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THE VOYAGE FROM LISBON TO
INDIA 1505-6
BY
ALBERICUS VESPUCCIUS.

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*** Only Two Hundred and Fifty copies are printed, of which
Nos. 1 to 6 are on parchment.*

This is No. 34

THE
VOYAGE FROM LISBON TO INDIA

1505-6

BEING AN ACCOUNT AND JOURNAL BY

ALBERICUS VESPUCCIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE CONTEMPORARY FLEMISH, AND

EDITED WITH PROLOGUE AND NOTES

BY

C. H. COOTE

DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS (GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION)
BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON
B. F. STEVENS, 4, TRAFALGAR SQUARE

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TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

PROLOGUE.

“ Puis *Americ Vespuce* de Florence
Qui a les Noirs mis en claire apparence.
Parquoy Lecteur à tous eux grace rendz
Et des Labeurs des autres le frulst prens.
En discourant en repos domestique
Des yeux d'esprit les regions d'*Aphrique*
Ou tu verras mainte noualité
Auec plaisir ioinct a utilité
Car (comme on dist les vieux proverbiaux)
Tousiours Aphrique apporte cas Nouveaux.”¹

J. TEMPORAL in Giov. Lioni Africano's
De l'Afrique, Lyon, 1556, fol.

HEREWITH we lay before the reader an exact facsimile, with an interleaved translation of an exceedingly rare Flemish book preserved in the British Museum Library (C. 32, f. 26). From the stamped date of 4 Dec. 55, to be observed on the last page, we may safely conclude that the original has been hidden away among the treasures of our national

¹ Καὶ λέγεται δὲ τις παροιμία, ὅτι αἰεὶ Λιβύη φέρει τι καινόν.—Hence it is proverbially said that Libya always produces something new. ARISTOTLE, *De Animal. Hist.*, Lib. viii., cap. xxviii., 45. Also quoted by PLINY THE ELDER, “Unde etiam vulgare Græciæ dictum: Semper aliquid novi Africam afferre.”—Hence the saying which was common in Greece, that Africa is always producing something new. *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. viii., 17.

collection for nearly forty years, almost forgotten, and entirely unknown to our lynx-eyed bibliographers of the literature relating to Vespucci. At the present time there is only one other copy extant, which is preserved in a well-known private library in America.¹ The book is not even mentioned in F. A. de Varnhagen's *Amerigo Vespucci*, Lima, 1865, fol., and has also escaped the notice of H. Harrisse both in his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, with its additions to 1872, and in his later works. It is also unknown to my friend, Prof. E. Arber, as will be seen below.

The work is entitled *Die reyse van Lissebone*, etc., and is a small quarto of twelve leaves. Below the colophon on the last page is a curious device, apparently used for the first time (1508) by the printer, J. van Doesborch, containing in somewhat primitive Greek characters the well-known Ciceronian motto, Γνώθι σεαυτόν. An inspection of the paper, with its water-marks to be observed on the fifth leaf, shows that in the British Museum copy we are dealing with a genuine specimen of the Antwerp press of the first decade of the sixteenth century.

A careful examination of our Flemish text also shows us that the book is divided into three distinct portions; the first, comprised in the first four leaves, containing a general geographical description of the countries between Portugal and India and beyond, interspersed with curious ethnographical notes upon their various peoples and their manners and customs. Now hereby hangs a tale. Prof. E. Arber, in his *The first Three English Books relating to America*, 1885,

¹ Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

informs us, when describing *Of the newe landes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the Kynge of portyngale named Emanuel*, etc., printed by J. van Doesborch about 1521 (not 1511 as he suggests), that it "is mainly a compilation from two early Dutch tracts," viz., *Van der nieuwer werelt*, etc. (known as the Dutch Vespuccius), circa 1507, and the *Van . . . Pape Jans landen des.*, circa 1508. That a translation of the latter is to be found at the end of the *Of the newe landes*, etc., is quite true, but that a compilation of the former is to be found in it is obviously an error. If we turn to *Of the newe landes*,¹ etc., leaf 3 recto, commencing, "At the fyrste cam we in the lande of Canarien," we find on comparison that these words are an imperfect translation by a Fleming of the commencement of the first four leaves of our text of 1508, and not from the said *Van der nieuwer werelt*, etc., of the preceding year.

The second portion of our text, comprising leaves five to eleven, contains the hitherto unidentified letter from Vespucci to Lorenzo di Pier Francisco de Medici which professes to give an account of the Voyage from Lisbon "from point to point," and also day by day in the form of a journal, as will be seen from the chronology of the days and months recorded therein. To this we shall return presently. The third portion, contained on the verso of the twelfth and last leaf, forms no part either of the geographical description or of Vespucci's letter, but is obviously a feeble attempt on the part of the compiler or printer to apply, in an

¹ Cf. the unique copy, Brit. Mus., Gr. 7106, Arber, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi, HARRISSE, "B. A. V.," No. 116, and our Illustrative Note 29, end.

abridged form, the demonstration and illustration to be found at the end of the *Van der nieuwer werelt*. It is of interest to note that the unique "Dutch Vespuccius" of 1507 has also found a resting-place in the above-mentioned private library in America.¹

We now return to the second portion of our text, containing the newly-discovered letter of Vespucci. It is prefaced by the following heading, "Die reyse van Indien, van Calcoenen ende vanden Nyeuwen landen de doen geuonden waren geschyet Int iaer ons heren Mvijfhondert in die maent van meerte." The reader will observe in the accompanying translation, after the words "one thousand five hundred," we have inserted in brackets—"and five." For, at the very outset, we are met with one of the difficulties that beset all the known printed accounts of Vespucci's voyages, namely, the usual perplexing question of uncertain chronology. As I pointed out in the *Athenæum* for 5th November, 1892 (p. 624), whereas the date of the voyage given in the Flemish text was ostensibly from 25th March, 1500, to 15th November, 1501, I was unable to square it with any of the known letters of Vespucci, or any of the early voyages to India of the Portuguese which cover this period. In the *Athenæum* for 20th January, 1894 (p. 86), I was afforded the opportunity of stating the reasons for my inability to perform this insuperable task, which were, that the dates of 1500-1501, given by the printer, or in the original MS. letter now lost, were wrong, as I was in a position to prove that the whole of the transac-

¹ Cf. F. Muller, *Books on America*, Amst., 1872, No. 24, HARRISSE, "B. A. V.," Add. No. 15, and ARBER, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.

tions recorded in the letter undoubtedly referred to a later voyage, namely, that of 25th March, 1505-6, made by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India. This I confirmed by giving six parallel passages, three from Mr. R. H. Major's *Life of Prince Henry the Navigator* (first edition), 1868, p. 415, and three from pp. 26, 34, and 37 of the translation of our text.

Shortly after my last letter to the *Athenæum* I received a friendly, but private, communication from one of our most distinguished geographers, who drew my attention to a series of facts and dates relating to Vespucci which apparently traversed the possibility of Vespucci being engaged in the service of Portugal, or even voyaging to India in 1505-6. With these adverse facts and dates, however, I have nothing to do, as from the very nature of the case it does not fall within the scope of these introductory pages to attempt to reconcile all the well-known chronological difficulties of the Vespucci question, scarcely one of which is not open to dispute, partly on account of the method of computing the beginning of the year, to say nothing of the claims set up for the other voyages of Vespucci with La Cosa, May—December, 1505, and March—November, 1507 (cf. J. Fiske's *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., p. 62). As has been well said by MM. P. Gaffarel et C. Cariod in the *Compte rendu du Cong. Inter. des Americanistes*, 8^{me} Session, Paris, 1892, p. 235, Note 2: "mais rien n'est moins certain que la chronologie de Vespucci."

Doubtless these disputed points will receive adequate treatment at the hands of Sig. L. Hugues in the

forthcoming Part v., vol. ii., section 2, of the *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi* pub. dalla R. Commissione Colombiana, Rome. In the meantime we gladly refer the reader to Mr. Clements R. Markham's recent work, *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci* (Hakluyt Society), 1894.¹

My duty as editor of this translation requires me to take my stand upon the only reasonable and tenable position open to me in that capacity. This position is, that having regard to the date of the printing of this hitherto unknown voyage associated with the name of Vespucci, and also to other voyages ascribed to him at this period, our text, taken on its own merits, has as good a claim to be admitted into the Vespuccian Canon as the *Epistola* [1504?], the *Lettera* [1505?], the *St. Dié Cosmographiæ Introductio* [1507], or any of the editions of the *Mundus Novus* published down to the time of the decease of Vespucci in 1512.

We are accustomed to associate the name of Vespucci so exclusively with the discovery of the New World of America, that the idea of his ever having designed to proceed to the new lands of Portuguese India comes to us almost with the charm of novelty. Nevertheless, if we turn to his accounts of his third and fourth voyages (the first and second for Portugal), as recorded in the *Lettera* of 1505, we observe at once that, although Vespucci coasted the east shores of South America in these two voyages, this leading idea, if not exactly implied in the third voyage, is certainly ex-

¹ The learned editor's note, p. xii, questioning the genuineness of our text without examination, serves no purpose beyond inviting useless controversy.

pressed in the fourth. It is to be observed, even in the former, that not only did he reach the port of Bissagos, but he informs us that it was his intention to make his sea way *southerly* through the Atlantic Gulf. In the account of his fourth voyage he adds, "we departed from the port of Lisbon six ships in company, with the intention of going to discover an island towards the east, which is called Melaccha, and this Melaccha is more westerly (*sic*) than Caligut, and much more to the southward." To assume that Vespucci entirely abandoned the idea of this project on behalf of the Portuguese after his fourth voyage, is a somewhat equivocal position to take up in the light of the following document. It is a letter addressed by Alonso Çuaço to the Emperor [Charles V.], and is dated St. Domingo, Hispaniola, 22 January, 1518: "Hay otro secreto. En el Oriente posee Portugal mucho que es de V. M. La misma ciudad de Malaca que tiene 25,000 vecinos, le toca, segun parece, por este mapa mundi qui hizo imprimir Americo que anduvo por aquellas partes; el cual tiene en forma redonda el Señor Infante [D. Fernando] en su camara." *Anglice*: There is another secret. In the East, Portugal possesses much which belongs to your majesty. The very city of Malacca, which contains 25,000 inhabitants, belongs to her, as appears from the map of the world which *Americus, who has travelled in those parts*, caused to be printed, and which the Infante possesses in spherical form in his room." Pacheco, *Documentos ineditos del Archivo de Indias*, tom. i., p. 296, Madrid, 1864, 8vo. Cf. HARRISSE, *Discovery of North America*, 1892, p. 472.

Perhaps, for our present purpose, this evidence will

serve to obtain for our text the attention it deserves. We will now turn our attention to the voyage itself.

One of the most interesting, but least known contemporary accounts of the setting forth of this voyage of 1505-6 is given us by Leonardo da Cha Masser, or Ca Masser, a Venetian residing in Lisbon at this period (cf. Note 19, end).

He informs us that "in 1505 a fleet was despatched; it started on 25th March, commanded by Don Francisco d'Almeida, although Signor Tristano da Cunha had been previously chosen, and should have gone, but he lost his eyesight at this time, so that His Highness [King Manoel] made choice of the said Captain Don Francisco, who, with thirty sail, large and small, of which one called the *Nuncia* was lost in the mouth of the harbour of Lisbon, with a disabled galleon, with much merchandise." We are informed that the fleet comprised fourteen ships and sixteen (?) caravels; (this last figure is probably an error, as six is given in the *Relacão das Nãos e Armadas da Índia* (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 20902). To these Ca Masser adds two light galleys, which he [d'Almeida] carried in pieces on the ship [*Jesus*]. These are doubtless the "galley and a barge" referred to on p. 33 of our text. Our Venetian authority also informs us that "the ships of this fleet that went on the voyage to India, started from Lisbon in February, March, and also in April, suiting the time to their convenience." These dates serve to explain how it was, when, according to our text (p. 30), d'Almeida stormed Mombâsa on the 15th August, 1505, he found the Flemish merchants had three ships there. These must have formed part of the fleet that sailed in

February. According to the *Armadas* MS. the third portion of the fleet, composed of six ships, sailed on the 18th May with Pero da Nhaya as chief captain, who was ordered to remain behind at Sofala in order to establish a fortress and a factory-house there. D'Almeida in his voyage of 25th March did not touch at Sofala, but only descried the land between this place and Mozambique on the 19th July (cf. p. 25).

One of the most recent and graphic accounts of this voyage appears in Dr. F. H. H. Guillemard's *Life of Ferdinand Magellan*, from which we have taken a few of the following remarks, as Magellan himself was a volunteer in this great armada of Dom Francisco d'Almeida. In those days, the departure upon an expedition such as this was looked upon as a serious matter, to be solemnized, as custom demanded, with special confession and mass, at which attendance was enjoined. On the present occasion the ceremony was invested with more than ordinary interest, for the standard of the Viceroy of India, after being blessed by the bishop, was to be formally presented to d'Almeida by the king. We have little difficulty in realizing the scene in the cathedral at Lisbon: d'Almeida kneeling at the king's feet and receiving it into his solemn care and keeping; his silent prayer before the high altar with the standard in his hand; and finally, the loud-voiced proclamation by the herald, "Dom Francisco d'Almeida, Governor, Viceroy of India for our Lord the King." The blessing of the flag over, the fleet dropped down the river to Belem and anchored off the church, or, as Vespucci describes it, "the monastery of Rostel [Rastello], one mile from the town"

(p. 18). Next day—the 25th March, 1505—the final departure took place. The king came down in state from the city, and went on board the viceroy's ship; anchors were then weighed, and the whole fleet proceeded slowly towards the bar, the king accompanying them, going from ship to ship and speaking to the captains, taking leave of them, and wishing them a prosperous voyage. The omission of this last scene in Vespucci's letter is probably accounted for by the fact that his ship belonged to merchants and not to the king. Castenheda relates an amusing incident that took place at the moment of departure, which is interesting as possibly marking the date of the introduction of the words *larboard* and *starboard* into the Portuguese navy. We here give a translation of it *in extenso*: “As the fleet was going down the river [Tagus], and the pilots were directing the man at the helm to steer to larboard (*bombordo*) or starboard (*estribordo*), as they are accustomed to do when coming out of a river, the sailors became embarrassed through never having heard these words used, and especially those on João Homem's caravel; so when they had to steer to larboard, that is to say to the right, they steered to starboard, which is to say to the left. Now João Homem, directly he saw this, told the pilot to direct the sailors by means of familiar words, and that when he wanted them to steer to starboard, he should say [*albos*] garlic, and when to larboard [*cebolas*] onions, and he ordered a string to be hung on either side, so when the pilot directed them by these words, the sailors were no longer confused, and steered in the right direction” (*op. cit.*, lib. ii., cap. 1).

As we have endeavoured, to the best of our ability,

in the Illustrative Notes to be found at the end of our text, to elucidate most of the obscure points in the narrative, we shall content ourselves with setting forth a short chronological summary which will serve as a general outline of the events of the voyage from its commencement to its close.

