Calcoen.

A NARRATIVE OF THE SECOND VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA TO CALICUT.

1502.
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Calcoen
A DUTCH NARRATIVE OF THE SECOND VOYAGE
OF VASCO DA GAMA TO
CALICUT
Printed at Antwerp circa 1504
WITH INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION
BY J. Ph. BERJEAU

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Introduction.

The name of Vasco da Gama is not even mentioned in the following narrative, but there is no doubt it applies to the second voyage of the great navigator to India; and as the book is no translation of any previous work in Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian, we must come to the conclusion it was written by a Dutch officer or sailor, who took an active part in the expedition. The dates, events, and places mentioned agree with all we know of the second voyage of the Portuguese Admiral, whilst our narrative, until now unnoticed by bibliographers, supplies interesting details unmentioned by Galvão, Ramusio, Caetanheda, Faria, Barros, &c.

Some ten years ago a well-known bibliophile, who had the book, asked me to translate it for him into French; I did so hastily, and was not quite satisfied with my translation. But having had lately the good fortune to find again the original and my translation bound together in the British Museum, and the trustees
of the great English national library having kindly allowed me to take a fac-simile of it, I am enabled to offer the public a reproduction of this interesting document, with an improved translation into English.

The book begins with a "hors d'oeuvre" personal to the writer, and relating to one of the unfortunate expeditions undertaken by the Portuguese on the coast of Barbary against the celebrated Barbarossa, but that is disposed of in half a page.

In so early a narrative of voyage in countries unknown to the author, it was to be expected the names of places could not be accurately written; but with a little trouble it is easy to reconcile the spelling with the modern names.

Thus, the first land seen after the departure from Lisbon, on the 10th of February, 1502, is called Kenan, which undoubtedly is Cape Non on the west coast of Africa, opposite the Canaries. The name of Cape Verde, the next station, is omitted, but its distance from Portugal accurately stated. On the 29th of March the expedition lost sight of the Polar star, and on the 2nd of April they were under the Line, and in the southern hemisphere a week later.

Then, they were beaten about by a storm which during twelve days drove them out of their track. Another heavy storm caught them about the stormy cape misnamed that of Good Hope.

On the 14th of June they arrived before Scafal
(Sofala), in Kaffir-land, which our author calls the Paepian's country, very likely from the kingdom of Sabia, near by. Vasco da Gama went to Sofala with only four ships, the remainder of his fleet having been ordered to sail direct for Mozambique, which our author calls Miskebije.

On the following 18th of July they left Sofala for Hylo, which is a misprint, later corrected in the book as Kylo, for Quila, where the king was obliged to pay tribute and homage to the King of Portugal.

Melinda, where they should have arrived on the 20th of July, is the next stopping place; but they missed it and went to the cape of Saint Mary, which must be the Ras Mory, forming the eastern point of the island of Socotra, and whose Arabic name answers to Cape Saint Mary. The island was then mainly inhabited by Greek Christians. L'abbé Prévoit, "Histoire des Voyages," vol. i. p. 80 (La Haye, 1747, 4°), says: "Mais un vent impétueux le poussa huit lieues au-delà de cette ville dans une baie, où il trouva plusieurs vaisseaux Mores et quelques-uns de Calecut dont il se saisit."

There, our author says, they left the country of the Paepians; for Kaffir-land was at that time supposed to reach Abyssinia in the north and the Cape on the south, and they failed for Marabia, no doubt a misprint for Iram-Arabia.

On August 21st they saw for the first time the land of India and the great city of Combaen, the Cambaeth
of Marco Polo, the modern Cambay, on the river Cobar (Saubermattee).

The next station, called Oan, is no doubt Goa, where the Portuguese come into collision with the Indians, take 400 ships, and burn them after having killed their defenders. The island of Auidibe, where they took water and landed 300 of their invalids, is Anjeedeeva, which for a long time after was a station where all the Portuguese ships called before touching the continent of India.

The Montebyl of our author, in the kingdom of Cannaer (Cananor), is the Mount Ely of Marco Polo. There they watched for the Mecca ships, attacked the Merii, plundered it, killed and burnt all the people on board, on the 1st of October.

Our author does not say that in this action, so dishonourable for the memory of Vasco da Gama, the children from the captured ships were saved and brought on board the Admiral's caravel, as it was affirmed later by other historians.

