

The LIFE
of the
ICELANDER JÓN ÓLAFSSON
Traveller to India

Written by HIMSELF and COMPLETED about 1661 A.D.
with a CONTINUATION, by ANOTHER HAND, up to
his DEATH in 1679

Translated from the *Icelandic edition*
of DR SIGFÚS BLÖNDAL,

by

DAME BERTHA PHILLPOTTS, D.B.E., M.A., LITT.D.
Author of Kindred & Clan, The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama, etc.

Volume II

LIFE and TRAVELS: DENMARK, ENGLAND, the
CAPE, MADAGASCAR, COMORO IS., COROMANDEL
COAST, TRANQUEBAR, ST HELENA, ASCENSION
Is., IRELAND, ICELAND

1618-1679

Edited by
the late SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, *Bart.*

C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., F.B.A.

and

LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY

L O N D O N

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

MCMXXXII

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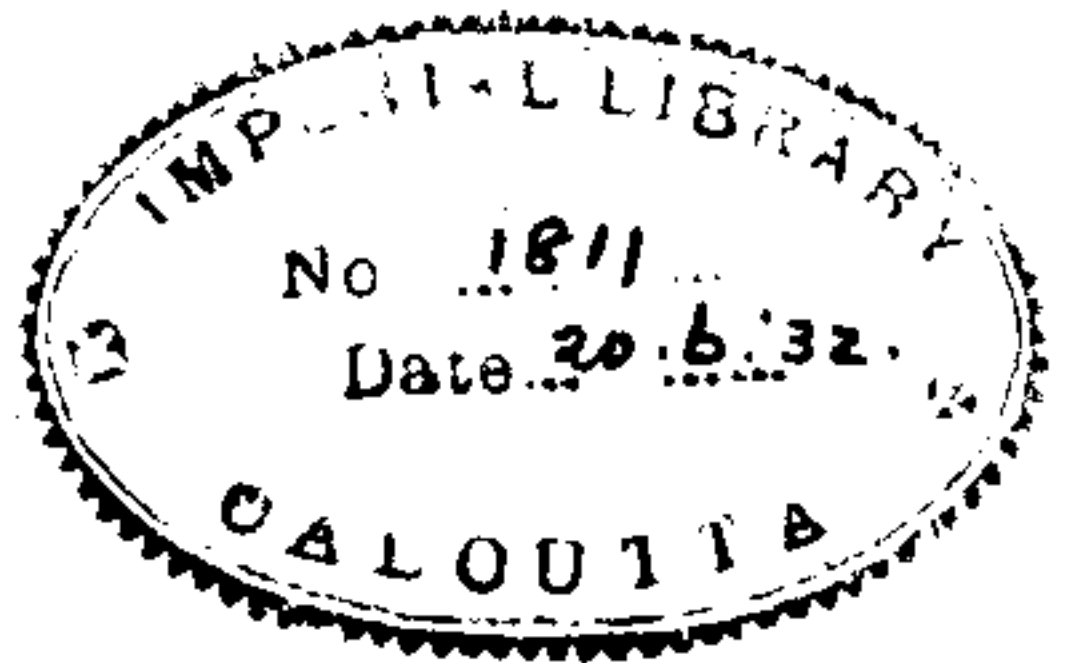
WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society

THE LIFE
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ICELANDER JÓN ÓLAFSSON
VOL. II

SECOND SERIES

No. LXVIII



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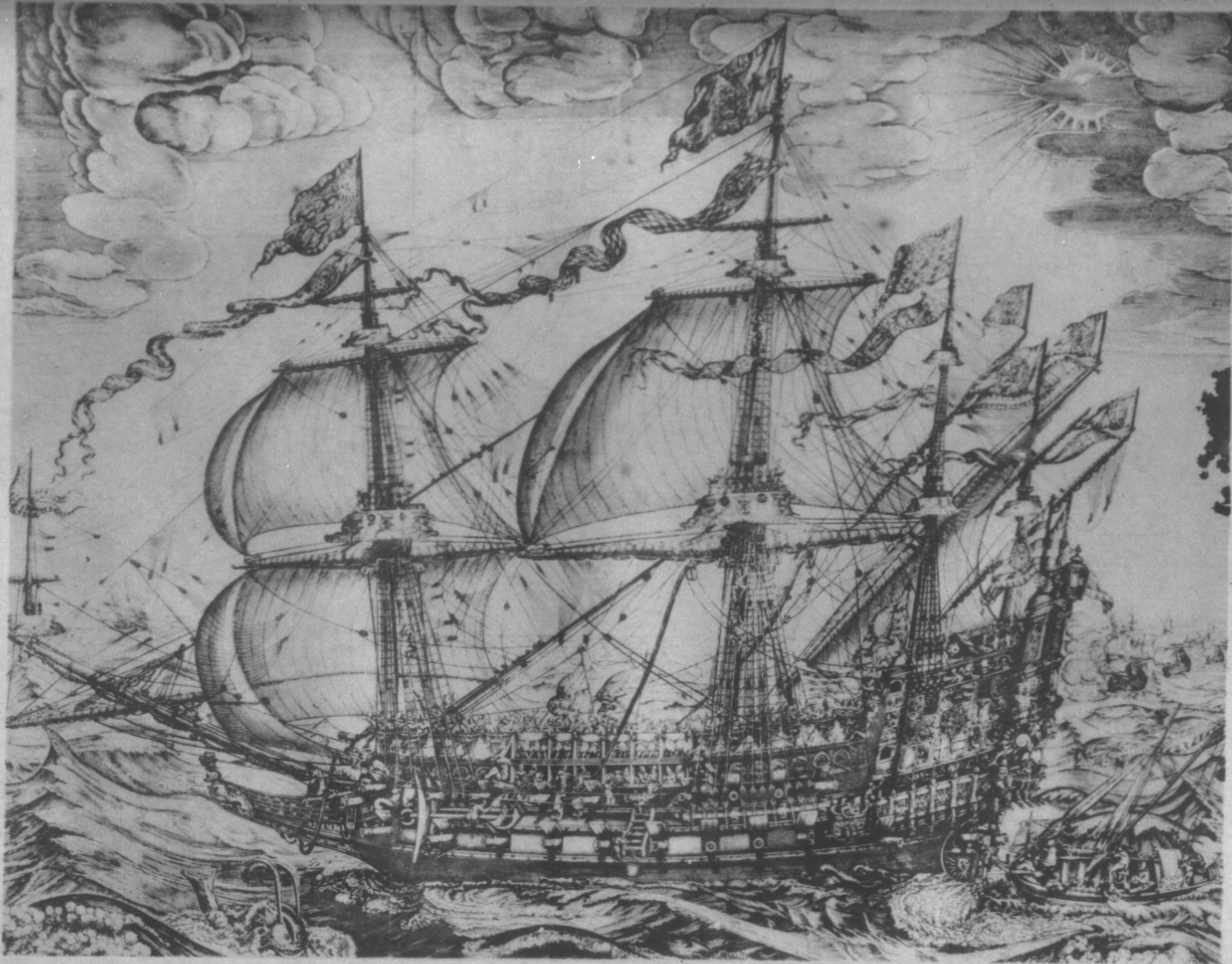
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A DANISH MAN-OF-WAR OF THE TYPE OF THE "PEARL."

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY W. LEWIS, M.A.
UNIVERSITY PRESS CAMBRIDGE

PREFATORY NOTE

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

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

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

WILLIAM FOSTER
President

December 31, 1931.

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

W. F.

January 21, 1932

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Of similar build to the *Pearl* from a photograph
supplied by Captain G. Holck
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Made in the eighteenth century, being a copy of a
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Reproduced (by permission of Mrs Frank Penny)
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Church in Madras* (vol. 1)

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

The story of the expedition is summarized by Sir William

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PLAN OF THE CASTLE OF DANSBURGH IN THE EAST INDIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADDENDUM TO VOL. I.

THOMAS TWIDD

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

- 24 December 1581. Thomas Twyde *re* precautions against Papists passing through Harwich (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1581-2, p. 500).
- 11 December 1587. Thomas Twitt *re* fortification of Harwich (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1581-90, p. 444).
- 3 and 5 February 1587/8. Thomas Tweede *re* contribution from the county of Essex and fortification of Harwich (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1587-8, pp. 351, 354).
- 24 March 1589. Thomas Twytt, a "sea-maister" and a man of "great experience" (*ibid.* 1589-90, p. 447).
- 23 September 1596. Thomas Twidd *re* transport of soldiers from Harwich to France (*ibid.* 1596-7, p. 196).
- c. 1643. Thomas Twitt, a signatory to a letter on behalf of the towns of Colchester and Harwich (*Hist. MSS. Commn.*, Report VII, p. 562 a, No. 744).

ERRATA TO VOL. I.

- p. 129, note 2, line 1. *For* D.S.C. *read* D.S.O.
- p. 217, l. 9. *For* take down *read* take in.
 - l. 15. *For* lowered *read* taken in.
 - l. 17. *For* lower away *read* take in.
 - l. 2 *from bottom, insert comma after* topgallant mast.

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

CHAPTER I

FIRST MUST BE MENTIONED WHAT CAUSES LED OUR KING CHRISTIAN IV, OF BLESSED MEMORY, TO BE PLEASED TO SEND THOSE FIVE SHIPS TO INDIA, WHICH WERE DESPATCHED (SO FAR AS MY MEMORY SERVES) IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1618, IN THE MONTH OF OCTOBER¹, AS IS RELATED IN THE FOLLOWING

IN that third part of the old world, Asia, in India beyond the Ganges, lies a large and very fertile island, called Ceylon. In it are nine kingdoms, which are all subject to one lord. The chief town, where the ruler of this land has his seat, is called in their tongue Colmucki². It so chanced that about the date which we write 1616, a certain Christian man, Dutch by extraction, was in the service of this great sovereign and ruler³, who took counsel with him on one occasion as to how he should deal with those Portuguese men, to whom he had some time before granted permission to settle in his neighbourhood to carry on commerce, as they do in many parts of India. He asked the Dutchman if he did not know of some king in

¹ Really November 1618.

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

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

Europe, who could or would drive them out of the land, for he said that he had conceived a loathing for them because they had forced him, in his own dominions, to pay tribute to them, and, in defiance of his royal authority and express prohibition, had built three fine towns therein and fortified them with cannon, weapons, swords and powerful troops, so that he could not obtain his dues, and was thus obliged, reproached by his own conscience, to put up with their presumptuous and overbearing conduct¹. To which the Dutchman made answer that he knew no more likely monarch than the noble King of Denmark, King Christian, for he did not send his ships to other lands, and was withal much inclined to wield authority and to carry on warfare. He was therefore entrusted with a mission thence to the Northern countries to bear thither the written message clearly set forth of this heathen King. He came first to Holland and first made such offers to the Government of that country as were contained in the King's letter, namely, to drive out the said Portuguese from Ceylon, in return for which he promised them their place, settlements and commerce, so long as they neither presumed against him, nor cowed him, nor exacted tribute. But since the people in Holland already had enough on their hands with their wide foreign commerce, and therefore refused the bountiful offer of this Emperor of Ceylon², the Dutchman at once proceeded to Denmark to seek audience of our gracious Lord and King, King Christian IV, and through an interpreter and go-between announced to him the contents, meaning and purport of this Ceylon King's missive. To this

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

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

our Lord and King of blessed memory¹ made a friendly answer², and with the consent of the Council of Denmark, our King issued a letter, published throughout all his realm, which announced that all persons, whether men or women, willing to adventure their money on this voyage, as much or as little as they pleased, should be allowed to do so.

This declaration of the King was warmly received by many persons, both male and female, so that for this first Indian voyage many ship-owners readily produced their money, and even sempstresses contributed. Some contributed 60, 70, 80, 100, 200, 300, 400, 1000 or 2000 dollars, and no reckoning was to be held until twelve years had passed. For the said voyage five ships were fitted out with the utmost speed and with splendid gear, and beside all the crews, 300 soldiers were despatched. The chief, or the highest general, of that fleet was Erik Grubbe³, who sold his family estate and all his lands and houses before he set out. And a noble maiden, who had pledged her love and faith to him, prepared to travel with him, at first, in a strange fashion, having clothed herself in the garb of a lad. But the vessels lay windbound at Kronborg [Helsingør, Elsinore] for a fortnight, and it so chanced that certain sailors became aware of this, and forthwith published it abroad, for which they nearly got into trouble. But since these twain had pledged their faith in such great love and affection and would allow none to part them, they were

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

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

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

joined together in holy wedlock. This noble lady lost her life in childbirth on the voyage¹.

The names of the ships were these: first, the *Christian*; second, the *Christianshavn*; third, the *Copenhagen*; fourth, the *David*; fifth, the yacht whose name I do not recall², on which travelled Rollant Crappe as merchant, having previously travelled seven times to India, and this being his eighth voyage thither³. Later he became General.

The messenger of the Ceylon King was commonly called ambassador. He was very arrogant, haughty and consequential. He had a priest with him of an evil appearance, with long thick hair reaching to his belt⁴, and a lad who served them both. I was once sent by Grabow⁵ to do business with this ambassador and had to stand outside the door of his lodging for fully three hours, and though I knocked three times at the door and the lad opened it, I might not be admitted until the ambassador himself ordered it. He was reading in a large volume whose boards and edges were gilded⁶. And when I came in and made my obeisance before

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

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

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

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

⁵ Adolph Frederik Grabow, Chief Master of the Arsenal at Copenhagen, frequently mentioned in vol. 1. He was Jón's principal officer, while he was a gunner at that city.

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

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

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

A certain worthy Icelfander, Halldór Árnason¹ by name,

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

had agreed with me to go on this journey and we had pledged and bound ourselves to steadfast comradeship, so that I was much grieved at being thus parted from him, and he likewise. He went out on the ship *Christian* and I procured a good comrade for him on that vessel; but Halldór was not long for this world, for I heard later that he had died this side of Barbary¹. And when his brother Jón Árnason came over to Denmark to seek news of him, he received the tidings of his decease, but not a single penny of his money, for the ship-owners declared that he had earned nothing, because he had died before the end of the two months' wage, which he, like all others who took the voyage, received from them before they set out from home.

Many a gallant lad set forth on this voyage, and many a young noble; also four females, who married before they started, for no unmarried woman might be received on board for that voyage. And on the way, two of them died in childbirth, one a noble lady², the other of humble birth.

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

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

CHAPTER II

AND when they were clear of Norway they had a fair wind to England and to the Isle of Wight¹. In England they took on board a very beautiful woman whose name was Temperance. She married on the instant the book-keeper or chief clerk, a worthy and excellent man, named Hieronymus².

And so they sailed from England and across the Spanish Main³, as it is called, and got a fair wind, and so south past Barbary and to Black Land⁴, to the place called Cabo Verde⁵: it is one of the place-names given by seafaring folk, and lies in Africa. Near there they captured a vessel called the *Patientia*, manned by pirates⁶. They took the ship with them to India, and a young lad belonging to its crew came back with them to Denmark: he was called Diamond⁷. They landed in many places to secure fresh meat wherewith to refresh their sick, it being of great value to those tried by such

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

long voyages. At one place, called Anabon¹, they landed for this purpose, namely to secure fresh food, but were not successful, for the natives treated them as if they knew not whence in the world they were come. But the crew made it clear that, according to the ancient usage of mariners and the habit of fighting men, they would lay hands on as much as should suffice them, if they could neither purchase at full price nor exchange. And the natives listened to their words and heeded them. After that the sailors returned to their ships and slept through the following night, paying no heed to the doings of the natives. And next morning men went ashore from the admiral's ship, accompanied by many soldiers; and when they reached the land, the soldiers and sailors were ordered by their officers to lay aside their weapons and fill with water the empty vessels they had brought with them. They obeyed this order, though unwillingly, and were fully engaged on their task, their weapons laid aside, suspecting nothing, when the natives fell upon them on three sides with bows, swords and spears. They could see no retreat save into the sea, but their boat lay moored somewhat far out, and only a few of the company could get at their weapons. So that in their flight fifteen men were slain, and the others had to swim for the boat, and many of them were wounded². On one man,

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

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

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

by name Jens Piper, eighteen arrows were stuck fast when he got out to the ship, and they had to be cut out by the surgeon, for they were firmly set in flesh and sinews¹, so that he declared he suffered much from them and was long in healing in the surgeon's hands. These his eighteen scars I have myself felt and clearly discerned. He said that when he first fled from the shore and leapt into the sea, he had not been able to catch hold of the boat owing to the grip of two black men upon him, who had pursued him violently, jumping into the sea after him and holding him down to the bottom, with intent to put an end to him, which he said must certainly have happened, but for God's help and the circumstance that he got hold of his two jack-knives, with which he said he had killed them. And since he could swim somewhat, he ended by overtaking the boat, which had got a little way from land, and in the end the crew pulled him in².

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

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

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

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

them. But they saw no man and durst not seek them out, for forces on their native soil oft-times multiply wondrously: and so they accomplished nothing. And since they saw no profit in tarrying longer, they came out to the ship and sailed away again the next day¹. And a little later they landed at another place, called Caput de Leo. There they got some help for the healing of those who survived², but they had lost many of their people³, for on account of the large numbers they started with, the crews became unruly and given over-much to liquor, which was dangerous to health.

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

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

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

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

hint), hanged him forward on the bowsprit; and so these persons are now out of our story¹.

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

CHAPTER III

NOW they reach Ceylon with their five ships, having sent the yacht away shortly before¹. Rollant Crappe was well acquainted with all India² and was therefore able to find his way in most parts; but before they parted, they promised to visit him, if their health was spared, as soon as they should have made some progress with the business in hand³.

We will begin by telling how they struck their yards and dropped their anchors off Ceylon. At once the before-mentioned Erik Grubbe made ready to visit the Emperor⁴; and at first he was well received, and with the interpreter⁵ and go-between he explained to the Emperor the errand he was on, on behalf of the King of Denmark; and he made a great deal of his prowess which would soon be displayed and proved on the Portuguese. These big words and boastings made by him and others were not long in reaching the ears of the Portuguese chiefs. But while Erik Grubbe was sojourning with the Emperor of Ceylon, a terrible storm bore down on the Danish vessels, so that the admiral's ship *Christian* (if I remember rightly) was lost⁶, on which all the money was kept for the purchase of necessaries for all the vessels. But the

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

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

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

⁴ Jón has confused Erik Grubbe with Ove Giedde.

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

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

other four received no injury, among them the French vessel *Patientia*. So there they stood helpless, and all their soldiers had to give themselves up to their enemies, and were scattered far and wide about those places and towns where the Portuguese had their trade; and they were treated like captives. And when Erik Grubbe returned from the Emperor he was helpless and could succour himself or others less than not at all, when the soldiers demanded pay and victuals¹. Thereupon he repaired again to the Emperor of Ceylon, and promised on his life to return within three weeks; but they waited for him twelve weeks and he never came; and thus dishonourably did he palter with his life and reputation, and has remained there since with his servant, wandering in forests and deserts like a lost sheep, living by the chase and by the help of the King, which yet was given secretly on account of the wrath of the Portuguese, who bore a fierce grudge against him. But at such times as ships were expected from Denmark, he would bid his servant lie in wait for them, and they would let him have somewhat for his nourishment and clothing, especially a few shirts. But never durst he meet them himself, and if he had come to them and yielded himself up into the King's power, they would certainly have taken him to their fortress in India and never have brought him back to Denmark. And so we need say no more of him².

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

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

And we must now tell how these five ships¹ left Ceylon to seek out their yacht [the *Øresund*], on which Rollant Crappe was merchant, as was mentioned before. At first when they had passed Ceylon they sailed in a north-easterly direction, until they came off the Coast of Carmandel [Coromandel Coast], where stands the Danish fortress called Dansborg². There they learnt that the yacht had first come to land about four miles from where this fortress now stands. Close by is a fortress called Nicopotan [Negapatam], where the Portuguese were in possession. They sent out four vessels from the fortress to discover what manner of men these were who had newly arrived, and when those on board the yacht told them the truth, that they had been sent out by the Danish King, they would not believe them and took them prisoners, treating them harshly; and they sailed the yacht ashore, so that it was wrecked. The crew got ashore on planks and so saved their lives. Then they were seized and made prisoners and all their goods carried to this said fortress, and according to the custom of war all the crew were scattered far and wide through India to all their [the Portuguese] trading stations. But four of the ship's officers, namely the captain and the master, the chief merchant and the one next to him, the master-gunner and Søren Knappstop³ (who told me this tale more fully than I have time to set it forth) were sent under a guard to the King at Travanzour [Tanjore], and there they were kept under observation and in gentle confinement until these other vessels came to the country Carmandel [Coromandel Coast] making enquiries as to what had become of the yacht and her crew⁴. And when they learnt what had

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

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

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

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

happened, with all details, such as have been here related in briefest fashion, all the officers of the ships gathered together on shore with no delay, at the place called Carical¹, where the ship lay, about four miles below the spot where the fortress now stands. This Carical is a port inhabited by fishermen, and shall be spoken of later if God gives time and opportunity². And so these Danish gentlemen left Carical with a fair company, as soon as they had come ashore from their ships, and repaired to Travanzour, where was the seat and government of the Indian King³, and the distance thither was fully forty-eight miles⁴. And when the King received news of their approach, he had his palaces decorated, and the gateways and streets swept and adorned in gala array. This royal city Travanzour is large and of a great circumference with eleven gateways, each further in than the last, and at each gateway

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

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

² See *infra*, p. 18 and ch. iv, p. 25.

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

⁴ Actually, about forty English miles.

were two elephants, *filar* as the Indians call them¹, and two guards who direct them for whatever purpose they may be needed². They passed through these eleven gateways, all the chief men among them being borne in *palakins*³, that is beds of the shape of this figure: ⁴: most of them being made of ivory, and others of precious woods, and each having twelve men set apart to bear it, but only four carry it at the same time; so there are three sets to take it in turns. The King ordered his fighting men, who are there called *taliaris*⁵, to line a certain street, with sword at side and spear in hand, all the way from the city walls to the King's hall and palace. Then he sent his gentlemen to receive them [the Europeans] and conduct them into the royal palace. And the interpreter, who was appointed for them, went to and fro between them and the King, with deep obeisance, bearing the words of each to the other, as the conversation proceeded between them. The five men and the captain's servant had been released at once, as soon as the news of their arrival was brought, and the King acknowledged that all the report of their journey had been true; and he praised their truthfulness very highly. He entertained them with much honour for a fortnight, and had great compassion on their misfortunes. He displayed to them all his glory, jewels and treasures, and at times they would accompany him to the playing-fields, and there be shown all kinds of games, sports and trials of skill,

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

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

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

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

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

such as are practised in that land, sometimes the old custom of slaves wrestling (with the life of him at stake who should be overcome, for he might come to the captive's rock and be put to death on the steel blade which lies across it). Furthermore, tame elephants fought, standing upright on their hind legs, and it was esteemed great sport to watch them¹.

He himself and his son or daughter exhibited all his gold, silver and jewels to them with great humility and condescension. His precious stones were kept with special wrappings in the river which flowed by the gable-wall of his sleeping-chamber². They were drawn up as from a well in gilded buckets and exhibited to them. Each had its own name, which I do not clearly recall, save for the best-known, such as emerald, turquoise, diamond, ruby, sapphire and three kinds of crystal, and cats' eyes³.

And amid his other talk, the King grieved over the misfortunes of their expedition, and thought that the Danish King would be the less inclined to try a new mission, since the first had turned out so ill. But yet, in his great pitifulness, he said he would make an attempt and let them have 3000 florins in the Danish King's name, with which to buy a cargo for one ship, so that they should not return quite empty-handed, but with this condition, that he should receive the full amount from them again, or useful wares to the same value⁴.

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

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

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

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

And secondly, this heathen King desired to make a treaty with the King of Denmark, that a ship should come out from Denmark every year with those wares which he most desired, namely silver and lead. The which agreement they willingly entered into, trusting in the King of Denmark, and on these terms the heathen King promised them a full cargo of Indian wares for the Danish King's ships, *viz.*, pepper, precious stones, and all kinds of gold and silver cloth, copper, black lead¹, silk and cotton, also the dye which is called indigo and is made out of the ashes of some herb² and is very precious, and many other things which I forget.

Thirdly, in pursuance of the said treaty, the heathen King lent [us, for] our King, a pleasant and smooth place by the sea, four miles south-east³ of the little fishing town Carical which I spoke of before, where the Danish ships first came to land, and whence the Danish gentlemen proceeded to Travanzour. Close to this pleasant place lay a fair little town called Trango-barich⁴, which to-day lies a bowshot from the fortress, and the King gave permission to build and erect this fortress within defined limits. The which fortress [Dansborg] was 360 fathoms in circumference, and with four towers, one at each corner or bastion of the wall, and one large tower, which was later erected on the new church within the walls.

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

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

¹ Graphite from Ceylon.

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

³ Really north-east.

