced as to the sale of Government rations by Indian soldiers in the Indian Army.

[2] See the list on p. 33.

[3] Jón means that the buying value of a piece (*real*) of eight in India was as great as that of ten ordinary Danish *rixdaler* in Denmark. (B.)

[4] By "Spanish dollar" Jón is here referring to the rixdollar he mentions above.

less[1]. We were obliged to stay on the ship two days on account of this monster and of the great terror its size strikes into men's hearts. We threw into the sea a quantity of castoreum[2], which sailors always have with them in order to drive away whales and sea-serpents and other sea monsters, when need arises: it is the testicles of the beaver, an animal which has the property of living both on land and on the sea, and from the hair of which are made the most costly hats, called beaver. It makes itself a house of logs on the steep shores of the sea and its tail must always lie in the sea when the creature is asleep[3]. There are many of them in Norway, where they are frequently captured, as also otters and martens, which also have their habitat both on sea and land[4].

[1] The "terrible sea-serpent" was probably a sleeping whale. The story is interesting as showing how far out to sea the ship lay in the road. In some places along the Coromandel Coast this is necessary.

[2] *Castoreum*, a substance contained in two pear-shaped pouches near the groin of the beaver, of a bitter taste and slightly fœtid odour, at one time largely employed in medicine, now only used in perfumery. Dr Blöndal notes that the substance was supposed to possess magical powers at this date.

[3] This belief may have originated in the fact that the beaver uses its tail as a rudder.

[4] Jón is wrong as regards martens, which are not amphibious animals.

CHAPTER XVI

NOW we return to where two days after we had seen the serpent we bade farewell to the ship *Christianshavn* and went with the half of our people on shore, and applied ourselves to the work allotted and confided to us by the officers of the fortress, we having renewed our oath, and some of us, myself among them, having our pay raised, though at that time only by one *gulden* (that is twenty cod-fish[1]) by the month. This happened two days after we had landed: the drum was beaten, pipes played and trumpets blared: each of us was mustered by name, and our names called according to military custom and usage, and we were entered into the strictest discipline. Thereafter we were daily exercised, mustered, drilled and accustomed to military operations after the fashion of soldiers. Every third night we were ordered on guard with strict orders and warnings to be heedful in that heathen and foreign land, and to be faithful and obedient according to the purport of our oath to our King and the Company. Moreover, every time that the officers entered and issued from the gate, if we were not up on the fortress walls, each squad or watch was strictly commanded to fall into rank and present arms, according to the usual military custom, in order to show them honour on behalf of the royal dignity of the King of Denmark, in the presence and close observation of foreign persons.

After we had returned home from this muster and the regulations had been read to us we were divided into messes of seven, and to each mess was allotted a room. One man was appointed chief of each mess, that he might faithfully heed that in his room all conducted themselves in a proper and Christian manner, both by day, in the evenings, and at night. To each of these chiefs the officers gave full authority for the charge of his mess, to which office I was also appointed, and received a room and men, and not the worst of them. Every

[1] See vol. I, p. 48, n. 2 for cod-fish currency.

room was called after the name of its mess-master, and it was provided with a sufficiency of table-service: jugs, mugs, plates and dishes, also stone vessels for the keeping of water, which for coolness' sake were buried in the ground up to the brim[1]. Old Indian women were hired for bearing water, which was carried a long way: they bore it in small stone vessels on their heads, according to their custom. One of these women was allotted to each room. And when all this was arranged and ordered, those who were to return home went to the ship in our stead, and we settled down into the said rooms, where we had our avocations and business and lived both day and night. Further, an Indian was allotted to us to wash all our linen; his name was Athrumbus[2], but on account of his occupation he was called *maynath*[3]. This man very punctually returned our linen every Saturday. With him I often had much sport, which he took well.

The third day after our landing, when everything concerning the discipline in the fortress had been arranged and ordered, and after a muster had been held in the drill yard of the fortress, bells summoned us to our meal, at the end of which we were given our usual ration, a bare half-pint of French wine, and a jug of ale for each mess. After this the watch began, and each squad remained on guard for three nights. A watch was set at each corner of the fortress, and stood there for two hours at a time. The fifth watch stood by the fortress-gate for the same length of time. At each corner of the castle or by each bastion a kind of niche was made of handsome masonry, wherein the watch stood when there was thunder and lightning, or when rain streamed down out of the sky in pitch darkness, very awful and terrible, and upon

[1] By "stone vessels" Jón means the ordinary earthenware waterpots used in the East. Burying earthen vessels to the brim is an odd way of keeping water cool; the usual method of letting the open air play upon porous earthenware is more successful.

[2] It is impossible to say what Tamil name is meant by Athrumbus.

[3] Lacerda, *Port. Dict.*, gives "*Mainato* (a term of Asia), a man-washer." Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Mainato, explains it thus: "Tamil, a washerman or dhoby." The term, like so many employed by Jón, appears to be a Portuguese rendering of a Tamil word, in this case the caste name Vannan (from *vannai*, white), a washerman, the man who makes white.

this niche was built a cupola, or as it were a little hood, with a gilded vane atop, so that the water might not stream down on those who stood beneath it[1]. But those who were appointed to make the rounds and to test and make trial of the faithfulness of the watch did not consort with the watch. At first these were the Governor and the quartermaster. And persons found asleep or heedless by these persons, or any who allowed themselves to be lured and caught napping by them, forfeited their lives according to the laws and military regulations, and this stern military justice is the same in every fortress belonging to lord or king, so far as I have been able to learn[2].

But as regards our daily work in the fortress, we had none save our watch, and at first, when we were newly arrived, we were drilled and exercised every morning before we broke our fast[3], and also instructed in the art and conduct of war. Also when pepper came from the King of Travanzour[4] to our fortress we had to garble[5] it, that is to say clean it of all grass and refuse with a large sieve, but those who were on guard were free from this duty, and our butler or steward usually dealt us out a mutchkin[6] of wine for our trouble. Further, we were every Saturday given a *fanó*, that is an Indian gold coin, worth eleven Danish shillings, to pay our washing, but it was afterwards deducted from our pay. This *fanó* was equal to a rixdollar at home in Denmark[7], and when a Spanish dollar

[1] The fortress thus had four bastions with guard-houses.