On the 25th March, 1505, they set sail, and encountered a series of surprises that would only have astonished a landsman. The wonder of this day was the "black and terrible fish the length of two men," it might have been a whale. The next day they were fairly out into the sea of Portugal; on the 27th they observed another sea monster, whose counterfeit may be seen on the recently discovered *Carta Marina* by Olaus Magnus of 1539. On the 28th they apparently came athwart Madeira, and the Canaries were descried on the 31st March. On the 3rd April they sailed along the Guinea Coast, and on the following day they saw many whales "both long and terrible, and some were longer than others." On the 7th they made Cape Verd, and anchored "three miles off a town called Bissagos." On 15th April they sailed with the whole of their fleet towards the Cape of Good Hope. Then followed a tempestuous voyage of fifteen weeks, during which time, according to our narrative (p. 25), they did not come within three hundred miles of the Cape. In fact, they sailed so far out to sea south of it that they probably reached lat. 44° S. (cf. Note 15, end). Vespucci's contemporary, Ca Masser, informs us that from the time of their departure from Lisbon upon this voyage, they were about three months without seeing land, and that the vessels were directed by the

Altare (southern constellations), by the sun, or by the arctic pole and the astrolabe. Of the latter he writes that by its use "they truly tell where they find themselves—and that after many days I shall arrive at a certain place; which is certainly a fine thing, and of great use to many steersmen, who know this journey with as much familiarity and ease as a voyage from the Levant" (*op. cit.*, tom. ii., p. 25).

By way of confirmation we will compare this portion of the voyage related in our text (p. 25) with Osorio's version: "In the meanwhile Francis Almeed was steering his course to India, but being hindered by bad weather, and long calms, he made but slow progress in his voyage, and could not make the Cape of Good Hope: it was then winter in those parts, and our people were harassed with continual storms, besides, the pilots, mistaking their course, sailed too far to the southward, where the days were extremely short, the sun being then in the northern tropic. The thickness of the air, the immoderate showers of rain, and great fallings of snow, made them likewise seem shorter than they really were, and our men suffered greatly also by the excessive cold. At length, on the twentieth day they turned the Cape; Almeed then ordered the fleet to keep near the land. On the second of July a violent storm arising, greatly distressed the fleet. The tempest being abated, our men sailed along the coast of Caffers, and at last made the port of Quiloa" (*op. cit.*, lib. iv., p. 227).

It is also interesting to compare this portion of the voyage with the earlier navigation to the southern hemisphere by Vespucci, as recorded in the summary

of his third voyage, and translated by Eden from Ramusio's version: "Departing from Lisbona (commonly cauled Lusheburne) the viii. day of May, in the yeare 1501, we sayled fyrst to the Islandes of Canarie, and from thense to Capouerde, which the Ethiopians or blacke Moores caule *Bisineghe* [Bissagos], being xiiii degrees on this syde the Equinoctiall line. From whense directyng owre course towarde the South pole by the South-west, we saw no more land for the space of three moonethes and three dayes. Of which tyme duryng xl dayes, we had cruell fortune: In so much that for that space, the heaven in a maner neuer ceased thundering, roryng, and lyghtenyng with terrible noyse, and fearfull syghtes of fyery exhalations flyng about in the ayer, and in maner continuall showers of rayne with darke cloudes coueryng the heaven in such sorte that as well in the day as in the nyghte we coulde see none otherwyse but as when the moone giueth no lyght by reason of thicke and darke clouds. The sea was in lyke case unquieted with surgies and monsters. After these greuous and cruel days, it plesed god to haue compassion on our liues. For we suddenly espied land, wherby we recoured our spirites and strength. This land which wee founde is from Capo Verde 700. leagues, although I suppose that we sayled more then 800. by reason of the cruel tempest and ignoraunce of the Pylottes and mariners whereby wee were lyke to haue byn cast away. For wee were in such dangerous places wanderyng in unknowen coastes, that if I had not byn skylfull in the science of Cosmographie we had surely perished, forasmuch as there was not one pylot that

knewe where wee were by the space of fiftie leagues. In so much that if I had not in tyme prouyded for the safegarde of myne owne lyfe and them that were with me, with my quadrant and Astrolabie instrumentes of Astronomie, wee had styl wandered lyke blynde men. But when in fine I had perswaded the pylots by demonstrations pertaynyng to that arte, they gaue me great honour and confessed that the ordinarie pilottes and mariners ignorant in Cosmographie, are not to be compared to men of speculative knowledge, etc." (Eden's *Decades*, etc., 1555, p. 245; Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 277).

We again revert to our text. On the 19th July they descried the land of South Africa between Sofala and Mozambique; and, passing on, they anchored off the bar of Quiloa on 22nd July. Two days later, the whole fleet, consisting of eight ships, sailed up to the town; being badly received by the then reigning king, d'Almeida landed his forces, stormed the city, and founded the fort of Santjago upon the site of "a castle with four towers which was already half built" (p. 26). Upon the 27th July the king of the town fled away, and another king, Muhammed Ancon, reigned in his stead, after receiving the golden crown at the hands of d'Almeida. It would appear, also, from Osorio's account, that the new king only accepted the crown provisionally, as regent, or duke, as our text has it, on behalf of the infant son of the old king, whose dynasty he refused to allow either himself or his family to supplant. Muhammed Ancon's magnanimity in this matter seemed so extraordinary and inexplicable to the Portuguese, that it called for

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special mention at some length by subsequent Portuguese historians. These remarks will serve to correct the somewhat confused accounts of the events of the 4th August as given in our text (p. 26). On 6th August, a large garrison having been left to complete the work of the fort, the fleet sailed for Mombâsa. On the 13th August they entered this harbour; two days later they stormed the town of Mombâsa, in two companies, and took it after severe fighting. Although the Portuguese had a very large number of wounded, yet, according to our narrative, they only lost two men. It was in this action that Dom Lourenço, the only son of the future Viceroy, first distinguished himself. In our account of this storming of Mombâsa we are afforded some interesting particulars relating to the composition of the Portuguese fleets at this period. The fleet of eight ships was now augmented by those of "the Flemish merchants" who "had three ships there;" and we are informed that these ships, whose names are given, were in all their subsequent actions and conflicts. We also learn that there were others of the fleet which "belonged to the Flemish merchants and the Lombards likewise," and that "the King of Portugal had at first no more than three ships of his own." This is confirmed by Ca Masser, whom I have quoted more at length (Note 19, end). He also tells us that a part-owner of one of these Flemish ships was Bartolo the Florentine. Max. Transylvanus¹ also informs us that one of the Antwerp traders residing at Lisbon about this period

¹ *Johann Schöner*, edited by Stevens and Coote, 1888 (text leaf A iii., trans. p. 111).

was Christopher de Haro, a Spaniard who had relations with Portugal concerning the Guinea trade. These two facts may serve somewhat to explain why the original account of our narrative first saw the light in Antwerp, and not in Florence, as might be expected. On 23rd August they set sail for Melinda, but "did not come thereunto," but kept along the coast until the 27th August, when they changed their course north-east across the Arabian Gulf until the 12th September, when they descried land which "was the beginning of India." The following day they reached the island of Anjediva, where they lay for thirty-three days, during which time they made the galley and the barge also referred to by Ca Masser (p. xii, *ante*). On the 16th October they sailed thirty miles south, to Onor. The king of this province had already made a treaty of peace with d'Almeida, but being foolish enough to send an insolent message in reply to a request made to him by the future Viceroy respecting some horses that had swum ashore from certain Persian galleys which the latter was desirous of capturing, the Portuguese entered the river, burnt the ships, and took the town, which soon brought the monarch to his senses. Dom Lourenço, his stalwart son, headed the storming party, but he had little opportunity of distinguishing himself, as the enemy yielded almost without a blow; the Portuguese only lost one man in the assault (cf. Note 22, end). Dom Lourenço died two years later at the battle of Chaul. Leaving Onor, they sailed for Cananor, where they arrived on the 22nd October, and lay there for four days, finding "a good trade of

pearls and precious stones, and of ginger and cinnamon." Here our author's narrative becomes somewhat confused ; he writes : " Then the king of the country [Cananor] did repair unto us to entreat and arrange that after his death our captain should become king." This probably refers to one of the visits of ceremony where d'Almeida was asked to assume the full rank and title of Viceroy, as he had hitherto only called himself Governor. During this four days' stay at Cananor, the Viceroy, at the request of the resident Portuguese factor, ordered a fortress to be built for the protection of the native king against the Arab traders. There is, however, no mention of this in our narrative. On the 27th October they set sail for Cochin, sailing by night past Calicut. On the 30th October they cast anchor in front of Cochin. On 2nd November, after lading four ships, three returned northward to Cananor to await the remainder of the fleet. It was during this period that Nambadora, King of Cochin, received at the hands of the Viceroy the "golden crown which the King of Portugal had sent him" (p. 37). The remaining ships sailed for Cananor on 20th December, where they arrived on Christmas eve. On 2nd January, 1506, the first homeward bound squadron of five ships set sail for Portugal under the command of Fernão Soarez. This fleet arrived at Lisbon on 23rd May, 1506 (Guillemard, *op. cit.*, p. 41); Ca Masser says 3rd July—probably the latter date. Anyway, this voyage of Soarez is remarkable from the fact that the east coast of Madagascar was discovered for the first time.

Our fleet, which included the *Leonard*, sailed from

Cananor on 21st January for Anjediva, from which island they set sail for Lisbon on 5th February. After recrossing the Arabian Gulf, or "wild sea of Magadoxo," they sighted the island of "Shrove Tuesday" on 8th March. Next day they descried the island of St. Christopher, near Meyotto, one of the Comoro group (cf. Note 23, end). Three days later they made the mainland of Africa, and on 19th March they cast anchor before the island of Mozambique, where they took in wood and water and victuals. On 14th April they sailed for the Cape. After tossing up and down the Mozambique Channel from the 30th of May until the 9th of June, where the movements of the fleet as recorded in the text (p. 38) are as confused as the chronology, they arrived 11th June in Rocky Bay (cf. Note 25). Three days later they set sail, and arrived on 15th June at Delagoa Bay. Here they victualled their ships and had intercourse with the natives, as described on pp. 6 and 41 of our text. On 1st July they arrived at the watering-place of St. Blaze or St. Bras (cf. Note 26, end). On 7th July they passed the Cape, and sighted St. Helena on the 21st. On 15th August they descried the Cape Verd Islands, and anchored at St. Jago for three days, where they found a caravel from Guinea bound for Lisbon. On 8th September, after having gone sixty leagues from the Cape Verd Islands, they were driven back to St. Jago, where they remained until the 20th, when they set out once more. On the 21st October they anchored at Madeira until the 3rd November, when they set sail again for Portugal, and finally cast anchor before the town of Lisbon, 15th November, 1506.

Although one looks in vain in Fracanzano's *Paesi Nouamente Retrouate* of 1507, or the *Itinerarium Portugalensium* of 1508, for a contemporary account of Vespucci's voyage, we are fortunately in a position to refer to an earlier work which narrates and confirms at some length all the events on the east coast of Africa and India recorded in our text. This is no other than the *Gesta proxime per Portugalenses in India: Ethiopea: et aliis orinetalibus (sic) terris*. Imp. Rome per Joannem Besicken. Anno mccccvi. Die vii mensis Novembris, 6 ff. 4to. It is of great interest as giving an account of the erection of the four fortresses by the Portuguese at Quiloa, Mombâsa, Anjediva, and Cananor, accounts of three of which are given in our text. In all probability the *Gesta*, which is in the form of a letter sent by King Manoel to G. da Costa, Cardinal-Bishop of Lisbon, in Rome, was brought home by the first portion of the fleet that sailed from India under Fernão Soarez, 2nd January, 1506, and arrived at Lisbon 23rd May, according to Guillemard (p. 41), or 3rd July, according to Ca Masser. Although a second edition of this letter was printed in Cologne in February, 1507, there is nothing to show that the author of our text even knew of it. The only allusion to navigation in the *Gesta* is the bare mention of the fact that d'Almeida's fleet left Portugal in March, 1505, thus far confirming the correctness of the contents of our text.

We have already alluded to Vespucci's intention to proceed to Malacca by way of Africa and the East Indies, and also to the belief held by the Spaniards

that he had been in those parts; it remains to consider how far Vespucci, as a cosmographer, is supposed to have contributed to our knowledge of the cartography of these regions. Ca Masser informs us that he "saw a *Carta da navigar* of this voyage, and how much is shown there of all the places that these Portuguese have opened up, and made practicable, and discovered up to now [1508]; they have discovered a good deal, and are about to discover more in the future, being thus well informed by means of the chart" (*op. cit.*, p. 31). It does not appear to be generally known, even by modern writers upon Portugal, that one of the best maps of the Portuguese conquests and discoveries upon the coasts of Africa and the East Indies is to be found in J. Ruysch's *Universalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula*, etc. which he made for Fra Marco Beneventano for insertion in the *Geographia* of Claudæus Ptolemæus, Rome, 1508. Larger, but much less accurate, rough woodcut maps are also to be found in the *Ptolemy* of 1513. The prototypes of the *Hydrographia siue Charta Marina*, to be found in the later Strasburg *Ptolemy*, are, as is well known, the Caneiro and Cantino *Cartas da navigar* of 1501-2 respectively. Ruysch's map was compiled in Rome from entirely different data. That for the New World portion of his maps was undoubtedly Columbian and Spanish; hence his solution of the geographical conundrum to be found on the north-west portion of the *Tabula Terre Nove* in the 1513 *Ptolemy*, about which our modern experts are hopelessly at issue to this hour.¹ That his data for

¹ Cf. Stevens and Coote, *op. cit.*, pp. xix and xxxix.

the South American, African, and East Indian portions of his map are undoubtedly Vespuccian, and therefore Portuguese, is proved by his record in South Africa of the C. de S. Roch, the Rocky Bay of our text (p. 38), and the distinct indication of Anjediva as an island off the west coast of India—two features wholly wanting in the *Charta Marina* of 1513, and its two earlier prototypes of 1501-2.

That Vespucci put his hand to a *Carta da navigar* is almost certain from the following piece of evidence given by Peter Martyr d'Anghiera in his *Decades*, translated by R. Eden: "Whereupon I repayred to the byshoppe of *Burges* [J. R. de Fonseca], being the chief refuge of this navigation. As wee were therfore secretly together in one chamber, we had many instrumentes pertaynyng to these affayres as globes and many of those mappes which are commonly cauled the shipmans cardes, or cardes of the sea. Of the which, one was drawn by the Portugales, were unto *Americus Vesputius* is sayde to have put to his hande, being a man moste experte in this facultie and a Florentyne borne: who also under the stipende of the Portugales, hadde sayled towarde the southe pole many degrees beyond the equinoctiall. . . . To an other, *Colonus* the Admiral whyle he yet lyved and searched those places had gyven the begynnyng with his owne handes: Whereunto *Bartholomeus Colonus* his brother and Lieutenaunt had addid his judgement, for he also had sayled aboute those coastes" (Dec. 2, book 10; cf. Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 134).