On the 27th of October they sailed from Cananor, and arrived at Calcoen (in Sanscrit Khalikhodon, in English Calicut), where they fought during three days against the troops of the Samudrya-radjá (the king of the sea-shore), whom early European writers call the Zamorin. Then, already, Flemish merchants, who had come through Egypt or Persia, were established in Calicut, as it is stated in King Manoel's "Copia de una lettera," (Roma, 1505):—Vi sono mercadăti
The barbarous device resorted to by Vasco da Gama of sending adrift towards the town a ship loaded with the cut heads, hands, and feet of his prisoners of war, has been related and censured as it deserves by later historians of the expedition.

The kingdom of Granor, mentioned as situate between Calcoen (Calicut) and Kuschaïn (Cochin) is no doubt that of Travancore, where our author says there were a great number of Christians and Jews, living under the same prince. Like all early travellers to India, Vasco da Gama and his companions mistook the sectators of Brama and Bouddha for Christians, because they worshipped the images of the Virgin Mary brought in the Portuguese ships, mistaking them for the representation of Maha Madja holding in her lap her son Shakya. The similarity of the name of the Indian goddess, no less than the aureolas surrounding the heads of the mother and son, induced the Portuguese to make the same mistake when they entered a native temple. No doubt there were at this time in the Indian Peninsula a certain number of Nestorians, but not so large as the Portuguese imagined. The figures of 25,000 Christians and 300 Christian churches given by our author as established at Coloeen (Culan, Quilom), as well as the repugnance of the so-called Christians to deal, eat, or drink with persons of another creed, clearly show the mistake.
The town mentioned from hearfax as *Lapis* is Meliapour near Madras, where, according to a mediæval tradition, St. Thomas the Apostle was put to death, whilst another says it was in the town of Calamina, whence his body was transported to Edeffâ, which our author calls *Edissen*, stating it is four days' distant from Meliapour. The Portuguese maintain that having found the body of the saint in the ruins of the latter town, they carried it to Goa, where it is still worshipped; but this assertion is substantiated by very slender proofs indeed.

Our author calls the betel, *tombour*; whilst Alvaro Velho names it *atambor*, both being misnomers, from the page carrying the box which contains it being called *tombuldar*.

The civet-cat is so clearly described that it was impossible not to translate by *musc* the word *inbot*, although it is not to be found in any old or modern Flemish or Dutch dictionary.

In relating the second battle which Vasco da Gama, on his return from Cochin, fought with a single ship against the king of Calicut on the 12th of February, 1503, the Dutch narrator does not mention the timely arrival of Vicente Sodre, who with the remainder of the fleet decided the action, and prevented the defeat of Vasco da Gama. While the latter began his return voyage to Portugal, Sodre remained behind to blockade the Red Sea.

Whether the two islands, which the returning expedi-
tion sighted on the 26th of March, were the famous male and female islands of Marco Polo, which have never been found since the days of the Venetian traveller, is uncertain; for Vasco da Gama, on account of the valuable goods which filled his ship, would not land there in spite of the incitements of the inhabitants.

The day of the return to Portugal is not mentioned by our author.

To sum up: this Dutch narrative, translated as literally as possible from the original, fixes many of the dates and facts already known, whilst, as said before, it supplies many new interesting details of the second voyage which the great Portuguese navigator made round the Cape of Good Hope.

The original book here reprinted, is noted in the Catalogue of the British Museum as printed at Antwerp in 1504(?), which may be ascertained by the comparison of the types with those of books printed at the same place and date, and the condition of the engraving of the Crucifixion at the end of the book, merely to fill a page, and which shows this peculiarity, that the inscription on the scroll, "Deus q pro redemp-tione" is reversed; whilst the word INRI, at the top of the cross, is not reversed. The map of Africa supplied at the beginning of this Introduction, showing the two lakes where the Nile takes its source, does not belong to the book itself, but is taken from "Ptolemæi C. Tabula noua totius orbis," Lugduni 1541 fol.
Dit is die reply die een man sel bekreue gehad
oor die sepide mit, lrc. sepeewer die reiuer na
lisboen in poertegael na Calcoven in Indiern ge
schiede intiaer, lvc. en een. En sepide langes die
kust van barbarien en quam en voor een star ghe
nome. Werheb'li en werden daer of ghelaghen
mit grote sade en staande en wi verloren daer veel
kerst daer god die skel of moer hebben. Dele flach
geschiede op sint Jacobs dag anno preditto.
Datlot lepr een msf van die stadt ghenoeme
Seraen en daie come veel qua de kersten coeds
len van Veneetgen en Geneu en veropen de
erche harnas bof en ander ruyc om teghen
die kerstenre vechten en ti hebbé daer haer flapel.
Ly was de maan ende daen die kust van barbarien,
en leer veel aermoede in die strate
Intiaer, lvc. een tweede, l r. dach in Februario
soueren wi ten die riuer van lisboen en de letten
ons koers na Indien.
Dat eerste land dat wi vondé was ghenoeme
Kenan, en zijn veel eplanden ende behezen meest
den onbek van spaengen en zijn weel, lvc. milen
van poertegael.
Wijj en van daen ghenaren ende hebben ons
koers gheslet suyden en noeten en zijn ghecomen
tot die cape daer wi in naeg ghelueen warenest is
van poertegaelweel, lvc. milè. Daerloep dat volc
al naert mannen en trouwen en zijn swart, en
hebbé gheen straemente wàts en dragen geen deder.
De vrouwen houden haren mannen ghelyck
keminkelen, sijn vlezen goet noch quaer.