[2] Such might have been the military regulation, but it could not have been carried out in so small a garrison as that at Dansborg. Jón seems to have been fond of terrifying his audience.

[3] That is, drill before sunrise or soon after, a custom long continued in the British army in India; but it was always unwise to go on parade on a completely empty stomach.

[4] Tanjore. See note 3 on p. 15.

[5] Garble, *i.e.* sift.

[6] About three-quarters of a pint. See note 3 on p. 46.

[7] *Fanó*. Jón has become confused in his recollection of the South Indian coin known as *fanam* (Tamil, *paṇam* from Skt. *paṇa*) a small gold coin of very varying size and value. This he has incorrectly valued at a Danish rixdollar or 4 shillings English. But Bowrey, 1669–79 (see *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 114) reckoned the *fanam* at Fort St George, Madras, at only 3*d*. English. See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Fanam. Jón is more correct when he says that 10 *fanó* went to a Spanish dollar, *i.e.* it was worth $\frac{1}{10}$th of 50*d*. = 5*d*. English. See Mr Moreland's remarks on this coin (*Relations of Golconda*, p. 93) where the value, up to 1625, is reckoned at about 6*d*.

was to be changed, ten *fanó* were counted out by the traders who have their booths on the market-place and who stay there every day to sell such goods as are according to the custom of the country, and of which, with God's help, I will speak more anon. But one *fanó* is changed by the traders for eighty-six *caser*[1]; those are Indian copper coins with which one can buy whatever one wants.

The fortress was surrounded by handsome walls and well furnished with bastions at each corner and small turrets on each bastion with a gilded vane, as I have described before. Within the walls, in the middle of the fortress yard, stood our church, an old house which had formerly been in the possession of a Portuguese papist[2]. In it mattins and evensong were performed, with prayer and blessing, and further, every Sunday and Wednesday there was a sermon and the Sacraments were given out. When I came the chaplain of the fortress was Master Jens[3], an exceedingly good preacher, who intoned the prayers in a fine voice, a man who exerted authority, sincere and bold in his sermons with regard to the faith of Papists, Calvinists and Lutherans. I and three others were appointed

[1] *Caser*. Skt. *karsha*, Tam. *kāsu*, Port. *caixa*, Eng. cash, a name applied to sundry coins of low value in various parts of India. See Yule, *op. cit.* s.v. Cash. Here another valuation is given to the *fanó* or *fanam*, as it is stated to be worth 86 cash, = 860 cash to the Spanish dollar at 10 *fanam* to the dollar. We see also how the wily Indian money-changer made a little money out of the Danish traders and settlers; for the value of the cash was roughly 1000 or more to the Spanish dollar. See *Indian Antiquary* (*Obsolete Tin Currency of the Malay States*), XLII, pp. 100–10; (*Currency and Coinage among the Burmese*), LVII, pp. 11–12.

[2] Of the church and the building which preceded it, Kay Larsen (p. 21) remarks: "In the middle of the square of the Fort there is said to have been a little old chapel which had belonged to a Portuguese abbot. This had at once to make way for a large new church, of which Ove Giedde himself laid the foundation stone. The new church had a very high arch and a fine tower with a gilded vane. Like the Fort, it was built by Indian workmen under Danish direction and in the Danish fashion. The first Danish minister on Indian soil was Peter Sørensen Aale." The greater part of this description seems to have been taken from Jón Ólafsson's account. See below, ch. XXII, p. 147.

[3] Here and *infra* Jón calls this man, who was really Peter Sørensen Aale (see above, note 2), "Master Jens." Dr Blöndal informs me that he went to India with Ove Giedde in 1618, became chaplain of the fortress of Dansborg and remained there until his death, which occurred between 1624 and 1630.

to act as deacons to him, so long as I was there, and he was always especially kind and indulgent to me beyond all others.

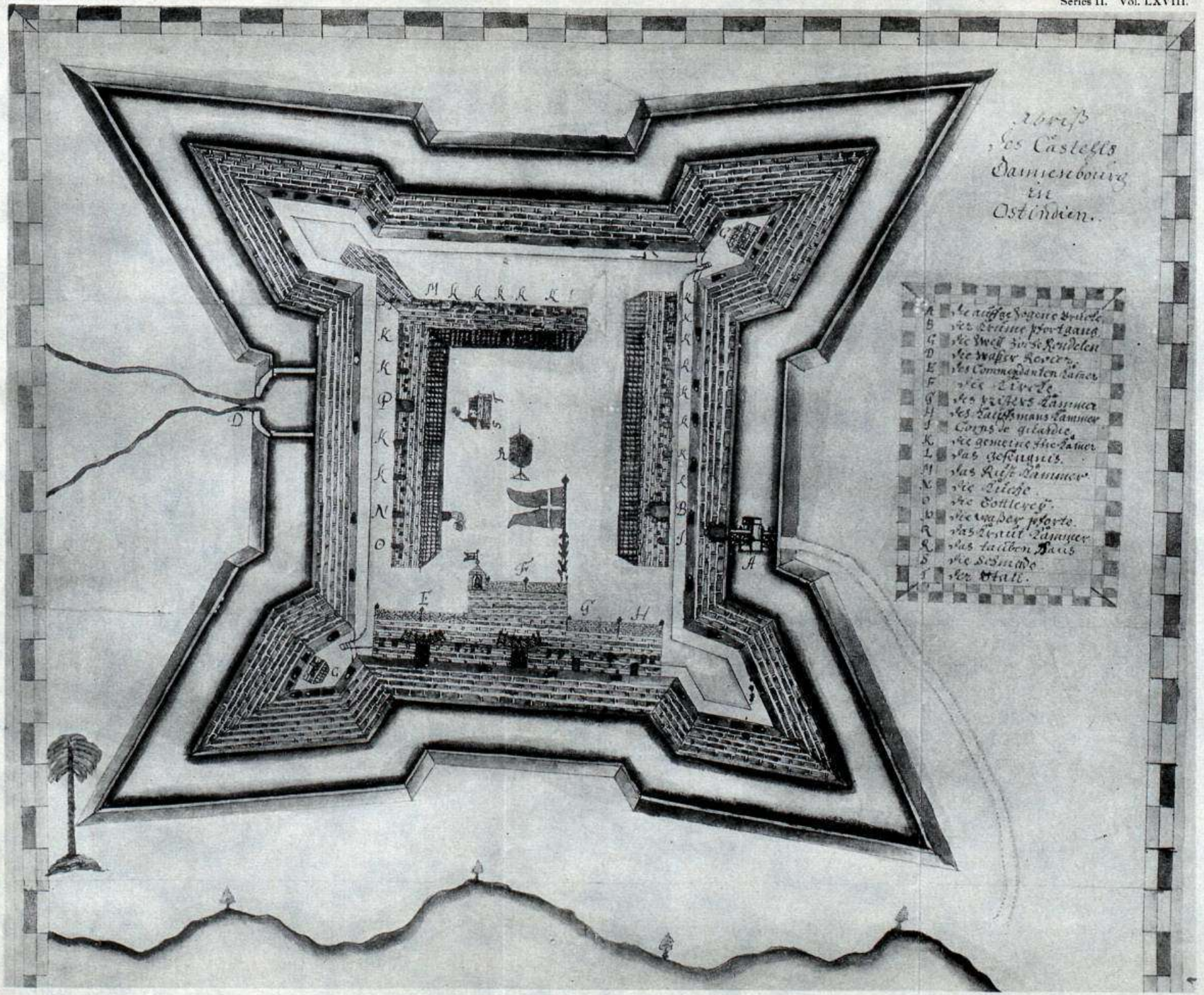
The man who superintended all the building of the fortress was called Erik the Smith, but Indian master-masons had done all the toil and work, they being very swift and skilful therein, beyond those here in Europe. Against the south wall and abutting on the drill-ground of the fortress, within the walls, stood a large hall, a great building, led up to by many steps: up there our officers sat daily and had their meals, sleeping-apartments, and residence. There also were the judgment-court, council-chamber, and counting-house. On the south and south-west side, within the walls, were other small apartments and the building where we slept. On the eastern side, within the walls, stood the large stone-built kitchen and a walled well out of which water was drawn for cooking all our meals[1].