Oddly enough, Fra Marco Beneventano appears to have undergone a similar experience. While in

Venice about 1507, he had seen, and probably procured, copies of a MS. map by Columbus the discoverer and Columbus *nepos* (*sic*), and also an engraved *mappa universalis* by a certain un-named Florentine. This last was probably by no other than Vespucci. These copies Beneventano no doubt handed to Ruysch for the compilation of his famous map, which earned for him the following eulogium, "Geographorum meo iudicio peritissimus: ac in pingendo orbe diligentissimus, cuius adminiculo in hac lucubratiuncula usi sumus.— In my opinion, the most skilful of geographers and the most careful in depicting the world, whose aid we have had in compiling this treatise" (*Orbis noua descriptio*, cap. iii. (a 3), in *Ptolemaei Geographia*, 1508). There can be but little doubt that the MS. map by Columbus the discoverer and Columbus *nepos* secured for Ruysch by Beneventano in Venice was a copy of the one seen eight or ten years later by Peter Martyr in Seville. A reduced copy of the Columbus map, however, may be the identical one recently discovered in Florence by Dr. Wieser.¹ The engraved map by the anonymous Florentine was probably a copy of the map by Vespucci referred to by Çuaço (see *ante*, p. xi); if so, it was probably executed in the spring of 1507, shortly after the return of this voyage, and immediately before the appearance of the two *Ptolemys* of 1507-8. The interest attached to Ruysch's map for our purpose is, that it is the only contemporary one which exactly illustrates and confirms the genuineness of the text of our voyage, and which also suggests the great

¹ Facsimile in *Mittheil. des Inst. für Oesterr. Geschichtsforschung*, iv., *Ergänzungsband*, Innsbruck, 1893.

probability that those portions showing the Portuguese "new landes" in Africa and the East Indies were based on the earlier map reported to the Emperor Charles V. as having been made by Vespucci, who "travelled in those parts." The *Carta da navigar* seen by Ca Masser was probably of the 1513 *Ptolemy* type.

Future researches in early sixteenth century bibliography and among MSS. may possibly bring to light new evidence respecting the original text of our voyage; in the meantime we venture to affirm that henceforth, no recognized authority on Vespucci's writings will have the courage to eliminate from the Vespuccian Canon the long lost specimen of the Antwerp press of 1508. In conclusion, my best thanks are due to my friend, Mr. B. F. Stevens, for his valuable assistance in producing this volume; and also to my friends, Mr. G. F. and Mrs. Barwick, for their excellent translation of the Flemish text of this voyage.

Albericus Vespuccius
His Account and Journal of The
Voyage from Lisbon to Great India
1505-6

A



The Voyage from Lisbon to sail unto the island of
Nagore which lieth in Great India, beyond
Calicut and Cochin, wherein is the
staple of the spices. Wondrous
things befell us therein, and
we beheld much, as
hereinafter is
described.

This said voyage was
undertaken by the will and command
of Emanuel, the most serene King of Portugal.

Die reyse vā Tiffbone om te varena d; eplād
 Paguaria in groot Indien ghelegghen
 voo: bi Callicuten en Sutchi dair
 dpe stapel is vander Specerīe
 Daer ons wonderlijche dī
 gēwediaren iñ. en dair
 wpuccel ghesiē hel
 bē/als hier na
 ghescrenē
 staet.



Welche reyse gheschiede
 door dē wille en ghebode des alder
 voo: luchrichstē Coñs vā Portegals Emanuel





Alderpest quamē wi aent landt vā Canariē dwelck
 is ij. C. l. milē vā lisseboē. en dair tusschē 3j ij. Eplā
 dē In dateen is wel ghemaect volck En mē maectter veel
 haesen vā grote wilde gheptē. Sociffer visch en supcker
 goedē roop Dat and eplāt is onwoenbaer en luttel volck
 daer in en deselijn al schouw en wilt Och hier newē
 leyt dat lāt Barbaria. en is vā daer tot i Sennea ij. C. l.
 milē. en dz is d swarter morē landt. en aent beghisel des
 lāts is een voorgeberchte en heet. Caput viride en hper
 bi is de stadt Bisagisch / v. C. milē vā lisseboē / hier bi sijns
 veel walvisschē en vliegēde visschē / Men gheen side van
 Bisagisch ij. C. l. milē seplmē ond d sonnē soe verde dat
 mē die noorde seplsterre oft polū articiū oft dē wagē gehe
 tē niet meer sien en mach Nair polū articiū oft die supdē
 seplsterre sagē wi ter stot Dit vō morē lāt is N. iij. C. mi
 lē groot waeraf die liedē al geheel naect ghaē met gulde
 ringhē aen handē en voortē In Illamādra 3j bonē daer
 si keruē i houwē o op te clunē en o dpe vruchtē te halne

Guinea.

FIRST of all we came to the country of the Canaries, which lieth 250 miles¹ from Lisbon, and on the way thither there are two islands. In the one dwelleth a fine race of people, who make great store of cheese from large wild goats; fish, also, and sugar are exceeding cheap. The other island is uninhabitable, and the few people who dwell therein are quite shy and wild. Also thereagainst lieth the land of Barbary, and from thence to Guinea is 250 miles; this is the land of the blackamoors, and at the beginning of the land is a promontory called Cape Verd, and close thereby standeth the town of Bissagos, 500 miles from Lisbon, and hereabouts there be many whales and flying fishes. On the other side of Bissagos, at a distance of 250 miles, we sailed so far beneath the sun that the northern sailing star, called the polum arcticum or the waggon, could be no longer seen, but we forthwith saw the polum antarcticum, or southern guiding star. This aforesaid land of the Moors is 1,400 miles in extent, and the inhabitants thereof go entirely naked with golden rings on their hands and feet. In Madeira there are trees wherein they hack notches in order to climb up and gather the fruits.

Delagoa Bay.

AFTER this we sailed unto the country of Delagoa Bay, which extendeth up to the beginning of Arabia², being 550 miles long, and herein is a kingdom called Sofala. In this country the people are clothed as shown in the above picture; they wear as garments the skins of animals, and the men cover their nakedness with a sheath of wood or leather, while their women use the fur and skins of beasts, and wear as head coverings the skins of sheep and other animals. Also they bepitch the forehead and hair of the men in the same manner as one doth pitch ships; and their dwellings are beneath the ground. Many cows, oxen, and large sheep, besides other beautiful animals, are found there, and it is a fair and luxuriant country with large rivers, and full of sweet scented herbage. The people have a quick and hasty speech. They have no money save of iron, which is accepted by everyone for his wares. They carry little white staves, and their weapons and arms are long spears and stones, wherewith they throw right forcibly. This country is so full of sand that they must needs walk on broad plates in order not to sink or fall therein. And so we came into Arabia.



Allago

Oker na voerē wi ic lāt vā Allago. d; tot aēt begifet vā Arabiē gaer en is v. C. en .l. milē groot En hier in is eē conincryck Safalē gehetē / In dit lāt is volck gelect gelijc hier voor getephet is / Si dragē voor haer clederē hupen vā ghediertē De mās dragē scepdē gemaect vā houte oft vā leder ouer haer scamelheyt Maer hare vrouwē bedect hē haer m; beestē pellen en hupē En nemē op haer hooft voor doechē vellē vā scapē oft vā dierē. Oot bepechtense di mānē voorhoost en haer ghelijc mē die scepē bepecht En haer woenigen sijn ontd der aerde. Daer sijn veel kopen offen. en grote scapē / en and schone dierē Dit is een schoō lustich lāt vā goevē waterē en vol rieckēde crupdē Dit volck heft eē snelle haestige sprake Daer en es gheen ghelt sond vā plev / en dat neēt een pegelic voor sijn ware Sid; a gē witte stocckēs. Haer wapenē en weere zj lage spieffē en steenē / daer li starkelijc mede worpē / Dat lāt is so vol vā sande d; si op brede telporē moettē ghaē op d; si dair n; in en tardē oft vallē en soudē Daer na quamē wi i Arabiē



Arabia

Als wi i Arabien quamē sagē wi dat volc gedeet ghe
 lijc hier vore ghefigureert en beworpē staet En wt desen
 Coninckric is gheweest dyc eene vādē hepligē drie Conin
 ghē. Itē daer byndē si den offchē Arabisch gout om hare
 hooren en oore en oec gulde ringhē om haer beenē. Ende
 voer goud nemē si sīde en lyncen doeckē vandē rooplupdē
 Itē hier nae sijn noch vñf Eplandē. daer die eerste af ghe
 hretē wort Monsabit. en daer namē dyc scapē soetwater
 inue. Seslich milen van Safalen leet eē stad Quola ge
 heeren die welcke van ons werdt ghewōnē En daer sloe
 gē wi vele vā hē lupdē doot en wi plonderdē en spolpeer
 dē die stad En daer butē hadde haer Coninck een slot of
 casteel gherinnert. het welcke geheetē was sint Jacops
 slot Ende daer lietē wy een hondert cloecher maanen op
 onne dat te be: warens ende te behoudene

Arabia.

WHEN we came into Arabia we found the people clothed as drawn and shown above. Now from this kingdom came one of the three holy kings. Item, the people here do bind Arabian gold on the horns and ears of the oxen, and also golden rings round their legs, and in exchange for gold they take silk and linen cloth from the merchants. Item, hard by there be five more islands, whereof the first is called Mozambique, and there the ships take in sweet water. Sixty miles from Sofala standeth a town named Quiloa, which we did conquer, killing many of the inhabitants, and plundering and spoiling the town. Outside this town their king had built a stronghold or castle which was called the Castle of Santiago^s, and we left an hundred valiant men there to guard and keep it.

SEVENTY miles from Quiloa lieth a town called Mombâsa, which we burned, and we there slew much people, and from some of them we plundered great store of goods. ¶ Item, twenty-four miles further on lieth another great town called Mellinda; here they were friendly to us, and in this town there are many slaves, or people who are sold, from Guinea. From Mellinda it is ninety miles to Persia, and so we navigated through the Gulf or sea past the town of Magadoxo as far as an island called Anjediva. From there also came one of the three holy kings.

¶ Item, from there it is an hundred miles unto the kingdom of Cananor, and in that kingdom the spices begin to grow; and thence we sailed into Great India.

Un Suiola tseuentich milē leet een Stadt Sobaffa
 U gheheeren die wy verbranden en daer versloeghen
 wi vele volcks en wi plonderde die oech inzontellike veel
 goets ¶ Item vandaer noch .xxiiij. milen leet een andere
 groote Stadt Mellinda geheeten. en die waren onse vric
 de. en daer sijn vele slauenē oft vercochte spedē wi Ger
 neē. Vā Mellinda eest .xx. milen tot in Persia. daer voert
 wy ouer die Solffen of zee voer bi de Stadt Megha tot in
 eē Eplandt Auxendina geheetē. Vā daer is oech die ecue
 vandē heplighē drie Coninghē gheweest
 ¶ Itē vandaer eest hondert milē tot in dat Conincrycke
 Cananor. Ende in dat Conincrycke beghint die speterie
 te wassen En vandaer voert voeren wi in groot Indien.



Groot Indien

Wtsceptē vā tconicrijck vā Cananor i groot Indi
 en daer die mēschē gheheel naect sond haer scamel; te b
 dechē met lijwaet En zj beuſſuwart mei lāgē hare. en vā
 dē vrouwē is v; beſcreuē/ Naer aē die kātē vand zee heb
 ic veel wondlic volcx geſiē vā maniere/ en die vrouwē die
 haer kinderē en harē hupſraet met haer dragē/ Hier vū
 mē ghenber/pepere.naghelē/ comj/ en ald hāde ſpeterie.
 en costelijcke geſteptē om eē cleē ghelt te cope Daer zj ooc
 menegerhāde vruchtē/ vighē vā goedē ſmakē/ vj. dummē
 lāc/ en ij. dummē vreet/ Daer zj buſſelē en covē/ mair die to
 pē en dodē ſi n; dair walſch; goedē wj/ veel honichs rjſch
 costelic corē gheheel wit gelijc terwē meel/ Daer ſtaet San
 derana die ſtadt en is vj. milē i Callicutē. Vā daer iſt. xl.
 milē daermē vaert om ald hēde ſpeteriē dpe tot noch roe
 ghenoert zj te Venegie ouer die roode zee door Alexād: iē.
 Mair nu iſſer een nieuwe vaert gheuōdē recht wte ouer
 die zee in Callicutē. In Callicutē zj veel mēſchē wt s Tho
 maes lādē de
 ooc herſtē zj
 en noch volk
 vā and landē
 en naciē
 Doorby dpe
 voerē wi i d;
 conicrijck ge
 heten / S ut
 ſchi/ Als hper
 na gheſcreuē
 ſtaet. et rete..



Great India.

WE sailed from the kingdom of Cananor into Great India. There the men go entirely naked, save that they wear linen round their loins; they are dark brown and have long hair. The women have not been described, but on the seashore I beheld people who were wonderful in their ways, and saw women carrying their children and household goods with them. Here we found ginger, pepper, cloves, cummin and all manner of spices and precious stones, which could be bought for a small sum of money. Also many kinds of fruits are found there; figs of good flavour seven inches long and three inches wide⁴; and we saw buffaloes and cows, but they do not kill the cows. Therein is produced good wine, abundance of honey, rice, and excellent corn quite white like wheat flour. There standeth the town of Panderani, and it is seven miles from there unto Calicut. From thence merchants go forty miles to obtain all manner of spices, which have hitherto been carried to Venice over the Red Sea by way of Alexandria, but now a new passage has been discovered straight across the sea to Calicut. In Calicut there are many people from the land of Saint Thomas [Maliapur] who are also Christians, and likewise people from other countries and nations. From thence we sailed to the kingdom called Cochin, as hereafter is described.

T Of the Kingdom of Cochin.

HEREUPON we came into the kingdom of Cochin, where the King of Portugal has caused two castles to be built; and from hence came the third of the three holy kings. Much pepper groweth there, and it formeth the chief staple of the kingdom. At a distance of twenty-four miles lieth the kingdom of Quilon, where there be many Christians. There too are found plenty of great elephants and various kinds of wild and wondrous animals passing the power of man to describe; and all manner of fruit are much bigger there than in our countries in Europe. Eight hundred miles further lieth the island of Malacca containing many precious spices, and there are two more islands, one called Bantam⁵, wherein groweth nought save cloves, the other called Tanjore or Nagore⁶, which produceth only white and red sandal wood. Here, too, it has sometimes happened that a handful of pearls has been given in exchange for a bell or a looking glass. In Cochin they sometimes carry their king, but this is done by his chiefs, and they maintain obedience among themselves. They manage their affairs very badly, for when they are assembled together their chief crieth "I will sow," and upon hearing this his subjects do forthwith sow and mow, and then each one taketh his share, leaving the remainder, which their lord doth take without contradiction from anybody; and they act thus in all their business.