Den v. dag in Maerter hebbâ wi ons koerts
ghelen suprwest honord milen in diësee.

Den xx. dag in Maerter voere wi in diësee
wel rij. E. milen van Doerregael en daar verloren
wi die wagen en die sonnewas boué onse hoost fo
dat wi ghien scin olliee nâgheten dingen noch
ten lienen noch ghien hemel teikë dey. dach in April

Inde diësee sagen wi visschen vliegen met vlo/
ghelen als veer almen met een armboost mach
schieten en sijn groot ghelyck een maken rol. of eeu
harincof en sardijn. En weldie honord milë de
rende laghen wi swarte mœewen met wite boe-
sten en hadden daerten ghelyc swanë en sijn groen
kerdan wouduren. dele vangen deel vlieghende
visschen al vlieghende.

Den xxxi. dag in April warë wi dei verre dat wi
sagen opse rechten middâch die sonne int noorde

Op die selue rist en hadë wi geen hemel teikë
daer wi ons mebe behelpeen mychtern noch sonne
noch man een dan ons cõpasse en ons kaerten

Daer nae quamen wi in een ander meer daer
en was niet leudens in noch vûch noch vlepsche of
pet anders.

Den xxv. dag in April quamen die wi in con
strueren wiken en lancee drochte ons witen rechten.
Wech dusen milen en daer waren wi wel. wij de-
ghen dat wi lant noch lant en laghen.
Den vtr. dach in Stete wawt daer witer en die dag en ware daer mer art uen lant en twal ser groot tempeet van reghen va hagel van snee van dorre van blirem. Den hemel stont open te
ghen die cape de boen speranci en was onweeder Als wighemen waren om die cape hebben wij
ons koer ghelet noortoost.

Den c.dach in Juni laghen wi weder om die
waghen enden die nootsterre ende hadden weder
kennisse vanden hemel waer om dat wi leer ver
blyt waren.

Den ruij.dach in Junio quamen wi aen eestat
ghenoomt Scafal en daer begheerde wije te open
en verepe mer en wilden ons niet gehedogh en
wat si grote longhe hebben voor paeplians waer
daer comt een riijen wte paeplians lant wat paepl
ians lant leit binne datlant bellote vnd die muer
en heeft geen weergan vnd die see dan dpe riijen
vnd scasal daer om waren si daert an rthebbende
dat wi dien wech vinde mochten want die coninct
van Scafal heeft alstiet oerloghe teghne paeplian.
want wi spraken met volck wte paeplians lant die
daer gheuanchhen waren en waren haer lypden
Nauoenen want paeplians lant overuolpeit in liw
ver gout en ghesteenerei rjedomme en dese stak
lept. CCCC milien van die caep de boen speranci.

Vandaen lijn wighuenen aene enapant ghe
noemt Stik hebijen leit. CCC milien van Scafel en
clant is genoemt Maerabite en daeren kent un
geen selmers se mangel en gout silueromand gote.
Deu rijh, dach in Julio lijn wi va daer gheneu ren en zijn ghecomè an een conincwe ghenoemt Hyloesi daer is een ryeconinc, et dien hebben wi bedwongen dat hi den conincvá poertegael moet genaerliert r.v.C. matcalfe: et matcal is vlaems ghelt. r.v.C. r.v.6 iijh.6 Kech heeckt hi vanden selve coninc een bannier in een tepken dat hi hekent voer sijn heer. Mer doe die conincwe lijn ho of quam so wow pen si hem mit water en rjs over sijn hoest en wa ren seer blid eis sloopghen haer handen eni longen en sprongen recht op. Die coninc ehal evolclope naett mannen eni vuowen meer hebben een deet voer haer flamlheit en gaan hem alle daghe wel schen in die ssee Daerslijn oven sänder hoeve mer hebben op haer rugghe ghehij fenn sale. Daerslijn oerckapen met grote staert dair gheen been in en is eft die staert is beter dan halft staep Daerslijn oer bonetckapen en sijn starkeni wi Daerwassen oer vijchen en sijn wel van tweee sante breet.