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

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

Sixthly, the King gave and appointed all those tolls by land and by sea to which the town had a rightful claim¹.

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

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

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

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

The Danes agreed willingly to the above and other minor matters and stated conditions. And eleventhly, and lastly, to support this King in case of need, against other neighbouring heathens, if they could conveniently do so without great hindrances, loss or damage³. And all this being agreed upon,

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

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

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

ratified by clasp of hands¹, and signed, the Indian King sent his written greeting on golden paper² to the King of Siam, 2400 miles away, with one of the Danish vessels, the *Copenhagen*, which was of 300 lasts³, and urgently requested him to provide the vessel as quickly as possible with produce of the country, and that merely at his request, promising him his goodwill and help if needed, in return.

The Siamese King carried out his part well, so that the ship got a full cargo. And the Siamese King offered the King of Denmark such terms and conditions as could best be granted by himself and his subjects, in such matters as permission to settle, and honourable conditions for trading. And in order to prove his good faith and earnestness, he took seven men from this vessel the *Copenhagen*, and conferred on them houses and the right of settlement, granting them what they most needed, and proclaiming their lives to be especially sacred among his subjects⁴.

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

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

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

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

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

Siam is a vast country. It contains eight kingdoms, notably Siam and seven others. Tenasserri is in the Kingdom of Pegu; and it was near there that these seven men remained whom I have just mentioned. This kingdom Pegu has more than six royal realms under it. From the Danish fortress Dansborg it is 2400 miles to Tenasserri¹.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

OVE GIEDDE'S PROCEEDINGS IN TANJORE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EXPLANATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IV

NOW I return to my story where the Indian King escorted these Danish grandees from his royal city with gifts and presents, and in all honour; and they took with them a royal letter from him to our King, couched in the most friendly language, to establish what we have said before¹. Thence they repaired to Trangobarich, where the fortress was then to be erected, and the King kept all his promises which he had made to them, both with regard to a master-mason and labourers, tile-burners, plasterers and timber-cutters, and whatever else was needed², and also that all kinds of wares and victuals, both from sea and land, should be sold within the fortress.

And in this fortress strict justice and ordinances were established³ in every point according to Christian wont and the praiseworthy custom of the military, as shall be touched upon later. The five men also returned to their company (those who had previously been confined in Travanzour [Tanjore]) from the yacht, which the Portuguese had, with their vessels from Nicopatam [Negapatam] forced to run on shore, to its damage and total wreck, to the south-west of Carical. These five were Rollant Crappe, the ship's master and the master-gunner, the trumpeter and their servant⁴.

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

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

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

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

Thereupon they anchored their vessels off the spot where the fortress was being erected, a short way from Trangobarich, the town which lies close to it. They cut up the French ship they had captured¹ to make those small huts which were erected within the fortress, to serve the garrison for sleeping-quarters². A Rector³ or chief merchant was appointed to the fortress. His name was Christoffer van der Mohlen, a pious and excellent man, born in Holland⁴. He was placed in authority over all merchants, clerks and assistants, and the Danish and Indian wares, and all that pertained to the building of the fortress and the payment of wages for the work. Another man, called Henrik Hess, was set over the soldiers and military; he was also a worthy man, born of wealthy folk in Elsinore⁵.

The soldiers and gunners in the fortress were divided into three shifts or watches, or companies, and each was separately to keep watch and ward over the fortress for twenty-four hours, that is, a day and a night, according to the usual custom in all Christian countries. The official title of this Henrik was Gubiner or Gubernator, that is to say army-chief⁶. He had

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

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

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

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

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

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

one man next to him in rank, his lieutenant, Christoffer Hansen by name¹, and one overseer of the watch, called Claus. Among the three companies of soldiers were three persons of noble birth, who were corporals, one in each company and watch, and each of them was the first man in the first rank when the soldiers were drawn up. There was also a turnkey, the man who locks up and releases those who are confined in prison and have committed some offence. And when all this was laid down, according to old royal and military custom, and as soon as each had learnt to conduct himself fittingly in his office, the mariners started on their return voyage with the two vessels the *Christianshavn* [Copenhagen] and the *David*². How they fared on their voyage home I do not recall clearly enough to relate it, but I fancy that it was without mischance³. A certain young boy-child was reared from its mother's womb by two men in one of the vessels, his mother having passed away shortly after his birth. And in the spring, when they were recently returned home, one Sunday, in a large gathering of people on the shore at Copenhagen, I saw this lad, who was then four years old, comely, and well clad in silken clothes with a silver belt round him, and ostrich plumes round his hat. By this tending and fostering the two men gained much praise and an honourable reputation. And because such a thing was regarded (as was fitting) as a glorious miracle wrought by the Highest and most merciful God, and this lad was both fatherless and motherless, much money was given to him in the town that day, as often happened, and when the two came walking, leading the boy between them, high esteem and honour were shown them, and they were lovingly accosted by worthy and notable persons, who gave them wine and ale⁴.

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

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

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

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

Now we must return to our story and take it up when these two vessels first arrived in Norway at the place called Flekkerø¹. At once a fisherman came rowing out to the vessel. They received him well and were very curious to learn what was happening in Copenhagen. The captain, Christoffer Boye², questions him closely in the cabin, and he answers fully, according to what he has heard. And amongst other things he says that a captain's wife had fallen into sin and was living in adultery with a man called Jens. The other asks him the name of the woman and of her husband. He gives full details, and so heedless is the fellow, that he never asks the captain's name. But it was the captain's own wife who had thus misconducted herself (and he had thought she could never have been persuaded to it). He was so violently moved that he would have run this foolish fellow through with his rapier, if those who stood by had not hindered him. Thereafter he withdrew to his bed in sore grief and took but little nourishment until he got to Copenhagen: by then she had gone to Jutland to her parents. Her seducer, who had first enticed her into drinking and then into the said sin, and had squandered all the captain's substance, goods and clothes, had also fled away and was gone abroad, but letters were despatched in all directions by His gracious Majesty for his apprehension. This Christoffer Boye was given leave by royal grace to marry any female that he might desire, whether of noble or non-noble birth, for he was a man of parts beyond others in everything. And when he next made a journey to the East Indies, the King promised, if God granted him the good fortune of a safe return, that he would make him a nobleman;

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

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

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

Now I will amplify this account no more, but return to where I started, when my name was entered on the register of those persons who were engaged for India, and to each of us was handed two months' wage before we started. But one day before I went on board I removed my revered and beloved landlady, Christine Svale, to the house of her brother-in-law, Captain Stephanus, and of Mistress Ermegaard¹, her dear sister, whence three weeks later she was called away by God's grace to eternal life, whereof I am confident in Christ, for this female was in my opinion singularly wise and God-fearing, and I commended her to God and she me. And so I quitted her house on friendly terms and with a fond farewell.

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

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

NOW the time was drawing near when we were to start on the voyage to the East Indies. Three days beforehand we were summoned with trumpets and the beating of drums to the Company's premises, where our gracious Lord the King with many noble persons, also the Burgomaster and the most important citizens, were awaiting us; and the names of all were read out by our muster-clerk, and then the regulations of His Majesty, and thirdly the purport of our oath of obedience was recited to us in a loud voice: after which, with three fingers raised aloft¹, we swore our oath of obedience to our King and the East India Company, each of us in a loud voice. When all this was done, the King thanked us both on his own and on the Company's behalf, admonishing us all to godly living, true obedience and honest conduct and manly bearing in strange places, to the praise and glory of God Himself and to the honour and lasting renown of the Danish realm and its illustrious Government and people, and to the eternal honour, credit and reputation of each one of ourselves, so that we might not give cause either to Christians or heathens to blaspheme or mock God's name, or to be ill-spoken of by them. After this, having ended his sermon and fatherly admonition, the King, baring his head, gave us his blessing by sea and by land, at home and abroad; and to his loving words and good wishes, all said Amen. And after that each of us was given leave of absence that we might prepare for our journey; and before we went, each of us bade farewell to his acquaintances, and all bade us farewell with wishes for our good fortune and safe return by the help and ever-present assistance

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

of God's grace. And before we entered the boat which lay moored to the Town Quay, we drank our foy¹ or toasts for a prosperous journey, wishing to all among us, those in and under authority, on board ship and off it, to those left behind as well as those departing, good fortune and blessing from God, both for body and soul, that we might meet again in joy, according to God's good will. Thereupon in the name of Jesus, we stepped down from the quay into our boat, many of us weeping, but some with dancing steps, singing and laughing.

And as we were rowing out of the harbour, it happened that two men were coming towards us in a smack laden with timber. We repeatedly bade them turn aside or lay to, but they paid no heed, rather with big words and insolent behaviour rowed towards us as hard as they could. But when our boat and their smack met and shot past each other at full speed, what with their anchor hanging overboard and my being seated aft on the gunwale, as is usual, next to the chief boatswain, and paying no heed, for we were having a quiet talk, the anchor caught me behind in my breeches, which it penetrated, and wrenched me from where I sat. In all haste I freed myself and leapt on to the smack's deck and gave one of the men two boxes on the ear, and then jumped back into our boat, which was by then under their gunwale, and all those present thought they had never seen anything done so smartly. But if the breeches had given way and I had fallen into the sea, they said it would have been the end of me, for which none would have had such heavy guilt as those two of the smack's crew, who had been so mightily spiteful and unpleasant. But our chief boatswain, who was called Jost², declared that it was certain I should find myself in some peril before our journey was ended; but that nevertheless God had showed me a sign of which I must not be forgetful, and had clearly indicated that I should escape from that peril, though

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

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

not scot-free¹. This boatswain was of a mature and equable disposition, a man of great wisdom. He was from Holland and was married to a worthy wife, who was sitting opposite to me when this occurred.

And in the morning of the next day we weighed our anchors and vailed our topsail² in Jesus' name. Then bell and trumpet called us to mattins and prayer, which is called *Corum*³. And so we sailed from St Anne's Quay⁴, which is a mile from Copenhagen, and in a north-westerly direction along to the Sound. But when we came to Skodshoved, as it is called, a sea-mile from the town, there sprang up a violent north-west storm. We were loath to turn back, and for the most part of the day we tried beating against it, for ours was one of the best ships for sailing that could be.

The captain was Christoffer Boye, whom I have mentioned before⁵. The ship's master was Peter Andersen⁶, my master-gunner Niels Dreyer⁷, and the gunners were these: Anders Ólafsen, Bernt Andersen, who became my companion and faithful comrade on the voyage: also Niels Friis, Niels Skoster⁸, Peter Alkmaar, Peter Koning. I do not remember the names of the others⁹. The purser or steward

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

² As a mark of respect.

³ See vol. I, p. 212.

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

⁵ See above, note 2 on p. 28.

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

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

⁸ See vol. I, p. 148.

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

was a worthy man of the name of Peter Frandsen; his mate was Anders Nielsen. The cook was called Anders Hansen; his mate Christian Hansen. The first mate's name was Claus. It is he who has command over all the fore-castle and sees that no one hangs any washing over the ship's gunwale, and has authority to cut it off if this rule is broken. Our chief surgeon was called Master Henrik, born in Holstein, an excellent and worthy man, my especially good friend, and his assistant was Master Hans Sunderborg. The chief gunner's mate was called Hermann Rygaardsen, a most faithful and beloved friend of mine, who had been here in Iceland as superintendent of merchandise during the winter. There were these three merchants: Simon Johansen, Peter Stot and Daniel Lammers, which last was younger than the others, and in his thirteenth year had sailed through the Straits of Magellan and all round the world¹. There were also three assistants, the worthy Niels Gertzen, a man well on in years, and his stepson Anders Michelsen, and Niels Jensen. These were all worthy men. The sailmaker was Jan Jansen. Our kindly minister was called Master Christian, a worthy and admirable young man, always especially kind and indulgent to me. And now that I have named all the officers of the ship (except that I have forgotten the Provost, whose name was Niels Lauritzson², the family names and sometimes Jón does the same. It must be remembered that Jón wrote his book in his old age and it is not improbable that his memory played him false about certain names; also the list states that it only consists of those members of the crew who had had two months' pay. It is therefore by no means certain that it includes all the crew, though it seems probable that it does, as it tallies with what Jón himself says when he specially mentions these payments."

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

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

[Adrianssen], Jacob, boatswain.

Albert, first mate (boatswain).

Alkmaar, Peter, gunner.

Andersen, Bernt [of Engelholm], gunner.

- Andersen, Franz [Clausen, Franz], smith.

Andersen, Peter, ship's master.

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

Bergen, Peter van, gunner.

[Bertelmeus (Bartholameus), Henrich] Henrik of Holstein, chief surgeon.

[Dirichsen], Claus, first mate (boatswain).

Dreyer, Niels [Ólsen, Niels], constable (master-gunner).

Frandsen, Peter, purser.

Friis, Niels [Fris, Niels Petersen], gunner.

From, Claus [Fromme, Claus], carpenter.

Gertzen, Niels [Gerdtzen, Niels], assistant merchant.

Hansen, Anders [Søffrensen, Anders], cook.

Hansen, Christian, cook's mate.

Hansen, Ivar [Iffuer], seaman.

Hermansen, Jóst, chief boatswain.

Jansen, Peter [Jensen, Peter, of Copenhagen], seaman.

[Jensen of Skelskør], Master Christian, minister.

Jensen [Jansen], Jan [of Alkmar], sailmaker.

Jensen, Niels, merchant.

[Jensen], Thomas, seaman.

Johansen, Simon, chief merchant.

Jørgen, trumpeter.

Jøris, boatswain.

Koning, Peter, gunner.

[Knudsen], Big Anders, carpenter.

Lammers, Daniel, merchant.

Lauritzson, Niels [Börgesen, Gunder], provost.

Michael, seaman.

Michelsen, Anders, merchant.

[Monting], Franz, cabin-steward.

Mortensen, Peter, steward.

Nielsen, Anders, purser's mate.

Nielsen, Søren, assistant master.

[Nielsen], Thord, carpenter.

Olafsen, Anders, gunner.

Ólafsson, Jón, gunner's mate (the author).

[Pedersen, Lauritz, steward.]

Rod [Roude], Jacob, quartermaster.

Rygaardsen [Søderward], Hermann, constable's mate.

Skoster, Niels, gunner.

Stot, Peter [Henrichsen, Peitter], merchant.

Sunderborg [Naunesen], Hans, assistant surgeon.

¹ See ch. III, note 3 on p. 20.

We had one man on board who did not belong to our company, and the crew thought little good would come of him. This man was Adolph Frederik Grabow¹. Because he was of the [Danish] East India Company he had declared that he wished to show us honour by accompanying us on our way as far as Kronborg on the Sound. Now, the next morning the weather gradually moderated. When we set ourselves to weighing our anchors the cable of one of them gave way, for the anchor was stuck fast in the bottom so that we had to leave it there. Immediately thereupon there sprang a favourable wind up from the Sound, south-east, and next night we anchored off Kronborg. And in the morning before we set our sails, Grabow was conveyed to land; but before he stepped down the side all the crew were by his wish summoned on deck. And when we were standing there with all the officers, Grabow began his speech by saying that he wished to admonish all to act bravely and well, so that each might gain prosperity and a good reputation. But amongst other things, he said that he had forgotten one matter, namely that there was on board one of the King's gunners, by name Jón Ólafsson, who had once been dear to him, but it had come about that they had been at loggerheads together for a while. But that as we were now to part, it would please him best if we might do so at peace with one another, so that wherever we might meet again, here or in the next life, it might be as friends. Whereupon he pledged me in a silver jug containing a full quart of Rostock ale², and we shook hands upon it, and he gave me an intimate fatherly admonition with his good wishes, and similarly he wished the ship and its crew all prosperity in the name of God. This was the manner of our parting and I have not seen him since.

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

² See vol. 1, p. 108, n. 1, p. 142, n. 2.

CHAPTER VI

AS soon as our ship's boat returned from shore, the anchors were hoisted and the sails spread, and so in the name of Jesus Christ we sailed on a north-westerly course out of the Sound and along the coast of Skåne and Halland¹. The second night after this, our first mate Peter died². We thought his death had been wrought by magical arts and spells³, and he was thrown overboard into the sea. And so we held on our course till we came to Norway, and because for five days the wind blew from the south-west, dead against us, we tarried at Flekkerø⁴ and made such things as we lacked, casting small shot of many kinds, and various other matters that were needed. Within this harbour were lying eighty-two ships, come from far and near, which had run in during the storm, as is their wont in case of need. On the sixth day the wind veered during the night to the south-east, so every vessel began hoisting her anchor, and that being accomplished, shook out her sails, and all held on a westward course to England, Spain, France, Holland, Hamburg and Germany. Though we were no later in setting to work, all the other ships were quicker in getting out of the harbour, because our anchor was as fast as a rock on the bottom. We thought it a gloomy outlook for us, seeing that on the first or second day out we had lost one of our best anchors, and it looked as if our trials would grow greater and greater. Such foolish thoughts often arise through the weakness and dim-sightedness of the flesh, which can but seldom conduct itself as it ought in affliction or prosperity. But just as we were making up our minds that our anchor must be left behind, and many of us were distressed and in tears thereat, it suddenly jerked itself free of the bottom. Then it proved, as often, that laughter and tears

¹ See vol. 1, p. 124.

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

³ A clear example of the superstition of the period.

⁴ See vol. 1, p. 55, n. 2.

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

The second day we sighted the southern part of England, south of London. And the next morning we sailed into the Straits, as they are called, that is the sea which lies between France and England¹. And when we were off Dover in England, we saw land on both sides and two cities, *viz.*, Dover in England and Calais in France. And because we were lacking a first mate in the stead of him who died², although we had two others, Jacob and Master Jøris³, we yet had to find a third, for fear of sickness and misfortunes. So when we had got further to the south-west, to a place called Newport in the Isle of Wight, we sailed in⁴ for this sole purpose just mentioned, but were not successful, for mates were not to be had at that time of the year. We lay off [the Isle of] Wight the night of All Saints, together with three Biscayan⁵ ships and many others. The Biscayans, who lay close to us, had the custom on All Saints' Eve of hoisting lanterns on all mast-tops, and aft in the quarterdeck, also on the point of the bowsprit⁶,

¹ The English Channel: La Manche.

² See p. 36, and n. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

The next following day we held away thence and to Plemen. Just opposite to where we lay was the town Hanton¹, the same as was described before². A large and well-equipped pirate ship was lying there³, but the side we lay on was called Drake's houses. Those are the halls⁴ built at the direction of Captain Drake who lived in England at the time of Elizabeth, a maiden queen of England in past times, in the year 1590. She was the maternal aunt of King James⁵.

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

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

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

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

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

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

blockhouse with cannon and defences¹, and all who sailed in there had to vail their topsail; else it was ordained that they should be fired at on the sea from the blockhouse [while still] on the sea. Drake's halls were roofed with copper and lead, and we were told by the natives that he lies there sunk in the haven in three coffins, first a wooden one, outside that a leaden coffin, and outermost of all an iron coffin, and that he lies there thus undisturbed and moored by three anchors²; and also that this William [*sic*] Drake was a great sea-captain and one of the most venturesome, who had sailed round the world in a tiny ship which could be screwed asunder into four parts, so that each quarter of it should be easier to handle if it had to be carried overland or if it came into a tight place³. And with this scrap of a vessel he sailed through Veigat and so came here to Ísafjörð Deep from the north, and had lain for a long while off Arnarnes⁴, and the Icelanders called his vessel Drake's Dogger⁵. Also that he once gained a great prize to the south-west of Ireland, in the time of the maiden queen Elizabeth, he with five ships against sixty great Spanish vessels⁶. And when at last he should leave this world, he had

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Close to these Drake's houses and in the town by the shore our officers landed to seek out a mate, and in a tavern they found one who had already travelled to India. His name was Albert and pirates had enticed him to sail with them as mate, he thinking at the time that they were men of peace. But afterwards he became aware of their evil tricks, namely that they were pirates, and he was therefore fain to be quit of them by joining us, if we could at once deliver him from the pirates, who were at this time lying a little to the south of us among other ships, on a small but fine and fast vessel, the yacht of the large ship¹ which lay outside to the south-west of Hanton. Late in the evening, when it was dusk, we manned our boat with picked men, as they had planned with this man on shore. We had three small bronze guns called falcons² in the fore part of the boat. But as soon as we approached them they all raised a loud shout and refused to give him up that evening, and they held their lighted matches ready glimmering on either side, and made as if they were prepared for worse work unless we turned back, but said that we might fetch him without hindrance next morning, if they did not bring him themselves. We had to turn back again at all costs, but in the morning they brought him to us, and were ill-content with the turn affairs had taken, and said they would have been slower in letting him go if their admiral had been nearer. But as things were, they had to swallow the bitter pill in silence. These men were little better to look upon than if they had hung for a while on gallows, and in countenance they resembled the most loathly wild beasts³.

The next morning we made ourselves ready for the start,

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

² See vol. I, p. 151, n. 2.

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

and before dawn we were under sail in the moonlight. Owing to a wind on the beam as we were steering out of the harbour, we came into danger off the said blockhouse¹, for we shot past it so close that we could not tell whether we should escape with our lives. But the merciful God guided us so prosperously past the rock that there was no damage nor scraping, though we ran so close to this rock where the blockhouse stood that the starboard side of our ship all but grazed it. And as soon as we had passed it, we were at once come into the Spanish Main², which washes all the western part of England, and the surf from the huge ocean waves which come up from the wide Atlantic and out of the Spanish Main reaches right up to the forest which lies out beyond Hanton facing the sea³.

¹ See note 1 on p. 39.

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

³ Perhaps the wooded slopes of Mount Edgecumbe are meant.

CHAPTER VII

AFTER midday the wind veered to the north-east, which was the most favourable wind we could have. When we came off Barlis in Spain¹, all the crew were summoned on deck by the ringing of bells and afterwards with the blowing of trumpets. The regulations were read out and the crew exhorted to godly ways and good behaviour, also to obedience and honourable conduct before God and man. Thereupon the distance hence to India was declared, and it was 3500 sea-miles as the crow flies, not reckoning all deviations in our course, which add greatly to the distance². All the ship's crew were divided into three companies or watches, with an equal number of men in each, and three lists or registers of the crew were posted on deck in front of the cabin door so that they were on either side of those going to the helm. The first company was called the King's watch, the second the Prince's watch, the third, Duke Ulrik's watch³. To these fell all work in turn on board and off it: namely, rowing of boats, ship's watch which was in three shifts; sweeping and washing of the vessel every single morning before the beginning of mattins, by the shift to which the day or morning watch is allotted. In each watch all the work [of sweeping and washing] was done in turns, so that to each falls the same toil—standing over the gunwale drawing up water, whatever the weather, when it is possible, while others receive it and pour it into buckets and carry it to and fro on the ship, and down below, brushing up all dirt with hard brooms and mopping it with hempen swabs. Also there was the going below, turning over the sails, and shaking the powder so that it did not run into lumps, attending to the pump, and all else that is needed.

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

² The calculation is roughly correct.

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

Over each of these watches there was set a quartermaster, who also had the management of the boat and gave orders and admonitions about everything which came up in the watch, whether-work or anything else to attend to. At every change of watch he had to shout to summon his men¹. I was in Duke Ulrik's watch and my quartermaster was Jacob Róð², a worthy man who became my good friend. He was born in Stralsund, but was reared there only till he was nine years old, and after that in Holland, and he had therefore entirely Dutch ways, both in religious matters and in everything else.

We only had one trumpeter, by name Jørgen. The number of all the persons on board was eighty-eight, counting young and old, officers and ordinary seamen, of which fifty-eight had duty at the helm, so that nineteen were in each watch³. Two young men, one called Thomas and the other Michael, were appointed to tend the lamp at nights: it burnt in the binnacle between the ship's compasses.

One man called Franz⁴, born in Denmark but brought up in Holland, very young, not quite twenty-two years of age, sat in confinement from the time we were off the Isle of Wight until now [off Barlis], on account of a misdeed, namely, that against ship's law and His Majesty's regulations, he had committed the grave fault of drawing his knife in a rage against another man in the boat, and also afterwards on board. Now, by the King's regulations it is laid down that if any person acts thus on such a voyage, the Provost shall pin his right hand against the mainmast with the same knife. So it was to be with the said fellow, and he had already been conducted to the mainmast by the Provost, but because this was the first offence to call for punishment on that voyage, and because all the crew made a general plea in his behalf, it was

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

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

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

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

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

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

And beyond all this, the Provost had pledged himself, by an oath taken on the Book, to strict supervision, attention, faithful enforcement of duty, and impartial vigilance without consideration of persons, both in what he saw and heard, and in what concerned men's words and deeds, wherever he might be, save only in the cabin. But all the officers, who had their places in the cabin, were called "The Broad Council¹," and in this Council the Provost has a place, together with the others, the captain, merchants, master, undermaster, mates, trumpeters, boatswain and the chief assistant, together with the minister. These were all present every time that justice was to be done, and were all to uphold the laws and regulations by their decorous demeanour.