Ende doe quamē wi it conicrijt/ Sutchi/ En dace
 heeft die. Con. vā Portēgael. ij. stotē deē makē Vāhyer
 was die dde vādē heplich ij. conigē Daer walcht veel pe
 pers en is de opperste stapel daer af Dat conicrijt Colum
 is. xiiij. milē vā daer. en daer zj vele kerstenē. Mē vīde
 hier oer veel grote Olifantē en menigher ley wilde en wā
 dlijke ghediertē die mē niet bescriuen en kan/ Alle oest en
 vruchtē zj daer vele groter dā in onse landē vā Europa.
 Dat eplāt Melaquais vā daer viij. C. milē. daer ooc ve
 le costeliche speteriē zj Daer zj noch. ij. eplandē dat eē es
 Sandam. en daer walcht niet dā nagelē/ Dat and Tana
 gora oft Naguaria/ en daer walcht niet dā wit oft root sā
 delē hout/ Cis geschiet dat mē om een belle oft spiegel ghe
 cochte eē hāt volper. lē/ In Sutchi dragē si zōtijts hare
 con. maer dat doe zj hoofthede/ en houdē gehoersac heyt
 ond malchanderē/ Si doe haer dīgē al slechtic/ Wāt als
 si in een ūgaderige zj/ so roept haer hoomā Ic wil sayen
 en als de ondsatē d; horē d an sayē en mapē sū en dā nemē
 si haer deel en latē d; and liggē en d; ne emt d; ye heer son
 pemāts wderleggē En sodoēle i allcomēscapē

Booby dat Conicech / Siuschin / Colum / Sandam / en
 Naguaria. xxc. milē in Arlinia daer heeft die Con. rij. co
 nigē ondhē. En daer leghet begrauē s Thomas apostel



Alons moet die Con. i Siuschin somtijts ghebraghe van sijne hoofdbren.

Thirty miles beyond the kingdoms of Cochin, Quilon, Bandam ⁷ [Nega]patam and Nagore, in Narsinga ⁸, the king has twelve other kings under him. And Saint Thomas the Apostle lies buried there ⁹.

This is the manner in which the king of Cochin is sometimes borne by his chiefs ¹⁰.

The voyage to India, to Calicut¹¹ and to the new countries which were discovered at this time, took place in the year of Our Lord one thousand five hundred [and five]¹², in the month of March.

MY friend Lorenzo:—I Albericus¹³ did write to you aforetime about my voyages to the new lands in general; now I am writing to you a true account thereof from point to point. This voyage was undertaken by the command of Emanuel the most serene king of Portugal. We first journeyed from Lisbon with a great company unto the monastery of Rastello, one mile from the town; and on the twenty-fifth day of March, when we set sail, there came out of the sea into the harbour a fish of the length of two men, exceeding black and terrible, having fins on its back nearly as long as a man. After this, on the twenty-sixth day of March, we came into the sea of Portugal, and many fishes from the sea followed alongside the ships. The aforesaid black fish, which blew the water into the air as high as a man's length, came from the sea of Portugal into the harbour of Lisbon. ¶ Item, on the twenty-seventh day of March the crew shot a tunny in the sea; it was as long as a man and had as much flesh upon it as a pig or boar, and had organs like a boar, and it had likewise blubber and flesh, and entrails or bowels of similar kind, and a beak like a bird, but a little broader and with small teeth therein. This fish provided food for one day for an hundred and twenty-six persons. On the twenty-eighth day of March we sailed by night between two islands lying sixty miles apart; one is called Canary and the other Madeira, and therein there be many black men or Moors. These two islands are distant from Lisbon the one an hundred and eighty miles, the other two hundred and fifty miles,

Die reyse van Indien .van Calcoenē. en vā dē Npenwē
landē de doen geuondē warē gelschpet Int iaer ons herē
M vijfhondert in die maent van meerte

Mijn vrient Laurenti Jch Alberic? hebbe in vooe
screuē tijdē ghescreuē tot v van in hnd rep sen vā
dē npenwē lādē int generael. nu scriue ic v die waerheyt
daer af vā stucke te stucke. Welcke reyse gheschpedē doer
dat beuel des ald̄ doerluchtichsten con. van Portengale
Emanuel geheetē Indē prsten so vooe wi vā Lisse
bone m; groter arimmepē tottē coleston kostel eē mile vā
d̄ stadt En op dē xxv. dach vā meerte als wite ziele ghigē
so quam daer eenen visch wter zee in die hauene wel twee
mans lengde groot seer swart en gruwelijc dpe vderen
hadde op sinen rugghe die bina so langhe warē als een
man Daer na quamē wi op dē xxvi. dach van meerte op
die zee van Portugale en daer quamē vele visschen wt d̄
zee neuen die strepen gheuaren. Dese voer screuen swarte
visch blies dz watere i die lucht hooge wel eēs mās lēgde
die wt die Portugaelsche zee quā in die hauene van Lisse
bone **M** Item op den. xxvij. dach vā meerte so scotē die
scipliedē in die zee eenē thonijn die also lāck was alle emā
En hadde also veel visch aē als eē verckē of swijn en had
de cullen gelijc eē swijn en speck en vleesch en inghewant
oft darmē oec alsoe En eenē beck ghelijc eenē vogel mer
een luttel breeder. en cleyn tandē daer in Met desen visch
spijdemē eenē dach hddert en xxvi. psonen Op dē. xxvij
dach van Meerte des; nachts voeren wi tusschen twee
Eplandē die van malckanderē staen seltich mplen. Dpe
een hier af heet Canaria Die andere; Illamadera Ende
hier sijn vele swarte menschen oft mooren minne Sepde
dese Eplanden sijn van Iyllebone. die eene hondert ende
tachtentich mile. die andere twee hondt en vijftich milen

En hier inne sijn vele slauē en halue moorē die dē kersten
nen vercocht wordē ¶ Item op den leste dach Martij
saghē wi die Splandē van Canaria. dier neghē na male
handerē sijn. en in dese sijn alle slauē dpe dē kerstenē ver
cocht sijn Dese neghē Splandē behorendē Coninck van
Spaengien toe. ende sijn onder haer neghene een rijke
Coninck rijk. en in desen eplandē walscht veel supcheres
Ende op desen dach warē wi twee hondert ende vijftich
milen van Ipssebone ¶ Item daer na optē iij. dach
vā Aprille quamē wi op die zee vā Senneen. daer voerē
wi langhe by der swartter moorē landt op rij. oft xv. mil
en daer bi. Daer saghē wi op desen dach en op den vierdē
dach vele walvisschen die grouwelice en lanc waren. mer
diesonmighel langher dā dan ¶ Item op den seften
dach vā Aprille vorē wi te schepe aent landt nae dat voer
gheberchte Caboweerde gheheetē. Daer vinghē wi ve
le visschen met aughelen die wyle dat het schip seylde
¶ Item op dē seuensten dach van Aprille voerē wij voer
by den berch van Caboweerd henē ind swartter moor
taenen landt. En daer worpē wy ankeren wt drie milen
by een stede die Spilagiths gheheeten is Hier is eenen
Coninck der mooren. Ende dese gaen bi malchanderē ge
lijck die beesten al naecht ghelijck si van moeder geboren
en hier voreghemaelt en gefigureert sijn. ende daer sijn
haer schepē holle boomen daer si inne visschen Op desen
voerē haer vier mannen in twee schepen aē ons boert
Ende sij spraken Portugaelsch met ons. alsoe. dat mē se
wel verstonde Ende in haer landt sijn beeste ghenoch en
nemen gheen ghele daer vore Want si dat nyet en kennē
Hier sijn hoenderē. vosschen kopen en ghepten ghenoech
En hare hupsen sijn daer onder die boomen ghemaccht
ghelijck eenen bach oenen oft ghelijck huttē met eerden

and herein there be many slaves and half Moors who are sold to the Christians. ¶ Item, on the last day of March we descried the Canary Islands, whereof there are nine one after another; in these there be none but slaves who are sold to the Christians. These nine islands appertain unto the king of Spain, and taking the nine together they make a rich kingdom, and in them groweth abundance of sugar. And on this day we were two hundred and fifty miles from Lisbon. ¶ Item, after this, on the third day of April, we came unto the sea of Guinea, where we sailed for twelve or fifteen miles along the country of the blackamoors. There we saw on this day and on the fourth many whales both long and terrible, and some were longer than others. ¶ Item, on the 6th day of April we sailed towards the promontory called Cape Verd, where we caught many fishes with hooks, while the ship was sailing. ¶ Item, on the seventh day of April we sailed past the mount of Cape Verd right into the country of the blackamoors, and there we cast anchor, three miles off a town called Bissagos. Here there is a king of the Moors, and the people go herded together like cattle, and naked as their mothers bore them; as they are shown in the foregoing picture [p. 4]. Their boats are hollow trees, and in them they fish. On this day four of their men came out to us in two boats, and came on board; they spoke Portuguese with us, so that we could understand them perfectly. In their land there is abundance of cattle, and they take no money for them, seeing that they know nothing thereof. Fowls, oxen, cows and goats abound there; and the houses are built under the trees, and are like unto an oven, or to huts with earthen

walls, and are thatched with straw or with little sticks, and when they wish to remove their house into the fields, twelve of them do thereupon carry it away thither. ¶ Item, This country lieth five hundred miles from Lisbon. And on the second day of this month the king sent his son to our ships, and we all paid mock homage unto him, and we lay there in the harbour in front of this land for the space of eight days with nine ships. ¶ Item, on the fifteenth day of April we sailed with our whole fleet out of the country of the blackamoors, from the great sea of Guinea which is one thousand four hundred miles long, unto the promontory called Cape de Bone Speranza or Good Hope. Fourteen miles by land from the kingdom of Bissagos lieth another great kingdom many hundred miles long, which is called the kingdom of Guinea. But it is an evil land full of ill-natured people and foul vapours. Item, thereupon we came to Cape Verd, which is a round mountain and very high and lieth in the sea, and no person dwelleth thereon; but beneath round about the mountain there are large thick trees, and the fruits which grow thereon look like the Spanish baskets called cabasses; these trees are full four fathoms thick and they have leaves like the nut trees. ¶ Item, on this sea, as before said, we sailed in like manner beneath the sun and moon¹⁴. And in this sea there are many wondrous kinds of fishes; there are little white fishes which fly out of the sea in flocks, just as birds do in the field, and their wings are like the wings of bats.

wanden ende m; kroeft met clepne roepkens ghedeckte.
Ende als sij willen soe draghē si haerder rivacl; h; uys
wech tot in dat velt ¶ Itē dit landt is vijfhondert milē
van Ipsebonen En op dē tweeden dach deser maent so
sant die Conincklijnen sone tot ons schiep. en daer dedē
wi hem spottelike eere al ghechende Daer laghē wi acht
daghen voer dat lant in die hauene met neghen schepen
¶ Item den vijftiensten dach. vā Apille voerē wi met
ter heelder voleten wt vā dat swartē mooren lant wt die
grote zee vā Senneen dpe duisent en vier hondert milē
landt is tot aen dē berch geheetē Cabe de bone Sperāze
of den berch vā goeder hopen En vā dat Coninckrijck
Sillagisch rijk. te lande is eē and groot Coninckrijck dat
veel hondert milen lanc is En heet die Coninck vā Sen
nea. Maer heriseen quaet landt vā quadē volcke ende
vūplen lichte ¶ Item daer quamē wy anden berch Ca
bwoerde dat eenē rondē berch is dpe schue in dpe zee leet
die seer hoghe is en daer nyemāt op en woent. Maer be
neden om den berch sijn grote dicke boomē Die vruchtē
die daer op staen sijn als die spaensche koruen die mē Ca
bassen heet Dese boomē sijn wel vier vāpemen dicke. en,
hebbē bladeren daer aen ghelijck die nootboomen
¶ Item op deser zee ghelijc hier vore staet seplē wi al ge
gelijck ond der sonnen en ond der manen dore En op dese
zee is vele wonders vā visschē Daer sijn clepne witte vis
schen dpe wter zee vliegghen met groten hoopen ghelijck
die ander voghelē opten velde Ende die vloeghelē dpe sij
hebben sijn ghelijck die vloegelen vā de vleder niuysen

Cite op die zee seplden wy so diepe in waerchs dat wi geē
voghelen oft visschē noch geen creatuerē en vondē. ende
was gelijc eē wildernisse En daer na seplde wi weder op
Cabē de Sperāza daer wi wel xiiij. hondt milē af geseplē
warē. en als wi weder quamē op vijf hondt milē na den
berch Cabē bone sperāze in Juniodaer wast so condr als
in ons lant te hier smisse En op die zee comē dicwils grote
slach regenē en haestighe windē onuerlic dat si somtidē
weleen scip om keere soudē dat te vorē hē daer niet op en
verlaghe Daer voerē wy op dien tijt diepe ind zee om in
Jnde in te varene En wi en quamē bidē berch Cabē niet
op die hondt milē En also voeren wi langhē tijt dat wy
niet en wistē waer dz wi warē tot wy menich hondt milē
gepasseert warē Daer na voerē wi noch langhē tijt niet
wetende waer dat wi warē dat wi ten lesten saghen veie
thoninē en wal visschē die seer grootē wter marē landt
warē en noch and gruwelike visschē die seer landē smal
warē Wispeldē vandē berch Caboweerde wel xv. wekē
dat wi noch lant noch sant en saghen Daer na inder vijf
tienster weken optē. xix. dach vand maent Julij? saghen
wi vele visschē En niet langhe daer na omterēt twee. vte
saghen wi dat lant risschē Safalp en Monsimbic. mer
daer en seplde wi aen geen lant en al voerbi tot aen eē an
der Eplant dat vā daer is hondt en vijftich milē En in
die lant heet die hoefstadi Killuwa en is een conincricke d
hepdenē Op den xiiij. dach Julij worpē wi onse anchorē
wt voer die stadi Killuwa Op den anderen dach daer na
voerē wi met alle onse bootē spacerē in die hauē voer des
conincs hups om te wetē of si ons vriendē warē en of sy
tribuyt wildē gheue. mer daer en was gheē vrientscape
ands dā dat si verchtē en stormē wondē teghē ons