Deu.rr. dach in Julio voeren wi vandaen et quaene aan een eynplante ghenoemt Melijnde en is hondert milen van kilo. Mer wi hebben ghemist en sijn ghecomè tor die cape sîne maria, eti hebbe on se dunghe daer geselte en wi moesè daer suer een golutevel. r.v.C. milen wiit. Daer lieten wi paup ians flante leggen eni flante va Marabiaen en was de rrr. dach in Julio. En wi waren van daergheuare C. milen doeteet wienskoers noertoekt.

Men sal weten dat vanden april tot september altijd daer winter is ende sijn wierte vangert spre a. iijh.
Ons lasten dicht van september totten april is somer
en dan waer die wind altijt noerost van eel een
halfjaer. Ende hoe die windis soe is die stroum, en
inde somer is leere quaertwelen wacht heb beloche
een ier lant.

Opten wiisten dach in Augusto leghen wj die
noorderterre daer wj blipde om waren want wien
waren doemer vijf hondert milen van Indien

Wij lepden in vij daghen over dat grote golf
van, vij C., en j. r. milen op een cii, dach is Augusto
dat wij laghen clan van Indien est lagen een gro
estad gehenoemt Combaen est is een grote coops
staet leit aen clan van Caldeen daer babilonien
in lep op die riuier van Cobar

Aen die lant verbie byoch arabien leit die staat
Mecha daer machomert leit die hepbens duuet est
die staat lep. vi. C. milen van oriente daer die spo-
erien paerien ghesteenten in oysen lande kommen
over een golf.

Wij voeren verbie een staet gehenoemt Dari est
daer is een coninc. Dese coninc had wel vijf duert
paerden est. vij. Colischen van wapen alleen in
tant. Eielleke staet heeft zijn coninc est wj namen
daer. iij C. steven van die staet Dari est doegendat
noe door est branden die steven.

Van daen zijn wij naer en zijn getorne in eez
platte gehenoemt Amide daer name wj water en
houen wj brochten onde steen aent lant wel. eij
C. est wj vakte daer est laer diete wel vij vooerchek
Den ri. dach in september luit wi vâ daen ghe-
com in een coninchte ghenoemt Canaer en lepte-
en een ghebericht ghenoemt Montebpl. en daer-
wachten wi die steppen van Mecha en dat zijn die-
steppen die die specerien oyer brengen in onsen lan-
den en die worden wi verderen en fonts looys die-
conin van Poertegael alleen die specerie daer ge-
hael hebben, mer wi en condent niet wol brengen
Med die seluerst namen wiem stijn van Mecha-
daer waren in drie honderd manne en tachtich en
veel vrouwen en kinderen en wi namendaer wol,
rij. dusent dukaten en noch wel. dusent en co-
manderschap en wi verbranden dat stijn en al dat volt
tee puluer den eersten dach in october
Daer sijn noechtarten die hebben oer grote hoo-
men en gaan recht op van haer hoek ende sijn ghe-
draegt gheelt een visel.

Den rr. dach in october ghinghen wi opelant
van Canaer en maetten daer roep van alle spece-
 rien en die coninck ons ons mit groter staetx
brocht voer he twee olisanten en meer en weert
de beesten die ic niet nomen en can

Den rrIII. dach in october voerzi wi van daen
en stín gecom en een coninchte ghenoemt Caloen
en leierli. mile vâ Canaer dat sijn wi voer die sta-
gaen leggen met onser macht en floëgel met he. is-
dagen en vingen veel wolfs en hingen die oen die-
stepen vanden steppe en namen die weder en floe/
ghen he hande en voete en choesf of, en naem een
van haer ellepen en worpen die hande en voette en
hoofldaer in en maerten eenh briefen lieten op
op een storie lieten dat scip ant landtuien wina-
men daer een scip en stake vierdaer in en ubran
den veel van des conincs ondersaten.