All round the fortress, in every embrasure in the walls, were iron cannon, large and small: the largest shot fired weighing 9 pounds, the smallest $4\frac{1}{2}$. There were between eighty and ninety of them. There was further in the fortress a sufficiency of hand-firing weapons of two kinds: muskets and granades[2]. Also of shot of four kinds, namely link-shot, bolt-shot, cross-shot and ordinary ball-shot. All these means of defence with other things that appertained to them were kept in the fortress of Dansborg.

As regards our rations in the fortress, they were much the same as I have previously described for the voyage, except that every morning at breakfast we had rice well boiled in new milk, and often fresh fish, as well as fresh pork and fresh goat's flesh, and some species of bird. The winter after I came a hundred goats were kept in the castle to be slaughtered for the garrison, and they became so thin in the winter that they died of hunger and misery, so barren does the soil become there in the winter-time, owing to the great rains and the daily

[1] Jón's description of the fortress of Dansborg in its early stages appears to be the only one extant, for Kay Larsen relies almost entirely upon it in his account of the citadel.

[2] For these types of cannon see Blom, *Kristian den Fjerdes Artilleri*, pp. 261–86. (B.)



THE FORTRESS OF DANSBORG

winds which prevail there[1]. Sheep there resemble goats, save that they have no horns nor beards: they have no more wool than goats, but are of divers colours, namely white, black, brown, blue and red[2].

Woollen cloth is not made there, for there is no wool, but many other kinds of woven material, of cotton, silk, mohair: this grows on a special kind of tree and the threads made of it have the colour of gold: hence it is often embroidered on shirts as an ornament[3]. Cloth of velvet is woven there, and cloth of gold, also of silver, and copper, of lead[4], and of the bark of the palm-tree[5], which is as tough as string, and from it they manufacture their sails and anchor-cables, caps for sailors, baskets and other things. From that one tree they can eat, drink, clothe themselves, make fishing-tackle and ships' cables and other gear[6]: they can build their ships and smacks of it and sew the seams together with its bark, as is their custom, however large the vessel. They are not clipper-built, but the strakes are laid edge to edge and fastened with laths, one inside and one out, at every join, and sewn through over the laths with this bark-thread, dressed in the proper way[7].

[1] Jón's statements are contradictory. Soil does not become barren in great rains. He is right in so far as a good deal of rain falls usually, but not always, on the Coromandel Coast in the north-east monsoon, *i.e.* in winter. But the goats must have become thin and died from confinement in too small a space and want of proper food. Jón's explanation, however, would seem natural enough to him, as he appears to be referring to the old European custom in the Middle Ages of killing off livestock in the early winter, and salting down or drying the meat because of want of fodder later on. This his audience would readily understand.

[2] Jón is describing, more or less correctly, the Madras sheep (Tam. *adu*). He is right in saying it resembles a goat and has short coarse hair. It is extraordinarily small. The rams, however, have horns and the prevailing colour of the animals is red or brown of various shades.

[3] On mohair Dr Blöndal has the following note: "Dan. *mor*, Ger. *mohr*, Fr. *moiré*, a sort of woven silk cloth. The word was originally used in French for the cloth woven of the hair of the Angora goat." But Jón's description seems to apply rather to *tasar* or *herba* silk. See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, II, p. 299 and footnotes.

[4] Jón appears to mean copper and brass thread for tinsel.

[5] The coconut palm.

[6] It is not from the bark of the coconut palm but from the prepared husk (*kāyar* or coir) of the nut that these things are made.

[7] Jón is describing the mussoolah or surf-boat of the Coromandel Coast, the planks of which are sown together with coir twine. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Mussoola, for a history of the term.