Out of each watch certain men were appointed to take in the topsail, and they were called topsail-hands or topsail-climbers. None was free of the duty of holding watch save the minister, the merchants (unless in case of need), and the senior assistant Niels Gertzen. Our minister was Christian, an excellent young man, always very well disposed to me. Four carpenters started with us, but one of them died in Africa, on the outward voyage. His name was Thord. The chief of them was called Claus From².

And when all was settled in such wise as has now been described, there were written orders setting out the rations of bread, butter, meat, dried and salted fish, French and Spanish wine, also Rhenish, French and Spanish brandy. To each man was apportioned: Firstly, on meat days, *viz.*, Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, two pounds³ of raw meat, intended for two meals; further, on fish days, *viz.*, Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, to each man was assigned for

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

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

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

his midday and evening meals two pounds of Kildin klipfish¹, which is beaten, soaked and boiled. For each mess or for every seven men, for a whole week, one pound of butter for dipping² was given out, also one quart measure of groats on fish days and an equal measure of peas or beans on meat days. Also butter and bread was weighed out every Saturday, and to each man was given $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of bread and one pound of butter. Also a bare half-pint (which they call a mutchkin)³ of wine, one for dinner and one for supper was doled out to each man after he had partaken of his meal. At first (until it turned sour) this was French wine, and then Spanish wine. This ration or portion each man had to drink at once by the buttery door (that is, the purser's room) and not carry away. But of ale, while it lasted, which was three months, each man was given a can containing three pints, which was called a *flapcan*⁴, for the day and night, or twenty-four hours. But as soon as we came south of Barbary⁵ and all the way further south, the ale is no longer fit to drink or to keep on account of its sourness, and for that reason water is given for the remainder of the voyage, however long it lasts; and any person on ship-board committing the crime of stealing half a flapcan of water from another has brought hanging upon himself, if proved guilty. The water is as hot as if it were taken from the fire, and moreover it spoils greatly in vessels and pipes, so that these have to be encircled with iron bands, else they do not avail for that voyage, except they are thus preserved and strongly secured in other ways⁶.

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ By Barbary, North Africa is meant.

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

cloves, nutmeg, caraway seeds, ginger powdered and whole, also brandy and various other matters. Also one linen cloth for every two persons, which is used to catch the rain that falls when great thunderstorms disturb the air with lightnings and thunderclaps. It is fastened at each corner and is hung up to catch the pelting rain: one small leaden ball is placed in the middle, and under it is set a jug until it is filled. This water men drink in their great need and overpowering thirst, whereof come various diseases, so unwholesome is that water at times¹.

One of the manifold things forbidden to all in His Majesty's regulations is the laying of oneself down to sleep in woollen clothes which have been made wet with rain, for it often happens that men who have tried sleeping in wet clothes have got pink worms into their flesh. These the surgeon pulls out with twine, but if one chances to break, it will be the death of him to whom the mishap occurs².

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

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

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

CHAPTER VIII

AND when all this had been fittingly announced and everything else that pertained to it, the bell was rung for dinner, and to each mess was given a wooden vessel containing nine pints of Spanish wine in addition to our ration. After that, the mates started every midday to take and reckon the height of the sun, which they began off Barlis in Spain, as was said before¹. We kept the north-east wind from England, which was very favourable, and at first steered very much to the west from thence, to the north of Ireland², and so across the Spanish Main, along the coast of Barbary³, which I should fancy to be 600 sea-miles.

One day during this fortnight of our voyage through the Spanish Sea, close to the Straits, which they used to call Njörfasund⁴, we met a vessel armed like a warship, and they said they were on their way to Amsterdam from Brazil and declared that they were men of peace. They had four trumpeters on board, who blew their trumpets exceedingly well. We made ourselves known and fired three guns: two of these were in my charge; they were somewhat forward on the starboard side. Now there was a swell from the Atlantic Ocean and a choppy sea from the north-east, so that it was no easy task to load the guns from over the side, and few were willing to try; but in order that the strangers might not attribute timidity to us, the master-gunner bade me load my guns from outside (for that side of the ship was turned to-

¹ See p. 42.

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

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

⁴ Straits of Gibraltar.

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

In these fourteen days nothing of importance happened, except that one Sunday morning our vessel ran up into the wind unexpectedly on account of the inexperience of the man at the helm. His name was Franz Andersen and he was a smith by trade¹, for there were certain men on board entirely unused to sea voyages, who had had their names entered for the journey while yet employed in various handicrafts. The wind being strong and buffeting, we might well have been capsized or have lost our mast or sail; and as it was, it was very perilous to go along the deck owing to broken ropes, which whipped round the heads of all who ventured there, though only a few received much harm from them—except for one, Thomas², who tended the lamp next the compass at nights, and who lay unconscious for a while. Now this worthy man Franz was so terrified that he lost his head and bore himself in unmanly fashion. However, by God's grace the ship was laid on her course again with the wind behind, and the sails set rightly. And because Franz was new to seaman'ship and only a prentice hand at it, this misdeed was

¹ Franz Clausen (or Andersen). See the list on p. 33.

² Thomas Jensen in Simon Johansen's list. See note 4 on p. 43.

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

Now when our ship had run for full fourteen days from England, the mates told us that we were off the coast of Barbary, and men thought that a perilous place to be come to, for the Turks may be expected on either hand, both in ships and galleys, in which they are rampant and strive to capture folk. These are sent out continually by the petty kings who have overlordship in many parts of Barbary and are there called *Baska*¹, and not least by the dukes and petty kings who rule over the islands within the Straits², against whom the Duke of Malta is perpetually striving, an admirable and wealthy lord to whom tithes are paid by all Christendom³. But because the Lord was our continual shield we met with no danger, neither at their hands nor from other enemies of God, and the mates now planned to sail between the outermost point of Barbary and the African or Flemish islands, which are also called Azores⁴. These are situated nearly 200 sea-miles west of Lisbon in Spain and are counted as part of Africa, though they lie nearer Europe and belong to the King of Spain⁵. The more important of these islands are seven in number, namely Tercora, St Michael, St Maria, Gregoria, St Georgi, Faial and Pisco⁶. If we had sailed round the north of them, it would have increased the distance nearly 100 sea-

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

² "Within the Straits," i.e. in the Mediterranean.

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

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

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

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

miles, and therefore we thought to shorten the voyage by sailing between Barbary and these Flemish islands. But since, as I mentioned before, we had many men on board who had never been to sea nor stood at the helm, the mates had much trouble before such men could be trained and gain understanding; for it is no easy task to stand at the helm and hold a straight course when the wind is dead behind, especially in a high or choppy sea. And now, through the said cause, it so chanced, as often, that we were near falling into great misfortune and the peril of death, but that God aided us with His grace and His outstretched helping hand. When we thought to be sailing on the said course between Barbary and the islands, through bad steering we had come too much to the port side, near the continent Barbary¹, so that the night following Saturday, when the first watch had been relieved and the next watch had come, and I had just fallen asleep, there was a stamping on deck and shouting of "Land! Land!" and "Up, up, every man!" Now he who stood at the helm, a man called Peter Jansen, ran away, saying he must secure his money, and abandoned the helm, but one called Peter van Bergen², who was lying aft opposite me, by the helmsman's platform, as it is called, rushed breathless up to the tiller, so that he caught hold of it just before me.

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

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

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

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

In the morning, when it had become light, we could see the land, which was fair to look upon, as smooth as the shell of an egg, with fair villages and sands white and yellow, and people gathered together in great numbers, for in the night they must certainly have heard our alarums and shoutings, and therefore gathered together in such numbers armed, and in war array. But the man who abandoned the tiller was that night placed in confinement, and our captain wished to hang him, but could not manage it (for he was a Dutchman and a countryman of the merchants)¹; but he got some strokes at the mainmast from the Provost. They call every four strokes a month's pay, which is an old gibe and mariners' custom². After this a sermon was preached before midday on this holy twenty-second Sunday after Trinity³, and we were tenderly exhorted by the chaplain to thank God humbly and heartily for His work of mercy and fatherly benevolence, and to bear it long and clearly in mind, and also to conduct ourselves righteously according to God's will and commandments, and be always heedful not to anger our God or rouse Him to wrath, so that He should not hand us over to less tender hands.

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

¹ See above, note 2 on p. 51.

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

³ 17 November 1622.

away from Barbary, between it and the said islands, and land was out of sight before dusk fell¹. And so we sailed night and day with a highly favouring wind, straight on the shortest course, and kept the same wind, which they call *tapass* or *masson*². In the African sea there is a certain reef which lies athwart the course, and it is a long way round it. This reef they call *Ambroul*³, and many a ship has been lost on those sands in the past. Seamen who steer that course have to sail a long way to the west, out of the direct course, and as long as they are not past it the chaplains use a very beautiful prayer, which is read morning and evening when *Corum*⁴ is held.

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

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

³ Jón's "Ambroul" represents Port. *abrolhos*, rocks, breakers. On this passage Mr Edward Heawood has kindly supplied me with the following note: "I have studied the charts of the N. Atlantic without arriving at any satisfactory explanation of Jón's remarks as to the reef in the 'African sea.' The only solution that occurs to me is that he is speaking of the Salvages, his intention being to contrast the course sailed by his ship with one much nearer the African coast and more dangerous. This seems supported by a rather striking parallel statement in Findlay's *Directory for the North Atlantic* (15th ed. 1895, p. 776) which runs: 'A sailing vessel bound from Funchal to Tenerife should keep well to the westward, steering about S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. in order to avoid the Salvages and Pitous which are very dangerous in the night.' It goes on to speak of the possible difficulty of weathering those islets by the swell set up by westerly and south-westerly winds, which may set the ship much to leeward, and this might make the early sailors exaggerate the E. to W. extension of the reefs and shoals."

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

To the west of the Flemish islands are two islands called Covo and Floris, on which are four towns¹; these also belong to the Spanish King. The Canary Islands lie somewhat to the north-west of Caput de Bajador [Bojador] in Africa: there are seven of them. In these islands there is much sugar, wine and other wares, and there are four towns there. They are inhabited by Spaniards and Portuguese and are under their rule². The Capoverde Islands lie somewhat west of Capoverde in Africa, and there are ten of them³. The island of St Thomas lies just below the line. On it is much sugar and a large town which is called Pavoasa⁴. South of the line is an island called Anabon, and the island St Helena which the Portuguese first discovered and settled⁵, and with God's help I will speak more of it in the proper place, which is on my return voyage from India⁶.

On this course in this great ocean we observed four kinds of fish⁷, which they call alcorem, duradd, bonet, and the flying-fish. The alcorem is caught with a seven-barbed spear, which is put on a harpoon-rod. The fisherman must sit out on the spritsail yard, which is attached to the bowsprit, and when the fish comes up to the surface, he harpoons it in the back with this spear. There was a man on our ship named

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ For Jón's later remarks on St Helena see ch. xxviii.

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

Anders, a very strong man, called Big Anders¹, and he harpooned all the nine which were caught on our voyage. It happened once that he harpooned one of them, the weather being fine but very windy, and none of us knew anything about it until he climbed up on the starboard side of the vessel, drenched from head to foot, so that we were mightily startled. The spritsail yard that he had been sitting on lay broken in two pieces, but the tackle held it fast so that it did not float away. The fish had been so stubborn and Anders so strong, that in their encounter the yard had snapped clean into two parts, so that Anders fell into the sea and the fish escaped with line and spear. But although the vessel was running under full canvas, God granted that when Anders drifted again against the side, he caught hold of the slack of the anchor-stock gear, which hung so far overboard that it nearly reached the water-line, and we had him back as it were from the very jaws of death; and it seemed to all a great mercy of the Lord, as indeed it was to be regarded, and it was a witness to itself that it should not be forgotten; and so it was immediately set down in our Journal, like all else that happened each day during our whole voyage there and back. After that the carpenters made another spritsail yard, stronger and better fashioned. This Anders also harpooned on that voyage nine dolphins and seven porbeagles². The dolphins were all grandly cooked with a sauce, sometimes made with honey, sometimes with prunes. The porbeagles were also cooked, boiled in sharp salt and eaten with vinegar. I and many others could not fancy their taste, save the first time. When fair weather obtains on the voyage, men suspend themselves overboard by tackle while they are first learning to swim, while one man forward and one aft must keep diligent watch over those who are in the water, for the sea is full of these pests, namely sharks, which eagerly seek after human flesh, and it has often happened in the past that they have been the

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

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

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

The other kind of fish is the durado, which is about the size of a large salmon, though some are smaller, appetizing and very good to eat¹. It is caught with a hook to which a three-cornered piece of red cloth is attached. The hook is on a line of a certain length, so that it is about half an ell below the surface, and the line is fastened well forward on the sprit-sail yard. In the middle of this line is bound a square cloth, about the size of a kerchief, and extended by wooden pins, and when the wind is behind it blows into this sail, so that the hook is snatched up above the surface, and it looks as if something of a red colour went sprawling along the water. When this fish is near and can see the play of the hook, it thinks it is a red living fish, and leaps after it with jaws open to seize it; and so it is caught. And in the same manner the third fish, the bonet, is caught².

But the catching of the flying-fish is done in this wise. As soon as their fin-wings are dry, they drop at once, whether it be water below them, or a vessel, or whatever it be; and therefore when the weather is fine and settled, men let their boats float behind the ship, attached to long cables, and in the morning, at sunrise, schools of these fish emerge from the ocean, rising at once in great flocks. And as regards their flight, I should say it might be nearly 900 fathoms; and so they fall down into the boats, sometimes four at a time, sometimes eight, sometimes twelve, more or less, as chance will have it; and sometimes they fall on the decks of the vessel itself. They are a foot long and are good eating³.

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

¹ See Mundy, III, p. 342, n. 2.

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

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

they perch on the yard ends and are captured, so that in the morning the boat which lay fastened on deck was often full of them, and we used to choose those for food which we thought the best. The others we used to let go, for they are unprofitable eating owing to their being so lean. All these birds are dark grey, long in the wing and short in the body, and so are all species of birds in those countries. We frequently saw gannets¹, but not on the open ocean, for they never travel out of sight of land, and sailors take it as a sign, when they see the gannet, that they are come within sight of land, wherever they may be. The Dutchmen call this bird Johan de Genti². In those seas the halcyon is also found, of which our captain once shot two. They were easily to be descried half a sea-mile away, for they are of a white hue and half as large again as a swan³. In flight they measure two fathoms from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other. They were thin, but yet good eating.

A certain fish is sometimes seen on this voyage. We saw two at different times. It is called sun-fish, and it has this property, that if it comes to the surface and does not go down again before the sun rises, it is unable to go down again all that day, until the sun has set. It is a large and awesome-looking fish, and so all day it is tossed about in the billows, like a grey-brown monster of the sea. Its body is thicker than a shark⁴.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IX

ONE remarkable occurrence may sometimes be seen on that voyage. They call it *slúkupp*, and this we saw twice not further away than about a sea-mile: and a fearful sight it is. It stands upright as a staff, and the water rises up into the heavens out of the ocean, and falls back again, and when it begins to fail and die away, it ceases first at the top, at the highest point a man can see, and then it disappears as quickly as the eye can follow it; and wise men say that this pull of the sea or sucking upwards is caused by the opening of the sky, and whatever is underneath must needs rise up, even though it were a large vessel. The mates and others who had sailed to India told us that once the half ship was removed thus, the fore part. As soon as we caught sight of it we snatched our hats from our heads and fell to prayer¹.

Another occurrence which sometimes befalls men on this voyage is that the vessel seems to have got into shallows or on a mudbank. This happens mostly of an evening. So it befell with us, as we were dispersing after evensong, and we were sorely startled by it. Our captain knew what it was at once, and also those mates who had sailed to the East Indies, but as a precaution the mates paid out 100 fathoms, which however did not reach the bottom, it being the wide ocean².

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

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

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

We guessed thirty, and some forty, but they told us that we had drifted back eighteen sea-miles. Every noon ten men took note of the course of the sun, namely first the three mates, then the captain, Christoffer Boye, the three merchants, the ship's master, my good friend, the assistant [master] Søren Nielsen, and one of the gunners Anders Ólafsen¹.

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

And when we came to the line, Equinoctialis², which is the geographical dividing line of the earth and is therefore called the Equator, the mates told us that we had crossed it on New Year's Eve [1623]; and as I seem to recall, they reckoned it out from the sun having passed the line³ a full twelve or thirteen weeks. It is said that when the sun is on the line, it is so hot that no man can endure it. About the time we were there, the heat was exceeding great, so that the sea water which was drawn up for our needs was so hot that a man could hardly hold his hand in it, when it was first brought on board, and the water might not stand on such food as was to be soaked to free it of salt, more than four turns of the sand-glass, that is $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours⁴. If it remains longer the food is as black as soot when it is boiled, and has to be cast overboard⁵.

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

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

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

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

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

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

every year, namely in spring and autumn, as its course is towards us or away, then all the winds blow out of the middle of the sky, so that no vessel can escape thence for twelve or thirteen weeks. This has happened in the past, and at the same time men are smitten with strange diseases. But now all avoid the line at these seasons for the reasons I have just named¹. On this voyage there are no east or west winds, but only north and south winds. The north wind blows in the winter, and it is then that men must travel thither from hence, and the south wind sets in in the summer. Each lasts half a year².

In the summer there is not a streak of cloud to be seen in the sky all through the Indies (and the reason of the great heats is that the sun is never veiled), but in the winter the north wind brings immoderate rain, not to be compared with what we have here³, with lightning and thunderstorms, thunderclaps and earthquakes, and this lasts until Easter⁴.

When men have come south of the line, and have sailed until all the constellations have passed over their heads, it seems to them as if these were all going the wrong way, namely, sun, moon and stars. The new moon looks like the last phase of our moon here, and at first men are very much amazed at these things⁵. The clouds in the sky frequently

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

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

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

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

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

appear in various shapes, which is due to the strong influence of the sun, and their drying up thereby. The heat of the sun is so exceedingly great that when a man is standing forward on the ship and wishes to come aft, he must make himself ready and then run his swiftest, for the decks are as hot as if they were burning or as if he had trodden into a flame, and all the pitch comes off the vessel and off all its gear, so that the vessel looks glistening white¹. But the kind of worm which burrows into some of the timber which drifts here to Iceland, bores into most of the vessels going to the Indies, so that under their fir skin they must have a lead skin².

When we were come three degrees south of the line, we saw a ship proceeding towards us, as if away from the land, and we thought it would prove hostile. But when we saw their mast-head sign, which they call a flag, we recognized at once who these men were, for some eleven or twelve weeks before we started, a ship called *Flensborg* had been despatched by our King to India to the country called Moritzen³, for black wood⁴, which is as heavy as lead, and is measured by weight, and with which they adorn chests, wainscoting, the rounded the Cape of Good Hope going to India and he faced the sun at midday, it was *nothing* not *southing*; there the sun and stars came up from the horizon on his right hand, and in the afternoon sloped down to the horizon on his left hand where they set. The 'new' moon was like a bow on his left hand, just as when he was in Iceland, the 'old' moon was like the same bow on his left hand. Yet he knew that the 'old' moon was rising and the 'new' moon was setting. What other conclusion could he come to—not knowing that he had turned himself round—but explain it to the people who asked him by saying that sun, moon and stars 'were all going the wrong way.'"

¹ Jón is thinking of barefooted sailors.

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

³ The island Mauritius. (B.)

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

butts of muskets and other things suited therefor. They were themselves to cut down this wood, which grows in forests. There was a joyful meeting between us, and our course lay alongside for a long while, which was a great pleasure for us. When we next sighted land it was Africa, forty-eight miles from the Caput de Bona Sperantia, at the place called Bay van Sardinien¹, and it was then a full eighteen weeks, and two days over, that we had not seen land, from the time we lost sight of Barbary. This was a Tuesday. The man who first sighted land received a half *flapcan*² of wine, and we all rejoiced greatly. One man on the other vessel [the *Flensborg*], a Dutchman (as were all the others), had once before landed at this place on his Indian voyage.

Where we sailed in, it was like a broad fjord, and the coast very fair on either side, prettily grown with forest. Out in the mouth of the bay was a large island, on which were many seals, walking like men,³ and we thought they were persons. When we sailed in past it, this island lay on our port side, very lovely to look upon, and on it were multitudes of birds of many species, especially peacocks, which measure two fathoms when their wings are extended, and are of an exceedingly beautiful colour. Also halcyons, which are of a white colour⁴. And thirdly, what they call *Krobgans*, as large as halcyons, but of a grey colour⁵, which we also ate. Fourthly a lesser fowl which they call *pihvin* or *pichvin*; it has the properties both of a seal and of a bird; a seal's skin and a bird's form. Its wing feathers adhere together like the webs of a bird's feet, and it is as large as an eider-duck: its eggs are like eider-ducks' eggs. It can fly no further than across broad

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

² See note 4 on p. 46.

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

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

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

dykes¹, and when it is lying on its eggs it will not fly out of its nest, but bites the hand and fingers of any who tries to take the eggs, so that one man must always keep the bird away, while another takes the eggs. It happened once to me that our chaplain and I went ashore together, as often, and were to take eggs, and he was to hold back the birds with his stick; and while he was so doing the bird got at me notwithstanding and gave me a nasty bite in the fingers of my right hand, for which the chaplain held himself much to blame.

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

CHAPTER X

WHEN we first entered we anchored near this [Penguin] island, and our officers proceeded thither with a few men in the small boat, and also those of the other vessel, the *Flensborg*. But I and my watch began that day to man the large boat, which they call a *skiötte*¹. We had not manned a boat for more than twenty weeks, except once the small one, when our captain shot the two birds². We had on board two nets, of which one was 200 fathoms long, and the other 150 fathoms, and these we took with us and rowed somewhat further into the fjord, more than half a sea-mile, and as we saw no flying-fish stirring, we went ashore to look round. On the beach lay fair empty shells, which can hardly be broken, and are nearly as beautiful as precious stones³: we took some of these and then we went up into a very dense forest which stretched up to the tops of the highest mountains and a long way along the shore. The trees were as soft as if one cut into butter, so that with our swords or cutlasses we could cleave asunder every tree a fathom thick that we tried them upon, in one or two blows⁴. But if one tries to cut some of the wood from this forest after it has been kept for six weeks and allowed to dry, then it is as hard as a bone. We cut down some pumpkins, as they are called in Denmark, but in Spain *simphephei*⁵: it is in shape exactly like a picture of the sun:

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

² Jón forgets that he has not mentioned this incident.

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

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

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

in the middle of it is a large globe, the size of a small human head: in its shining rays and globes, when it is broken, is a fat green oil, which is full of healing almost as soon as it is applied, the best unguent for hurts and wounds. Dr Hans Resen (of blessed memory), formerly archbishop of Sjælland, thought that this was that tree which God caused to grow over the prophet Jonah, with these same properties, which is not unlikely¹. Afterwards we returned to the ship empty-handed and with no profit from the fishing.

Many birds, of the kind I have mentioned before, were then come on to the ship, and were to be prepared for food. These might be caught in the hand on the island, as also the seals, which looked up in our faces and bellowed at us. Men take the smallest and youngest of them for food, and serve them up with prunes and honey². On this island it is hard to find footing where there are skerries³ or grass, owing to the ordure of the birds and seals. On its highest point stands a high post, to which a broad board or plank is nailed, and on this board there are more than a thousand marks or initials⁴. There we too raised another post and nailed a board to it,

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

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

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

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

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

and Claus From, our carpenter¹, carved   on it, and there my signature stands with many others on this board, according to mariners' custom.

By the cliff of this island, close to where we were wont to land, lay a whale of exceeding great size; it was thought to be 400 or 600 ells² in length, with many scab-like excrescences on its head and back, and with a surpassingly loud bellow, so that the earth seemed to tremble at it. It was very terrifying, both by its awful size and its great bellowing voice.

To the side of the island which faces the ocean there is much surf, which tossed about the seals intending to land, sometimes bearing them over the reefs and sometimes back on to them. But when the waves receded and took them with it, this whale devoured a great multitude of them, and some were vomited forth again, so that it was both terrifying and entertaining to watch³. The chaplain and I shot at him in turn many times, but he paid no more heed than if it were dust. Once three of our men flayed a living seal and then set him free in the surf among the others, and there was much barking and commotion among them when they saw him in his red suit⁴.