Den, iij. dach in november voeren wi van Ca-
loen tr. milen aen een staedghenoemt Eulschyn en
rutschend dese twee steden lept een kerstenstat ghe-
noemt Granitz en daer in veel goede kersten en
in die stat wonen veel ioden en hebben een prince
daer u onder staen, soh syn der alle die ioden van die
lande onder den selue prince. En die kersten en heb-
hen mit nieman te doen en zijn goede kersten en
en copen noch en verropen nict op heplighe dagen
noch en enen noch en drinken mit niemand sa met
kersten intoamen wel in onse leep mit honden de-
ren mitstapen en de den ons goet chier. En hebben
nu priesters aen den paeus ghelondente komen
om te weten dat rechte gheloue

Den, vrij, dach in november ghingen wi aene
lentre va Eulschyn om mittenconinc te spreken en
die coninc quam bi ons mer goote staer en brochte
met he. vi. olifante van wapen want hij heeft veel
olifanten in zijn lanten veel weemde beesten iber
nict en kenne Sie hebben onse heren die wibons
hadden metten conincghesproken om die ccep te
in alten van spereie en anderdingen.

Den, iij. dach in januarios lijn wi van daegh ge-
varen tot een stadt die hiet Coloent en daer kommen
veel goede kersten en hebben ons ghedaen, iij. ste-
pen mit spererie en der kerkfisser vel pru, dusent en ghelen tribupt gellycke die gode mirons en heben daer mel. CCC, kersken keren ende zijn ghe noemnaden apostelen en ander heilighen. Van Coloën, i milen lepte een eplæt en hiet Steloen en daer wald die beste caneel diemen vint.

Van Coloën, vii, dachuaert lepte een stadt ende hiet lapis en daer bi lepte Thomas in die zee, daer men, riij, dagen omrent sijen dach doer die zee droechs voets ingaet. En ghéeft een peghelik dit waerdich is theilige sacrament, ende ontreert de genen die in waerdich lijve. En dit is vier dachuaerden van die grote staet van Edissen daer hi dat grote pallaes maecte. Mer delle staet voert streue lapis is meest alghedestruéet ende die kersken woelen daer mede op tribupt, ende al volck lepte maett consecringhiene van dat u haer sta melheir bedecken.

Van Coloën, viii, Emilen lepte een grote stadt ghenoemt Melack ende van daer komen die behere naghelen en notenmusceten ende ander-costelijke comanscap en ghesteente.

Dat volck van die landen hebben swarte tanden want stéen bladeren van boomen ende wie ducht ofter crijt waer met die bladen ende daer war den haer tanden ofswart ende is ghenoemt corn boeren ende hebben alzijt bij hem waer dat si gaen ofrepen. Die peper waert ghelijcke die wijnvaert doet met ons.

In die landen sijn ratten soe groot als met ons
vachten ende van hem comt die inbot en is teere als
tereiten een rat is waert hondert duaren ende
dpe inbot wakst tuschen haer beenen onder haer
start.

Die gegeenuaer wakt alst riet doet en die cachel
als grijnden, en alle aert cilmen die cachel ende
hoe hidoone en nieuwer is soo beteris Die rech/
tele somer is in decembe rinjanario.

Den rij, dach in Februario so sloegen wi met
tenconinc van Calcoen merre, strep behalve
dierdopepe, en eeloepe lap mocht welen hy of ier.
man en wij en hadde bouen rj, man uper ende
god gasons die gracie en wioegen onsaer doer
En namen daer twee grote strepen van heen sloe/
ghen al't volt door en branden die strepen voer de
lant van Calcoen daer die conincteghenwoerdich
was. En des anderenaer ofsching het, wi weder
tepl na Cannair ende maecten onsteede varen
nae Poertegael Dit gheschiede anno r.v. Een iij.
opten, bydach in Februario.

Den rj, dach in maert nader swoenen onder/
gene was si noorden end wi verloren die noordler
re opten. rj, dach in maerte

Wi vonde opten crv, dach in maert crv. eplant
den mer wi en wilde dairen niet in een om dat wi imic
costelike goedengheladdn waren. ei als vole va
den landen dat lagen dat wi dae nieten quamex
maecten si groot vier dat wi en comen souden

Opre, dach in Aprils lagen wp wedpaepiis
lant en doo hadde wi, elviij dage oyt golfs geweest

Den rijn, daich in Aprile so lagen wi dat lant vaa
Melkheij vaoer of ghescreucc en daer laghen wi
torti xvi, daich in Junio ei wi schan vaa daen spejt ge
gan en daen dieden dagen alder coste.