These palm-trees are very handsome, and are planted in order like rows of soldiers at fixed distances, with always a space of three fathoms between the trees. Their leaves are broad, and measure two or three ells round: they are used as dishes both at the King's table and at other places at great festivals, and among the nobility[1]. The trunks, from the bottom to about the middle, are two or three fathoms thick[2]: above that they are slender, and they are hollow within[3], and though some of them are open at the bottom and persons can sit inside, they will yet bear fruit twice a year, like all else in that country that is properly fertile. These palm-trees bear two valuable fruits, according as they are trained[4], for according to the Indians' wish and as they train them, they will bear coconuts or *carhanske* nuts, as large as a child's head, and some even larger, in which grows a white kernel out of which they press oil or vegetable butter, first piling them into a heap, so that they rot, and then pressing them, so that they break and the oily kernel is removed. It has the taste of the best sour butter[5]. Then it is put down in the press, having first been chopped up very small. The press is like a churn in shape, made of a whole tree-trunk of some hard kind of wood. It is as smooth as an egg-shell within, and at the bottom is a tap, from which the oil pressed out inside can be removed. The whole fashion of the thing is as follows: A very smooth, round, circular stand is made, and in its centre stands this

[1] Jón is confused here and is describing the banana or plantain and not the coconut palm. The leaves of the latter are used for thatching.

[2] By "thick" Jón, who has returned to the coconut palm, means "in circumference," but his figures are exaggerated, since the diameter of the tree at the base is about 1½ feet.

[3] This is an error, as the timber is used for table-tops, etc.

[4] This statement is incorrect.

[5] Jón is again confused. He has made two fruits out of one, and first describes the young coconut, from the milk of which a drink is procured, and then he describes the old nut which he calls *carhanske*. From this comes the edible "flesh" (his "white kernel"), out of which, when sun-dried and fermented, is made copra. His description of the making of copra is fairly correct. *Carhanske* is a puzzle. Dr Blöndal suggests that as the word *karhi* for a coconut is found in the Maldivian dialect, the adjective *carhinske* may be formed from it. But it is more probable that Jón's *carhinske* is a corruption of coir, coconut fibre, a word adapted from Port. *cairo*, in its turn derived from Mal. *kāyar* and Tam. *kāyaru*.

press: out of the press rises a post like the shaft of a churn, and at the end of this post is a beam, to which an ox is yoked, and the ox presses these said nut-kernels into oil, which we call vegetable butter[1]. This vegetable butter is sold by the pint[2], firstly for anointing (for the Indians anoint themselves daily, and those who have the means and wealth thereto twice a day); secondly it is used as lamp-oil, and thirdly for the frying of fish and meat. The Indians usually have boiled meat, splendidly spiced, with saffron broth[3]: the meat[4] is always fresh and fried in oil.

It is not permitted to any person, whether native or a foreigner, to slaughter cattle, because according to the doctrine of Pitagore they hold cattle to be sacred or to possess souls, and therefore the cattle die natural deaths there[5]. The son of the King of Egypt came to visit this Indian King[6] while we were sojourning there, and remained some months: he got leave to have killed a two-winters ox, but no one was to partake of it save himself, and its bones were to be burnt in the fire; and for this he had to pay a great sum to the King.

[1] The whole description of expressing coconut oil from copra is somewhat garbled, but Jón is recalling what he remembers. He had obviously seen the process himself and the uses to which the oil is put. His account of the native press worked by oxen is fairly accurate. See Watt, *Economic Products of India*.

[2] See note 2 on p. 75.

[3] By "saffron broth" Jón means curry, of which saffron is an ingredient, and gives it its yellow (saffron) colour.

[4] By "meat" Jón means sheep or goat mutton and certain species of game. Beef was absolutely barred.

[5] Jón is describing a universal Hindu custom. He was in a Hindu state in Southern India, the strictest of all. His "Pitagore" is Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher of the sixth century B.C., to whom is attributed the theory of the immortality and transmigration of the soul. Jón is right as to the Pythagorean rule of abstinence from flesh.

[6] As Dr Blöndal points out, Jón is in error here, for Egypt was then under the domination of the Turk and could have had no Prince of its own. I have been unable to trace any royal visit to the ruler of Tanjore at this time. It is possible that Jón recollected the coming of an envoy or agent, who, as he was told, was an "Egyb," the common designation of the Brāhman agent (*hājib*) of the English at the Court of Golconda (see *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, II, p. 142, n. 1). In this case, however, the *hājib* could not have been a Brāhman, but a Muslim agent from Bījāpur or Golconda, if there is any truth in Jón's tale.

CHAPTER XVII

THE Indian King, whose royal title is Nica de Regnate[1], worships a horned cow, which lives her life and has her residence in an especially handsomely furnished apartment, with her own proper attendants. She is all decorated with gilded finery and precious stones, and embroidery and bedecked with brocaded gold cloth set with the most precious jewels. The King goes to her morning and evening to do obeisance and (by your leave) washes his hands and face in her water and also his mouth, and finally pours it over the crown of his head[2].

By his Queen the King had a son of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, who was chosen prince and heir-apparent. His picture, together with his father's, hung in our church, and was not unpleasant to look upon. His most earnest wish was to become a Christian and accept our faith, if he could have compassed it against his father's wishes, but of that there was no prospect, and the King opposed it with all his might, so that the prince could not manage it for the threats of his father[3]. But for a long time the issue was uncertain, and meanwhile there were prayers for him in our church, that God might in His grace illuminate his heart with the true faith.

[1] Raghunātha, Nāyak of Tanjore, whose father, Achyutappa, had resigned the rulership of the country to him *c.* 1614. See F. R. Hemingway, *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* I, pp. 39–42.

[2] For the veneration of the cow, the rites performed by its devotees and the sacred properties of cow-dung and urine, see *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, s.v. Cow and Animal-Worship; see also L. L. Sundara Ram, *Cow-Protection in India*, chs. III and IX and the bibliography attached to the volume.

[3] Raghunātha of Tanjore was succeeded by his son Vijaya Rāghava, the last of the Nāyaks, and it is to him that Jón refers. I have found no confirmation of his leanings towards Christianity. His father was a patron of literature and the founder of a number of Vaishnava temples, so he would naturally discourage any schismatic tendency in his son. Jón's expression "was chosen prince and heir-apparent" is notable, as it refers to the ancient custom of the *yuvarāja* or "Second King," still current in Mysore and elsewhere in India. It was not unusual to make the *yuvarāja* joint ruler and even to abdicate in his favour. Raghunātha of Tanjore was an instance of the last under his father.