Two days afterwards both our vessels weighed anchor and sailed further into this broad fjord, as far as an island which lay within⁵: there we lay fourteen days and scoured the hulls of

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

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

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

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

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

our ships, which were very much overgrown with seaweed and crusted with barnacles¹. The vessels were also blacked down and caulked from topmast to water-line²; that is to say tarred and the seams filled up, outside and inside, along decks and wherever else it was necessary. The pretty shells were crushed down into the seams, and adhered in the pitch, and when it was all crushed and hardened, the fragments of shell glistened in the sunshine, as if precious stones had been screwed down and set into the decks³. While this work was adoining, the men of each watch went a long way into the fjord, a good sea-mile, with nets to catch fish. There we lay in a large tent and also made an arbour for ourselves, and there the two sick men lay for nine or ten nights, namely Thord and Anders⁴, and there they had fain died and been buried, but the Lord had appointed them a different hour of death and a different burial-place, for one of them on the land, for the other on the sea. Within there we made good catches of fish, which were despatched in turn to the two ships. The Dutchmen who were on the *Flensborg* had no net, and we gave them a full half share with us. Once we drew in one catch twelve barrels of the most

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

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

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

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

splendid fish, which we could not tell the name of, though they knew the names of many of them, according to the designations given to them by the Spaniards. But I have forgotten these, as much else. The fish they call *carvala* is long and thin, like an eel, but yet flat and not round: it is very good eating. There are some perch among them and also carp. One of them is in shape like a pane in a glass window, very pleasant and appetizing to eat. Another looks at first sight, while it is as yet uncut, like a jelly-fish, very fair to see; and when the skin is taken off it there is a gleaming fish underneath, and when it is split, there wells from its belly excellent ink as good as the best that is made¹. The others are very various in form, beauty and taste. There is also the mackerel, which they also call *mackrael*, very pleasant and excellent to eat.

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

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

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

far afield whale-fishing, and on the island where we had stayed to tar our vessel, we had found three barrels of un-rendered whale-oil left by them. Now at that time we were at enmity with them. How that arose between the Kings I do not remember¹. But we could not divert our course, for the wind was inshore, and we had to hold in whether we would or no. Moreover, we had great need to go there to take in water and get fresh meat for our people, who were much weakened by the long journey. We made ready to fight, if need should arise, and the others promised to stand by us till death. But when we approached the shore, we saw by their mast-head flag that they were Englishmen, whereat we were greatly rejoiced. However, when we sailed up closer to the land, passing between them, neither of us struck sail for them, which displeased them much, and their admiral at once boarded us and was mighty wroth. But our captain was English on his father's side, though Norwegian by his mother², and he spoke good English, and peace was soon established; and accordingly they drank together far into the night. Two of these ships were on the homeward voyage, but one was outward bound³, and I will now speak of the homeward

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

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

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

bound ships, which had great treasure on board, having captured a Spanish vessel laden with pure minted silver, namely pieces of eight¹. The flagship was 700 lasts and the other 500 lasts, and they had fought the Spaniards for two nights and two days, and lost five men. All their pepper and Indian wares they had thrown overboard. Never, they said, had two such wealthy vessels entered the port of London. But the Spanish vessel was so much larger than they that they could not take nor stow away all the money on board of her, so they left what remained, which they could not take, to the Dutchmen, and bade the fellows to set fire to the vessel when they had done².

¹ Reals of eight, Spanish dollars.

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

CHAPTER XI

THE officers of these ships carried themselves in a grand manner, with much display and handsome clothes, and when they went ashore they had a gilded cap¹ borne on a staff over them, according to the Indian practice, to keep off the heat and glare of the sun; and this they call a *chipsol*². There was none so mean on board their vessels, not even their small *pickers* or cabin-boys, who did not fling Spanish dollars into the air and catch them again when they went ashore with their masters, as children here do with sheeps' knuckle-bones.

One day Master Henrik³, our surgeon, and I had ourselves carried over to the larger of their ships⁴ when the officers were on shore. And when I stepped up from our boat (the first of us to board their ship) and was close by the gunwale, a young Moorish⁵ fellow was sweeping their deck, and as soon as he saw me, he blew into his hand, Indian fashion⁶, and at once a serving lad came and asked me who I was. I told him, and also similarly who the surgeon was. He set up loud calls, one to the master-gunner and another to the master-surgeon⁷, so there came one man for Master Henrik and one out of the gunnery for me, and we were entertained by them in the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

handsomest fashion with the best Spanish wine. I gave the master-gunner two ells of good dressed tobacco¹ and half an ell for his mate. These he greatly prized and thanked me for, and presented me with Indian linen, which is called *caton*, and is made of cotton, enough for two shirts. But his mate lay much maimed in his berth, his arm having been broken by a shot. He gave me a little bowl made of mother-of-pearl. At the end of their entertainment, when we had said farewell and expressed our grateful thanks, we took our leave, and they ordered four men to take us back to our ship. These we made as merry as we had the means to do.

One day I and my watch went ashore with our officers and the Englishmen. The sailors were ordered to fill the water-vessels, while twenty-four of us with muskets and matches ready burning were to keep guard over them against the evil folk of the country, who frequently conceal themselves in the bush along the shore at such times as strange seamen and voyagers are about, although there is no settlement near the sea on account of lions and other harmful creatures², which greatly abound there. But these wretches who wander about there are man-eaters: they had killed and devoured seven men off the English vessels on their outward journey, having secured them by cunning wiles, concealing themselves in the scrub and shooting at them thence with their bows³. They are also in quest of iron and copper for their arrow-tips, and often give sailors an ox in exchange for some⁴. But it is so far inland to the settlements, where the decent folk live, that men can hardly get there and back in two days and nights. What these others can secure of the aforementioned goods from strangers visiting the coast, they sell again to those who live up inland. A large cow can be got for the third part of the

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

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

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

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

iron hoop round a two-tun cask¹. They call iron and copper *bras* and our bread they call *vúracka*². Their great desire for iron at that time was due to the continual warfare between two chiefs, of which news was carried to the coast. In other parts this people is called *Capher*³; I had a sight of three of them at this place: they are black, smiling, mild-eyed, with curly hair, it being somewhat similar to the wool of young lambs. Their lower lip drops somewhat, and they have snow-white teeth in their heads. These three danced for us both on shore and on the ship, in return for bread and kerchiefs, and they went wholly naked, only covering the parts where modesty constrains. Their dance was after this fashion—on uttering the word “Hottentott⁴!” they snapped two of their fingers and clicked with their tongue and feet, all in time. These three promised us a cow for our refreshment, and sorely did we need it, for most of our people began to be heavy and stiff in their limbs, although blood-letting and purging were resorted to on the voyage. We left, however, before they returned; but they had already taken half the payment.

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

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

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

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

Now I must return to where we went ashore from the boats, with our officers and the Englishmen, and walked along the shore, where there were beautiful sands of an especially pleasant appearance. The seaweed which is thrown on shore there is of quite another kind to that which is common here. It is mostly in the form of the tube of a trumpet and hollow within: there is another kind in form like an egg, also hollow within, so that it would contain as much as half a tun and some a whole tun¹, and yet as light in the hand as paper: sailors take some of it as anchor-stocks², when need is. And as we were thus engaged in taking a walk along the shore, we saw a band of these evil rascals off the land and away, having set their nets without a boat, by swimming. But we who were unacquainted with the country took them to be a school of seals. While we were considering them and other things that we chanced to see, we forgot about our men, whom we were to hold guard over. And when we came to the place where our officers and the Englishmen and their people had taken up their position, they were lighting a fire, and some of the men were setting themselves to washing linen, and others to

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

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

various sports. But the trumpeters did not cease blowing, and the gentlefolk had taken their seats in this pleasant glade and were starting to drink wine, and all this was nearly two miles from our people and from the boats. And when we were about to return thither, an Englishman came towards us walking somewhat hurriedly and brought us the ill news that all our people that we had left behind at the river had been killed by those evil man-eaters. It can be imagined what a grievous shock this was, and we set to running as fast as we could. Many of us uttered gloomy prophecies on the way that we should all be put to death for our heedlessness, so that I and another man called Niels Friis¹ had enough to do with checking their cowardice and unmanly talk. And when we got so near that we could see the place where they should be, we could discern each standing at his work, none missing, whereat we greatly rejoiced from our hearts, weeping and giving God humble thanks. We were weary indeed with our running when we reached them, and told them what we had heard, whereat they said there was no other cause for it than that five men from their abominable troop had come and begged them to give them half a barrel-hoop. And when they had declared by signs that they could not, the black knaves had pointed up into the scrub. This the Englishman had seen, and had instantly run off.

So the vessels were filled, and other matters on hand were mostly accomplished, namely the washing of the linen and woollen clothes. And I refilled there the twenty-pint vessel² which I had kept full of water under the head of my bed from Copenhagen all the way thither. Then came the officers, both Danish and English, and we went back together to our ships. But the following morning we went ashore again with a man who had died, one of those aforementioned, who had lain sick a long while, and though he was buried deep, the next night his grave was dug up by lions³, as happens with all those who are buried there. At the same time we took our letters

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

² The word translated "pint" is Icel. *mórk*, which Dr Blöndal tells me = $\frac{1}{2}$ *pottur* or about a pint English.

³ Dr Blöndal conjectures that Jón means hyenas.

ashore, in which we had written to Denmark of our prosperous voyage thither, and according to the usual custom¹ they were placed on the shore in a box in a very deep hole, over which a post was set up, and on it a little board is nailed with this sign:  , and thereon these words written: "Here below lie letters which are to go to Denmark, from the ship *Christianshavn*." It is the usage of sailors, that all who are homeward bound take the letters of those who are outward bound, which they find in the said spot, with the said signs. It is not needful to set forth this matter further.

And now in a very few words I will describe Africa², which is the fourth part of the world, and is larger than Europe and smaller than Asia, for Asia is as large as Europe and Africa. This region, Africa, lies right under the course of the sun: it is divided by the equatorial line into two parts, and extends both to the north and to the south of the line nearly twenty-five degrees, so that the whole region receives most heat from the sun in all the world. It reaches to Asia, in Egypt, and to Arabia, and is surrounded by the sea. Between it and Asia is the Red Sea and the Moorish Sea³, but where it faces north, between Europe and Africa, are the Straits⁴. Africa is not so thickly populated as Europe; there are deserts in many places and a great lack of water. In these regions are many wild beasts, such as elephants, lions, panthers, dragons, monkeys, gluttons, porcupines, snakes, basilisks, crocodiles and various other harmful creatures. Africa is divided into thirteen parts, of which Egypt is one, and Barbary, and Numidia, and they extend to Mount Atlas, which is like Hekla here in Iceland, and to the desert Libya, and westwards to the Atlantic. In Nigritia⁵ there are twenty-five kingdoms. In that land are few towns. The inhabitants are black: they live in houses with

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

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

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

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

⁵ The Sudan.

turf roofs and turf walls. All these lands are fertile with rice, barley-meal¹, cotton, cattle, gold and ivory. Abyssinia is a good and large kingdom. It is ruled by Preto Johann, or Johann Belul². The outermost Moorland³ is a great part of Africa, the southern part of this region, as it were the whole end of Africa. The further it goes the narrower it gets, until it runs into a headland or cape which is called Caput de Sperantia, which is the very point to which we were now arrived and which has been here mentioned, where most voyagers to the Indies must needs come to take water and refresh themselves, when the winds favour them.

Now we must return to where we had finished taking water, and having settled various other matters which occurred we no longer wished to tarry there. And the fourth day after our arrival, after a feast which each party, the Danes and English, gave to the other, we stood away from land, at the same time⁴, each on the course he desired, the two English vessels with their enormous riches, of which the captain claimed a fifth part and 80,000 dollars of the goods above deck, as his share apart from the crew⁵. But the third English ship⁶, which was outward bound like ourselves, went with us until a great storm separated us.

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

¹ Probably maize (mealies).

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

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

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

⁵ See note 2 on p. 70.

⁶ The *Roebuck*. See note 3 on p. 69.

officers on the two vessels drank to a prosperous voyage, and they sailed their way and we ours in Jesus' name. The first land we sighted, where we wished to land, was Madagascar; we were five weeks on the way thither, and the distance between the Capo de Bona Sperantia is nearly 300 sea-miles. This country is also called Sankti Laurentz¹, and it is exceedingly large, longer than the whole of Italy, and very fertile in everything which serves to maintain mankind, especially rice, cotton, sugar, lemons, cloves, ginger, saffron and many other wares.

On this island are no towns, only a few villages, of which six are the most important. It lies north-east of Capo de Bona Sperantia, and the sea is very deep right up to the shore. A short distance from the land, where we lay, it was 100 fathoms in depth, and yet not more than two miles from the shore. It was late in the evening when we reached it and dropped our anchors. Early the next morning the boat was manned by the men of the watch, and sent ashore to look for people and settlements, in which they were not successful. We sought for five days and found no one, for the inhabited parts were not in that neighbourhood².

One Sunday after mattins and the midday meal we went ashore with our officers, and as we were about midway across the Sound a fish quite an ell long leapt out of the sea, with no warning, and dashed itself against the breast of our carpenter, Claus From, so that he fell off the rowing-bench in a swoon. We seized the fish and cooked it afterwards, and very good eating it was³. That day we rowed into a fjord, and the land on each side was very fair to look upon. It was high tide, and when we reached the head of the fjord we went ashore,

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

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

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

and it was all overgrown with forest. In some places we found traces of men, and the spots where they had cooked fish and had a meal. But when we tried to come back again we had to make our way along the stretches left dry by the ebb, with sandy reefs and deep water between, and over this we had to carry our heavy boat with very great exertion, so that we did not reach the ship before sunset, and were very much exhausted¹.

The next morning it was the turn of the Prince's watch² to go out rowing, and with them went the youngest of the merchants, Daniel Lammer³, with every kind of wares, but yet not the usual sort, for there neither silver nor gold is regarded, nor yet linen, nor anything that is valuable among us, but puppets and children's toys, in especial small mirrors and children's bracelets of what we call *kúrtel* [coral], and for two of these bracelets they get two very large cows with large horns⁴. And the cows of this country have this quality to distinguish them from the cows of all other lands, so far as I know, that on the ridge between their shoulders they have as it were another horn (or so it is in shape), but it is no real horn, for it is covered with hair and is nothing but fat inside, underneath the skin. It slopes backward somewhat⁵. On all the rest of the animal the flesh is lean. Those who went in the boat were altogether twenty-five in number. When they came to shore they left half their people behind with the boat, all armed, and the others, likewise all armed, left them and walked until midday before they found inhabited land. Soon afterwards they saw a great farm building, and a young girl issuing from it, and when she caught sight of them she was sorely startled and ran in. At once the master of the house

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

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

³ See the list on p. 34.

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

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

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

CHAPTER XII

AS soon as our men had come to the farm, the farmer sent to his neighbours to announce what was happening, after he had heard the business our people were on. After a short time, more than forty persons came to this farmer, bringing with them five cows and 300 fowls. But no fruits were ripe at that time of year except bitter oranges¹ and bananas, of which they took a few bunches. These grow in their fruit gardens, thirty or forty together in one bunch. They are about the size of a guillemot hung up to dry², and are especially good fruit, refreshing and of a good taste, as if there were fat in it; they are excellent to eat with bread. Also there was brought some wine *de palme*, which we call palm-tree wine, and which comes from palm-trees and has a very sweet taste³. It was night time before these men of our watch came back to the ship.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

are young: these were also set with jewels. He had a gold ring on each finger and on each toe, and above his ankles he had large gold rings set with precious stones¹.

The fashion of his countenance was gentle, and as it were smiling, with a pale dark complexion². He was very merry, animated and friendly. He was conveyed on board in one of their boats, which are made of a single tree-trunk and called canoes³. Across the middle is a long piece of wood, which projects far beyond the gunwale on each side, and there is a handsome hewn stone on each end of it, each of equal weight, so that the boat, though it be but cranky, may not capsize⁴. And when he first came on deck three guns were fired and the trumpets merrily blown. Over all his skin various pictures were printed, of animals and birds, and so with his companions⁵, whom he dismissed and sent ashore with his canoe, as a sign that he trusted us well. He brought bananas, wine from palm-trees, and tamarinds, as they call them, which are in appearance like treacle⁶: they are sour to the taste but very wholesome both to eat and mixed in drinks, especially when stood in water, which water resembles in flavour that in which vinegar has been blended. It is especially good against scurvy. He offered us this palm-wine very eagerly, patting us with his hands. He only partook of a little Spanish wine and a little bread: and he stayed that night

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the morning he and our officers proceeded to shore. There was a great forest on the shore where we landed, the trees being very high, men thought fifty or sixty or seventy ells. They were all blood-red, and as straight as a taper, but their wood was as soft and yielding as butter, or as fresh-grown dock, though it becomes as hard as bone when it is cut down and dried for any purpose². The king's son set to shooting with a musket which we call a matchlock, but he succeeded better with his *hasagayer*.

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

In that place or village there was a handsome school, and at its doors a walled fountain with two water-pails on a wheel, which are hauled up by the young lads and maidens who go to the school, to wash their feet therein; and over the school door there was a writing carved in strange letters which neither our chaplain nor others could interpret³. And on the market-place where many people were assembled to look at us, there was an aged woman with a lad of eighteen years, who

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

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

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

was sorely misshapen, for he had no issue to his body, but everything (by my reader's leave) had to come up out of his mouth¹. He bade us give him something in charity: some gave him bread, others kerchiefs. After this we parted from the king's son in all friendship.

On this day, when we had come back to the ship, our anchors weighed and our sails set, we stood away from the land in God's name, and sailed day and night, making the best of a fair wind and of the *masson*², except when *dravaðer*³ came against us. These fall upon vessels from the south-west with great violence and in the following manner. At the beginning when men are sailing with the most direct and favourable wind, they see a dense cloud come up as black as coal against them, and it spreads out almost in a twinkling, so that they have to take in all sail. Out of this dense cloud comes such a portentous storm that it passes belief. If the wind should rise before this monstrous apparition arrives with furious downpour, thunder and lightnings, it is more endurable. But if the downpour come first, it is more intolerable: the water comes down from the air as thick as if a sea were being poured down. I did not take that water to drink, through the wholesome counsel of my good friend Hermann⁴, who urgently dissuaded me from drinking it, there being matter in it that causes men to fall sick in various ways. No one dares to stand out in the open while such an awful storm rages, on account of the lightnings and thunder-claps which flit and roar about the vessel, so that a man would think that heaven and earth were all passing away; and often it seems that the ship must be lost through the fire and the terrible squalls, all the masts being bowed and bent, and

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XIII

AND when we had sailed some weeks (five, if I remember aright) from the island of Madagascar, wherein are said to be three kingdoms, we came to three islands, very splendid and fertile, with many kinds of fruits and produce. The mates called these the Comoriscan or Mayottan islands, and one is called Mayotha, the second Malala, and the third Ansuani¹. Of these three Malala was the best. We did not reach it on account of the surf, but landed on Ansuani, and there we found at once the inhabitants of the island, who showed themselves well-pleased and friendly, and offered everything for sale that we desired to ask for, namely nine cows, and fruits and apples² of many kinds, given them by God in generous measure. Of these apples I got thirteen baskets, and their delicious sweetness making it impossible to keep them more than three nights, I was obliged to throw them all overboard at once, which I did with tears, wishing that they might all drift to Iceland. These islanders bought from our merchants some yards of the finest linen, also puppets and children's toys, or trifles of that kind. They showed us all honour in the friendliest and humblest manner: wherever we walked or were standing, the chiefs bade their boys or servants strew apples before our feet; and bananas, though not quite full-grown or ripe, were brought out of their gardens to nourish and refresh us. From some of their fertile fruit-trees there grow as it were jugs, some with handles and some without, and some are like a pint-pot with a double bottom, and contain a sweet scented wine. These are called

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

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

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

One fine day it happened that the captain was standing under a tree in a great gathering, expecting no harm. A very large horned cow was a short distance off, and stood perhaps for a matter of three hours in the same spot, staring at him, when suddenly she moved and with great ferocity and rage, with full intent to transfix the captain and pin him against the tree, which had certainly happened if our smith Franz² had not seized him with the utmost haste with his right hand, while with his left, in which he was holding his great hammer, he struck the cow on the forehead, so that she stopped at once and lay for an hour and a half as if she were stone-dead. After that long swoon she leapt to her feet with a great bellow, span round like a wheel and rushed through the crowd, and flung herself into the sea, and her swollen body drifted by the up-tide into a river mouth or estuary. The islanders made much fun and uproar out of this.

And when we had sojourned there for four days, and had settled everything with the islanders, and had got many sacks of grass (which felt very coarse and harsh), to feed the cows, which were to be slaughtered later, we stood away from the land and were accompanied by the same favouring wind as before. Now our course lay through a very difficult sea, on account of the 11,000 islands (some large and some small) which we were to sail through or past³, and for nearly a month there were men in each mast-top during the night, to keep a look-out, whatever the weather might be. Twice I had to keep the most faithful watch in the bowsprit look-out, for our lives were at stake, but the darkness was so thick that we could almost hold it. The first time I had good weather, but

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

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

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

the second time there was a great storm, so that every time the ship ploughed through a sea which broke on board, the water went over my head. But God granted us His grace, so that by good fortune we came through with no hurt. And on this course we sailed once more across the line which encircles the globe. For one sails eastward up towards it, so that the Pleiades, the Great Wain and the Fisherman, as we call them, which have long passed out of sight, when they are seen again all stand upside down, what here is uppermost being there underneath¹.

An island lying out in the Red Sea is called Zocotora², and belongs to Africa. This is enough said of it. Out of the Red Sea come certain small vessels and smacks, called *barkar*³, right into the course of vessels going to India, and these capture them and all their wares by force. Their crews are Egyptians and Arabians: some the Indian voyagers set free empty-handed, but some, who are murderers and pirates, they put to death. There they often gain great booty, when it so chances that these small vessels come out of the Red Sea into their course, but on our voyage this did not happen, and we came to no land until we reached Ceylon.

There we lay for two nights, and went ashore⁴. Close by, not far from the sea, stood an empty castle, which according to rumour had not been inhabited for 300 years. Most of it was covered with moss. The door, which was of stone, was jammed half-open, and I thought that ten or twelve men would have enough to do to stir it. It was very awful and strange to look within through that doorway. Outside the castle gateway was a large walled well, eight-sided, and on each corner of the well were iron posts, and resting on these

¹ See note 5 on p. 60.

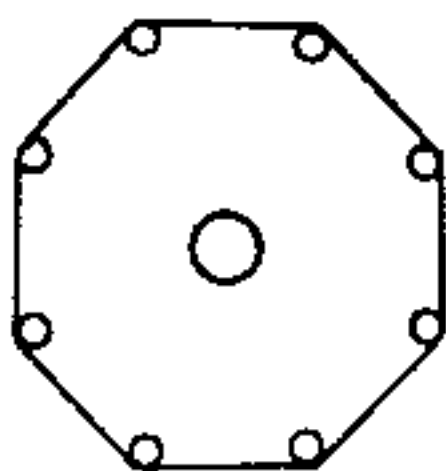
² Socotra.

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

⁴ At Trincomali. See below, page 90.

was a *karnat*¹, as it were like a cap. On the top of this was a knob which a bird poised for flight clutched in his talons². But for what reason this castle lay uninhabited and empty I do not clearly know, though I have heard say that exceedingly evil folk lived in it of old, and that a heavy vengeance fell on them from the Lord, and for this cause none has been permitted, nor dared, to dwell therein since³. The name of this castle was Trinchlumala, which learned folks say signifies "the abode of evil"⁴. There we fired off three guns, for that reason only that Erik Grubbe might still chance to be alive⁵. Of him I have spoken before: he went out on the first voyage and was to be general, and was sent to the Emperor of Ceylon from our noble lord King Christian IV of blessed memory, to oust and expel the Portuguese who forced the Emperor to pay them tribute in his own country. But since he was not successful in this, as I have said before, everything turned out awkwardly for him, so that the Emperor durst not keep him in his court for fear of the Portuguese. Moreover, he failed

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



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

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

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

⁵ See p. 13 and note 2.

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

After two days we held away from thence and to the coast of Carmandel, where stood our fortress, which was called Dansborg. This realm was called Narsinga, and is a huge kingdom; the following towns are in it¹: Narsinga, Bisnagar², Maliapar³, Tarnasseri⁴ and our fortress Dansborg⁵, where the Danes had their trading station. It contains other kingdoms and towns.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ See pp. 18, 25-7.

a very large city, and secondly Campenel¹, thirdly Madabar², fourthly Dium³, fifthly Bazuinum⁴, sixthly Ravellum⁵, seventhly Canacor⁶, eighthly Surate, ninthly Bandora⁷, tenthly Damanum⁸. Then Malabari⁹, which contains seven kingdoms, namely: 1. Calicut, 2. Cranganor, 3. Coccin, 4. Culan, 5. Cananor, 6. Travancor¹⁰. Then Narsinga, in which are the places I have already named, the coast of Carmandel, Dansborg and the others. The other part of the Indies, which is called *India extra Gangem*, contains many countries, but there is one among them which is called Bengala, and is a very large kingdom. The chief places are: 1. Bengala¹¹, 2. Gauro¹², 3. Marazaia¹³, 4. Chatigam¹⁴, 5. Sati-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ Malabari. The Malabar coast.