Daer lep een groot conincie ghenoemt Co-
loen voesterde daer wassen die paerle in mamer
doo westerde in die see, mer die see en is bousuij, of
vijk vaaem niet diep En daer, hy vischers dиеse mit
houe pramen visscherstredede die pramen op haer
mon tof nis en valle dan onder watter wāt si mo-
ghen welle uquartier vaae vee ond warter, sals si
war gheuange hebb reserve si boue eel so voeren.

Den rijn, daich in Junio begonst ons broer ei
vitalite begelhen en wi waren doen wel vij
C. en xer. mijlen van liis voen.

Den crr. daich in Junio so vonden wi een ep-
lant en daerdoegen wi welse, ij C. mensche door ei
vuchtender vele en namen daer watter en soeren
van daer den eersten daich in Augusto.

Den rijn, daich in Augusto, lagen wi weder de
noorsterei en doo hadden wi welse, vi. C. mijl
van Poertegeal.

Int rær. xv. C. sti. y. verloren die onghelovige
C. en crr. lepen-meren hadden si die lepen nier
quije geweest si hadden wi daer qualijcaen ghes-
weest want si waren onse vriended.

Si alsoe euanen wi wederom bebeuden in
Poertegeal. Deocracias.
Facsimile by Armagnac & Co., 215, Seymour Street, Euston Square.)
Calicut.

This is the voyage which a man wrote himself, how far he failed with seventy ships from the river of Lisbon, in Portugal, to go to Calicut in India, and this occurred in the year 1501. And they failed along the coast of Barbary, and came before a town called Meskebijl, and were there defeated with great loss and dishonour, and we lost there many Christians, whose souls God must have had. This battle took place the day of St. James, of the above said year.

That castle is one mile from the town called Oeraen, and there come many wicked Christian merchants from Venice and Genoa, and they fell to the Turks suits of armour, arquebusses, and ammunition to fight against the Christians, and they have there their staple.

I was six months on the coast of Barbary, and suffered much misery in the Straits.

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1 Mers el Kebir.  2 Oran.  3 Of Gibraltar?
In the year 1502, on the 10th day of February, we failed from the river of Lisbon, and took our course to India.

The first land which we found was called Kenan, and there are many islands which mostly belong to the King of Spain, and they are well 200 miles from Portugal.

We failed thence, and directed our course to south-east, and arrived at the cape, near which we had remained, and it is well 500 miles from Portugal. The people there walk stark naked, men and women, and they are black. And they have no shame, for they wear no clothes, and the women have converse with their men like monkeys, and they know neither good nor evil.

On the 5th day of March we directed our course by south-west, 100 miles out at sea.

On the 29th day of March we were failing at least 1,200 miles from Portugal, and there we lost sight of the Great Bear, and the sun was above our head, so that we could not see the shadow of anything, nor any mark in the sky on the 2nd day of April.

In that sea we saw fishes flying with the birds, as far as a man may shoot with a cross bow; and they are as big as a mackerel, a herring, or a pilcher. And

1 Cape Nun, on the coast opposite the Canaries.
2 Cape de Verde.
during a course of at least 300 miles, we saw black
gulls with white throats; their tail is like that of a
swan, and they are bigger than wood pigeons; they
were catching the flying fishes as they were flying.

On the 11th of April we were so far, that precisely
at noon we saw the sun to the north.

At the same time we had in the sky no mark which
could help us, neither sun nor moon, but our compass
and our maps.

Then we came to another sea, where there was
nothing living, neither fish nor flesh, nor anything else.

On the 20th day of April the wind turned against
us, and lasted five weeks, driving us a thousand miles
out of the direct route, and we were fairly twelve days
without fighting any land or sand.

On the 22nd day of May, there was winter there,
and the days lasted only eight hours; and there was a
great storm of rain, hail, snow, thunder and lightning.
The sky was open towards the Cape of Good Hope,
and there was a storm. When we were arrived near
the Cape, we directed our course to the north-east.

On the 10th day of June we could see neither the
Great Bear nor the Polar Star, and we did not know
the sky, which threw us in great perplexity.

On the 14th of June we arrived before a town
called Scafal,¹ and there we asked to buy and sell;

¹ Sofala.
but they would not allow it to us, because the inhabitants felt great anxieties from the side of the Paepians' river;¹ there flows a river from the country of the Paepians,² for the country of the Paepians³ is situate in the interior of that country, shut by the walls, and they have no other issue towards the sea than the river of Scafal, and they were disturbed with anxiety lest we might discover that road; because the King of Scafal was then making war against the Paepians.