The King's palace was reported to be handsome and nobly furnished. His throne or royal chair is of marble and as smooth as an egg: it measures nearly twelve ells round[1]. There he sits daily and his palace priest opposite him, on costly and gilded cushions, with legs crossed after the fashion of the Indians, their limbs being very supple by reason that they anoint themselves daily with oil[2] and the most precious balsams. By each of them stand three small boys, of which one cuts *arech* or *paga*[3], which in size, colour and hardness is like nutmeg. This they take first into their mouths and chew it, and then spit out the juice; then they take the leaves which grow on it into their mouths together with the other and chew them together. Inside the leaves has been placed a little chalk which is obtained by burning mussel-shells, and from all this mixed together by chewing, their mouth seems as it were full of blood[4]: then they swallow it and become more drunk on it than on tobacco. This they call *bitilarech* or *bitalapaga*[5], and it is said to be good for dysentery. And these people, the natives of the country, who are called Malabars[6], drink no strong drink, but content themselves with this aforementioned *bitilarech* in the place of other countries' wine and ale drinking[7]. But wine is brewed there out of

[1] The Rājas' palace at Tanjore, the erection of which is attributed to the Nāyaks, is still in existence, as also is, in one of the two audience halls, "a remarkable slab of gneiss on which the throne used probably to be placed.... The dimensions of the slab are 18′ × 16′ × 2′ 1½″" (*Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* I, p. 272). The throne itself was most likely of brick, covered with highly polished white *chunam* (shell-lime plaster) and thus resembling marble.

[2] This is true of South India, where the oil-bath is an institution.

[3] The nut of the areca-palm which is chewed with the leaf of the betel-palm, the usual word for which is "pawn" (*pān*). Jón's *paga* represents *pukka*, the Tamil form of *pān*. His *arech* represents the Port. *areca*, which has no derivation in common with his *arrach* (see below, p. 116, n. 1), spirits.

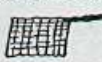
[4] Compare Peter Mundy's contemporary description of "Paan, what it is" (II, p. 96), which closely resembles that in the text.

[5] *Betel* and *areca* or *betel* and *pān*.

[6] The term Malabar was applied by the Portuguese, not only to the language and people of the West Coast of India, but also to the Tamil language and the people speaking it. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Malabar.

[7] This is not true of Tamils, nor is it true that *pān* is an intoxicant.

palm-tree juice, which they call *arrach*[1], in taste and effects resembling brandy, and this is daily sold and bought by the foreign peoples who have settled down there, namely the Portuguese, Caffers, Praegiers, Selings, Moors, Bengalians, Egyptians, Arabians, Moluchians, Javans, English, Dutch and Danish[2]. The Portuguese brew there a kind of wine, which they call wine *to pass*[3], which I once tried, and it has a pleasant taste and is very powerful.

Now let us return to the King's habits and daily customs, regarding which I related the office and daily toil of one of his servants, namely to cut *bitilarech* for the King. It is the office of another of his servants to hold before the King the gold basin into which he spits, for when he tastes tobacco[4] or *bitilarech* he has constant need of it. The third of his servants stands with a gilded fan in shape like this [5] and waves it to and fro in front of him, and of the wind it causes there comes a coolness, and this is the common custom of the country in every house. Further, they rub each other's bodies before going to sleep in the evening,

[1] *Arrach* (*'araq*), spirits of any kind. The spirit to which Jón alludes is made from the sap of various palms and was known as toddy (*tāṛī*).

[2] Of the "foreign peoples" mentioned by Jón the following are interesting terms:

Caffers. *Kāfir*, unbeliever, applied by the Portuguese to pagan negroes from Africa.

Praegiers. Dr Blöndal conjectures that Jón means Pariahs, the lowest of the castes. See also ch. xx, p. 134, n. 4.

Selings. Chelings, a term used in the Malay Peninsula for any East Coast settler, *e.g.* Telugus. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Cheling, suggests that the word originated in some confusion of *Quelim* (Kling, a Telugu) and *Chuli* (Choolia, a Tamil). He quotes Godino de Eredia who, in 1613, speaks of "the Chelis of Choromandel."

Moors. Any Muhammadan, native or foreign.

Bengalians. Any North Indian from overseas, *i.e.* by coasting boats.

Egyptians and Arabians. This is interesting as showing that the Sea Arabs (and perhaps Egyptians) existed then at Tanjore, but by "Egyptians" Jón is more likely to be referring to the Habshīs or Abyssinians, then abounding along the coast of the Indian Ocean.

Moluchians and Javans. Island Malays of different kinds.

[3] Port. *vinho de passas*, a wine made of dried grapes.

[4] It is unlikely that the Nāyak would use tobacco for chewing.

[5] The illustration is from *MS. Lbs.* 723, 4to. (B.) It is the original of the *pankhā*, which means literally "a wing."

for the sake of their health[1]; and this practice we too adopted.

So far as the King's daily pomp and the behaviour of his servants is concerned, it is all shown in like manner to his palace priests[2], to whom the King is greatly attached; and when any stranger visits the King, and has some special business to do with him, he is not permitted to come before the King until the priest tells him that it is a lucky hour to speak with strangers, and though it be midnight, if a message comes from the King, they have to be ready forthwith, with no delay, and they must have an interpreter with them, who with great humility acts as a mediator between them, in such fashion that he covers his face when addressing either party. And let this suffice as to these matters for the present.

But there are other things to tell about the King, firstly that besides his Queen he had, when we first came there, 900 concubines, but afterwards he gave up 300 of them to his son, but not those he kept himself, so that he himself had 600 on his register of sins[3]. These his concubines had a handsome and well-furnished hall with gilded pillars round it and windows of crystal glass[4]: to this hall the King repaired daily to choose out for his fleshly lust whichever of them his heart desired[5]. They anoint themselves daily, and are adorned with the most costly finery: around their waists they have gold

[1] An allusion to the practice of massage or shampooing in India, called "champing" by Mundy (II, p. 86).

[2] Brāhmans, only an inferior order of whom are really priests or temple ministrants (*pujārī*). The term "priest" is a poor translation for Brāhman, the name of the caste controlling the Hindu religion, but it is difficult to find a better generic term in any non-Hindu language. The Indian Brāhman follows every educated profession, including the military, and any kind of official office.