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

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

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

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

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

gam¹. It also contains many kingdoms: Pegu is a mighty Kingdom and has more than six kingdoms under it; Ternaseri is within its borders². Sian is a very large country: it contains seven kingdoms, Sian in especial, and seven others. Of Ceylon I have already written: it contains nine kingdoms, which are all subject to one lord: the chief city is called Colmuch³. Sumatra is a very large island comprising ten kingdoms: the chief towns there are Margana⁴ and ten others. Java Major is a large island, and contains eight kingdoms; the chief cities there are Sunda⁵ and Bantam, and three others besides. Borneo is a large and fertile island. The chief city there is called Borneo⁶, and there are four others. The Moluchian Islands are mainly five, namely Ternate, Tidor, Motir, Machian and Bachian⁷. In these islands is a great wealth of many kinds of fruits, roots and spices, especially cloves. Some small islands are called Bandan⁸: they contain much nutmeg and nutmeg-flowers, which are ginger and cinnamon⁹. Japan is a very large island, and off it lie two islands, Bungo and Tonsa¹⁰, they lie somewhat east of China. In these islands are many kingdoms and many beautiful towns, the chief of which is Meacum¹¹, and there are six

¹ Satigam. Satgaon, a ruined city in Hūgli district, Eastern Bengal.

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

³ See p. 1, n. 2.

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

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

⁶ Borneo. Brunei.

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

⁸ The Banda Islands form part of the Molucca group.

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

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

¹¹ Meacum represents Miyako, the popular name for Kyoto, the former capital of Japan.

others. The Philippine Islands lie off the Indies and belong to the King of Spain: the chief of them are Luconia, Tandair, and Mindanano¹: the chief towns there are six in number. Besides these there are many other excellent islands in the East Indies. I will not write about Persia, to which many countries and great towns are subject. And here I will make an end of my account of Asia.

¹ Luzon, Panay, Mindanao.

CHAPTER XIV

INDIA, which we call East India, is a huge wealthy land. On its west side it borders on Persia: on its north are certain lands of Tartary; towards the east is China and the great ocean, and so also towards the south. In this country are many pearls, precious stones, costly fruits and spices, and other splendid and costly wares which are brought thence to our countries. These are the chief rulers of India: the King of Pegu: he has under him the following countries: Pegu, Sian, Tangut, Proma, Melinta, Colom, Bacom, Mirandu, Ave, Brama, Araran, Macin¹. The second is the great Mogor²: he has under him these countries: Cambaia, Delli, Sanca, Mandro, Bengala³. The third is the realm of Calicut. The fourth is the ruler and king of Narsinga and Bisnagar⁴.

Asia, the fourth part of the world, is a very vast region in circumference, very near as large as Africa and Europe. It extends to Europe along the Russian boundary to the River Tanais⁵. Further there is between Asia and Europe the Moorish Sea and the Egyptian Sea⁶ and the Red Sea, so that Asia is nearly surrounded by the sea⁷. It is a region very

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

² The "great Mogor," or Mughal Emperor, of Jón's day was Jahāngir (1605-27).

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

⁴ See note 2 on p. 91.

⁵ River Tanais. The River Don.

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

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

wealthy in precious stones, pearls, gold, silver, copper, iron, much silk, velvet, grogram¹, rhubarb, incense, myrrh, every species of spice and all kinds of merchandise. Asia is divided into six parts. The first is Turkey and all those countries subject to the Great Turk; the next is that which the Russians rule over in Asia²; the third is Great Tartary, comprising all those countries which the great Cam³ rules; the fourth part is the mighty realm of China, wherein are fifteen kingdoms; the fifth is India with many kingdoms; the sixth part is Persia with all those lands which are subject to the Persian King. Belonging to Asia are also many noble islands, among others too numerous to name there is especially the fair island Ceylon, which I have mentioned before, Sumatra, Java, Banda and the Moluchian Islands. The lands of the Turks in Asia are called Natolia, among which is Little-Asia⁴: thence came those men who took our people here in Iceland captive in 1627⁵. Then there are Pamphilia, Cilicia, Little-Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Great-Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Syria with Smyrna and the islands of Rhodes and others⁶. From these countries are exported much silk, damask, velvet, grogram, cotton, scarlet dye⁷, balsam, incense, oil, myrrh and many other costly wares. Those aforesaid countries border on Tartary, the Caspian Sea to Persia and Egypt. Cilicia is a mountainous country; it contains five cities, Tarsus being one of them. This country with Pamphilia is now called Caramino⁸. In lesser Armenia are five

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸ Caramino, Karamania, in Southern Asia Minor.

cities, Nichopolin¹ being one of them. Cappadocia is a sandy land; it contains six cities; Magnopolis² is one of the chief of them. Gallicia or Gallogrecia contains seven cities, among which are Pompejopolis³ and Antiochia. Rodes is a fair island, 120 miles in circumference; it contains four cities. Arabia is a large country and is divided into three parts; one of them belongs to the Turk, another to the King of Persia, and the third part is independent⁴. Stony Arabia is a barren land; in it is the mountain Sinai. At Talnaby⁵ Mahommed is buried. Syria is a large country and contains many chief-tainships; in it is Damascus. In Palestine are these countries: Idumaea, Judaea, Samaria and Galilea, in which last is Jerusalem, which is now called Cadz⁶, Joppe, Jericho, Samaria, Gaza, Bethlehem, Capernaum, Nazareth and Cana. In Phenicia are Tyro, Sidon and Damascus⁷. Cyprus is a fair island and very fertile; it lies in the Straits⁸ and contains the cities Famagusta, Nicosia, Paphos and others. All these countries of Asia are under the rule of the Turk. China is a very large and powerful land: to the south of it is India⁹, to the west Tartary, from which it is separated by high moun-

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ For "Phenicia" read "Syria."

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

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

tains and a long wall, said to be 1000 miles long, which stands between Cathay¹ and China. This land China is said to be the wealthiest land under the sun and its king the wealthiest king. The inhabitants of this country are very clever and full of parts: they had guns, powder and shot, and printed books long before we did². It is a very fertile land, with corn, wheat and barley³, gold, silver, copper, iron, pearls, precious stones, sugar, silk, and other costly wares; and it may well be termed the earthly paradise. It is divided into fifteen different chief countries, in which there are said to be 590 large cities, of smaller towns 1674, and villages and hamlets beyond all counting.

The capital city is Paquin, where the King of China holds his court. Next to it in importance is Quinsay⁴, which is said to be twenty-five miles in circumference, and Canton. In this great kingdom of China there is much commerce of all kinds, and a great deal of trading.

Now we will return to our story at the point where I left it, namely where we arrived off the fortress of Dansborg, lowered our sails and dropped our anchors nearly two miles from shore, let our flags fly from the maintop, fired off three guns and ordered the trumpets to be sounded. And as a ship called the *Spaniel* or *St Lawrence*, sent out from Denmark a year and a half earlier⁵, was lying in the same anchorage, they fired three shots in their turn, to pay us honour, hoisted their flag and sounded their trumpets. At once their captain, by name Ernst⁶, a Dutchman by birth, came on board our vessel, and each had news from the other, and there was a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now I must tell how when the men of the fortress descried us, they recognized us by our flag, and as soon as we were lying at anchor they broke their flag and fired off three of their largest guns from the walls, with blowing of trumpets. Those who were then the officers of the fortress were the Rector, whose name was Christoffer Milner, and the Governor, by name Henrik Hess¹. This last was born in Elsinore, of notable parents, the other in Holland², and both were excellent persons of much experience.

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

But it happened that a certain man on board called Iver Hansen³, of Jutish family, a very large and violent man, had certain shirts lying to be washed in the tub. This man was a boatswain and in great favour with our captain, because he had been with him on his previous voyage to India. When I was drying myself he came up and thought to take his shirts

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

² See notes 4 and 5 on p. 26.

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

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

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

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

groaning of a sick man. Some of the men said that perhaps Iver had come to harm. And so it proved when the boat came under the vessel's side that Iver lay there sick of an almost intolerable pain in the eyes¹, so that men could hardly endure to hear his cries and wailing. The news was soon brought to me that I need not fear Iver nor put myself to the trouble of fighting with him. He was drawn up on board by a rope and laid in his bed, and sent me a message bidding me come quickly to his bedside, which I did: the most of his fury had then ebbed away, and he confessed that he knew my innocence was proved by this thing which had befallen him and asked my forgiveness with tears. We became good friends thereafter. But our master-gunner confessed that he had been guilty of the deed which Iver thought I had committed, and so the whole matter was finally cleared up. After six weeks time Iver was cured of his sore disease, and so this incident closes.

¹ Probably acute *conjunctivitis*.

CHAPTER XV

ON this same day, which was the next after our arrival, our captain went on shore and to the fortress, and was well received by the Rector and Governor: nine shots were fired from the walls which enclose the fortress Dansborg, and the same was done on each of the two ships. A few days later the half of our people, newly arrived with the ship *Christianshavn*, was ordered on land by the Rector and Governor, to be soldiers in the fortress. Amongst these I was also bidden to proceed thither and hold watch. But the other half of our company, together with Captain Christoffer Boye, was ordered to the other ship, called the *Spaniel* (or, by its other name, *St Lawrence*), and they were to be despatched to Ternasseri, where seven men from the first voyage were engaged in commerce¹. It was a matter of 600 sea-miles to sail thither, and they would have the monsoon from the south to take them there, before it had exhausted its force, and then again the monsoon from the north back to the fortress². The vessel was to lie at Ternasseri the following winter, and towards Easter it was to return to us, if nothing hindered it. It was because there was no winter harbour at our fortress Dansborg that the ships had to remain at Ternasseri all the winter. These places are usually about six weeks' sailing apart³. But the captain, Ernst, who had come thither from Denmark in this vessel, was to go home again on our ship the *Christianshavn*, for it is the custom that those men who have been there longest and are desirous of returning should be permitted to leave by the first vessel which arrives from Denmark, Holland, or England. Four men of our crew re-

¹ See ch. III, p. 20, and n. 4.

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

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

turned to Denmark by the same ship, amongst whom was my good friend Peter van Bergen¹, by whom I sent the letter which I wrote to my brother here in Iceland, Halldór Ólafsson, from the fortress Dansborg. They had never heard the like, that a letter should be written and sent from the Indies to Iceland².

Our chaplain Christian³ had to obey orders like other folk, and was to sail with our captain, Christoffer Boye, and his companions to Ternasseri, on the which voyage he lost his life, so that it was not granted to me to see him again. He was but a young man, wise and learned, and a good preacher. I was intimate with him and much beloved by him, as also by our captain, Christoffer Boye, who had a special love for me, so that I often had to stand by him on his watch, to amuse him; it often happened that he took hold of me and hindered me from going below or taking in top-sail, declaring that he had often seen me more forward in voluntarily doing these and other things when others shunned them; this he said he had silently observed. So all men treated me especially well, and at that time none could think meanly of me for unmanliness, thanks be to God! But I will tell anyone who will heed it that every single man who undertakes such journeys and has neither kinsmen on board, nor money, nor powerful friends, must have three good qualities, namely gentleness and an even temper towards his officers and others who are worthy of it, and secondly, willingness, so that he does not wait to act till he is bidden. Thirdly, he must stand firm in troubles, must suffer ill well and yet must not put up with too much, and must defend himself with honour, manliness and understanding. The sum of it all is to act and behave honourably in word and deed, so that he need not fear to answer boldly for himself. And this may suffice on this matter.

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

¹ See the list on p. 34.

² See vol. 1, pp. 7, 9, 15, 35, 158 for Jón's brother. It is a pity that this first letter from India to Iceland has not survived.

³ See the list on p. 34.

tunity of cooking, but if it proved that anyone traded in them or reserved them for sale when he came to India, he should be punished therefor and mulcted by loss of pay¹. Now it fell to my lot when I left home to have such a good comrade as Bernt Andersen², who might be compared to a good wife in his thoughtful care and in everything concerning my daily necessities or that it was in his power to do for me, so that he could not bear to see or hear that I suffered in any way. But God Almighty gave me and him good health, so that I suffered no ill, save that one day I had a slight attack of ague and he was so deeply concerned that he took no food all that day. Earlier in his youth he had been apprenticed to a tailor. He was not more than thirty years of age. We consumed one cheese on the voyage and threw overboard another which was damaged, but we had eight when we arrived in India, though we kept it secret, and we received for each of them a piece of eight, that is to say a rixdollar, and each piece of eight is as good as ten dollars at home in Denmark³. Now it so chanced that some Indians came on board one day, before we had altogether left the ship, and we secretly sold to one of them two cheeses for two Spanish dollars⁴. But after they had landed our captain met them, and when he got back to the ship all the crew were called on deck and were informed by him that he had met these persons, and he threatened those who had done it with great penalties. But when he heard and observed that I was concerned in the affair, he let the matter drop.

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

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

² See the list on p. 33.

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

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

less¹. We were obliged to stay on the ship two days on account of this monster and of the great terror its size strikes into men's hearts. We threw into the sea a quantity of castoreum², which sailors always have with them in order to drive away whales and sea-serpents and other sea monsters, when need arises: it is the testicles of the beaver, an animal which has the property of living both on land and on the sea, and from the hair of which are made the most costly hats, called beaver. It makes itself a house of logs on the steep shores of the sea and its tail must always lie in the sea when the creature is asleep³. There are many of them in Norway, where they are frequently captured, as also otters and martens, which also have their habitat both on sea and land⁴.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XVI

NOW we return to where two days after we had seen the serpent we bade farewell to the ship *Christianshavn* and went with the half of our people on shore, and applied ourselves to the work allotted and confided to us by the officers of the fortress, we having renewed our oath, and some of us, myself among them, having our pay raised, though at that time only by one *gulden* (that is twenty cod-fish¹) by the month. This happened two days after we had landed: the drum was beaten, pipes played and trumpets blared: each of us was mustered by name, and our names called according to military custom and usage, and we were entered into the strictest discipline. Thereafter we were daily exercised, mustered, drilled and accustomed to military operations after the fashion of soldiers. Every third night we were ordered on guard with strict orders and warnings to be heedful in that heathen and foreign land, and to be faithful and obedient according to the purport of our oath to our King and the Company. Moreover, every time that the officers entered and issued from the gate, if we were not up on the fortress walls, each squad or watch was strictly commanded to fall into rank and present arms, according to the usual military custom, in order to show them honour on behalf of the royal dignity of the King of Denmark, in the presence and close observation of foreign persons.

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

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

room was called after the name of its mess-master, and it was provided with a sufficiency of table-service: jugs, mugs, plates and dishes, also stone vessels for the keeping of water, which for coolness' sake were buried in the ground up to the brim¹. Old Indian women were hired for bearing water, which was carried a long way: they bore it in small stone vessels on their heads, according to their custom. One of these women was allotted to each room. And when all this was arranged and ordered, those who were to return home went to the ship in our stead, and we settled down into the said rooms, where we had our avocations and business and lived both day and night. Further, an Indian was allotted to us to wash all our linen; his name was Athrumbus², but on account of his occupation he was called *maynath*³. This man very punctually returned our linen every Saturday. With him I often had much sport, which he took well.

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

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

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

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

this niche was built a cupola, or as it were a little hood, with a gilded vane atop, so that the water might not stream down on those who stood beneath it¹. But those who were appointed to make the rounds and to test and make trial of the faithfulness of the watch did not consort with the watch. At first these were the Governor and the quartermaster. And persons found asleep or heedless by these persons, or any who allowed themselves to be lured and caught napping by them, forfeited their lives according to the laws and military regulations, and this stern military justice is the same in every fortress belonging to lord or king, so far as I have been able to learn².

But as regards our daily work in the fortress, we had none save our watch, and at first, when we were newly arrived, we were drilled and exercised every morning before we broke our fast³, and also instructed in the art and conduct of war. Also when pepper came from the King of Travanzour⁴ to our fortress we had to garble⁵ it, that is to say clean it of all grass and refuse with a large sieve, but those who were on guard were free from this duty, and our butler or steward usually dealt us out a mutchkin⁶ of wine for our trouble. Further, we were every Saturday given a *fanó*, that is an Indian gold coin, worth eleven Danish shillings, to pay our washing, but it was afterwards deducted from our pay. This *fanó* was equal to a rixdollar at home in Denmark⁷, and when a Spanish dollar

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

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

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

⁴ Tanjore. See note 3 on p. 15.

⁵ Garble, *i.e.* sift.

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

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

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

The fortress was surrounded by handsome walls and well furnished with bastions at each corner and small turrets on each bastion with a gilded vane, as I have described before. Within the walls, in the middle of the fortress yard, stood our church, an old house which had formerly been in the possession of a Portuguese papist². In it mattins and evensong were performed, with prayer and blessing, and further, every Sunday and Wednesday there was a sermon and the Sacraments were given out. When I came the chaplain of the fortress was Master Jens³, an exceedingly good preacher, who intoned the prayers in a fine voice, a man who exerted authority, sincere and bold in his sermons with regard to the faith of Papists, Calvinists and Lutherans. I and three others were appointed

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

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

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

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

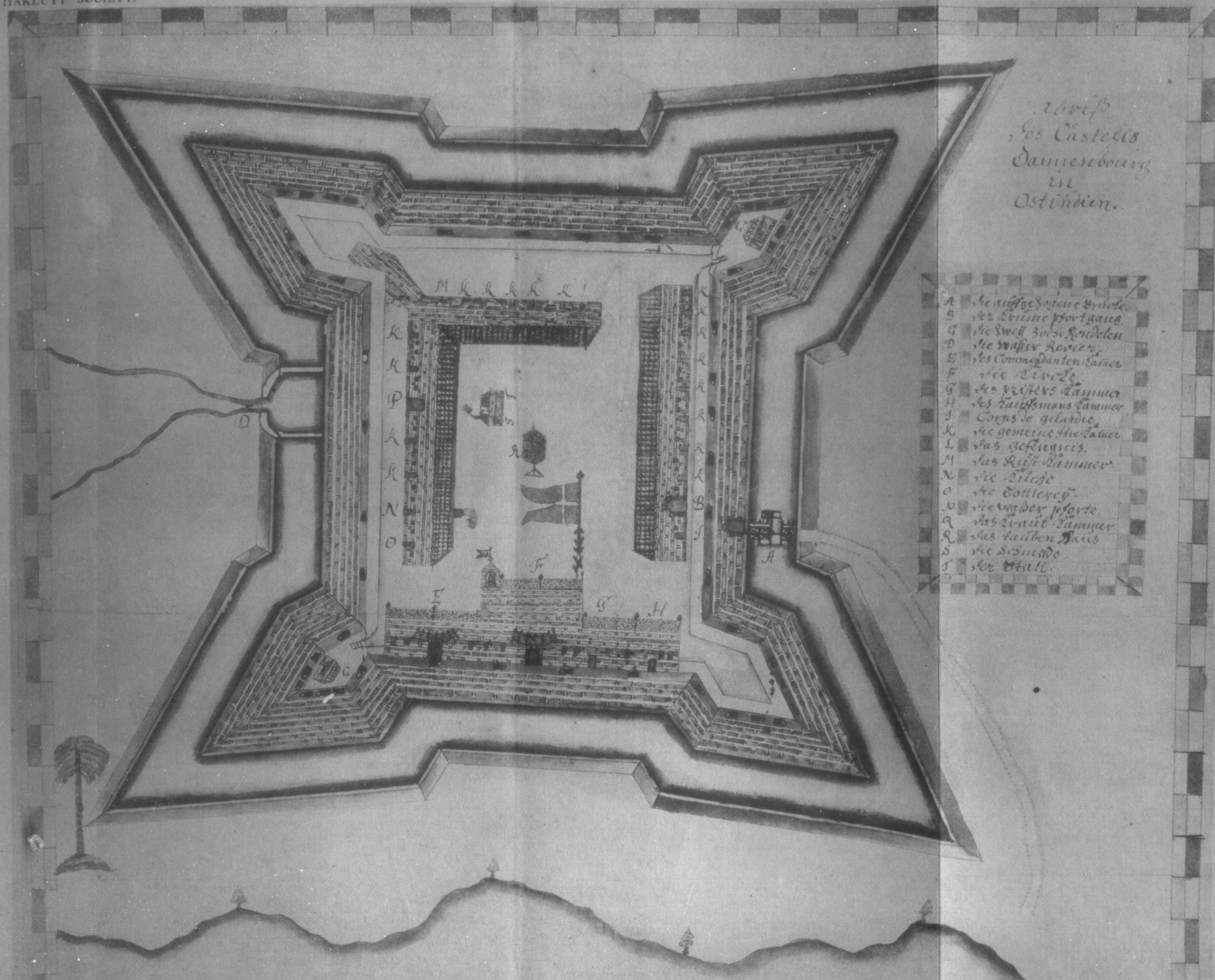
The man who superintended all the building of the fortress was called Erik the Smith, but Indian master-masons had done all the toil and work, they being very swift and skilful therein, beyond those here in Europe. Against the south wall and abutting on the drill-ground of the fortress, within the walls, stood a large hall, a great building, led up to by many steps: up there our officers sat daily and had their meals, sleeping-apartments, and residence. There also were the judgment-court, council-chamber, and counting-house. On the south and south-west side, within the walls, were other small apartments and the building where we slept. On the eastern side, within the walls, stood the large stone-built kitchen and a walled well out of which water was drawn for cooking all our meals¹.

All round the fortress, in every embrasure in the walls, were iron cannon, large and small: the largest shot fired weighing 9 pounds, the smallest $4\frac{1}{2}$. There were between eighty and ninety of them. There was further in the fortress a sufficiency of hand-firing weapons of two kinds: muskets and granades². Also of shot of four kinds, namely link-shot, bolt-shot, cross-shot and ordinary ball-shot. All these means of defence with other things that appertained to them were kept in the fortress of Dansborg.

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

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

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



Abriß
des Castells
Dainsesbourg
in
Ostindien.

A	die auffgebohrne Brücke
B	der dritte portgang
C	die zwei Runde Runden
D	die wasser Rende
E	des Commandanten Zimmer
F	die Küche
G	des vater's Zimmer
H	des Ruchtmans Zimmer
I	Corps de gelandie
K	des gemeine die Zimmer
L	das gefängnis
M	das Ruchtmans Zimmer
N	die Küche
O	die Gottleyg
P	die wasser porte
Q	das Ruchtmans Zimmer
R	das tauben Haus
S	die Schmiede
T	der Stall

THE
FORTRESS
OF
DANSBORG

winds which prevail there¹. Sheep there resemble goats, save that they have no horns nor beards: they have no more wool than goats, but are of divers colours, namely white, black, brown, blue and red².

Woollen cloth is not made there, for there is no wool, but many other kinds of woven material, of cotton, silk, mohair: this grows on a special kind of tree and the threads made of it have the colour of gold: hence it is often embroidered on shirts as an ornament³. Cloth of velvet is woven there, and cloth of gold, also of silver, and copper, of lead⁴, and of the bark of the palm-tree⁵, which is as tough as string, and from it they manufacture their sails and anchor-cables, caps for sailors, baskets and other things. From that one tree they can eat, drink, clothe themselves, make fishing-tackle and ships' cables and other gear⁶: they can build their ships and smacks of it and sew the seams together with its bark, as is their custom, however large the vessel. They are not clipper-built, but the strakes are laid edge to edge and fastened with laths, one inside and one out, at every join, and sewn through over the laths with this bark-thread, dressed in the proper way⁷.

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

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

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

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

⁵ The coconut palm.

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

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

These palm-trees are very handsome, and are planted in order like rows of soldiers at fixed distances, with always a space of three fathoms between the trees. Their leaves are broad, and measure two or three ells round: they are used as dishes both at the King's table and at other places at great festivals, and among the nobility¹. The trunks, from the bottom to about the middle, are two or three fathoms thick²: above that they are slender, and they are hollow within³, and though some of them are open at the bottom and persons can sit inside, they will yet bear fruit twice a year, like all else in that country that is properly fertile. These palm-trees bear two valuable fruits, according as they are trained⁴, for according to the Indians' wish and as they train them, they will bear coconuts or *carhanske* nuts, as large as a child's head, and some even larger, in which grows a white kernel out of which they press oil or vegetable butter, first piling them into a heap, so that they rot, and then pressing them, so that they break and the oily kernel is removed. It has the taste of the best sour butter⁵. Then it is put down in the press, having first been chopped up very small. The press is like a churn in shape, made of a whole tree-trunk of some hard kind of wood. It is as smooth as an egg-shell within, and at the bottom is a tap, from which the oil pressed out inside can be removed. The whole fashion of the thing is as follows: A very smooth, round, circular stand is made, and in its centre stands this

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

² By "thick" Jón, who has returned to the coconut palm, means "in circumference," but his figures are exaggerated, since the diameter of the tree at the base is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

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

⁴ This statement is incorrect.