For we spoke with the people of the Paepians' country, who had been made prisoners, and were their slave people; for the Paepians' country abounds in silver, gold, precious stones and riches, and this kingdom is 400 miles from the Cape of Good Hope.

Thence we failed for an island called Miskebic,⁴ and it is 200 miles from Scafal, and the country is called Maerabite, and there they do not know money, but they exchange gold and silver for other goods.

On the 18th of July we failed thence and arrived in a kingdom called Hylo,⁵ and here is a king very rich, and him we compelled to pay 1,500 matcals annually to the King of Portugal; each matcall is worth in Flemifh money 9 s. 4 pence. He has, moreover, from the fame king a banner, as a mark that he

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¹ Zara or Cuama.
² Sabia, between the Cape and 20° S.
³ Kaffir land.
⁴ Mozambique.
⁵ Quiloa.
recognises him for his sovereign. But when the king came out from his court, they threw water and small branches over his head, and they were very merry and clapped their hands, and sung and danced. The king and all the people, men and women, walk naked, but they have a piece of stuff round their loins, and they go every day to wash themselves in the sea. There are here oxen without horns, but they have like a saddle on their back. There are also sheep with big tails as there were never such, and the tail is better than the half of the sheep. There are also crows which are black and white; there grow also onions which are nearly two palms wide.

On the 20th of July we failed thence, and arrived in an island called Melinda, which is 100 miles from Kilo. But we missed it, and went to the Cape of Saint Mary. There we put our things in order, and we had still to cross a gulf which is well 700 miles wide. There we left the country of the Paepians, and arrived before the country of Marabia, and it was the 30th day of July. And after having failed 100 miles, we shaped our course to the north-east.

It must be known that there is winter all the time from April to September, and then the wind blows

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1 Melinda, not an island.  
2 Ras Mory, Socotra.  
3 In early maps Caffraria is limited by Abyssinia.  
4 Iram-Arabia?
from the south-east during the whole time; and from September to April it is summer, and the wind blows during the whole time from the north-east, from each a half year. And as is the wind so is the current, and the summer is of a very bad kind, for I suffered by it for a whole year.

On the 5th day of August we saw the Polar Star, and were very glad of it, for we were still more than 500 miles from India.

In fifteen days we failed across the great gulf of 770 miles, and it was on the 21st day of August we saw the land of India, and saw a great city called Combaen, and it is a large trading town, and it is situate near the country of Caldea or Babylon, on the river of Cobar.

Near the land beyond High Arabia is the town of Mecha, where is buried Mahomet, the devil of the pagans; and the town is 600 miles from the east, whence spices, pearls, and precious stones are brought to our country after crossing a gulf.

We passed beyond a town called Oan, and there is a king; this king has at least 8,000 horses and 700 elephants of war alone in his country; and each town has his own king, and we took 400 ships from Oan, and we killed the people and burnt the ships.

Thence we failed and arrived in an island called

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1 Cambay. 2 Saubermattce. 3 Goa.
Avidibe; there we took in water and wood, and we landed at least 300 of our invalids, and we killed a lizard which was at least five feet long.

On the 11th day of September we arrived in a kingdom called Cannaer, and it is situate near a chain of mountains called Montebyl, and there we watched the ships of Meccha, and they are ships which carry the spices which come to our country, and we spoiled the woods, so that the King of Portugal alone should get spices from there. But it was impossible for us to accomplish our design. Nevertheless at the same time we took a Meccha ship, on board of which were 380 men and many women and children, and we took from it at least 12,000 ducats and at least 10,000 more worth of goods, and we burnt the ship and all the people on board with gun powder, on the first day of October.

Here also are flags, which have also large horns which rise straight from their head, and they are twisted like a screw.

On the 20th day of October we went to the country of Cannaer, and bought there all kinds of spices, and the king came in great state, bringing with him two elephants and several strange animals which I cannot name.

On the 27th day of October we sailed thence, and
arrived in a kingdom called Calcoen, which is 40 miles from Cannaer, and we mustered our forces before the town, and we fought with them during three days, and we took a great number of people, and we hanged them to the yards of the ships, and taking them down, we cut off their hands, feet, and heads; and we took one of their ships and threw into it the hands, feet, and heads, and we wrote a letter, which we put on a stick, and we left that ship to go a-drift towards the land. We took there a ship which we put on fire, and burnt many of the subjects of the king.