[3] The meaning of this statement is that in the palace were a great number of women all "tabooed" to the King, the vast majority of whom were merely domestic servants of all degrees. A persistent, though natural, error of travellers and European writers has always been to describe these "tabooed" women as the King's "wives" or "concubines." They were nothing of the kind, though potentially they could become so.

[4] Jón is describing from hearsay the women's apartments. The last part of the sentence is conjecture, as there is no authority for glass windows in Tanjore at this period.

[5] This is incorrect.

cloth sewn and adorned with precious stones, gold rings set with precious stones on their fingers and toes, also gold on their foreheads and in their ears and nostrils: bracelets about their wrists and ankles, and further, brocaded silk studded with precious stones round their heads: and on their breast a kerchief worth much money, adorned with pearls and gold and jewels[1]. All this finery they wear every day. On one fine day every year about the middle of summer they are permitted to walk abroad out of their hall, together with the King himself, surrounded by a threefold ring of the King's best fighting men. On this occasion about nine drums are beaten, and the bassoons sounded; and the procession is lighted by great torches. They do not go out at other times[2]. And when any of them die, the loss is replaced by an equal number. And when the King dies, they must all be burnt alive with him[3], for the funeral of all the people of the country takes place in that fashion, that the bodies are burnt on the third day after their decease[4], of which I will speak again in another place. Now the King has been sufficiently discussed.

Now since I have already spoken of the King's residence, Travanzour, I will speak no more of it, but will briefly touch upon their manner of building temples and such other

[1] This is also a hearsay description. By "kerchief" Jón means "bodice."

[2] Jón appears to be describing a custom similar to that narrated by Peter Mundy in 1633 (II, p. 238) as taking place at Agra yearly at "the Nouroze" (*nauroz*, New Year's day). There were two classes of women in the Indian palaces, the "ladies" in waiting on the King's family and in charge of departments, and the menial servants who waited on the "ladies." This last class was employed to go outside on errands of all sorts.

[3] On this statement Dr Blöndal quotes from Schlegel, I, pt. 4, p. 162: "When Raghunatha died, 25 November 1626, 119 of his wives were burnt with him." It may have been so, but the statement should be received with great reserve.

[4] Jón seems to be confusing mourning ceremonies with those connected with the burning of the body, which took place almost immediately after decease. The "third day" was an important one in the mourning rites. See Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, II, pp. 496–7. It would be difficult, and most unlikely, in the climate of Tanjore, to keep a corpse to the third day after death before disposal.

matters as concern their religion, their sacrifices and their worship of idols and such foolery, whereby I would rouse up each and all always to give God worthy thanks that he has led us here in Christendom out of such perilous darkness of error and the perdition of the damned. Blessed be the name of our merciful God to all eternity. Amen.

CHAPTER XVIII

IN each city of the Indies of which I have heard or read there is one great chief temple, which is called *sínagóga* or *pagóga*[1]. And so in the little town close to our fortress, which was called Trangobarich and has been mentioned before[2], there was such a temple built of masonry with a high square tower, and a high stone wall all round[3]. Outside it, just against the inner side of the gate, stood a large and high chariot with various shameful pictures on it, too repulsive and obscene to describe. Within the temple on each side, on pedestals or stone seats, stand six idols, such as cows, swine, goats and buffaloes[4], which last are in shape like cattle, but are not, and their milk is like goats' milk[5]. In the middle of the rear wall is a huge altar nobly decorated with gold: above it are three pedestals, recesses and seats, very splendidly adorned, on which stand their three chief gods, namely Suami, Rami and Tameran[6], and they stand upright like men, and yet are not in men's shape. Suami, the chief of their gods, has the countenance of a man and a trunk like an elephant protruding from his nostrils, signifying, that just as the elephant is the greatest

[1] Jón makes an odd mistake here, for "synagogue," a word of Greek origin, can have nothing to do with a pagoda or have an Indian derivation. For "pagóga," see note 2 on p. 19.

[2] Tranquebar. See p. 18 and note 4.

[3] Jón's description which follows refers to an ancient Shaiva temple which has been partly washed away by the sea. The "high square tower" would be the striking *gopuram* or entrance gateway of nearly all South Indian temples.

[4] These images (Jón's "idols") were probably those of "companions" proper to the gods within the temple's "holiest of holy places." They would not be "gods" in animal form.

[5] Jón is speaking from experience. Buffalo milk, though not so rich as goats' milk, is considerably richer than that of the cow and is common in India.

[6] Svāmi, Rām, Tamburān—a very confused reference to the Vaishnava doctrine of the Trimūrti, the Hindu Triad or Trinity, usually held to be Vishnu, Brahmā and Shiva. Jón's names are all wrong: Svāmi and Tamburān are generic titles of gods and merely mean "Lord." Rām is for Rāma, a very common modern Hindu name for "God," used here in mistake for Brahmā. See Temple, *Word of Lalla the Prophetess*, p. 54.

of beasts, so this god is the greatest of gods. He has four talons and a crown on his head, and his face has an evil expression[1]. The second, who is called Rami, has no trunk, but talons and a crown[2]. The third, which they call Tameran, is like the second[3]. These three idols are borne out once every year, which day is their greatest festival. On that same day their chariot, of which I have already spoken, is made ready. First, a tall post like a mast is set in the middle of it, and on this mast are set as it were three topmast look-out places or seats, one on the top, one about the middle of the mast, and the third below, and all hung with handsome gold cloth and decorations. In these three seats are placed the three aforementioned gods: Suami has the highest place, Rami the second, midway on the mast, and Tameran the lowest. On each seat are placed two females with gilded fans, to wave them over these idols, so that no dust, mote or fly should settle or fall on them. At the very top is a little silken flag of many colours, embroidered with gold and precious stones[4]. Every single citizen of the town is mustered and his name read out, and is ordered to drag this idolatrous chariot with cords the whole of that one day in each year, up one street and down the other, until the evening[5], with thirty or forty

[1] Jón is again very confused. He makes out Svāmi (here = Vishnu) to be Ganēsha, the elephant-headed God of Beginnings. He was never one of the Trimūrti, but a son of Shiva, one of them. He was, however, one of the Panchadēva or Five Great Gods of the later Vaishnavas—Vishnu, Shiva, Durgā, Sūriya and Ganēsha. See *Word of Lalla*, p. 70. The "talons" in Jón's text refer to the multiple arms commonly given to gods in Hindu iconography.