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

press: out of the press rises a post like the shaft of a churn, and at the end of this post is a beam, to which an ox is yoked, and the ox presses these said nut-kernels into oil, which we call vegetable butter¹. This vegetable butter is sold by the pint², firstly for anointing (for the Indians anoint themselves daily, and those who have the means and wealth thereto twice a day); secondly it is used as lamp-oil, and thirdly for the frying of fish and meat. The Indians usually have boiled meat, splendidly spiced, with saffron broth³: the meat⁴ is always fresh and fried in oil.

It is not permitted to any person, whether native or a foreigner, to slaughter cattle, because according to the doctrine of Pitagore they hold cattle to be sacred or to possess souls, and therefore the cattle die natural deaths there⁵. The son of the King of Egypt came to visit this Indian King⁶ while we were sojourning there, and remained some months: he got leave to have killed a two-winters ox, but no one was to partake of it save himself, and its bones were to be burnt in the fire; and for this he had to pay a great sum to the King.

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

² See note 2 on p. 75.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XVII

THE Indian King, whose royal title is Nica de Regnate¹, worships a horned cow, which lives her life and has her residence in an especially handsomely furnished apartment, with her own proper attendants. She is all decorated with gilded finery and precious stones, and embroidery and bedecked with brocaded gold cloth set with the most precious jewels. The King goes to her morning and evening to do obeisance and (by your leave) washes his hands and face in her water and also his mouth, and finally pours it over the crown of his head².

By his Queen the King had a son of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, who was chosen prince and heir-apparent. His picture, together with his father's, hung in our church, and was not unpleasant to look upon. His most earnest wish was to become a Christian and accept our faith, if he could have compassed it against his father's wishes, but of that there was no prospect, and the King opposed it with all his might, so that the prince could not manage it for the threats of his father³. But for a long time the issue was uncertain, and meanwhile there were prayers for him in our church, that God might in His grace illuminate his heart with the true faith.

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

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

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

The King's palace was reported to be handsome and nobly furnished. His throne or royal chair is of marble and as smooth as an egg: it measures nearly twelve ells round¹. There he sits daily and his palace priest opposite him, on costly and gilded cushions, with legs crossed after the fashion of the Indians, their limbs being very supple by reason that they anoint themselves daily with oil² and the most precious balsams. By each of them stand three small boys, of which one cuts *arech* or *paga*³, which in size, colour and hardness is like nutmeg. This they take first into their mouths and chew it, and then spit out the juice; then they take the leaves which grow on it into their mouths together with the other and chew them together. Inside the leaves has been placed a little chalk which is obtained by burning mussel-shells, and from all this mixed together by chewing, their mouth seems as it were full of blood⁴: then they swallow it and become more drunk on it than on tobacco. This they call *bitilarech* or *bitalapaga*⁵, and it is said to be good for dysentery. And these people, the natives of the country, who are called Malabars⁶, drink no strong drink, but content themselves with this aforementioned *bitilarech* in the place of other countries' wine and ale drinking⁷. But wine is brewed there out of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

palm-tree juice, which they call *arrach*¹, in taste and effects resembling brandy, and this is daily sold and bought by the foreign peoples who have settled down there, namely the Portuguese, Caffers, Praegiers, Selings, Moors, Bengaliens, Egyptians, Arabians, Moluchians, Javans, English, Dutch and Danish². The Portuguese brew there a kind of wine, which they call wine *to pass*³, which I once tried, and it has a pleasant taste and is very powerful.

Now let us return to the King's habits and daily customs, regarding which I related the office and daily toil of one of his servants, namely to cut *bitilarech* for the King. It is the office of another of his servants to hold before the King the gold basin into which he spits, for when he tastes tobacco⁴ or *bitilarech* he has constant need of it. (The third of his servants

stands with a gilded fan in shape like this ⁵ and waves it to and fro in front of him, and of the wind it causes there comes a coolness, and this is the common custom of the country in every house.) Further, they rub each other's bodies before going to sleep in the evening,

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

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

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

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

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

Moors. Any Muhammadan, native or foreign.

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

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

Moluchians and Javans. Island Malays of different kinds.

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

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

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

for the sake of their health¹; and this practice we too adopted.

So far as the King's daily pomp and the behaviour of his servants is concerned, it is all shown in like manner to his palace priests², to whom the King is greatly attached; and when any stranger visits the King, and has some special business to do with him, he is not permitted to come before the King until the priest tells him that it is a lucky hour to speak with strangers, and though it be midnight, if a message comes from the King, they have to be ready forthwith, with no delay, and they must have an interpreter with them, who with great humility acts as a mediator between them, in such fashion that he covers his face when addressing either party. And let this suffice as to these matters for the present.

But there are other things to tell about the King, firstly that besides his Queen he had, when we first came there, 900 concubines, but afterwards he gave up 300 of them to his son, but not those he kept himself, so that he himself had 600 on his register of sins³. These his concubines had a handsome and well-furnished hall with gilded pillars round it and windows of crystal glass⁴: to this hall the King repaired daily to choose out for his fleshly lust whichever of them his heart desired⁵. They anoint themselves daily, and are adorned with the most costly finery: around their waists they have gold

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

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

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

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

⁵ This is incorrect.

cloth sewn and adorned with precious stones, gold rings set with precious stones on their fingers and toes, also gold on their foreheads and in their ears and nostrils: bracelets about their wrists and ankles, and further, brocaded silk studded with precious stones round their heads: and on their breast a kerchief worth much money, adorned with pearls and gold and jewels¹. All this finery they wear every day. On one fine day every year about the middle of summer they are permitted to walk abroad out of their hall, together with the King himself, surrounded by a threefold ring of the King's best fighting men. On this occasion about nine drums are beaten, and the bassoons sounded; and the procession is lighted by great torches. They do not go out at other times². And when any of them die, the loss is replaced by an equal number. And when the King dies, they must all be burnt alive with him³, for the funeral of all the people of the country takes place in that fashion, that the bodies are burnt on the third day after their decease⁴, of which I will speak again in another place. Now the King has been sufficiently discussed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XVIII .

IN each city of the Indies of which I have heard or read there is one great chief temple, which is called *sinagóga* or *pagóga*¹. And so in the little town close to our fortress, which was called Trangobarich and has been mentioned before², there was such a temple built of masonry with a high square tower, and a high stone wall all round³. Outside it, just against the inner side of the gate, stood a large and high chariot with various shameful pictures on it, too repulsive and obscene to describe. Within the temple on each side, on pedestals or stone seats, stand six idols, such as cows, swine, goats and buffaloes⁴, which last are in shape like cattle, but are not, and their milk is like goats' milk⁵. In the middle of the rear wall is a huge altar nobly decorated with gold: above it are three pedestals, recesses and seats, very splendidly adorned, on which stand their three chief gods, namely Suami, Rami and Tameran⁶, and they stand upright like men, and yet are not in men's shape. Suami, the chief of their gods, has the countenance of a man and a trunk like an elephant protruding from his nostrils, signifying, that just as the elephant is the greatest

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

² Tranquebar. See p. 18 and note 4.

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

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

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

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

of beasts, so this god is the greatest of gods. He has four talons and a crown on his head, and his face has an evil expression¹. The second, who is called Rami, has no trunk, but talons and a crown². The third, which they call Tameran, is like the second³. These three idols are borne out once every year, which day is their greatest festival. On that same day their chariot, of which I have already spoken, is made ready. First, a tall post like a mast is set in the middle of it, and on this mast are set as it were three topmast look-out places or seats, one on the top, one about the middle of the mast, and the third below, and all hung with handsome gold cloth and decorations. In these three seats are placed the three aforementioned gods: Suami has the highest place, Rami the second, midway on the mast, and Tameran the lowest. On each seat are placed two females with gilded fans, to wave them over these idols, so that no dust, mote or fly should settle or fall on them. At the very top is a little silken flag of many colours, embroidered with gold and precious stones⁴. Every single citizen of the town is mustered and his name read out, and is ordered to drag this idolatrous chariot with cords the whole of that one day in each year, up one street and down the other, until the evening⁵, with thirty or forty

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

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

³ Tameran. Tamburān is a modern Malayalam term meaning "my Lord" and is here applied to an image of Shiva. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Tamburane; Barbosa, ed. Dames, 1, p. 217, n. 3.

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

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

drums and three trumpets on either side, and a great troop of soldiers all round, who are called *talarii*¹. But while all the troop of citizens go home to their meal, all the unmarried men are put to this toil of dragging the great chariot until the others return after their meal, and continue their vain labour while the others go home to their meal. Some offering is made to these idols at every house past whose door they are drawn, such as tobacco, rice, *bitilarech*², or what they have the means to offer. Further, where these things are not offered, red water is poured out³. As for the lord of the town, or mayor, who is there called *almanich*⁴, when this idolatrous chariot comes to his door, there stand there two full-grown he-goats, and by each goat a man with a large corn-sickle, very sharp, in his hand, and at the mayor's word of command they slaughter them with the utmost despatch⁵. And when that is done a great noise is made on all the drums, and the trumpets are sounded: red water is poured out and tobacco, rice and *bitilarech* are given to those who drew the chariot, as elsewhere. Further, on this same day the sacred oxen are let loose. These are so well fed that they are almost wild from it, and are dangerous to strangers, so that men have to heed themselves⁶. Some of us heaped reproaches on those who cared for them, through the mediation of our servants, for their blindness in taking the glory from God and giving it to beasts, to which they replied that they could not see God. And when the evening drew on, this chariot with its idols and all the aforesaid pomp was dragged to its usual place opposite the temple doors. And when they approached with it, all the

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

² See note 5 on p. 115.

³ This seems to be a confused reference to the red powder used at the *Holi*, quite a different Hindu festival.

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

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

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

harlots came out of the church¹, *pagóga sirke* or temple harlots, to dance before the gods, and with them their master, who is called *baldor*². He hires them out every day for money, both to the soldiers and the bachelors in the town, and this money is put into the treasure-house of the temple and is used for its upkeep; but the harlots get their keep out of the revenues of the temple, paid to them by its wardens.

The priest, who usually sits by the church door, and is called *brameni*³, also goes out to greet the gods with great humility and obeisances, and then they are carried in, in great honour, by three picked men among them, the sons of the priest, with much beating of drums and loud blasts on the trumpets, and other music, and also with the dancing of the temple harlots in their finery, which between whiles, when they are not serving the gods, is hung up in the church. Their costume is as follows. They have, like others, drawers of gold brocade studded with precious stones and pearls and with much money, and a splendid kerchief⁴ costing a very great sum over their breast, with other rings and precious stones of surpassing value, placed about their body and taken off as is convenient. At last, their toil being over, every man returns to his own house.

These aforesaid temple maidens dance always before the gods every night from nine o'clock till midnight, and about the twelfth hour of the night, that is midnight, each of the twelve gods is carried up one street and down another, in a chariot, with torches, fireworks, trumpet-blowing and dancing, also the beating of drums and other such marks of honour. We who were standing on guard on the walls of the fortress used to hear this every night⁵.

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

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

³ *Brameni*, i.e. a Brāhman.

⁴ See p. 118, n. 1.

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

It happened once about midday that a man of the name of Peter Lollik¹, a good comrade of mine, and I, found ourselves by accident outside the gates of the fortress, which were always closed at midday while dinner was proceeding in the town, as was usual. We went and walked about the market-place, and when we came to the large church or *pagóga* which stood there, the priest of the gods was sitting outside the temple doors and was eating *bitilarech*. We went up to him and greeted him courteously. He received us courteously with deep bows and obeisances, and offered us seats beside him. We asked him, for a joke, whether he would permit us to look into the temple now while no one saw. He said he would not venture to do it on any account, for that his life and office would be forfeited. But on account of our persistent pleading and persuasion, he did as we asked, though he was sorely afraid, for a sum we agreed upon. He wanted us to remove our shoes and bade us touch nothing and do no harm, but only use our eyes: else, he said, our lives and his would be forfeit. We would not remove our shoes, but we went in and out very quietly and without playing any pranks, for which he praised us at the end, and we parted friends with him after our payment was made. There was nothing to see inside save the six idols on either side, and those three chief ones against the wall at the end, above the nobly furnished altar which stood there, and also the gowns of the temple harlots which were hanging up, as I have mentioned before².

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

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

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

CHAPTER XIX

WITHIN and without the town stand many temples¹, in which lamps burn night and day. Inside them stand their twelve idols², and the thirteenth, one of the chief ones, in the middle of the end wall. We often entered them when no one was by, but I preferred to stand guard outside, and forbade the others to play any evil tricks. Sometimes they extinguished the lights, but I threatened them with severe penalties if they broke the gods or showed them dishonour, which, however, I often had much ado to prevent. For instance, it once happened that a Dutchman dishonoured the chief god, who stood against the end wall. This happened at night, and we risked falling into great danger, which was only averted because there were no witnesses to declare which of us had committed the deed. Outside their churches and temples they have fair groves of palm-trees, grown with many precious fruits, and round them are pleasant plains. In the summer they make offerings of food in these groves to their idols, so that pipkin jostles pipkin, each with a fire under it. We were not permitted to go in there, but only to stand near and watch. There are again other groves in which stand idols of various forms, which are worshipped by the vulgar and by poor folk and also by strangers of the common people who come to the town with something to sell, on all of which they must pay toll, even on the very cow-dung³, which they value on account of the cows, and in which they burn all corpses. But all these tolls on sea and on land which are there collected the heathen King assigned to our fortress, for the benefit of

¹ Jón is now talking about Tanjore, not Tranquebar.

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

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

our King¹, and all the vessels, which they call *siampans*², which sailed past, were obliged to pay toll to the fortress. But when it happened that they stood off the coast and would not pay toll, we had to row after them in a twelve-oared boat, that is to say not we, but the Indians themselves, while we sat armed, with matches ready lifted, so that they were forced to pay toll.

Now I must speak of their observance of festivals, since I have already touched on their temples and worship of idols, and sacrifices, of all which folly there were much more to tell if time permitted. Not in the bright daylight, but at nights, do they hold their festivals, dances and strange games, clothing themselves in various guises wherewith they act idol-plays with great skill and adroitness, by the light of great fires and torches. We watched one, though we could but ill descry it, from our fortifications, it being performed by night. One of their plays seemed to us like the story of the prophet Jonah, when the whale swallowed him up, for one of them clothed himself in the shape of a whale and swallowed him who was chosen by lot and cast overboard. These costumes for the idol-plays were hung up in their churches and kept there for this purpose³.

Another game which we could make out was as follows: one man takes seven apples⁴ in his left hand and throws them all out with incredible swiftness around him, and as fast as they return to his hand, one by one, he tosses them out again, so that they never stop, but course round him like a wheel, so fast that they are not discerned save as a whirling line and as

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

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

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

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

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

A third game we saw more often. In this they take two awls, one larger and the other smaller, and he who holds them casts the smaller one up into the air, and when it is about to fall on its point, he pushes up the point of the other awl, which he holds in his hand, and thus he will walk the length of several race-courses, in such fashion that the small awl in the air never falls down, until he takes it into his hand again. This is called playing on the point of an awl¹. They play many other games which are very entertaining and extremely curious.

One ugly sport they were forbidden to play, such of them as would do it for money in the winter, namely to pierce a hole in the muscle of the upper arm, and draw a thin hempen cord through it. Thereupon this cord was fastened up to the top of a tree, and the man was hoisted up thither, and when the word was given he was suddenly hurled down on the line, which was fastened slant-wise to the ground, and by which he hung by his arm with his whole weight, and which passed through the wound. Some lost their senses and power of motion when they were precipitated down to earth². Our laundry-man Athrumbus was one of those who dared this for a sum of money, for which we reproached him very severely, and he promised not to try it again³.

Near Candlemas⁴, in the winter, the chief of their priests, or bishop⁵, came to the town Trangobarich which lay close to our fortress Dansborg, and proceeded to all the other towns

¹ Jón is here describing two of the many sleight-of-hand and conjuring tricks commonly practised by the Indian juggler.

² This is an inaccurate description of "hook-swinging." For full details and authorities on the subject, see Barbosa, ed. Dames, I, p. 220. *John Marshall in India*, ed. Khan, pp. 104, 109; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, II, p. 164; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, part III (The Dying God), p. 278.

³ See p. 107 and n. 2. As "hook-swinging" is a "religious" ceremony, the "promise" must have been misunderstood.

⁴ Candlemas Day or Purification of the Virgin, 2 February.

⁵ Jón is describing an *āchārya*, or head of a great temple or school, possibly that of Tanjore.

which were in his diocese or see. And before he came to the river which ran to the south-east of the fortress¹ (and which was full of many kinds of fish, crocodiles and large serpents) messengers were sent before him, so that he might not come unawares. At once there was a great commotion in the town. All the temple harlots set to adorn and deck themselves in their usual finery, and all the fighting men of the town to make ready, also all the temple servants and priests. All this host with many drums and trumpeters went a little way down from the town along fair sands, which are as smooth as could be, and so beautiful when one is walking in the eye of the sun, that one grain looks like the most beautiful gold, and the next like silver. And when this chief priest, with a great company, crossed the river on an elephant, he reclining in a palanquin made of ivory, gilded and adorned with the most costly work, in the which he was carried², all this host began to display their usual pomp with drums, trumpets, dancing of harlots and sleights of hand exhibited by the soldiers, and this noise and rejoicing lasted all the way back to the town, until he reached the temple. Then all the drums were beaten, trumpets pealed and the women flung themselves about in strange dances, according to their manner, and as their *baldor*³ taught them. He has all authority over them daily, and has a resounding copper disc, with a clear note, in his left hand, which he struck with a very beautifully wrought steel hammer, and every stroke on it was a sign to them, what figure of the dance they should begin. Soon afterwards he [the bishop] entered the temple and was there a long while worshipping the gods, and in the meantime a beam like a tall mast was raised outside the temple-yard gate, and at the very summit a handsome seat prepared, into the which he ascended about the ninth hour of the night and there remained undisturbed for three hours

¹ Two of the branches of the Cauvery river, the Kadalaliyār and the Vīrasōlandār, now unite at Tranquebar.

² The description is confused, but Jón means that "the bishop" had crossed the river in a howdah (*haudā*) on an elephant, had descended from it, and was then borne in state through the streets in an ornamental palanquin.

³ See p. 123 and n. 2.

until midnight, in which space of time he was in verbal converse with Satan, as is the ancient and blameworthy custom among the Malabaris in every such diocese or see of the chief priest at this same time in every year, namely the 1st of February¹. For their faith is of such a nature that they actually worship Satan, and from him desire and make intercession for all that they regard as of importance for themselves. For they say that they do not need to worship God Almighty, the true and blessed Lord of glory and peace, because he is (they say) good and peace-loving, averse from strife and anger, and it is because he is so gentle-tempered that he has not desired to strive and contend against Satan, or have him in his neighbourhood, but has allotted to him his residence, where he might rule, namely the air, the earth and the sea. And it is for the very reason that Satan is evil and very tyrannical, that they are constrained to worship him and to soothe him with their unceasing worship and sacrifices. For this reason this chief priest of theirs was now to enquire of Satan in friendly converse, what favour they might expect of him in the following year, and what the seasons might bring of produce from land and sea, and when a ship would come from Denmark, about war and commerce and other such matters². But while their talk was proceeding a huge bonfire was being kindled and fanned around the said beam. And at the end of the three hours' converse between them the priest must needs fling himself from the upper part of the beam into the burning fire, as a sign that if the fire did not harm him, his converse with Satan might be fulfilled according as the

¹ The two Hindu festivals which could occur on or about Candlemas Day (see p. 127) are the *Tripūshām* and the *Amavāsya*. The former is Shaiva, held in honour of Subrahmanya, a son of Shiva, and the day is considered auspicious for the purpose of education. A harvest feast is observed on the same day in Vaishnava temples. The latter, which occurs every month on the day of the conjunction of the sun and the moon, is observed only by Tamils, when special funeral offerings are made to deceased ancestors. See *Madras Manual of Admn.* 1, p. 94, n. 34; S. M. Natesa Sastri, *Hindu Feasts, Fasts and Ceremonies*, p. 15.

² This is a garbled account of Hindu popular deistic philosophy, which teaches belief in a Supreme God, but also that it is wise to stand well with the minor "animistic" gods and spirits, who may after all be able to affect human life adversely. To Christians in Jón's day, all "gods" that were not Christian, Jewish or Muslim were "Devils," "Ghosts,"

priest reported it. And when he walked unhurt out of the fire, drums were beaten and trumpets sounded, and also many dances were performed by the hussies, and the day's proceedings ended with loud shouts of triumph from the soldiers¹.

The next morning the priest departed, and repaired to the next town, which was called Trichlagour². We often went to that town, when permission was granted to us, to look at the splendid temple and its magnificent masonry³, for outside it was all covered with various carvings, and every niche at the foot of the walls was so made that old and young could lie therein and recite their prayers therein, so that they bore the marks of heads, hands, knees and all the limbs of the body. It was surrounded by a very high wall, on which stood the pictures of many creatures painted in such a masterly manner, that at a distance they looked as if they were alive. This town lay four miles from our fortress.

About a mile and a half from our fortress was a very fair garden. Mighty often did we go thither, though the Indians liked our coming little, chiefly on account of our trampling. Among many and various plants, one grows there very strange in shape and colour; they call it devil's grass⁴, and it is there held in great esteem. They burn it into powder or dust, and declare that this powder or ashes has the wonderful property that where it is strewn the evil spirit at once leaves the spot, and for this reason it is the custom every spring in every town of the Narsinga kingdom⁵ to strew this plant's ashes along the streets and outside the gates. And in each town of this kingdom seven men are appointed for this work,

¹ This account represents Jón's very confused recollection of fire-walking. See *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, s.v.

² Tirukkadaiyūr, four miles north-west of Tranquebar.

³ Jón is describing the Shaiva temple occupying the spot reputed to be the place where the *rishi* Markandēya begged Shiva to save him from death, and Shiva killed Death (Yāma) accordingly. The tower is now a station in the trigonometrical survey. See *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* 1, p. 232.

⁴ Jón's "devil's grass" is *kushadarbha* (Tam. *taruppai*) the well-known sacrificial (*kusa*) grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*), the "destroyer of enemies," used in various religious rites.

⁵ See note 2 on p. 91.

namely scattering this ash at the same time of day as was spoken of above, so that Satan might quit their city and do no hurt, neither with fire nor anything else¹. Nevertheless it often happens that the evil spirit burns a whole street in the night². These seven men are entitled devil-chasers. Besides this they play daily to the idols on musical instruments, for they take upon themselves no other toil or service to anyone³. They go with yellow sacks of ashes on their shoulders, and take them up at noon, and they have staves of divers colours in their hands, and are painted with various hues. But this garden, wherein the plant grows, is properly the property of the temple and town; and let this suffice about it for the nonce⁴.

¹ Jón is here mixing up two sacred plants, *kusa* grass and *tulasi*, sweet basil. It is the latter which is burnt and on occasion distributed as a prophylactic.

² Extensive fires are common all over the East, where the towns are built of wood and mats, with thatched and mat roofs.

³ This is a very interesting statement showing the persistence of Animism and "devil-scarers" among the lower classes of the people in Jón's time. But in the next sentence he refers in a characteristically confused fashion to the ubiquitous wandering *jogī* of the Hindus. He would naturally mix up the faiths of all classes in any account he gives of religion.

⁴ Jón is here again referring to the *tulasi* plant.

CHAPTER XX

NOW FOLLOWS A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDIANS WHEN THEY CARRY OUT THEIR DEAD AND BURN THEIR BODIES OUTSIDE THE CITY

ON the third day after the death of any of them the body is carried forth¹. But while it is at home in the house, the widows mourn with the women who are neighbours, related to the dead, or connected by marriage. This they do thrice in the day at a certain spot outside the house with woe-begone mien and grievous countenance, beating themselves and biting their hands and flesh, slapping, scratching and pinching their faces, so that they stand there bruised, bloody and scarred. At times they fling themselves on the ground, and pour earth over their heads, tearing it up and filling their mouths with it, roll on the ground and utter shrieks of woe. But as soon as each hour of mourning is over, they stand up and recite mourning verses in the interval, until they again begin their melancholy proceedings. This grief of theirs lasts an hour every time. Then they go back to the house². But on the day when every corpse must be carried out through the south-west gate of the city, into a certain place set aside for them, where bodies are usually burned, an arbour of leaves is made there, having four doors, and in it is heaped dry dung, whereon the body is laid. Now when the body is carried out of the house, a well-appointed *palakin*³ awaits it, to be the bier of the dead man, and on it the deceased is laid on a bed, and a many-hued cloth laid over him, and over the whole is hung silken cloth of various splendid hues. And when they

¹ Really a few hours after death. See note 4 on p. 118.

² Jón is describing what he can recollect of the actions of professional mourners at a Hindu funeral.