On the 2nd day of November we sailed from Calcoen 60 miles to a kingdom called Cuffchain; and between these two towns is a Christian kingdom called Granor, and there are many good Christians; and in this kingdom live many Jews, and they have a prince there. You understand that all the Jews of the country are also subjects of the same prince. And the Christians have nothing to do with any body, and they are good Christians. They neither sell nor buy anything during the consecrated days, and they neither eat nor drink with anybody but Christians. They willingly came to our ships with fowls and sheep, and caused us to make good cheer. They had just sent priests to the pope at Rome to know the true faith.

On the 28th day of November we went to the

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1 Calicut. 2 Cochin. 3 Travancore.
country of Cufichaïn to speak with the king; and the king came to us in great state, bringing with him six war elephants; for he has many elephants in his country, and many strange animals which I do not know. Then our chiefs which we had with us spoke to the king, in order to buy spices and other things.

On the 3rd day of January we failed thence for a town which is called Coloen, and there came many good Christians, and they filled two of our ships with spices; and there are nearly 25,000 Christians, and they paid us a tribute like the Jews. There are nearly 300 Christian churches, and they bear the names of the apostles and other saints. Fifty miles from Coloen is an island which is called Steloun, where is to be found the best cinnamon which can be met with.

Six days from Coloen is a town which is called Lapis, and near by is Saint Thomas in the sea. It is there that for a fortnight about the time of his festival the sea may be passed on foot, and they give the sacrament to all who are worthy to receive it, and refuse it to the unworthy. And this place is four days distant from the great city of Ediffen, where he built the large palace. But this above-mentioned town of Lapis is

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1 Culan, Quilom. 2 Ceylon. 3 Meliapour. 4 Edesse.
for the most part ruined, and the Christians inhabit it on condition of paying a tribute, and everybody, including the king and the queen, walk naked, with the exception of their loins, which are covered.

Eight hundred miles from Coloen is a large town called Melatk,\(^1\) whence come the best cloves and nutmegs, valuable goods, and precious stones.

The people of this country have black teeth, because they eat the leaves of the trees and a white thing like chalk actually with the leaves, and it comes from it that the teeth become black, and that is called tombour,\(^2\) and they carry it always with them wherever they go or are travelling. The pepper grows as the vine does in our country.

There are in the country cats as big as our foxes, and it is from them that the musk comes, and it is very dear, for a cat is worth 100 ducats, and the musk grows between his legs, under his tail.

Ginger grows as a reed, and cinnamon as a willow; and every year they strip the cinnamon from its bark, however thin it is, and the youngest is the better. The true summer is in December and January.

On the 12th of February we fought with the king of Calcoen, who had thirty-five ships, besides the rowing boats. In each of these boats were about sixty to seventy men, and we had no more than twenty-two

\(^1\) Malacca
\(^2\) Betel
men, and with that, thanks to God, we beat them; and we took two large ships, and slaughtered all the people that were in them, and burnt the ships before the town of Calcoen, where the king was present; and the next day we failed for Cannaer, and prepared everything to return to Portugal. That happened in 1503, the 12th day of February.

On the 22nd day of March, after the setting of the sun, it was on the north, and the 13th day of March we had lost the polar star.

On the 26th day of March we made out two islands, but we did not choose to land there, because we were loaded with valuable goods, and as the people of the country saw that we would not land, they lighted a large fire to attract us.

On the 10th of April we saw again the country of the Paepians, and then we had been forty-eight days in the gulf.

On the 13th day of April we saw the country of Meskebaï, previously mentioned, and we remained there till the 16th day of June, and thence we failed again; and that is the time when the days are shortest.

There is a great kingdom called Coloen, previously described. There the pearls grow in a kind of oyster in the sea; but the sea is no more than four to seven

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1 Mozambique.
fathoms deep, and there are fishermen who fish them with wooden baskets. They put the baskets in their mouth or on their nose, and then go down under the water, where they may remain nearly a quarter of an hour, and when they have caught something they come back to the surface, and so on.

On the 14th day of June bread and victuals began to fail us, and we still were nearly 1,780 miles from Lisbon.

On the 30th day of June we found an island, where we killed at least 300 men, and we caught many of them, and we took there water and departed thence on the 1st day of August.

On the 13th day of August we saw again the polar star, and we still were well 600 miles from Portugal.

In the year 1502 the infidels lost 180 ships; but if the ships had not been lost, we should have been very badly off, for they were our enemies.

And thus we came back healthy and safe to Portugal.

Deo Gratias.