[2] Rami is Rāma or Rām, the hero of the Epic *Ramāyana*, who became in mediaeval times a Supreme God in the Vaishnava creed, and thence of Hinduism generally. Here the description is altogether wrong, as Jón is mixing up Rāma with Brahmā. See *Word of Lalla*, pp. 33, 53, 88, 95.

[3] Tameran. Tamburān is a modern Malayalam term meaning "my Lord" and is here applied to an image of Shiva. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tamburanee; Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, p. 217, n. 3.

[4] Jón is describing what he can remember of a Hindu festal car and procession. See Dubois, *op. cit.* II, p. 611.

[5] I can find no confirmation of the statement that compulsion was exercised to obtain men to draw the car. In fact, the whole description of the annual taking of the gods in procession through towns and villages in South India is given from memory and is more or less incorrect. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, Processions, p. 395; Dubois, *op. cit.* II, p. 611; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 448–52.

drums and three trumpets on either side, and a great troop of soldiers all round, who are called *talĭarii*[1]. But while all the troop of citizens go home to their meal, all the unmarried men are put to this toil of dragging the great chariot until the others return after their meal, and continue their vain labour while the others go home to their meal. Some offering is made to these idols at every house past whose door they are drawn, such as tobacco, rice, *bitilarech*[2], or what they have the means to offer. Further, where these things are not offered, red water is poured out[3]. As for the lord of the town, or mayor, who is there called *almanich*[4], when this idolatrous chariot comes to his door, there stand there two full-grown he-goats, and by each goat a man with a large corn-sickle, very sharp, in his hand, and at the mayor's word of command they slaughter them with the utmost despatch[5]. And when that is done a great noise is made on all the drums, and the trumpets are sounded: red water is poured out and tobacco, rice and *bitilarech* are given to those who drew the chariot, as elsewhere. Further, on this same day the sacred oxen are let loose. These are so well fed that they are almost wild from it, and are dangerous to strangers, so that men have to heed themselves[6]. Some of us heaped reproaches on those who cared for them, through the mediation of our servants, for their blindness in taking the glory from God and giving it to beasts, to which they replied that they could not see God. And when the evening drew on, this chariot with its idols and all the aforesaid pomp was dragged to its usual place opposite the temple doors. And when they approached with it, all the

[1] *Talaiyāri*, village watchmen in South India. See p. 16, n. 5.

[2] See note 5 on p. 115.

[3] This seems to be a confused reference to the red powder used at the Holī, quite a different Hindu festival.

[4] The term "*almanich*" has an Arabic sound, as if Jón's informant on this occasion had been a Muslim. Dr Blöndal suggests that the word may be a corruption of Tam. *maniyakkarān*, the headman of a village.

[5] Jón is describing what he had somewhere seen. Under certain conditions goats would be slaughtered in the manner related. See *Madras Manual of Admn.* I, p. 80.

[6] This is an allusion to the sacred bull (*nandī*) often found wandering loose about Indian towns and fed gratuitously by all Hindus.

harlots came out of the church[1], *pagóga sírke* or temple harlots, to dance before the gods, and with them their master, who is called *baldor*[2]. He hires them out every day for money, both to the soldiers and the bachelors in the town, and this money is put into the treasure-house of the temple and is used for its upkeep; but the harlots get their keep out of the revenues of the temple, paid to them by its wardens.

The priest, who usually sits by the church door, and is called brameni[3], also goes out to greet the gods with great humility and obeisances, and then they are carried in, in great honour, by three picked men among them, the sons of the priest, with much beating of drums and loud blasts on the trumpets, and other music, and also with the dancing of the temple harlots in their finery, which between whiles, when they are not serving the gods, is hung up in the church. Their costume is as follows. They have, like others, drawers of gold brocade studded with precious stones and pearls and with much money, and a splendid kerchief[4] costing a very great sum over their breast, with other rings and precious stones of surpassing value, placed about their body and taken off as is convenient. At last, their toil being over, every man returns to his own house.

These aforesaid temple maidens dance always before the gods every night from nine o'clock till midnight, and about the twelfth hour of the night, that is midnight, each of the twelve gods is carried up one street and down another, in a chariot, with torches, fireworks, trumpet-blowing and dancing, also the beating of drums and other such marks of honour. We who were standing on guard on the walls of the fortress used to hear this every night[5].

[1] The allusion is to the temple dancing-women (*dēvadasī*), who are professional harlots, dedicated to the god of the temple and temple worship. For their number, duties and the special laws concerning them see *Madras Manual of Admn.* III, p. 267, s.v. Deva.

[2] Dr Blöndal points out that Jón's *baldor* represents the Port. *bailador*, from *baila*, to dance, whence comes the term *bayadère* (Port. *bailadeira*) for temple dancing-girls. Jón's *pagóga sírke* should be read *pagoda-sirukki*, pagoda girls or women (Tamil).

[3] Brameni, *i.e.* a Brāhman.

[4] See p. 118, n. 1.

[5] Jón's memory has quite failed him here. The temple dancing-women

It happened once about midday that a man of the name of Peter Lollik[1], a good comrade of mine, and I, found ourselves by accident outside the gates of the fortress, which were always closed at midday while dinner was proceeding in the town, as was usual. We went and walked about the market-place, and when we came to the large church or *pagóga* which stood there, the priest of the gods was sitting outside the temple doors and was eating *bitilarech*. We went up to him and greeted him courteously. He received us courteously with deep bows and obeisances, and offered us seats beside him. We asked him, for a joke, whether he would permit us to look into the temple now while no one saw. He said he would not venture to do it on any account, for that his life and office would be forfeited. But on account of our persistent pleading and persuasion, he did as we asked, though he was sorely afraid, for a sum we agreed upon. He wanted us to remove our shoes and bade us touch nothing and do no harm, but only use our eyes: else, he said, our lives and his would be forfeit. We would not remove our shoes, but we went in and out very quietly and without playing any pranks, for which he praised us at the end, and we parted friends with him after our payment was made. There was nothing to see inside save the six idols on either side, and those three chief ones against the wall at the end, above the nobly furnished altar which stood there, and also the gowns of the temple harlots which were hanging up, as I have mentioned before[2].

perform their religious duties morning and evening, and a street procession is not a daily or nightly occurrence.