³ Jón is describing the burial of a high-caste Hindu when the corpse, covered with a new cloth, is placed on a palanquin. Bodies of the lower castes are borne to the burial-place on a litter or stretcher. See *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* 1, p. 76.

raise the body to their shoulders (it is generally borne by four men) all at once, eighteen drums are beaten in time, and three trumpeters sound their instruments. Two men walk on the right hand of the deceased and one on the left: one man walks on each side of the corpse with a small bundle of hay in either hand. These bundles of hay are dipped in oil, and fire put to them, so that they give a great flame and blaze. If it be a married woman, the husband walks nearest to the corpse with the nearest relatives, and a great multitude of the city-folk walk in pairs, all in an orderly fashion, and in front a mob of small folk who are paid to mourn with the elders and to behave as despairingly as they can, especially when it falls to the children of richer folk to mourn for their parents or near ones. When payment is made, those get a double fee who have been most violent and are blue and bloody, torn, and with dishevelled hair. It is easy to recognize by the beating of drums when they are accompanying the dead out to be burned, for all goes then in a mournful fashion.

And when they come out to the place where the bodies are burnt, that is to say outside the town, where the aforementioned arbour stands, those who bear the corpse walk thrice round this arbour of leaves, the same way as the sun, and then lay the corpse within, down on the hard heap of dung¹, which has previously been piled there. The man who usually attends to the dead is at once on the spot, and forthwith enters the arbour and disposes the body so that it lies on its left side². Then all the kinsmen and connections enter, and take with them every kind of thing which the dead man, when he was alive, used as food, such as fish, boiled rice, the flesh of fowls, fruits, tobacco and *bitilarech*³. And when they have all offered him these, and laid them to his lips, this aforesaid man removes it all again, and places it as it were in another bowl, and it is afterwards burnt with the corpse. And when all this is done, all the kinsmen issue forth, and this man hastily pulls the dead man about, and wrenching his knees out of joint, and laying both his feet against his belly, he

¹ Cakes of dried cow-dung used as fuel (Tam. *virāṭṭi*).

² Jón is wrong. The body is laid upon the right side. See *The Word of Lalla*, p. 229.

³ See note 3 on p. 115.

places the corpse face down¹, and spreads all around him the outer linen cloth which he wore round his middle when alive, and which they call *kleken*². They are not clothed without this garment, but some wear nothing about the middle save for a three-cornered slip of cloth over their privy parts. Some have a small kerchief round their heads: with this same kerchief their face is covered and their head bound. Afterwards still more hard dung is carried in, and the same man heaps it round and over the deceased with skilful piling, and so when all is finished he comes out of the arbour. Then all the relatives come together in a group, and each puts his arm round another's neck so that they form a ring, and they raise a great wailing, shouting with woeful and piteous demeanour, and so proceed thrice round the said arbour, the same way as the sun. But all the small folk and the company rend themselves, pinch and scratch, pour earth upon their heads and bite their hands, strike themselves and fill their mouths with soil or dust. And when this is all done the leafy arbour is swept away altogether³.

Among the inhabitants of the country, the Malabars, are certain men who are called Pragier or Prægier⁴, and they are revolting to the Malabars⁵, despised and held in scorn, because they are strangers⁶, poor, and eat the cattle of the Malabars which have died a natural death, the which they secretly and at night drag into their houses for food, when the

¹ The placing of the body face downwards was a device to prevent the ghost from "walking." See Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 129.

² This word, Dr Blöndal points out, cannot be a rendering of the Tamil term for loincloth, which is *koranam*. He suggests that Jón heard the garment called *kleedje* (Du.) or *kleidchen* (Ger.) in the fortress, both meaning a little cloth.

³ Jón seems to have been present at one or more Hindu burials and his description is fairly correct. See Crooke, *Things Indian* (Disposal of the Dead), pp. 126-30; *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* (Funeral Ceremonies), I, pp. 75-6; S. M. Natesa Sastri, *Hindu Feasts, Fasts and Ceremonies*, pp. 34-41; Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, II, pp. 488-94; *Madras Manual of Admn.* (Death Ceremonies), I, p. 108, n. 3.

⁴ See above, p. 116. There is no doubt here that Jón is referring to the Pariahs, Tamil Paraiyan—a term used by Europeans to mean any outcast or low-caste man.

⁵ By Malabar Jón here means a South Indian Hindu of recognized caste.

⁶ They are not strangers but mostly aborigines of the country or descendants of such. Jón is here referring to the "untouchability" of the

owner has flayed off the skin. They hire these men for dirty work, and amongst other such, they pay four of these Pragier whenever a body is burned to bring thither new and soft cow-dung with which to cover and conceal the body and all its preparation, in order to make the burning slower and the body the more completely burnt up, so that the next morning the bones may lie clear and snow-white among the ashes, being carefully gathered together and picked up by the relatives, and neatly piled in the form of a four-cornered pyramid. They are daily placed in position by the family, when a storm has thrown them down¹. Early in the morning the kinsmen go out to the said fire-trench and take one or two special bones from the body, and having piled up all the others they return home with those bones and place them in a mortar and pound them to a powder, out of which they make a white paint, and smear themselves therewith with three stripes over each breast, and three stripes on the upper arm and three stripes on the forehead. These same marks they keep on their bodies for a whole year in the place of mourning garments such as are customary among other peoples². Before the corpse-bearers leave the prepared place they make a hole in the trench³ to windward, penetrating the hard dung, wherein they insert a bundle of hay, which they previously soak in oil, kindled and blazing, which burns up the whole trench. And when all this is performed the corpse-bearers go home; and when they are come half-way they seat themselves on the ground, and having made a reckoning of the cost of the funeral, money is paid out to each according to what is due to him, from the greatest to the least among them. Thereupon each returns to his home, and herewith we can make an end, except as concerns those women who willingly allow themselves to be burned alive with their dead husbands, out of their love for them which they hereby display.

And now first as to the women for whom this is legal and

¹ The reference here is to the purification of the bones of the deceased to form a home for the ghost. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 129.

² Jón is confused here. He is describing Shaiva sect-marks, three half-moon shaped lines made of Ganges clay, sandal wood or cow-dung ashes. They are retained throughout a man's life and are not connected with mourning. See Crooke, *Things Indian* (Symbolism), p. 455.

³ By "trench" Jón means "pyre."

who conduct themselves accordingly. Firstly, the woman of whom it is rumoured that she has another man besides her husband, but of whom it has not been proven. If her husband die, it is like taking her oath (should she go willingly on to the pyre with her husband) proving thereby that she has loved none other beside him. But if any such woman does not so conduct herself, she is no longer esteemed honourable as long as she lives, and may never have a seat nor eat in company with the honest women of that country. During our sojourn one such woman allowed herself to be burned alive with her husband¹. She went with great joy and much music and laid herself in the arms of her dead husband², embracing him, and a multitude of married women bore her company to the beating of drums and the sound of trumpets. The wife of one merchant in the town was with difficulty hindered from being burned by the firm intervention of our officers, for all cases which occurred in the town were brought up before the court in the fortress, where they had to be dealt with, adjudged and decided upon, according to the royal command³. The other kind of woman, who received leave to be burned, if she so desired, was the woman who had no children. Otherwise it was not permitted that any should burn.

¹ Jón evidently received an entirely wrong impression of *sati*, for those who went through the ordeal were recognized as having done what was right (*sati*, virtuous), but slave girls and concubines were sometimes forcibly burnt with the deceased. See *The Word of Lalla*, p. 72. The Rev. Mads Rasmussen, who came to Tranquebar in the *Pearl* in 1624 and whose narrative of his travels will be noticed later, formed a more accurate idea of *sati* than Jón, and his account as an eye-witness is valuable. He writes: "In their [Indian] households all women, who are dwelling in the house of a man as servants, are considered as his wives, but only one of them is the most beloved. And between this most beloved wife and her husband the love is so indissoluble that death cannot separate them, so that when the husband dies, I with my own eyes have seen how a funeral pyre is constructed for the body, whereupon the corpse is laid in the presence of his friends and the heathen priests; and when the corpse has been laid out there, the woman whom he has loved most when alive jumps into the fire to the corpse, and is burned to ashes together with him. And even if any did wish to protest against this or try to hinder it, she would never consent to live; for any woman who would do so would from that day be considered as one dishonoured, and be despised by all."

² In reality, she sat with her husband's head in her lap. See Mundy, II, pp. 34-6; Bowrey, pp. 36-40.

³ This statement shows that the earliest Danish settlers in India, like other Europeans, interfered with *sati*.

CHAPTER XXI

THESE Indians¹ have severe laws governing all their conduct, and for all ranks in the country, and they have especial punishments for each crime. Thus they use hanging, breaking on the wheel, fire and many kinds of torture, executions, bone-breaking, pinchings, starvation and serpent-bites². There was once in the King's palace, when our general journeyed to Travanzour, a man and a woman who had a large iron bolt driven through the calves of both of them, with which they both wandered about naked in the palace³. I did not learn their crime.

Every couple who sin against their marriage must suffer severe penalties of many kinds, the nature whereof I do not recall: also young and unmarried women who spoil their condition undergo, together with their seducers, sore punishment and dishonour⁴, but any woman who does not trust herself to live an honourable life is permitted to quit the society of honest women and leave the town in the company of the seduced, who have to remain outside the gates of the town, and are there called *avasari magni*, which signifies harlot⁵.

A woman is there called *sirka*; *abbæ* is O father! *ammæ*, O mother! *nica* is lord; *nerpa* is the name Indians give to fire; *tanari* is water; *cundovara*, to fetch something for oneself; *irima*, brother; *irimæ*, sister; *vele*, he who or what is old; *tingra*, to eat; *toccuna tingrani*, eat thou a little; *ni* is you or thou; *culcrani*, drink ye; *culcrulidt* is jug; *toppe*, hat; *pacra* is to look at something; *ine pacrani*, what are you looking for?

¹ By "Indians" here, Hindus are meant.

² The punishment for capital crimes was hanging or beheading, but breaking on the wheel was not an Indian usage. For details of Hindu punishments see Dubois, *op. cit.* II, p. 666.

³ Jón seems to be drawing on his imagination here.

⁴ An adulteress rendered herself liable to capital punishment, but her husband alone had the power to put her to death and a very heavy fine was generally substituted for the death penalty. See Dubois, *op. cit.* II, p. 664.

⁵ Jón seems to have confused two Tamil words which he heard applied to harlots or prostitutes, namely *abasāri* and *vilaimagal*.

angra is to walk; *ine angrani*, where are you going? *cumbride*, he who is tall; *metta*, much; *tai*, bitch; *teyra*, milk; *lette* or *lecte* is curdled milk; *bumbarda* is musket; *spengardi*, small gun¹.

I do not remember more of their speech, for I have forgotten what was never much. But one reason for this is that Portuguese is generally spoken there, as much by the Indians themselves when addressing strangers as by the Spaniards

¹ Many of these terms are corrupt and several are not Tamil but Portuguese. Their identifications, for which I have to thank Mr F. J. Richards for many suggestions, are as follows:

Sirka. *Stiri*, Tam. form of Skt. *stri*, a woman.

Abbæ. *Appā*, voc. of Tam. *appan*, father.

Ammæ. *Ammā*, voc. of Tam. *ammāl* (*amman*), mother.

Nica. *Nayakkan*, Tam. form of Skt. *nāyaka*, ruler, lord.

Nerpa. Tam. *neruppu*, fire.

Tanari. Tam. *tanṇir*, cold or fresh water.

Cundovara. Tam. *koṇḍu-vāra*, a polite form of *koṇḍuvā*, to bring or fetch.

Irima. Port. *irmão*, brother.

Irimæ. Port. *irmã*, sister.

Vele. Port. *velho*, old.

Tingra. *Tin* is the Tamil root, eat. "Tingra," "tingrani" (= ? *tingra nī*) is probably a confused recollection of the Portuguese form of the conjugation of the singular of the present tense of the verb *tin*, eat, which would make *tingirēn*, I eat; *tingirāy*, thou eatest; *tingirān*, he eats.

Toccuna tingrani. This seems to be a garbled recollection of *koñcham tinmu nī*, eat a little. For *tingrani*, see above.

Culcrani. The Tamil root is *kuḍi*, drink, and the same remark applies here as to *tingrani* above.

Culcrulidit. This looks like an attempt at a recollection of *kuḍikkirāy*, drinking. The Tamil word for jug or pitcher is *kuṇḍigai*, but the reference is not clear: *lidit* is not explainable.

Toppe. Here we find an early reference to the universal Indo-European term *topt*, for a hat. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Topee*.

Pacra. Tam. *pārkkirāy*, thou seest.

Ine pacrami. Tam. *enna pārkkirāy nī*, what are you looking for?

Angra. Possibly a corruption of Tam. *aṇugugiray*, thou drawest near.

Ine angrani. Possibly Tam. *engge aṇugugirāy nī*, why are you coming close?

Cumbride. Port. (obs.) *comprido*, long.

Metta. Tam. *metta* (pron. *medh'dha*), much.

Tai. Tam. *tāy*, mother; dog is Tam. *nāy*. The tendency to confuse these words has been pointed out by the great Tamil scholar, Dr G. U. Pope.

Teyra. Tam. *tayir*, curd.

Lette or *lecte*. Port. *leite* (*leyte*), milk.

Bumbarda. Port. *bombarda*, a heavy gun, mortar.

Spengardi. Port. *espingarda*, a light gun, musket.

themselves, and so it is mixed with Indian and everything corrupted¹. Similarly, all the Portuguese speech has left me since I came home after my voyage, though I knew somewhat of it when I first returned to this country after my travels, like many more matters of interest, owing to my neglect to write them down at once.

Now I will return to the matter which I touched upon, namely the strict laws of the Narsinga kingdom² and elsewhere, how they punish every kind of misdeed from the greatest to the smallest, with various fixed penalties. For example, to take one punishment out of many. For the breaking of pledges: he who takes goods or payment on loan from others and does not repay it at the appointed time, then he who is to exact the debt has the power given him by the law to seize the other and conduct him to the market-place of the town, where trading is daily carried on, and place on his back a certain heavy stone, stamped with the mark of the town, and with a ring in it, which always lies at hand there. We thought it must weigh sixty pounds. Unless the other party is willing that more indulgence should be shown him, they make him stand all bowed, his hands bound to his ankles, with the heavy stone on his back, from the rising of the sun to its going down, and the soldiers stand beside him, and strike him if he throws the stone off, and at once replace it³. It is however but seldom that they lay such a heavy punishment on a man until the third time he has offended; more often he sues for pardon and performs his promise. And now no more of this.

In the market-place of this town [Tranquebar] are fruits, fowls, eggs, fresh fish of many varieties, also copper and brass work of many kinds, cotton, silk and many kinds of cloth, and every kind of fruit kernel, also gold and copper coins, all exhibited daily for sale.

Now I must say a few words about their activities by land and sea, so far as I was able to acquaint myself with it. Firstly,

¹ Jón shows intelligent observation here.

² See note 2 on p. 91.

³ For confirmation of this statement see Dubois, *op. cit.* II, p. 666.

they sow their fields once a year, from which there grows the most splendid rice twice a year, in April and September, if I remember rightly¹: it grows as tall as a man or at least up to a man's breast. But there are no fields which produce meal², so far as I know, save in Ceylon. Milk is churned there, but not in the parts where we were, but it was made into butter in another fashion, being skimmed off the rest of the milk as we skim other kinds of fat; and that butter is red in colour and is sold by the pint measure for frying fish and meat, or else by measure like oil³. Their palm-trees grow vegetable butter, as I have mentioned before, in the nuts which they call *carhanske* nuts or *cocus*⁴. These contain inside the shell and kernel a delicious liquor which men drink daily for their refreshment, and they also eat the kernel from which butter is extracted, when it is fresh. There is also the sugar-tree which men suck and chew⁵, and *magnis*⁶, many kinds of apples⁷ and fruits, bananas, limes, citrons, pomegranates and *simitrer*⁸. There is there no honey⁹ as far as came to my notice, but I think all other kinds of fruits grow there.

They have another way of rearing their palm-trees, such as they choose for the purpose, and when they desire it, in such fashion that double leaves grow out of the top of the tree, and these they use for paper and make themselves books out of them, writing thereon with iron styles whatever they fancy, stories, ballads, poems, or what not, whatever is there the fashion. These same leaves are very narrow in the upper part, and they pull them straight as one might pull the hair on

¹ Jón is wrong. There are two sowings if two crops are desired, the first in June or July and the second in August or September. See *Tanjore Dist. Man.* pp. 90-2.

² By "meal" Jón probably means maize.

³ Jón is here referring to Indian boiled or clarified butter, *ghi*. In Indian bazaars, however, it usually contains other fats.

⁴ See note 5 on p. 112.

⁵ Sugar-tree, i.e. the sugar-cane, which, however, is not widely grown in Tanjore.

⁶ *Magnis* represents Tam. *māṅkai*, mango.

⁷ Any globular fruit. See note 2 on p. 87.

⁸ Dame Bertha Phillpotts suggests that *simitrer* is meant for "citron" (Tam. *sithalai*), erroneously repeated.

⁹ Jón is wrong here. There is plenty of honey in South India as elsewhere. It is strange, too, that he should speak of honey as a fruit.

a man's head, and then twist them violently, so that wine drops from them into their jars¹, and this they call wine *de palme*². This men buy and drink every day until the clock strikes ten in the morning; after that it sours very much so that it is no longer drunk, and then it changes its name, and from then till evening it is called *sûre*³. Out of it they brew the wine they call *arach*, which resembles brandy⁴. There is there no other kind of liquor. Of this *arach* both strangers and soldiers (but not the natives) drink themselves drunk⁵.

Of cotton I have already spoken somewhat. It grows on trees, as it were in the inside of an egg. When it is cleft down the middle, it is seen in the centre like a thick white mildew or like white silk⁶. The straw which bears the rice they use for their cattle, which are always indoors at night, and every day their dung is made into cakes, both for fuel and for burning the dead⁷. Up in the country districts they make hay for the buffaloes, which are indoors all the winter, the earth being barren⁸ on account of the violent rain which pelts down there; but the goats and sheep mostly find their own fodder, though they be but lean⁹.

¹ This is a confused account of the Palmyra palm with its head of fan-shaped (Jón's "double") leaves, which are prepared, as he says, for writing purposes, but not in the way he describes, for they are damped and then drawn through blocks of wood. Jón is also wrong about the sap, which is obtained by wounding the spathe.

² Port. *Vinho de palma*, toddy. See p. 81 and note 3.

³ Jón is again confused. The sap collected before sunrise, when it has not begun to ferment, is known as Hind. *nîra*, Tam. *pathanîr*, and is drunk as a mild refreshing beverage, but after fermentation it becomes converted into the intoxicating drink, toddy, Tam. *sāru*, Jón's *sûre*.

⁴ Arrack (*'araq*) is an Arab word introduced into India to denote any distilled liquor. By *arach* Jón here means toddy and by "brandy" spirits generally.

⁵ Jón is in error about "the natives" not drinking "arach" made from the toddy palm. Tamils are great drinkers of spirits.

⁶ This is a fair description of raw cotton, but it grows on a bush, not on a tree. There is a "cotton tree," but it does not produce a commercially valuable cotton. It has, however, beautiful flowers and so has become the common synonym for useless beauty.

⁷ See p. 133.

⁸ See p. 110. Jón again alludes to the north-east monsoon and calls the wet weather which then occurs "winter." But he is wrong about the rain making the earth "barren." His audience probably would not understand a fruitful "winter."

⁹ South Indian sheep and goats are often very small and light.

There is a great multitude of craftsmen in India as also in the country of the Moors¹ and Egypt, and other southern countries: they work in masonry, wood, clay and iron, after all kinds of patterns. They also make statuary and work surpassingly well in copper, in elephant-bone and tusks and other such things; also they do masterly work in gold set with precious stones and pearls, and in silver and brass. Moreover they are skilful in every kind of weaving and in painting and dyeing their cotton cloth with every kind of colour, for which purpose they have long houses without walls, within which are tables as long as the houses, and on them they have their pots of all colours and their brushes or pens, with which they mark and draw on all the cotton cloth and silk which they intend to dye. Their brushes are made of hogs' bristles, and are both large and small; and with these they have great skill and artistry in making all kinds of pictures on the cloth. They sit there all day until the evening (except just at midday, when they go indoors for their dinner), working with great art and with a gleeful chatter. I used often to sit at the tables in their dyeing houses and they used to give me a kindly welcome. And when each piece of cloth is finished, it is forthwith spread out in the sun on flat ground, and pegged out to dry².

Iron work is much practised, both of large and small objects. Tinkers go daily about the streets of the town past the houses, calling out that if any person needs aught of their craft, that it should be brought out and declared. These men carry bellows and anvil, hammer and tongs with them, and their boy trails after them with a sack of coals³. Their bellows are not like ours, being without ribs, and always full of wind. They have no wooden end, but a long iron pipe, which is fixed and nailed on the forepart of the bellows. They lay these bellows down anywhere in the courtyard, and put down their little anvil and set to blowing the bellows in kneeling posture. Now they do not blow them as we do, but seize the middle

¹ Here "Moors" mean North-west Africans.

² This is an interesting account and shows careful observation of painting, but not of dyeing cloth. Jón is describing the production of cloths known as "paintings" by seventeenth-century English merchants.

³ By "coals" charcoal is meant.

of the bellows and press and pinch them; and they draw at once¹.

After heavy rains, those persons whose trade it is seek in clay and sandy loam for precious stones, which they sell to those who make jewels of them by burnishing and cutting them into angles and trimming them². Further, certain kinds of precious stones are found by the sea³, and pearls are found in shellfish which have been washed ashore⁴. The shells which contain pearls are called mother-of-pearl⁵, and out of them are made beautiful glasses⁶ and dishes, so tough that they can barely be broken with a hammer⁷. But in what manner they cut gems I know not, some being cut in square shapes and some octagonal, and yet they are so hard that fire does not harm them. They are not broken with an iron hammer nor on an anvil. And before our merchants buy gems of Indians, they try them with fire and on an anvil⁸, for the Indians have tricked many foreigners and newcomers with false gems, which the others thought to be precious stones but which proved to be glass, whereby many persons have been fooled, the Indians being very skilful, wily and experienced in many other kinds of trickery. So when these jewellers and gem-cutters came up to the fortress Dansborg with their gems to sell to our officers, they were tested and proved in this wise, and all those they found fault with and rejected we might buy, if we had money enough. Of these I acquired two and a half hundreds, but most of them were of small value, and not polished or set as they should be. Two small bags of gems were

¹ Here again Jón writes as an eye-witness; but for "kneeling" read "squatting."

² This is true of diamonds but they were found much further north than Tanjore, in the Karnūl district. Jón's information must be from hearsay. Indian diamonds were not "cut" or "trimmed."

³ Jón's memory has failed him here. Certain quartz products are found on the tableland of Vallam, but not near the sea.

⁴ This is incorrect. Pearl oysters are fished up out of the sea.

⁵ Mother-of-pearl is, however, furnished by other than pearl-oyster shells, as well as by other bivalves, such as clams.

⁶ By "glasses" cups are meant.

⁷ This is an exaggeration, but mother-of-pearl is uncommonly hard and tough.

⁸ This is an error. Precious stones are generally tested by dense liquid.

sent back on the *Christianshavn*, the ship I sailed to India in, and one of these gems was valued at 500 dollars: it was a ruby and as large as the first joint of a man's finger. The King has the right to all gems brought home from India, and in that manner he is paid for what the East India Company owe him for his grants in guns, powder and shot and other matters¹.

There are also builders of boats, smacks and large vessels. A ship they call by the Portuguese name *navis*²: smacks the Indians call *siamphans*³. Their boats in which ten or twelve men can row are called *zelings*⁴, but their fishing-boats, which are made of two or three logs of wood bound together, are called *cadmeda*⁵. These are rowed⁶ by one man, or sometimes two, far out into the sea, for fishing, and they carry a three-cornered sail, and are made, like their nets and rigging, out of palm-tree bark⁷. The smacks and small ships which the Malabars have are sailed about the coast there but not further. But the Moors have vessels of 300 tons, sewn together with palm-tree bark, and these they sail both to Arabia and Egypt and to China⁸.

In India is no lack of iron, and they make of it swords and helmets, arrows, and everything for weapons, and other needful matters. Their shields are of leather and are glued together and stuffed inside with cotton. They do the Indians

¹ This is an interesting statement, if correct, but the size of the ruby must be greatly exaggerated if it was worth no more than 500 Danish dollars at that time. Jón may, however, be recollecting a square emerald, as such in India are sometimes astonishingly large.

² *Navis* is the Latin form. The Portuguese word is *navio*, *nao*.

³ Samphans. See note 2 on p. 126.

⁴ Chelinga (*shalandi*). See note 1 on p. 100.

⁵ *Cadmeda*. Catamaran, Tam. *kaṭṭumaram*.

⁶ In reality, paddled.

⁷ The large triangular sail is used to propel the catamarans to and from the fishing grounds. It is generally made of country cloth dyed a brown colour (see *Madras Manual of Admn.* I, p. 110, n. 50), but Schouten, quoted in Bowrey, *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 43, n. 2, describes a catamaran with a sail "made of the bark of trees," so no doubt such sails were common in Jón's day.