Cite op den xiiij. dach deser maent voerē wi in ganter

¶ Item, we sailed so far into this sea that we found neither birds nor fishes nor any other living creatures, and it was like a wilderness. Thereupon we sailed back again to the Cape of Good Hope, from which we had sailed away full fourteen hundred miles¹⁵, and when we had returned about five hundred miles towards the Cape of Good Hope, it was as cold there in June as it is in our country at Christmas. Upon this sea great storms of rain and violent winds do often descend unexpectedly, and they are sometimes quite strong enough to overturn a vessel which ventures to encounter them. At this time we sailed far out to sea in order to journey into India, and we did not come within three hundred miles of the promontory, and we sailed for so long a time that we knew not where we were until we had gone many hundred miles. After that we sailed yet a long time without knowing where we were, until at last we beheld many tunnies and whales which were exceeding large and long beyond measure, and other horrible fishes likewise very long and narrow. We sailed from Cape Verd for full fifteen weeks without seeing either land or shore, but afterwards, in the fifteenth week, on the nineteenth day of the month of July, we beheld fishes in abundance, and not long afterwards, in about two hours, we descried the land between Sofala and Mozambique. Howbeit we did not make the land there, but passed on to another island which is an hundred and fifty miles further off, and in this land the capital is called Quiloa, and it is a heathen kingdom. On the twenty-second day of July we cast anchor before the town of Quiloa, and on the following day we went in force with all our boats into the harbour before the king's house to discover if they were friendly to us and if they would give tribute, but there was no sign of friendship; on the contrary, they were ready to fight furiously against us. ¶ Item, on the morning of the twenty-fourth day of this month we went quickly with our whole

force, being eight ships all armed, to the town, and did kill all the heathens and plundered the town of great store of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, and beautiful garments. And on this same day we found outside the town a castle with four towers¹⁶, which was fully half built. ¶ Item, on the twenty-seventh day of this month the king of this town had fled away with many heathens, after we had taken possession of it, and thereupon our captain [Francisco de Almeida] did make another king with very great honour, and crowned him with a golden crown, as it is besecming to do unto a king, and restored unto him the kingdom with all his rights, on condition that he should be faithful and true to the king of Portugal and should keep the kingdom open for all his needs and commands. ¶ On the fourth day of August the lawful king of the country, who had been expelled by the king whom we had previously driven out, did repair unto us, and entreated nothing of us save that he might be a duke until such time as the king should die, and then become king and receive the crown; and he did desire it solely because the king had brought him up when he was a child, and that was as much as to say that he was a father to him, for the king was his father's brother; and because the king had brought him up, therefore he loved the king. And thereupon, according to his desire, he was made duke with great honour, as thereto belongeth, in the presence of many great princes and lords¹⁷. Afterwards, on the sixth day of August, being all assembled together, we went on board with all our people and came no more to land. And after that we sailed right away into Mombâsa. ¶ Item, on the thirteenth day of this month we came with ten ships into the harbour of Mombâsa, where they were hostile to us: This town has a beautiful harbour, and on one extremity

macht met acht scedē al gewapēt haestelic indē moighē
aen die stad en sloeghē alle die heydenē doot en plonder
dē die stad met vele rijkdommē van goude vā siluere vā
pzerlen vā costelike gesteenen en vā andere schone sree-
dinghē En op dē seluē dach vondē wien slot daer buten
met viere thoernen dat wel half volmaect was

Item op dē xxvij. dach deser maent so was die Coninc
vā deser stad met vele heydenē wech ghenodē vā dar wi
die stad in ghenomē haddē En doe maecte ons hooft mā-
cenen andrē coninc met seer groter eere en croende hem
mit dē gulde crone allomē eenē coninc toe behoort te doene
En gaf hē dat conincrijk weder met allē rechtē op dat hy
den Coninc vā Portengale hult en getrouwe wesen sou-
de en op dat hi Conincrike opē houdē soude tot alle syne
hulpe en beuelen **O**p dē vierdē dach van Oest quā
daer die gherechtige Coninc vā dien lande die verdienē
was vā dē Coninc die wi vō:enē haddē. en en begerde
niet dā Hertoghe te sijn also lange tot dat die Coninc slot
ue en dā coninc te wordene. en die crone te ontfanghene
En en begherde dat niet dā om dat die coninc hem op ge-
toghē hadde doen hieen kint was en dat was also vele
te seggene als dat sijn vader was wāt die coninc sijn vā-
ders broeder was En om dat die coninc hē op ghetoghen
hadde so hadde hi hē lief En daer om werdt hi Hertoghe
gemaect na sijn begherte met groter eere als daer toe be-
hoort met vele grote vorstene en herē Daer na op dē seste
dach vā Oest ghingē wi met alle onsen volckē ghelijc wi
by malchanderē warē te seepe en en quamē niet in cer te
lande En wi sepldē daer na recht wtē na Sombassa

Item op dē xij. dach deser maent quamē wi niet x. see-
pen in die hauene vā Sōbasse en die warē onse vianden
Dese stad hadde een schoē hauene. en op dē enē oert vā

deser hauenē hadde si een bolwerck gemaect daer sy wt
schoten. maer si en hieldē gheen stede en vloede alle wech
die daer inne ware tot in die stad. Het bolwerck was een
luttel weechs vā d' stad aen die zee op een steenroetsche
gemaect Daer sepiden wi henē tot voer die stad daer wy
niet vele vriendē. mer alle vpadē hadde. daer lagē wi bi
malchanderē so wi best condē en scotē daer inne na os ald
beste En op dē xiiij. dach vā Oest na middach voeren wi
aen die stad En doe scotē sy met bussen en met boghē ter
stont en met steenē seer gruwelic en quetsē vele vā onsen
volcke Mer wi schotē dat vier in twee ordē oft syde vā d'
stat also datter vele huysen vbiandē. Jit een luttel oer dat
ghesciede dreue si twee Olifanten voer ons henē in spijte
en verdruete Wi vōdē drie Camelē ind' stat en oec andere
daer vore in die veldē Dit was een sterckestat met enghē
stratē die niet wel moghelijc te winnē en was sond' gods
hulpe Den xv. dach vā Oest dat was onser vrouwē dach
so begrepē wi die stat in morgēs i twee hoopē en bestom-
dē die In dese stad warē enghē stratē dat die eē dē aen er
en nyet wihē en mochte Mer wi ghinghē daer dore met
gewelt daer ald sterckste was En die heydenē en moorē
worpen daer so moordelijc en hadde ons heer god en sijn
lieue moed' ons niet bescermed: wi die stad niet gehoudē
oft gewonnē en souden hebbē Daer bleuē vele heydenen
doot en wien vloren maer twee mannē Doe wi die stad
inne hadden en die Coninc gheuloeden was in een volck
voer die stad dair wonderlike vele mooren in laghen soe
hieldē wi die waerde daer vore dat si ons nyet en mochtē
ind' stad ouervallen dpe wile dat wi die plonderdē En wi
vōdē dair so groot goet van goude van siluer en peerle
van gulde stucē en vā menigherhande costelijcke ware
dat nyet moghelijc te segghen en ware wat weert was

thereof they had builded a bulwark out of which they did shoot, howbeit they made no stand, but all who were therein fled away into the town. The bulwark was a little wall leading from the town into the sea and was built upon a rock. Then we sailed along until we arrived before the town, wherein we had not many friends, for they were all enemies. So we kept as close together as we could, and shot into the town with all our might. And on the fourteenth day of August, in the afternoon, we sailed up to the town, and they thereupon shot with guns, and bows, and with stones, very terribly, and wounded many of our people, but we shot fire into the town at two places on different sides, so that many of the houses were burnt. Item, a little while before this, in their vexation and anger, they did drive two elephants against us. We found three camels in the town and others also in the fields in front thereof. It was a strong town with narrow streets, and it would not have been at all possible to take it without God's help. On the morning of the fifteenth day of August, which was our Lady's Day, we attacked the town in two companies and stormed it; the streets thereof were so exceeding narrow that one man could not pass another, but we forced ourselves through the strongest parts; yet did the heathens and Moors shoot so murderously, that had not our Lord God and his Blessed Mother protected us, we should not have held or conquered this town. Many heathens were left there dead, but we lost two men only. When we had taken possession of the town, and the king had fled unto a wood in front thereof, wherein lay a wondrous number of Moors, we set a watch before it, that they should not fall upon us while we were plundering it. And we found therein such great booty of gold, of silver and pearls, of golden pieces, and of sundry precious wares, that it was impossible to reckon their value¹⁸.

On the twenty-third day we set sail with five ships, but there were eleven ships when we captured the town, ten of them arrived first and the eleventh remained behind for a day in great distress, as I wrote before, and this ship was called Raphael. The Flemish¹⁹ merchants had three ships there; the first was called Hieronimus, the second Raphael and the third St. Leonard. These three ships were in all our actions and conflicts. The king of Portugal had at first no more than three ships of his own, the others belonged to the Flemish merchants, and the Lombards, likewise, had some ships there. Item, it is seventy miles from Quiloa unto Mombâsa, and from thence it is two hundred and fifty miles unto another town called Mellinda, which is a kingdom in itself. Now they were friendly to us here, and did mightily honour our people; and their king warreth continually with the king of Mombâsa. And our captain did sail thither in the night, about five miles with five ships, so that we did not come thereunto; and it pleased the king thereof mightily that we had thus smitten and burned the other town, for after that we had entirely plundered it we did set fire thereto and burned up all that was not already consumed, save the large houses with vaulted walls. ¶ Item, on the twenty-third day of August we again sailed away from Mombâsa, keeping along the coast for a long time, from our first sight of land until the twenty-seventh day of August. Then we set sail over the great sea and gulf of Magadoxo²⁰ with fourteen ships. And it is seven hundred miles from Mellinda unto India. After that we journeyed on the sea until the twelfth day of September, when we again descried land, and this was the beginning of India and the kingdom of Cananor. Also we sailed on the sea, beneath the sun, before we saw land again. On the thirteenth day of September we weighed our anchors and sailed unto a place called Anjediva,

Den xiiij. dach ghinghē wi met vijf schepen te seple meer
die scēpē waren i. als wi die stad wonnē. die thiene qua
mē daer eerst vore. en dat elfste bleef eenen dach achterē
in groten noode Als ic voer ghescreuē hebbe. en dit schip
was Raphael gheheetē Die duijsche coopluydē haddē
daer drie schepē. Dat eerste hiet Iheronimus dat tweede
Raphael En d; derde sinte Lenaert Dese drie warē in alle
onse seple en strijdē. Die Coninc vā Portugalen hadde
mette eerste mer drie scēpē de sijn epgē warē Die andere
behoordē dē duijsche coopluydē toe Ende Tobacrdē had
dē daer oec sonninghe scēpē Item het is vā Kalluwa tot
Sombassa seuentich milen En vā daer ist twee hondert
en vyftich myle tot eend' and' stad Mellinde gheheetē dat
een epgē Conincryck is. Naer dese warē ons vriendē
En dese Coninc heeft altoes stryct tegē dē Coninc vā Sō
bassa. ende dese eerdē ons volck met grooter eere. Ende
onse hooftman seplde daer vore inder nacht om trent vijf
mile met vijf schepen. also dat wi daer niet toe en quamē
En daer was die Coninc wel te vrede dat wi die andere
stad also gheslaghē en vbrand haddē. wāt als wijse ghe
heel geplondert haddē so stietē wi dat vier dair inne en v
brandē alle dat niet vbrandren was sond' die grote huysē
met ghewelfde muere ¶ Itē op dē xiiij. dach Augusti
seplde wi wed vā Sombassa langē tijt bi lande henē vā
dat wy eerst lantsagē tot op dē xxvij. dach Augusti. Doe
ghingē wy te seple oner die groote zee en golffen vā Me
ghē met xiiij. scēpē En het is seue hondt mile vā Mellin
de tot i Indiē Daer na vore wi opter zee totte. xij. dach vā
septēber en doe saghē wi weder lādt en was obeghinzel
vā Indiē. en was conincryck vā kanaanor. Doe seplde wy i
die zee eer wi lāt sagē wed ons die rone dore. Op dē. xiiij. da
ch septēbris trockē wi os achter op en seplde d; Ansedisse

geheetē es en daer laghē wi xxxij. dagē landt Dit es eē
schone hauene mer daer en woent nyemāt op d; Eplāde
En wi quamē daer butē aē een slot daer wi mēschē lagē
op dat landt En daer en is in Indien gheen hauen meer
daer mē beschermit mach wordē voer storm dan dese En
allt winter is in ons landt so eest somer i Indie En op dat
Eplanc maectē wi een Salepe en een baerglic. Oetken
lach niet verde vandē seluē lāde eē stercke stad en coninc
rijck en een sterck slot oec dair bi op eenen berch. en in dit
lant sijn vele hoge berghe En eer wi quamē wt die zee op
died daghē na bi lande so voeren daer ind; zee vele crabbē
en rechte slanghē neuē ons scip Daer bi is eē conincs lāt
en is geheeten dat conincric vā Ennoor En als wy daer
laghē so quam daer een scip met mooren en met sommi
ghe paerdē daer inne Maer dit quam met storme wt der
zee ind; pe hauene En na die hauene voerē wy eerst met
sommighe booten en busschen ons die oghē also dat wy
haer dat landt namē dat sy daer niet aen en conden ghe
comē. maer die winde wafde haer so sterckelic na dat hy
hē aen een steenroetse dreef. en daer sijn emder die liedē en
dye peerdē wt ghelijc si best costen. en ghingē wech lopen
op dē berch en dair bleuē de peerdē staē. bi die hegghe oft
haghē. Daer na stac haer scip hē seluē gheheelin stucken
Dit was in des conincs landt vā Ennoor. mer des seluen
conincs volchiēdē dat volc en die peerden dye int scip ghe
weest haddē voer haer eyghē also dat wy daer af niet en
ghecreghē Daer nae op dē xvi. dach October ghingē wi
wed te seyle Van Anledijste sijnt xv. milē tot Ennoor en
daer quamē wi op sinte Lucas auent En doen landt ons
hoofmā daer waert eenen taelman aec dē Coninc die die
peerdē eyschte en begherde Mer dye coninc antwoorde
dat hy daer niet en wist van sulche dinghen. sond wouden

where we lay for the space of thirty-three days. The harbour is beautiful, but no one dwelleth upon the island. From thence we came unto a castle where we saw some people on the shore. And there is none other harbour in India save this that affordeth protection against tempest. When it is winter in our country it is summer in India. And upon this island we did make a galley and a barge²¹. Also not far from this same land lieth a strong town and kingdom that hath also a fortified castle on a mountain hard by. And there are many high mountains in this land. And for three days before we landed, as we journeyed along the coast, many crabs and straight serpents swam in the sea close to our ship. Near at hand there is a king's country, and it is called the kingdom of Onor. Now while we lay in that place there came a ship full of Moors with some horses on board, and it was driven by the tempest from the sea into the harbour; so we first of all went into the harbour with some boats and guns in full view, in such a manner that we took the land from them so that they could not reach it. But the wind blew so violently against their ship that it was dashed against a rock, and thereupon the men and horses did swim as best they could, and ran away up the mountain, but the horses stood still by the palings or hedges. Their ship afterwards went utterly to pieces. This took place in the land of the king of Onor, and the king's subjects did keep for themselves the men and horses which had been in the ship, so that we got none of them. After that, on the sixteenth day of October, we set sail again. From Anjediva it is fifteen miles to Onor, and we reached there on Saint Luke's eve. Then our captain sent an interpreter unto the king demanding and requiring the horses from him, but the king made answer that he knew nothing about such things, but if we desired

peace and friendship he would sell unto us any kind of food that his country produced, and would be a good friend unto us, but that if we would not agree thereto he would be ready for us, seeing that he had an army of eight thousand men. On the night of Saint Luke's Day we sailed unto this town with eighteen boats, wherein were fully eight hundred men, and at break of day we beheld a great multitude of people on the land, all wearing white tunics, and without weapons, and their number could not be counted. And we would do nothing save according to the will of our captain, who then commanded us to shoot in among them, whereupon they all fled away, but in a short while they all came back again bearing beautiful shields and swords, and full of confidence. Also they had some fine ships there, into which we shot fire, as we did also into some houses, but we did not make much progress against them on the land. And those of our people who were on shore came back to their boats, and then we shot among them with guns, but they did not fear us much, and so we got but little booty from them²². Now on this same day we did again set sail and voyaged along the coast to Cananor, where we arrived on the twenty-second day of October, and we lay there for the space of four days, and found a good trade of pearls and precious stones, and of ginger and cinnamon. Then the king of the country did repair unto us to entreat and arrange that after his death our captain should become king. After that we set sail again on the twenty-seventh day of October for Cochin, and on the twenty-eighth day of October by night we sailed past Calicut. On the twenty-ninth day we were followed from Calicut by four ships and many sambucks. Now sambucks are ships that are used in Calicut. On the thirtieth day we cast anchor in front of Cochin about a mile distant by the coast.