[1] This man has not been mentioned before. He was probably one of the gunners already in residence at the time of the arrival of the *Christianshavn*.

[2] Jón's description here is probably quite accurate. He is relating what he saw.

CHAPTER XIX

WITHIN and without the town stand many temples[1], in which lamps burn night and day. Inside them stand their twelve idols[2], and the thirteenth, one of the chief ones, in the middle of the end wall. We often entered them when no one was by, but I preferred to stand guard outside, and forbade the others to play any evil tricks. Sometimes they extinguished the lights, but I threatened them with severe penalties if they broke the gods or showed them dishonour, which, however, I often had much ado to prevent. For instance, it once happened that a Dutchman dishonoured the chief god, who stood against the end wall. This happened at night, and we risked falling into great danger, which was only averted because there were no witnesses to declare which of us had committed the deed. Outside their churches and temples they have fair groves of palm-trees, grown with many precious fruits, and round them are pleasant plains. In the summer they make offerings of food in these groves to their idols, so that pipkin jostles pipkin, each with a fire under it. We were not permitted to go in there, but only to stand near and watch. There are again other groves in which stand idols of various forms, which are worshipped by the vulgar and by poor folk and also by strangers of the common people who come to the town with something to sell, on all of which they must pay toll, even on the very cow-dung[3], which they value on account of the cows, and in which they burn all corpses. But all these tolls on sea and on land which are there collected the heathen King assigned to our fortress, for the benefit of

[1] Jón is now talking about Tanjore, not Tranquebar.

[2] Jón has in mind the great Brihatisvara temple at Tanjore, with its main shrine and numerous smaller shrines around it. See *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* pp. 269–71.

[3] Jón's remarks here are interesting. As he says, taxation in India was anciently levied on everything. See Chanakya's *Arthaśāstra* (translated by R. Shamasastry), book II, chs. VI, XXXV, for details.

our King[1], and all the vessels, which they call *siampans*[2], which sailed past, were obliged to pay toll to the fortress. But when it happened that they stood off the coast and would not pay toll, we had to row after them in a twelve-oared boat, that is to say not we, but the Indians themselves, while we sat armed, with matches ready lifted, so that they were forced to pay toll.

Now I must speak of their observance of festivals, since I have already touched on their temples and worship of idols, and sacrifices, of all which folly there were much more to tell if time permitted. Not in the bright daylight, but at nights, do they hold their festivals, dances and strange games, clothing themselves in various guises wherewith they act idol-plays with great skill and adroitness, by the light of great fires and torches. We watched one, though we could but ill descry it, from our fortifications, it being performed by night. One of their plays seemed to us like the story of the prophet Jonah, when the whale swallowed him up, for one of them clothed himself in the shape of a whale and swallowed him who was chosen by lot and cast overboard. These costumes for the idol-plays were hung up in their churches and kept there for this purpose[3].

Another game which we could make out was as follows: one man takes seven apples[4] in his left hand and throws them all out with incredible swiftness around him, and as fast as they return to his hand, one by one, he tosses them out again, so that they never stop, but course round him like a wheel, so fast that they are not discerned save as a whirling line and as

[1] Jón is here supporting his version of the treaty with the Nāyak of Tanjore (see his "Sixthly," ch. III, p. 19), but clause 13 of the authorized version (p. 23) seems to show that the town tolls were not handed over to the Danes.

[2] *Siampans*, sampans. For the origin of this term for a small boat or skiff see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.; Barbosa, ed. Crooke, II, p. 121 and note, and my remarks on the text and note in *J.R.A.S.* 1922, pp. 288–9.

[3] Jón is attempting to describe a Hindu drama, in which Brāhman performers take the parts of warriors, demons, monkeys, etc., each in special garb. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Drama, and the authorities there cited.

[4] As before remarked (note 2 on p. 87) Jón calls any globular fruit "apple."

it were a blur, none of them falling to the ground; and at the end of the game they all drop one after the other into his hand.

A third game we saw more often. In this they take two awls, one larger and the other smaller, and he who holds them casts the smaller one up into the air, and when it is about to fall on its point, he pushes up the point of the other awl, which he holds in his hand, and thus he will walk the length of several race-courses, in such fashion that the small awl in the air never falls down, until he takes it into his hand again. This is called playing on the point of an awl[1]. They play many other games which are very entertaining and extremely curious.

One ugly sport they were forbidden to play, such of them as would do it for money in the winter, namely to pierce a hole in the muscle of the upper arm, and draw a thin hempen cord through it. Thereupon this cord was fastened up to the top of a tree, and the man was hoisted up thither, and when the word was given he was suddenly hurled down on the line, which was fastened slant-wise to the ground, and by which he hung by his arm with his whole weight, and which passed through the wound. Some lost their senses and power of motion when they were precipitated down to earth[2]. Our laundry-man Athrumbus was one of those who dared this for a sum of money, for which we reproached him very severely, and he promised not to try it again[3].

Near Candlemas[4], in the winter, the chief of their priests, or bishop[5], came to the town Trangobarich which lay close to our fortress Dansborg, and proceeded to all the other towns

[1] Jón is here describing two of the many sleight-of-hand and conjuring tricks commonly practised by the Indian juggler.

[2] This is an inaccurate description of "hook-swinging." For full details and authorities on the subject, see Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, p. 220. *John Marshall in India*, ed. Khan, pp. 104, 109: *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, II, p. 164; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, part III (The Dying God), p. 278.

[3] See p. 107 and n. 2. As "hook-swinging" is a "religious" ceremony, the "promise" must have been misunderstood.

[4] Candlemas Day or Purification of the Virgin, 2 February.

[5] Jón is describing an *āchārya*, or head of a great temple or school, possibly that of Tanjore.