voir vrede oft paps so woude hi os vtopē spise vandē seluē
dat hi in zij lāt hadde/en een goet viēt; hē En woude wi dz
niet doē hi woude ons vwachte/wāt h p viij. M. mānen
bi een gherect hadde Op dē Lucas dach voerē wp indē
nacht voor die stad met xvij. boetē/daer wcl viij. C. mā
nē in warē En als wi aēt beghisel des dages daer warē
sotagē wi een grote scare volcx aent lādēt al met witten hē
den sond weere. dat niet te tellē en was. en wp woude an
ds niet doē dā dat ons hooftmās sū was. en doē hier ons
ons hootmā dat wp ond hē liedē schoetē/en doē bloedē sp
alle wech En in corter tjt quamē si alle weder met schoe
nē schildē/en sweerde met grote hopē En si hadde dair ve
le schoondē scēpē daer wi dat vier inne schotē/en ooc i som
mige hupsen/maer wien maecte niet veel seeste met hair
aent lādēt/En wat vā onsen volcke aent lāt was quā wdē
in zij boetē en doē scotē wij ond haer met busschē/maer si
en vracchdē na ons niet vele./en also en hieldē wi niet ve
le roofs vā haer/En op dē seluē dāch ghigen wi wed te sei
le en voerē langes dē lande na Cananoz/daer wi quamē
optē xxij. dach Octobris/en laghē dair iij. daghē lanc/En
hier vondē wi vele hātterige vā perle/vā gheslepntē/vā
ghenber/vā caneel Daer quā die coñ. vandē lande tot o
sen hooftmā en begheerde en maecte dat hi coñ. sonde we
sen na; hē doot/ Daer na ghigē wi wed te seple optē. xvij
vā October na Sutchin/ Dē xvij. dach vā October in
der nacht sepldē wp voor bp Callicutē/ Dē. xxix. dach.
volchdē ons met. iij. scēpē m; vele sambuchē na vā Calli
cutē. en Sambuchien sijn scēpen die si i Callicuten hebbē
Op den xxx. dach worpen wp anchoren wt voor Sutchin
opeen mile na bplandt. C

Opdē. ij. dach vā nouēber begonstē wi te ladē pepere m̄z
iij. scepē/ En doen die iij. gheladē warē voerē si wech na
Kananor. en die Linhart bleef daer ligghē Doē quā dpe
Coñ vā Sutichin tot dē hoofmā vandē scepē en gaf hē
een gulde crone dpe hē die Coñ. vā Portēgael ghesonden
hadde/ En daer laghē si geladē tortē xx. dach vā Decēber
en voerē doē ooc na Kananor daer si quamē opdē hersta
uōt daer si moestē weder ocladē voor ij. ander scepē. die in
namē ij. M. vijf hondert center pepers/ elc center hondt
pont. En daer bleuē si ligghē tortē ij. dach Januarij. dair
doen die v. scepē seylbē na Portēgale/ en die lenhart bleef
alleen ligghē voor kanano: en begōstē andspēcie en pe
per te ladē doē quamē ij. scepē de te Sutichin bleuē warē
die telamē na Tissebone seylē soudē/ En ghinghē tsepl dē
xxi. dach Januarij mettē iij scepē vā kanano: na porten
gale recht wt na Ansedisse/ Hier tusschē es een conicrijck
Batarhalla ghehetē die onse viandē warē Daer na voe
rē wi cenen heer bi Ansedijssē dē v. dach Februarij in dpe
wilde zee vā Neghē En seylbē doen weder onder die fon
nedore vandē xv. tot opbē viij. dach vā Meerre. en doen
vondē wy dat eplandt ghehetē vastelauēt wāttet doē vā
den was Itē vāditeplant xl. milē es een ander eplādt
ghehetē sinte Cristofel/ daer gengeber op walcht. en dyc
es een goet landt vā vleesch en menigher harde spijlen.
En dit eplandt leedt C. milē vandē rechtē lande En dit sa
ghē wi opdē xi. dach vā Meerre Maer wi bleuē daer lig
gē wi. ij. dagē en eenē nacht dat wi aen dat Eplandt nyet
ghecomē en constē. En daer na quā daer eenē windt dpe
ons vā daer werp na vastē lande. Opdē. xiiij. dach van
Meerre saghē wi vast landt dat seltich milē vā Mousen
bic is En daer voerē wi neuē aent lād't tot op. xix. dach vā
Meerre En doē woypē wi os ankerē wt voer d; Eplādt

On the second day of November we began to load four ships with pepper, and when three were laden we sailed away to Cananor, the Leonard remaining behind. Thereupon the king of Cochin came unto the captain of the ship and he gave him a golden crown which the king of Portugal had sent him. And the ships remained there laden until the twentieth day of December, and then they also sailed to Cananor, where they arrived on Christmas eve, and there they were compelled to unlade again into two other ships which took two thousand five hundred centners of pepper, each centner being an hundred pounds, and there they lay until the second day of January, when the five ships set sail for Portugal; and the Leonard remained alone to lie before Cananor; and we began to lade other spices and pepper, when there came in two ships which had remained at Cochin and which were to sail together to Lisbon. So we set sail on the twenty-first day of January with the three ships from Cananor bound for Portugal, straight on to Anjediva. Here between lieth a kingdom called Batarkalla, which was hostile to us. And after that we voyaged round by Anjediva on the fifth day of February, in the wild sea of Magadoxo, and again sailed through beneath the sun from the fifteenth until the eighth day of March, when we found the island called Shrove Tuesday²³, because it was found on that day. Item, forty miles from this island lieth another island called Saint Christopher, where groweth ginger, and it is a good land for meat and various kinds of food. This island lieth an hundred miles from the main land, and we descried it on the eleventh day of March. But we remained lying there for the space of two days and a night, and could not reach the island. And after that there arose a wind which drove us thence towards the main land. On the fourteenth day of March we beheld the main land, which is sixty miles from Mozambique, and then we sailed close to the land until the nineteenth day of March, and then we cast anchor before the island

of Mozambique, and cleaned our ships, and took in water and wood. There also we found food enough, such as fowls, goats and other meat, and victualled our ships there well. Then we departed from Mozambique on the fourteenth day of April for the Cape of Good Hope, and as we sailed we were at one time driven to the shore and at another to the open sea, and we endured many storms and much distress. And thus we sailed one hundred and twenty-five miles towards the Cape, and on the way the wind became contrary, and we were compelled to run into a harbour which was close by, where we cast two anchors. And there remained nothing else in our ship save bread and water, this being the twenty-ninth day of May²⁴. Item, on the last day of June [May] we set sail again for the Cape; our chief captain lost two anchors there, so that he was compelled to run out to sea, where we found him again. But the wind became so violent that we were obliged to run back to Mozambique, and our captain commanded us to do so. Hereupon we took counsel that we should sail to Portugal and not to Mozambique, but because of the great storm we were constrained to run thither, and then our chief captain gave commandment to our captain the pilot, that at the peril of his life and property they should not sail away from them anywhere else save to Mozambique, which is a group of nine islands; and so we sailed with him from the third day of July [June] until the eighth day of July [June]. But then the steward and the crew cried with one voice Misericordia, and prayed him for God's sake to return to Portugal so as to save the ship and the crew, for in the ship there was but bread enough for three months. And if we had pursued our course to Mozambique we should all have died of hunger, and have lost our ship and goods. So we turned our ships again towards the Cape of Good Hope. On the ninth day of July [June] we formed a procession on board. And on the tenth day we sailed again to the harbour, and cast anchor, and the wind became contrary to us, so that we were again obliged to put into this harbour. From thence we came on the eleventh day of June to the harbour called Rocky Bay²⁵ and

Nonsebic/en maectē ons scip repn en namē in wacer en
hour/Wi vondē daer ooc spisen ghenoech/ als hoenderen
ghepte/en and vlees en spijs dē ons scip daer wel/ Doen
schepdē wi vā Nōsenbic dē xiij. dach vārt pille nadē berth
Cabē desperāse en sepldē daer nu aent landt nu in die zee
en ledē veel stormē en groitē noot/ En also sepldē wi nadē
Cabē C. en xxv milē/ En op dē wech quā ons die wint cō-
trarie en mostē lopē in een haueue die daer by was daer
wi ij. ācherē lietē En in oēs scip en was niet meer dā water
en broot dat was opdē xxix. dach mepe Itē opdē lesten
dach Junij ghighē wi wed te seyle nadē Cabē En ons o-
uerste hoofmā liet daer ij. ankerē also dat hi in die zee mo-
ste lopē daer wp hē wed vondē. en de wīt wert so groot d;
wi weder achter werts mostē lopē na Nonsebic en dat
gheboot ons hoofmā te doene/ Doē hieldē wi raed; wp
varē wildē na Portēgale en niet na Nonsebic/ Naer
mits dē groitē storm mostē wi darwaerts lopē/ En doē ge-
boot ons opperste hoofmā onsen hoofmā den Wiloet op
lijf en goet dat si vā hē niet seplē soude ands dā tot Nōse-
bic daer der eplandē ix. af sijn/ En so sepldē wi met hē van
dē ij. dach Julij tot optē viij. dach Julij/ Mer doē riep de
factoer en dat volck met ghemepnō stēmen Misericordie
en badē hē om gods wille dat hi hē soude keerē na Portē
gale om scip en volck te behoudē// Wāt int scip niet meer
broets en was dā voor ij. maendē En haddē wigenuarē
na Nōsenbic wp haddē al vā honger ghestoruē/ en scyp
en goet vloet/ Daer na keerdē wi ons scip wed na Caben
desperāse Opdē ix. dach Julij/ ghighē wi pcellie int scip
Opdē x. dach sepldē wi wed na die haueue daer wi die ā-
chers lietē En die wīt quā ons cōtrarie also dat wp noch i
die selue haueue mostē lopē/ Dā daer quamē wi opde xi.
dach Junij in die haueue Tabap de rock ghelhetē en ghē

ghē wēd proecessie int scip Op den. xiiij. dach deser maent
ghinghē wi wēd te seple. En op den xv. dach quamē wy
in een and' hauene heet Labap de Allagow. En daer vin
ghē wi vele visschē ¶ Op dē xvi. dach deser maēt ghingē
wi wēd te seple. en op dē xvij. dach quā ons die windt con
trarie also dat wi wēd in dieselue hauene moesten lopen
Op dē xx. dach trocken wi den boot wte om water te soec
hē en daer vondē wy waters genoch en offschē kopē ende
scapē. en vcochtē ons die moorē ghenoch om eē lutel oue
pferst Want si ands niet hebbē en wildē. aldus spīns dē wt
ons scip ghenoch met vleesch en met waterē Dese spede
die hier woendē hebbē haer manlichedē in schepdē ghe
mactt. en dragē o haer eenē pels ghelijc eenē corttē duyt
schen mantele. en hebben breede ronde scoenē en gaen al
naect En hebben haer oec seer dicke met smeer besmeert
Dit volcis leelich onghescapē en snackē mechare sprake
en fluytē oec als si spreke. ¶ Item op dē xxvi. dach quam
ons wēd goedē windt en doē ghinghē wi wēd te seple en
trockē onsen boot op En daer seylben wi tot op dē iersten
dach Julij. doē quamē wy in Angwabo saint brab dat is
int Eplant van sinte Blasius. Dē anderē dach daer nae
ghingē wi wēd te seple na dē Cabē de speranse. en warē
noch. lx. milē vā daer en doē cregē wi goedē wint ¶ Item
op dē. vi. dach Julij des moighē's sagen wi den Caben de
bona speranza. en doē seylde wy dien dach hē in gesichte
hebbēde met cōtrarien winde. dat wi hē niet voerbi seplē
en mochten geheel dien dach en dien nacht ¶ Item op dē
vlij. dach Julij voerē wi dē Cabē de sperāze voer bi inden
name gods in die grote zee vā Senneen. en het is duysēt
CCCC. milē oft duysent en CCC. milē gelijc die sommi
ghe legghen vā daer tot Sillagisch En ic legghē v inder
waerheyt dat wi dicwils groten noot e n' sorghe h' adden

again we formed a procession on board. On the thirteenth day of this month we set sail again, and on the fifteenth day we entered another harbour called Delagoa Bay, where we caught good store of fishes. ¶ On the sixteenth day of this month we set sail again, and on the eighteenth day the wind became contrary, so that we were forced to put back again into the same harbour. On the twentieth day we launched our boat to seek for water, and we found there abundance of water and oxen, cows and sheep, and the Moors sold unto us as many as we wanted for a small quantity of old iron, nor would they take anything else. Thus we victualled our ships with a good supply of meat and water. The men of this country use a sheath as a covering and wear a pelisse resembling a short Flemish cloak, and have broad round shoes, and go quite naked; also they do grease themselves very thickly with grease. These people are ugly and ill-formed, they chatter in their speech and whistle when they talk. ¶ Item, on the twenty-sixth day the wind again became favourable, so we set sail again and drew in our boat. And then we sailed until the first day of July, when we arrived at the watering place of Saint Brasus, that is the island of Saint Blasius²⁶. On the following day we set sail again to the Cape of Good Hope, and were still sixty miles distant when we met a favourable wind. ¶ Item, on the morning of the sixth day of July we saw the Cape of Good Hope, and on that day we kept sailing in sight of it, the wind being so contrary that we could not get past it for the whole of that day and night. ¶ Item, on the seventh day of July we sailed past the Cape of Good Hope in the name of God, into the great sea of Guinea, and it is fourteen hundred, or as some say thirteen hundred, miles from there to Bissagos. And I tell you of a truth that we oftentimes suffered great distress and anxiety,

with mighty tempests and winds, before we passed the Cape. And if we could not have got by, it would have gone very hard with us ere we should have reached Portugal. ¶ Item, for some miles about the Cape it is as cold as it is in our country in winter, and the days are short and the nights long. And when it is mid winter there it is the finest time of summer in our country, and so for about an hundred miles further into the sea of Guinea. And there we were again obliged to pass beneath the sun and moon just as upon the sea of Magadoxo. Upon reaching the Cape there is a favourable wind in the sea of Guinea for some hundreds of miles. On the twenty-first day of July we saw land, and it was an island lying six hundred and fifty miles from the Cape, and called Saint Helena, howbeit we could not land there, and so we sailed thence, and the wind became calmer every day. From this time we sailed until the fifteenth day of August, when we again descried land, it being this time the nine islands, but I do not know all their names. One of them is called Santiago, another May, another Fogo, that is to say, the island of fire. And after²⁷ we left the island of Saint Helena we saw another island two hundred miles from there, which is called Ascension. From these three islands it is five hundred miles to Lisbon, and we cast anchor before the island of Santiago and again took in meat, water and wood, for we had not much more food left in our ship. We also found there abundance of fruits, and we lay there until the eighteenth day of August. And there we found a caravel which had come from Guinea and was bound for Lisbon. On this island groweth much cotton, and on the island May lepers or lazar people are restored to health after sojourning there for several years, and within two or three years they either recover or die, but when they are well they are at liberty to go where they please and they remain healthy.

met grote stormē en windē eer wi voer bidē Cabē seplde
En en hadde widaer n; voerby gepasseert so soudē wijt
seer hart gehadt hebbe eer wi in Portugale ghetomē sou
dē hebbē Item omidē Cabē ist sommige milen so coude
als in onselādē alst winter is En die dagē coet en die nach
ten lane En alst daer is int middel vandē wintere so ist int
onse lādē dē beste tijt indē somere tot dan nē comet sommi
ghe hondt milē verde ind; zee vā Senneen En daer moe
sten wi weder onder die sonne ende mane doere passeren
gelijc op die zee vā Neghē. en allmē voer den Cabē coet
so heest mē voere wint inder zee vā Senneen sommighe
C. milen Op den xxi. dach Julij saghē wilant dat een Ep
lāt is. dat vi. C. en l. milē vandē Cabē is. dz sinte Helena/
ghehetē is /mer wi en cōdē daer niet aen ghetomē en also
seplde wi vā daer // en dē windt werdt alle daghe stidere
Vandē seluē tijt seplde tot .xv. dach Augusti. en doē sagē
wi wed lāt dat die .ix. eplādē zj. maer ic en weete niet hoe
si alle heetē. Dat een hier af heetē Jacobs eplāt / Doch tē
heer Jllē de map. een and Jllē de foco. dats dat eplāt vā
den viere / En eer wi vā dat eplāt shelena quamē sagē wi
een and eplant dat .ij. C. milē vā daer is. dat dpe Ascētion
ghehetē is. Vā dese .iiij. eplandē ist v. C. milē vā Lisseboē.
En wi woepē os ancherē wt voor s Jacobs eplāt / en na
mē daer wed vles / water / en hout wāt wi widoē n; veel
meer spijlen in ons scipen hadde / Soc vondē wi hier veel
vruchtē / en wi laghē daer tottē. xvij. dach Augusti / Wp
vondē daer een karueel dat wt genneen quā dat na Lisse
boē seplē woude / Op dit eplāt wascht veel hoōwollē / oft
tatoen / En op dat eplāt Jllē de map wordē de melaetsche
oft lazersche menschē ghesont als si dair zomige iarē ghe
weest zj. en binē ij. oft .iiij. iarē werdē si gesōt oft steruen.
en als si gesōt zj. mogē si ghaē daer si willē en blinē gesōt

Dese ix. eplandē behoorē dē Con. vā Portēgale toe/waer
af die sommige wel befest sijn en die sommige niet Op
dē vij. dach septēbris/warē wi vā teplādē gheuarē lx. mi
lē/en doen quā daer eenē storm die os wederō dreefrot op
die eplandē en doe en haddē winper meer broets int scip.
wārmē gaf ons des daechs n; meer dā vi. uncen broets
En wi namē raet om te lopē na sint Jacobs eplant/daer
wi quamē opdē vij. dach septēbris Daer rochtē wi rýsch
en bleesch en millpe saet voor tscip/en namē ooc water in
Op dē xx. dach ghigen wi weder te seple na Portengale
en doe weter veel vā onsen volcke sieck / en hoe langhet
hoe meer vā die quartepn ofte vierde cortsen/Op dē p. stē
dach Octobris/warē in ons scip xx. mānen sieck daer dpe
ij. af storuē/Doen sepldē wy tottē xxi. dach Octobris/doe
saghen wi Illamadere/Op dē xxij. dach worpē wi ons āc
kerē daer wt en laghē daer tottē iij. dach Nouembriis/
Daer na ghinghē wy weder te seple na Portengale/En
spýsdē daer ons scip met broot en wijn/Op dē xij. dach sa
ghē wi weder lādē dē Cabē oft berch vā siue Vincēt/En
warē doen vā Lissebone xxxv. milen/ En vā daer seplden
wi recht wt tottē xv. dach Nouembriis/en setten doen anc
kerē voor die stadt vā Lissebone Jndē name gods. Amē

Al dus is dese reyse volbracht. Waer af moet gode lof zij.

These nine islands belong to the king of Portugal, some of them being well fortified and others not. On the eighth day of September we had gone sixty miles from the islands when a tempest arose which drove us back again to the islands, and then we had no more bread in the ship, for we received daily no more than six ounces of bread. And we took counsel together to run to the island of Santiago, where we arrived on the thirteenth day of September. There we bought rice and meat and millet for the ship and did also take in water. On the twentieth day we set sail again for Portugal, and then many of our people fell sick, and more and more as time went on, of the quartan or four days fever. On the first day of October twenty men were sick in our ship, and three of them died. Then we continued to sail until the twenty-first day of October, when we saw Madeira. On the twenty-second day we cast anchor and lay there until the third day of November. After that we set sail again for Portugal, having victualled our ship there with bread and wine. On the twelfth day we descried land, the Cape or mountain of Saint Vincent, and we were then thirty-five miles from Lisbon. And from thence we sailed straight away until the fifteenth day of November, and cast anchor before the town of Lisbon. In the name of God. Amen. Thus was this voyage ended, for which let God be praised.

IN this journey we sailed round the fourth part of the world. For, reckoning from Lisbon, which is thirty-nine and a half degrees from the equinoctial line, we sailed fifty degrees beyond the equinoctial line, making ninety degrees. Wherefore under the line we are at the distance from Lisbon of the aforesaid thirty-nine and a half degrees, in the altitude of the heavens, in the western longitude, and in regard to those people, who are fifty degrees beyond the same line from the south, we are at an angle of five degrees in the line of the perpendicular, which line when we stand up straight hangs over our head from the point of heaven, and over their sides or ribs, and it is represented in the form of a triangle or three-sided angle²⁸ as shown above.



Wij hebben in dese reyse omghesept dat vierendeel
 d' werelt/ Wāt te rekenē vā Lissebonedwelc is vā
 d' equinoccialscher liniē. xxxix. gde en ee half. so hebben wi
 ghesept ouer die linie equinoccialis. i. graden dat maect
 xc. gradē. Hierō wy vā Lisseboē sijn onder die linie voorē
 xxxix. gradē. en een half. in d' hoochde des hemels/ in dwe
 brepde vā westē. so sijn wy tot hē liedē te sien/ die .i. gradē
 sijn ouer die selue linie vā supdē hoeckwys. v. gradē in p
 pendicularis linia. welcke linie als wy recht staen vā dat
 punt des hemels hāghet op ons hooft. en hē liedē in haer
 sidē oft ribbē. en woor: ghestelt inder maniere van eenē
 triangel oft een driecantich hoeck als bouē ghefigureert.

Shepent Thantwerpen.. Sp in p
Jan van Doelborch, Iniciaer
M. D. viij. i December



4 DE 55

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Jan van Doesborch. In
December of the year 1508.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

Note 1, Page 5.

250 miles from Lisbon. For mile distances by sea throughout the voyage read *leagues*.

Note 2, Page 6.

Beginning of Arabia. A survival of the geography of Herodotus, who regarded the western littoral of the Red Sea as belonging to Arabia. This is also its location on FRA. MAURO'S *Mappemonde* of 1457-59.

Note 3, Page 9.

Saintjago, cf. *infra*, p. 26, where we read "on this same day [24 July] we found outside the town [of Quiloa] a castle with four towers, which was fully half built." R. H. MAJOR writes: "He [Dom Francisco de Almeida] also founded a fort there which he named *Santjago*" (*Prince Henry the Navigator*, 1st edit., 1868, p. 415).

Note 4, Page 13.

In J. VAN DOESBORCH'S *Of the newe landes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the Kyng of portyngale named Emanuel*, which contains a much later translation (1521 circa) into English by a Fleming of pp. 4-17 and 47 of the

Voyage from Lisbon, is the following additional passage, wanting in our text: "and the Fygge tre is so brode of braunch and leaues that xl [forty] men may be hydde vnder the foresayd braunches and leues for the hete of the sonne, and there for to reste al together at theyr one pleasure." Cf. E. ARBER, *The first Three English Books on America*. 1885, 4to, p. xxix.

Note 5, Page 14.

This evidently refers to Bantam in Java, and not to Bandam south of Malacca, or even Banda—the Spice Islands—as might be supposed; the Portuguese under Antonio d'Abreu did not reach the Spice Islands until 1512.

Note 6, Page 14.

These two names evidently refer to the kingdom of Tanjore and its town Nagore, on the southern mouth of the estuary of the Cauvery, East coast of India, Madras Presidency. Probably from this location of Nagore, on p. 1 *ante* it is described as an island. This town was in early times, and still is, the staple for spices, etc., to and from the farther East through the Straits of Malacca.

Note 7, Page 17.

Bandam, i.e. [Nega]patam, the metropolis of Patam or of the Patan Sultans, and chief port of Tanjore, Madras Presidency.

Note 8, Page 17.

Narsinga (Arsinia of Dutch text), the ancient Braminical kingdom of the Carnatic or Central Hindostan. L. DI VARTHEMA, who was in India about 1504-5, writes of the king: "His realms are placed as it might be the realm of Naples and also Venice; so that he has the sea on both sides."—*Travels*, G. P. BADGER (*Hakluyt Society*), 1863, p. 129.

Note 9, Page 17.

The alleged vicinity of Saint Thomas's tomb points to Maliapur, three miles south from Fort St. George, Madras, where, according to the Portuguese and native Christian traditions, the saint was buried in a cave. Some of his supposed remains were afterwards transferred to Goa. Cf. G. M. RAE, *Syrian Church in India*, 1892, p. 16.

Note 10, Page 17.

In J. VAN DOESBORCH'S English version (cf. note 4, p. 13 *ante*), after the word "chief" is added "And before hym is borne many instruments of musyke as trompettes and other, and iijj [four] of the nobleste bereth the canapie ouer his hed lest that the sonn shuld

burne hym, and this kyngc is beloued of all his estates and common people."—ARBER, *op. cit.*, p. xxix.

Note 11, Page 18.

Calicut. "Calcoenē" of our Flemish text. On p. 34 *infra*, this town is named "Callicuten." Calcoenē is evidently borrowed from the narrative by a ship's clerk, also in Flemish, of the second voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1502, printed at Antwerp, circa 1504. This unique tract, preserved in the British Museum, entitled *Calcoen*, was first translated into French and afterwards into English, and edited by J. PH. BERJEAU, London, 1874, 4to. Another, but much longer account of this voyage of 1502, was written by THOMÉ LOPEZ, another ship's clerk, and published in G. A. RAMUSIO'S *Delle Navigazione et Viagge*, vol. i., Venice, 1550.

Note 12, Page 18.

One thousand five hundred. From internal evidence this date is erroneous, as all the dates and events of the voyage coincide with those narrated of the expedition of Dom Francisco de Almeida in 1505.

Note 13, Page 18.

Lorenzo [di Pier Francisco de Medici] and *Albericus* [Vespucci]. The identity of these two persons is proved by the address of the latter to the former in the *Epistola Albe-*

ricij De Novo Mundo [1504?], fol., which reads: "Albericus Vesputius laurentio petri de medicis salutem plurimam dicit" . . . "Superioribus dicibus satis ample tibi scripsi de reditu meo," fol. 1. This may be compared with the unique Flemish translation of the *Mundus Novus*, entitled *Van der nieuwer werelt, circa 1507*, which is preserved in the Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I. Translated, this reads: "Laurentius, good friend, in past days I Albericus have written to you of my return," etc. As is well known, all this is an account of Vespucci's third voyage (his first for Portugal) in 1501. Our text of the *Voyage from Lisbon* is evidently a contracted Flemish translation of a similar letter relating to the voyage of Almeida in 1505-6. The allusion to a previous letter relating to his "voyages to the new lands in general" evidently refers to another letter now lost.

Note 14, Page 22.

Sailed . . . beneath the sun and moon, i.e. crossed the equatorial line. Cf. p. 42 infra.

Note 15, Page 25.

According to F. LOPEZ DE CASTENHEDA the fleet is said to have passed the meridian of the Cape on June 26, and to have gone seaward, "cēto & setenta & cinco legaos," i.e. 175 leagues to lat. 44° S. (*Historia do Descobrimento e Conquesto da India pelos Portu-*

gueses, Lisboa, 1833, 4to, liv. 2, cap. 1, p. 5).

Note 16, Page 26.

The Castle of Saintjago. Cf. p. 4 ante.

Note 17, Page 26.

This somewhat confused account of the crowning of Muhammed Aneon, King of Quiloa, by Dom F. de Almeida, may with advantage be compared with the one contained in BISHOP J. OSORIO'S *History of the Portuguese during the reign of Emmanuel*, translated by J. GIBBS, London, 1752, 8vo, bk. 4, pp. 229, 230.

Note 18, Page 29.

In commemoration of this successful storming of Mombâsa, a white marble column was erected by Dom F. de Almeida. Cf. F. H. H. GUILLEMARD'S *Life of Ferdinand Magellan*, 1891, p. 37.

Note 19, Page 30.

The Flemish merchants had three ships there. LEONARDO CAMASSER, a Venetian residing in Lisbon at the period of our voyage writes: "Le navi et altri navillii che se servano in questo regno, sono la mazora parte fatte in Beschagia e de Fiandra, perchè in questo regno poca commodità hanno da far nave e navillii, per manea-mento de legnami; salvo nel porto dove li se faranno qualehe nave: ma, come dico, in questo regno poco se fanno." "The ships and other boats that are used in this

country [Portugal] are for the most part made in 'Biscaya' and in 'Flanders,' for in this country there is little means of making ships and boats on account of the want of wood, with the exception of 'Porto,' where some ships are made; but, as I say, few are made in this country" (*Relazione sopra il commercio dei Portoghesi nell India*, edited by G. SCOPOLI in *Archivio Storico Italiano, Appendice*, tom. 2, p. 47, 1845).

Note 20, Page 30.

As on pp. 10 and 37, so here the Arabian Gulf or Sea is distinctly called the "Gulf or Sea of Magadoxo."

Note 21, Page 33.

In several points VESPUCCI'S account of this island of Anjediva is more correct than that of his contemporary VARTHEMA, who wrote that it was "inhabited by Moors and pagans, and that it was about twenty miles in circumference" (*op. cit.*, p. 120). The island (not a seaport, as mentioned by my friend W. DE GRAY BIRCH in his *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque* (Hakluyt Society), vol. 2, p. 168 note), is in possession of the Portuguese to this day; it is about a mile in length, and a mile and a half distant from the coast of North Canara. The island, with its harbour on the east side, affords the best protection from the S.W. monsoon to be found on the west coast of India.

Note 22, Page 34.

Another graphic account of this fight within the harbour of Onor, led by Dom Laurenço, the son of Francisco de Almeida, will be found in OSORIO (GIBBS), *op. cit.*, bk. 4, p. 237.

Note 23, Page 37.

From an examination of early Portuguese portolani and charts it appears that "Shrove Tuesday" island never survived as a geographical name. In the beautiful *Portolano* of FERNAÕ VAZ DOURADO of 1573, St. Christõvo is indicated as a small island immediately south of St. Spirctto, the modern Meyotto, one of the Comoro group. Hitherto it appears to have been unsuspected that the African and East Indian portions of the *Portolano* of VAZ DOURADO were closely copied, even as to scale, by JAN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN in his charts for the *Itinerario* of 1596.

Note 24, Page 38.

The five dates immediately following the twenty-ninth of May, 1506, have been, either by the original scribe or the printer, advanced exactly one month; this error allowed for, the chronology falls again into its right order on the eleventh of June, when the ship arrived at Rocky Bay, cf. *infra*. The true dates have been inserted in brackets in order to avoid confusion in the narrative.

Note 25, Page 38.

Rocky Bay, "Le bay de Roek" of Flemish text. This is probably an attempt to translate the Portuguese *Angoeha*, a contraction of *Angra de rocha*; cf. I. d'amgoxa of *Vaz Dourado* and *Linschoten*. *Angoxa* survives to-day as a Portuguese settlement to the south of *Mozambique*; it is the only locality on this coast that meets the requirements of the text.

Note 26, Page 41.

Anguado Saint Bras — the *aguada* (watering-place) of *São Bras* or *St. Blaze*. It was here that *Bartholomew Dias* put in to take water when he first rounded the Cape in 1486. *St. Blaze* is, however, a cape, not an island; it is near the modern town of *Aliwal (South)* in *Mossel Bay*.

Note 27, Page 42.

Before, or ere, the "Eñeer" of the Flemish text, is evidently a misprint for "naar," *after*, which is required to make the passage intelligible.

Note 28, Page 46.

J. VAN DOESBORCH'S English version, after the word *cornard* (or *angle*) concludes as follows, "therefore it must nedes be yat the sowth landes be tempered with swete erthe for the northe wyndes can nat there blowe." Cf. ARBER, *op. cit.*, p. xxix.

Note 29, Page vii.

We conclude our Notes with an endeavour to clear up the bibliographical tangle between our *Die reyse van Lissebone* of 1508 and the *Of the newe landes*, etc., of 1521 (?). The latter is a chapbook or collection of four tracts comprised in twenty-four leaves, compiled and translated from various sources, probably for the English settlers at *Antwerp* of this period.

Tract 1 consists of two leaves, the first containing the title and illustrations, the second containing an abridgment of an early voyage, which commences as follows:

"Here aforetymes in the yere of our Lorde god m.ccccxcvi. (*sic*) and so be we with shyppes of *Lusseboene* sayled oute of *Portyngale* thorough the commandement of the *Kynge Emanuel*. So haue we had our vyage For by fortune ylandes ouer the great see with great charge and daunger so haue we at laste founde oon lordshyp where wee sayled well ixc mylee by the cooste of *Selandes* (*sic*) there we at ye laste went a lande but that lande is not nowe knowen for there haue no masters wryten thereof nor it knowethe and it is named *Armenica*, etc."

Hitherto it has been assumed that this and the following tract refer to one and the same voyage; as will be seen, this is an error.

Tract 2 (leaves 3 to 8 verso) contains a translation of the first four and twelfth leaves of our text of 1508, and therefore relates to *Africa* and *India*, and not to *America*.

Tract 3 (leaves 9 recto to 14 verso) is entitled ¶ *Of the x dyuerce cristened nacions*, being a translation of one of the many editions of *Divisiones decem nationum totius Christianitatis*. It was first printed in Rome by Silber, *alias* Planck, circa 1490.

Tract 4 (leaves 15 to 24) is entitled *Of Pope John and his landes and of the costely keyes and wonders molodyes that in that lande is*, translated from *Van die wonderliche en costelicheden van Pape Jans landen des*, circa 1508 (Brit. Mus., C. 32, h. 6. Cf. MULLER, *Books on America*, 1872, No. 2277, and ARBER, *op. cit.* p. xxvii).

This analysis serves to explain why the *Of the newe landes*, etc., of 1521, in virtue of its Tract 1, finds its proper place in HARRISSE, "B.A.V.," No. 16, while Tract 2 and its original in Flemish of 1508 has hitherto escaped identification.

HARRISSE, with great acumen, points out (*Discovery of N. America*) that no document has yet been produced to prove that between May, 1497, and October, 1498, Vespuccius cannot have been engaged in a maritime expedition (p. 354). Moreover, he adds another weighty consideration which, he says, "forces on us the belief that between 1496 and 1499 Vespuccius led a seafaring life, and, therefore, may have been navigating from May, 1497, to October, 1498"

(p. 357). Assuming this to be true, it not only accounts for the voyage of 1496 of Tract 1, but also serves somewhat to explain how Vespucci picked up his speculative knowledge of navigation, which we know he turned to so good account at a later period. On the other hand, there are indications that the voyage recorded in this tract is a fragment of an earlier version of his supposed first voyage for Spain, 1497-99, than is contained in the *Lettera* of 1505 (?). The mention of the word Armenia, however, is suggestive of the influence of WALDSEEMÜLLER'S *Cosmographie Introductio* of 1507.

It is interesting to compare this fragment in Tract 1 with the legend in German attached to the earliest known wood-engraving (circa 1504) of the natives of the New World, and now lost, but of which a facsimile has been preserved, natural size, in H. STEVENS' *American Bibliographer*, 1854, vol. i., No. 1, p. 8.

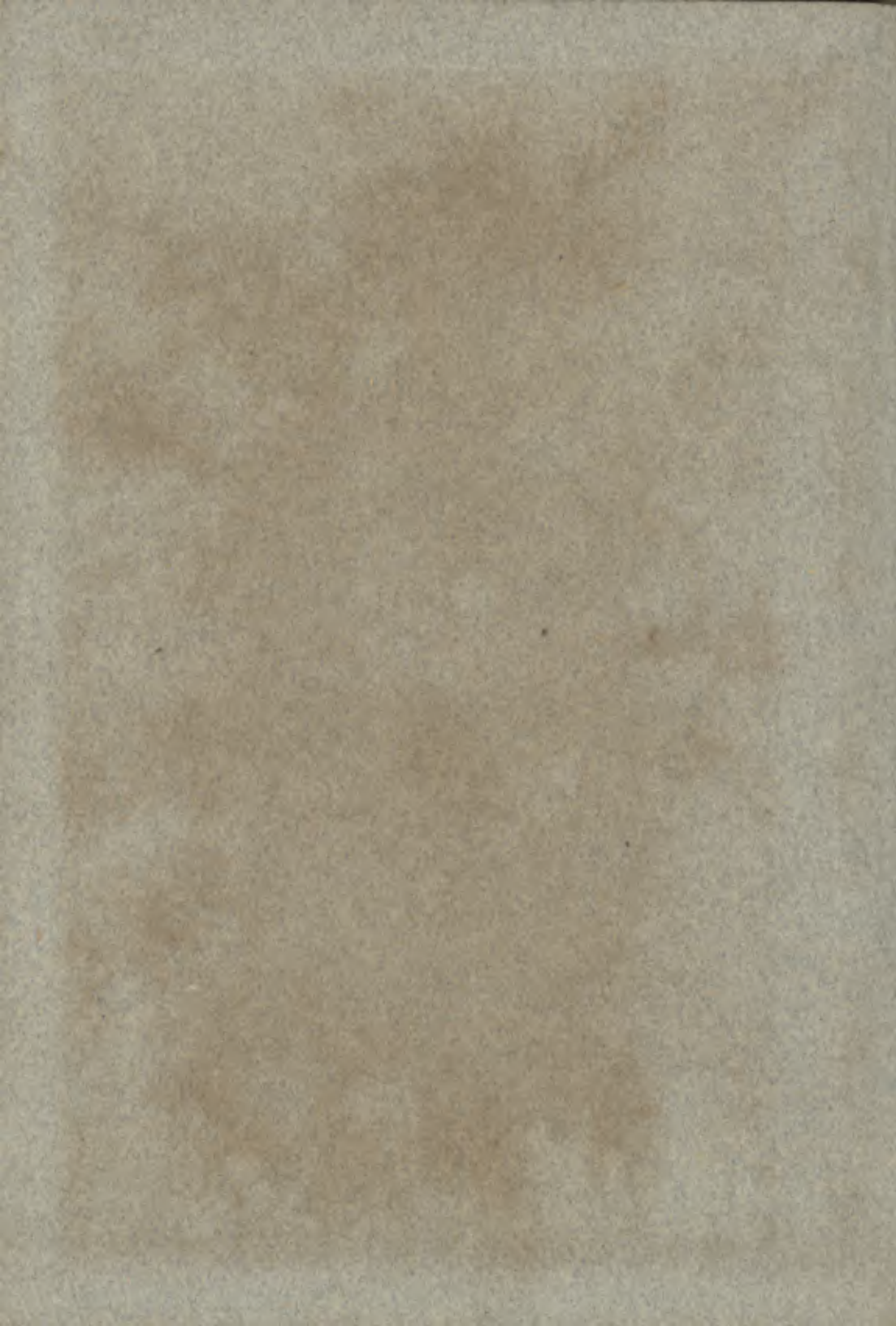
Among other incidents mentioned in the voyage of 1496, the wood-engraving illustrates the following: "But the men and women haue on theyr heed, necke, armes, knees and fete, all with feders bounden . . . and they hange also the bodyes or persons fleshe in the smoke, as men do with us swynes fleshe" (leaf 2 verso). Cf. ARBER, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

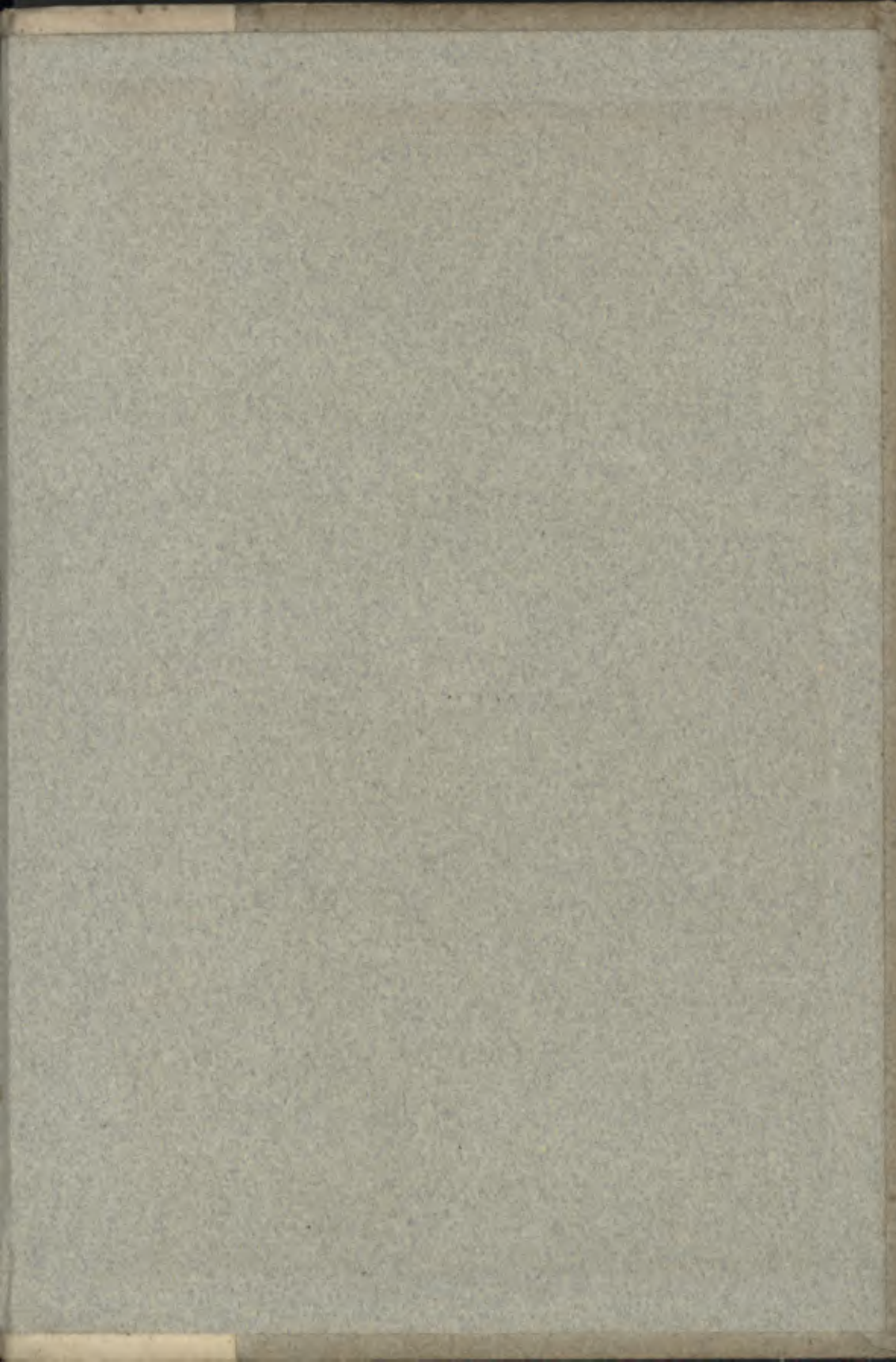


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