⁸ By "Moors" Jón means South Indian traders. The boat he describes is evidently a mussoolah (*masūlā*) or surf-boat, for which see ch. XVI, p. 111, and *Madras Manual of Admn.* III, s.v. Masulah. He is wrong about the tonnage, which must refer to the vessels, called by Europeans "country" boats, employed up and down the coasts of India, Persia and Arabia.

good service in warfare, for they are exceedingly skilful in warding off blows with them. Moreover, the Indians are themselves surpassingly skilful in the use of arms, both with swords with curved blades¹, with which they strike above and below their shields, and with their spears which are nine, and sometimes ten, ells² in length. Moreover, the soldiers also use their shields to shelter them from the sun at midday, for it is as hot in the summer as if a great fire were burning quite close, so that sand becomes like hot embers and burns the soles of a man's feet unless he run his hardest. It is more endurable to stand or walk on earth or grass than on sand. Steel there is none³, else they would make the very best swords; therefore it is dear there, and men are careful not to import it. Brass there is nearly the colour and brightness of gold; tin is like silver, copper very bright and ruddy.

In the winter the fishermen cannot go to their fishing with their log-boats on account of the surf⁴. The last week before Easter three of their gods are conveyed down to the shore with much drumming and trumpeting, and water is carried up from the sea in splendid gold vessels and poured over the gods, and then they let the water slip off the gods into the same vessels. And the same water is scattered over the sea by the priest with a wand newly grown with leaves, and according to their faith it is now consecrated and holy water, so that there shall be better luck with fishing and greater safety for fishermen⁵. Thereafter the fishermen go to sea with their nets, which they keep shut up in baskets so that they may not be destroyed by the sea when they capsize, which often happens, but all the fishermen can swim like seals.

At the town called Carikal⁶, which lay four miles to the

¹ See Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 24, s.v. Arms, for various kinds of Indian swords.

² See vol. I, p. 92, n. 2, for the content of the Icelandic ell.

³ This is incorrect. The manufacture of the celebrated Indian steel was developed at a very early period. See Crooke, *op. cit.* p. 19.

⁴ In the north-east monsoon, which Jón calls "winter," the surf on the Coromandel Coast is very heavy.

⁵ Here Jón is describing a local festival (akin to the blessing of the sea at Boulogne and other French seaports on St Peter's Day) which he had evidently witnessed.

⁶ Kārikāl.

south of our fortress, there were 600 fishermen. We went there three times. Once in the winter we watched 300 young lads being taught the art of swimming: they were ten, twelve and sixteen years old, and went far out beyond the surf. Thus the son of a fisherman takes up the same livelihood as his father had¹, and all must needs be highly versed in swimming. When these fishermen come to shore they offer their catch for sale in the town and in the fortress, and bargains are made with them every day for it, so that they receive sufficient reward for their toil. Once during the winter² the fishermen offered for sale a turtle which they had caught in their nets, and which was as large as the largest skate caught here in Iceland, but it was thought dearer than need be, so it was not bought on that occasion. But they are good and sweet eating, and also wholesome. This creature is very strange in its shape. Over all its body is as it were a shell grown fast to the flesh, covered with light and dark spots. This shell is as hard as ivory and as tough as horn. It has four feet and claws on them all. When it lies quiet you see nothing of its feet³. They are like tortoises in shape, but the latter are small and feed on grass and good herbs on the land, and a man could carry one in his pocket⁴. Of these creatures I found one on my voyage out, in Africa, as I think I mentioned before⁵. The turtle I mentioned above was so strong that it carried nine of us from the church, which stood in the middle of the fortress yard, to the gate, and this was put down in our Log, which they call Journal⁶. Even the one I found and kept, though so very small, could pull one man⁷. Many ignorant persons think it very miraculous that a creature no larger than this should have so much strength. O how surpassing are the works of God, and wonderful and awful to the understanding of men!

¹ By caste custom.

² That is, during the rains of the north-east monsoon.

³ Jón is describing the green turtle of the Indian Ocean (*Chelone mydas*).

⁴ This description applies to one of the species of land tortoises (*Testudinidae*).

⁵ There has been no previous reference to tortoises.

⁶ It is unfortunate that this "Journal" has not survived.

⁷ This is an exaggeration.



THE DANISH CHURCH AT TRANQUEBAR.

CHAPTER XXII

I EXAMINED the boundary-marks of the city Trango-barich (which was close to our fortress) in three places. To begin with, there was at each place a square hewn stone, polished as smooth as an egg, with a trough hewn out of it, in which lay charcoal recently placed there. The stone was sunk to the level of the soil. Round this trough containing charcoal, benches were hewn out, and in each bench another polished square stone was sunk, and the mark of the kingdom stamped on it. All persons of the country who came inside the boundary-marks of the city bearing anything of value themselves, or on their horses or oxen, had to pay toll, even though they were not going to the city, or even if they had loads of cow-dung. And all these tolls, by land and by sea, which were due to the fortress, were received by the merchants of the city and paid to the fortress¹, according to the command of the heathen King, as I have mentioned before.

I have already touched upon the buildings of the fortress and the daily round therein, in all save what concerns the new church which was built within the walls, and which had high arched walls, a mightily high roof and a handsome tower with a gilded vane. It was built by the Indian master-masons according to our directions and in the Danish style².

The great *pagóga* or temple which stood in the city³ had not cost more to build, when it was first constructed, than the value of fifteen dollars⁴, so cheap is all labour there. And all the produce of the country can be got at a very cheap price.

¹ This is an interesting description of the boundary-marks in Tranquebar in 1624. The customs referred to were the octroi duties (*thīrvai*) on merchandise, payable to the collector, not to the merchants as Jón says. In his day Tranquebar was an important seaport. Octroi was very commonly levied in India, and in North India was called *chungī*, "a handful."

² This building survives in the present English church. See *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* 1, p. 235; Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, p. 251.

³ A Shaiva temple. See note 3 on p. 120.

⁴ Jón is mistaken. His estimate is far too low.

Fresh fish, fowls, goats, sheep, swine, milk, rice and all kinds of apples¹ and fruits are sold daily to the fortress for low prices, for nine fowls could be got there for the value of six dried fish²; and in the like manner everything else.

A short time after I had come on shore to the fortress, it so happened that one day I and two of the garrison, who had come from Denmark on the *Spaniel* six months before me³, had entered the house of a tailor, a Portuguese man and a Christian, a worthy fellow of the name of Antonius, for the purpose of having some cotton garments, such as are there worn, made for us. Now the Spaniards, who are called Portuguese⁴, and who first took to sailing to the Indies three hundred years ago⁵, are settled and scattered over all the Indies, and in many places hold towns and fortresses of Indian kings and lords. And when we had just taken seats in this man's house, there came in an Indian, one of those seven who are called devil-chasers⁶. He was holding a musical instrument with which they daily play in the service of the idols, and he offered to play for money, but through this Christian's mediation and interpreting we refused him money or to have him in our company at all, but he only begged the more importunately to play, and demanded money, so that I became angry with him, and as I was sitting furthest from the door next to the tailor, I bade one of my companions, by name Peter Arndal, to remove the unpleasant fellow, which he did. Immediately afterwards he returned with the same importunity and plea as before. Thereupon, another of us, Salomon by name, rose and led him out with rough words. In came the evil fellow a third time and asked for money, but the tailor roughly bade him begone, but it was of no avail; nay, rather, the fellow grew insulting and said: "You let

¹ See note 2 on p. 87.

² For fish-currency see vol. 1, pp. 15, n. 5, 48, n. 2.

³ See p. 98. Here Jón is right as to the time when the ship sailed.

⁴ Here again, as on p. 70, Jón confuses Spaniards and Portuguese for the reason given in the note on that passage.

⁵ This is wrong. It was in 1498, less than a century and a half before the date of Jón's story, that Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India.

⁶ See note 3 on p. 131.

yourselves be called Christians and *sinioris*¹ (that is to say lord), but are so close-fisted that you will not give a couple of *cas* (that is a copper coin, and there are eighty-six to the *fanó* which is eleven Danish *skillings*)²; and you should rather be called dogs than men." The tailor replied and cursed him for an unbeliever, bidding him be silent, and then asked me if I understood the speech of the rascal. I said no. Then he repeated his words, and when I could understand their meaning I was moved to passion, so that I speedily leapt out of the innermost seat and over the table and past the others, and I seized him, my blood being up, and thrashed him out of the house-door. But he provoked me still further with his continual persistence and abuse, so that I seized my sword, which I carried at my side, and thought to cut his instrument in two therewith, but he was in the way, and he received three wounds, one in the head and one on each arm, so that he fell down, and I thought him dead. But this house being opposite to the gateway of the fortress, and only a stone's throw thence, and the sergeant of the watch being present with the watchmen at that moment, he saw this occurrence, and came across to me and began to reprove me roundly and with great vehemence and anger, and with his *rotting*³, which is a cane, he gave me a great blow across the shoulders, causing me much pain. This I could not suffer, so that in my impatience I seized his cane and snatched it out of his hand and flung it far away, and said I would not endure his blows, seeing that I was come to man's estate and must needs suffer myself for my errors. But he in great wrath threatened me with irons in the King's name, and carried out his threat full well, for he had me back with him at once, and forthwith placed me in irons, whereat my comrades grieved sorely with tears, especially one called Erik Lange, who had come out on the first voyage and

¹ The Portuguese title, *senhor*, *senhores*, was in use all over India in the seventeenth century to designate a European of consequence—a *sāhib*.

² See note 7 on p. 108. The value of a Danish *skilling* at this period was about $\frac{1}{2}d$. English (see vol. I, p. 48, n. 1) and the *fanam*, according to Jón's reckoning, would thus be worth about $5\frac{1}{2}d$.

³ Rattan, the long stem of various species of Asiatic climbing palms. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Rattan.

had sojourned there five years when this happened. For it had once befallen this man that in wrath he had struck an Indian with the flat of his sword across the shoulders, for which he would have lost his life on account of the strict provisions of the treaty between the Kings¹, had he not been pardoned. And when one of my feet had been attached to the iron, my comrades came, and even the Indian traders whom they call *marcatores*², and the heathen soldiers called *taliarii*³ who served us within the gates on the fortifications, holding watch with great fidelity, and who held guard in the west bastion of the fortress and were never found at fault therein. These also came to sympathize with me. My servant, an Indian lad called Sivile⁴, made a Christian by the Portuguese, grieved for me so much that he could scarcely be comforted. This event happened about three o'clock of the afternoon.

In the evening the sergeant of the watch came as usual to lock the gate, and by then most of his wrath had cooled down.

In the morning my captain, Christoffer Boye, came on shore, for he had not yet started on his voyage to Ternasseri, where the six Danes were⁵, as I have said before. With him was walking the other captain, Ernst⁶, who was captain of the other ship, the *Spaniel*. And as they were walking through the gate in talk, and did not see me, I observed this and bade Captain Christoffer Boye good day. At once he looked back and saw me locked into the iron belt which greatly astonished him, and he asked me what had happened to me. And when I told him the truth, he was much grieved on my account, and said it was the last thing he could have wished, that such a misfortune should have overtaken me, and yet that as I had

¹ Jón is alluding to his "Eighthly" in his version of the treaty (p. 19), but see clause 10 of the authorized version.

² By "They" Jón means "the Portuguese" and by "*marcatores*" Port. "*mercadores*," merchants.

³ See note 5 on p. 16.

⁴ "Sivile" does not represent a Tamil name, and is no doubt that which was given the lad on making him a Christian. It should probably be read "Cirilo (Cyril)." I am indebted to Miss Leonora de Alberti for this suggestion.

⁵ See pp. 20, 102.

⁶ See note 6 on p. 98.

made my bed, so I must lie on it. The other captain rejoined: "It is a good thing if for once you can suffer for it yourselves, unruly that you are!" Whereupon my captain, Christoffer Boye, replied: "Oh no, Ernst, this man is not of the sort you mean, but a worthy and harmless fellow," and excused me in a fatherly manner as best he could, and promised that by God's help all should yet be well, although it might not be that day, and he bade me be without anxiety and that he would do everything in his power to save me. And when Ernst heard this he was greatly astonished and wished that he had not spoken. But I was grieved at his unfriendly words and asked how it could happen that he should be so harshly-spoken to me, in such a poor position as I was, and moreover unknown to him, and how I deserved it. He bade me not take it ill and said he would expend as many good words for me to the Rector and Governor¹. I said I rejoiced thereat and would gratefully and readily accept his excuses.

Captain Christoffer Boye said he would come to see me in the evening when he went to his ship and that he would bring me some comforting news; and so they went away. I bade them go in peace, and my comrades said that good comfort had fallen to my lot.

Late in the evening Captain Christoffer Boye left the officers and came to me in the gateway, and sent his servant for a pint of wine, which he and I drank together, and so he went to his ship with a blessing upon me and on the fortress, and promising to come on shore the following morning, when everything should be put in order by the help of God.

The next morning the captain returned and came to see me and promised that I should be free and at liberty that same day, as indeed happened about three o'clock of the afternoon, the sergeant coming to the gate and asking me where my servant was. I said he would be close by. This lad, fifteen years old, was baptized by the Portuguese and had been converted by them, as they did to others whom they purchased as children from their parents, mainly in order to bring them to God. The sergeant having called the lad, said to him: "Go

¹ For the Rector and Governor of Dansborg, see p. 26.

thou and summon the unbeliever whom thy master struck that he may be reconciled for the harm done him." Now the fellow was nearly healed of his wounds, for my dear friend Master Henrik, our surgeon¹, had on my account bound his wounds well and faithfully. And when he entered the gateway, my servant says to him: "Behold and see what my lord has to suffer on thy account, thou miserable slave of Satan!" He answers: "Abbæ²," that is "O Father!" and having thus spoken, he casts himself flat down on the ground on his face, and crawls to my feet and would kiss them; but I forbade him and ordered him to stand up again. Afterwards he was asked by the servant at the request of the sergeant how much money I should pay him in compensation for his wounds. He said it was mainly for me to decide. But at the persistent request of my servant he named two pieces of eight, that is to say two rixdollars³. My servant said that his life itself was not worth so much, and that he need not desire such a sum, and at the last he contented himself with two *fanós*, that is five ells and one fish⁴. This I was not allowed to pay him myself, for every one of my comrades offered me each a *fanó* or as many as I wanted, for which I warmly thanked them all. Thereupon the sergeant ordered the servant to interpret to him his stern order never to meet me on the road, or do or say aught to offend me, but rather always to avoid me; otherwise he declared that the fellow would be justly slain by me. Our surgeon, Master Henrik, promised to get his wounds to close completely, and said he would rather heal his flesh and ten like him than that of one of us. Thereafter this fellow was so terrified of me that when he saw me afar off he would set off running at the top of his pace and make his fellow-servants who were at hand run too, saying, "Let us fly! Let us fly!"

¹ Henrik Bertelmeus. See the list on p. 33.

² Tam. *appā*, voc. of *appan*, father, is a Tamil exclamation of distress.

³ About 8s. English. There is nothing extraordinary in this. I once settled compensation for the death of a low-caste man, caused accidentally, for an extraordinarily small sum, with the advice and concurrence of his own village headmen and family.

⁴ In Icelandic reckoning, five ells of wadmal (see vol. I, p. 144) and one fish. (B.S.P.) For the value of a *fanam* see note 7 on p. 108.

Here is he who will strike or kill us¹." This was told us by the Indian lads who served us.

This matter having been arranged, I went with the sergeant of the watch to our officers, who were sitting in the lofty hall, to offer them my hearty thanks for the mercy they had shown and the abatement of the punishment for my open infringement of the contract and treaty between the Kings. Each of these four officers, namely the Rector, the Governor, Captain Christoffer Boye and Captain Ernst, drank to me with pleasant words and kindly address and bade me heed myself well for fear of trouble and danger ensuing, lest I should fall into misfortune for any such fellow, which warning took effect by God's merciful aid and assistance. Thus I continued to be in great favour with my officers, and not less with my comrades in the service, as also with the Indians, both with the merchants in the town and other persons, for if my captain had not been at hand to plead for me, the Indian merchants had resolved together to plead for me to the officers, as they frequently used to do when our people were guilty of some fault, whereby they sought to make themselves esteemed and praised by us.

¹ I have myself seen superstitious fear like this in India.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ship *Christianshavn*, with which I had prosperously made my voyage to the fortress Dansborg¹, was freighted during the summer and made ready for the homeward voyage, and in September² they sailed away in the hope of God's mercy, and obtained favouring winds and a fair voyage home with a good bill of health. By a man named Peter van Bergen³, who was on the vessel, I wrote a letter from the fortress Dansborg to my brother Halldór Ólafsson here in Iceland, and living at Súðavík on Álftafjörð⁴, and it was said that such a thing had never happened before, as that a letter had been sent from the Indies to Iceland. That same letter Hans Ólafsen Holst⁵ took from Peter van Bergen's hands in the Sound, he having got so far on his voyage to Iceland, and sailing together with the other trading ships from Iceland that year. He was well known to me in old days and a trader at Skutilsfjörð. The good ship *Christianshavn* was ten months on the voyage home, and after two years she went out again to India and again had a good voyage. In November of that same year, 1623, Captain Christoffer Boye, my captain, sailed away to the north-west from our fortress, to Ternasseri, which lay 600 sea-miles away⁶. He had a fair wind, namely the south monsoon, thither, and remained away all the winter until Passion Sunday⁷.

Now there follows the briefest discourse on the more noteworthy happenings of that winter among us, the inhabitants of the fortress, in the year 1624⁸.

¹ This is only the second time that Jón mentions the vessel by name. See p. 144.

² September of the year 1623.

³ See the list on p. 34.

⁴ See vol. I, map facing p. 13, for these places.

⁵ Probably identical with the rich merchant mentioned in vol. I, p. 178.

⁶ See pp. 20, 102, 150.

⁷ In 1624 Easter Day fell on 7 April. Therefore the date of Passion Sunday would be 24 March, O.S.

⁸ Really 1623-4.

Altogether, of our own people, including the officers, I seem to remember that there were nearly eighty persons in the fortress when the ships had left us. And in that winter there died of flux¹ certainly the two-thirds of them, it being a common disease among natives and strangers, and endemic in the country; but one-third survived in the spring². I suffered from that disease for twelve weeks less two days, and of all that time I lay in bed but two days, nor failed to keep my watch. The reason why I and others had to exert ourselves so much was this evil flux, which killed two-thirds of our people; but most of those who died of it lay only two or three, or at most four days, in bed. Outside the fortress there was a separate burial-ground for those who had died, with a high paling or fence all round it, and a door with a stout lock on it³, and the key was always given to the chaplain every time the dead were carried in for burial. They were honourably followed to the grave by all the garrison bearing arms, under a splendid standard, and with pipes and drums.

After the discourse which was delivered for each single deceased person, three salvoes were fired according to the military custom, for we had no bells in the fortress. The Indians used always to stand close by and surround us in large groups, watching our proceedings and demeanour, both in this and sometimes on Sundays, when some few of them took a fancy before the gates were closed to remain in the fortress for the sermon. These used to stand outside the door and look on when the Sacrament of the Altar was administered. They said they found no fault with our doctrines or proceedings; yet they declared they could not lay aside their own doctrine and superstition so long as their lords and masters offered or ordained nothing else for them. They are blind, as might

¹ Dysentery, then a fatal disease.

² The statement gives a striking instance of the mortality amongst Europeans in India, chiefly from errors of diet and heavy drinking in a tropical climate. Dysentery was still a "fatal" disease as late as 1870. Jón is right in stating that the chronic form of it does not gravely interfere with a man's activities: *experto crede*.

³ This may be one of the four cemeteries still existing in Tranquebar, but the earliest decipherable inscription is 1689. See *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* I, p. 235.

be expected, seeing that they have blind leaders, but it is the more shame to them who walk in the light that in their life and conduct, in speech and deed, they should show themselves like, or perhaps worse, than those who are without the light and walk altogether in darkness. In all parts there is righteous conduct according to the custom there prevailing, true measures and weights and such like, and none may do ill to another either in word or deed, as I have recently mentioned¹. They condemn many crimes and faults; they blame overeating and drinking and all excesses, and they will never take any wine or intoxicating drink. They shake their heads, beat their breasts and spit when they see a drunken man and call him *búratze*², that is to say, changed for the worse.

One of our company, a young man named Morten³, a very good clerk, but yet a hot-tempered fellow, boastful and mocking, drank himself drunk about midsummer one day when he was outside the gate at mealtime, they being locked as was customary during dinner. And when he found the gates were locked he attempted to climb up the wall and broke his neck in his folly. Afterwards he was taken up and brought within, and examined by the surgeon, and the next morning cut open by order of the officers, and was found to have met his death by being drunk, himself being the cause of his death. Accordingly, he was carried a mile away by Indians who were hired to bury him, so that he might not be buried in the same graveyard as our brothers who had passed away, but might be set apart by such burial as a warning to us who were still living.

Once in the winter, two men of our company, one called Stephen Andersen and the other Lars Simonsen⁴, got very drunk, and being out of their senses, set themselves up against

¹ Assuming that Jón is reporting correctly, the statements, though very faulty in detail, show that the Hindus in Tanjore evinced their usual religious toleration to strangers.

² *Veriyan* (Tam.) and *beberrão* (Port.) are terms for a drunkard. Jón may be trying to recollect one of these. Nevertheless, drunkenness was always a common failing of the Tamils.

³ This man was probably at Dansborg when Jón arrived in India. His name is not on the list on p. 33.

⁴ These names are also not on the list on pp. 33-4.

their officers, and consequently were confined and placed in irons in prison, where they added to their guilt by abuse of the officers, threats, and declaring their intention to make their escape, breaking their oath of fidelity and trampling under foot their bounden fealty. All this the officers themselves in person heard, being concealed near by. They were to be swung two days later, and it would depend upon their luck whether they lived or died.

This punishment is as follows. A ladder is put up against the highest beam projecting from a very high gable. The culprit climbs the ladder as far as the beam, on which is a pulley-block with a rope through it, and the end of the rope is made fast to his hands, which are tied behind his back. On the signal being given by a whistle, the Provost snatches away the ladder, the man undergoing the punishment is lowered in one jerk almost to the ground, and yet not quite, and in that jerk his hands which are bound together are twisted above his head and the shoulder-blade either dislocated or broken. But there is a minister standing by at his service, and a surgeon, if it so happens that life still lurks in his body¹.

Now when these aforesaid men had come to the last moment before the punishment, we the garrison and soldiers of the fortress, all standing there armed and in our ranks, raised a great alarm and shout to the officers to ask release for these two men, which was not at once granted, and the issue was doubtful for a while. Thereupon we aimed our muskets on them with burning matches, whereat they were much humbled². At the same moment all the merchants of the city, who are called *marcatores*³, came up, with three interpreters,

¹ Jón is describing the Strappado, a military punishment and also a form of torture to extort confession. For an illustration of a man in the act of enduring it, see *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, s.v. Estrapade. I am indebted for this reference to Mr Benjamin Walker. See *Notes and Queries*, CLIX, p. 464. Mr Malcolm Letts further refers me to an illustration in his Hampe's *Nuremberg Malefactors' Books*, and also to H. F. von Fleming, *Der Vollkommene Teutsche Soldat* (1726), for military punishments in general.

² If Jón's story is correct, discipline in the garrison at Dansborg must have been very lax.

³ See note 2 on p. 150.

who were Moorish brothers¹, and served as interpreters to our fortress when need arose. These approached the officers with great humility, making the same request as we², namely that these men might be pardoned, which was at once done by the command of our masters, so that they were forgiven and at once released. Accordingly the soldiers fired off their guns with all speed. This seemed to the Indians a great mark of respect, for which they showed themselves very grateful to our officers.

Now I must tell how in the autumn the officers of the fortress sent nine men in a coasting vessel to Bengal with lead for sale, which is the best commodity for exchange next to gold³. This vessel ran aground on a sandbank one night in a great storm in pitch darkness; but the crew were saved. This happened close to the land, to which the wreck drifted. Near by was a huge and powerful city, many miles in circumference, and called Meslapoten⁴. Of its inhabitants 7000 were engaged in all kinds of weaving, but I do not clearly remember the numbers of goldsmiths and other craftsmen and citizens who lived there⁵.

A short way from the city was encamped an exceedingly large army, come from a great distance, and commanded by Mogúla Soldán's son⁶, who was cruelly driven forth by his father on account of the protection and kindness which he

¹ Jón's memory has probably failed him here. The interpreters were much more likely to have been Hindus than "Moors," *i.e.* Muhammadans.

² Assuming that the interpreters were Hindus, it is quite probable that they would formally ask for pardon, as by acting thus they would get merit among the people for saving life.

³ Lead was in demand at this date, especially in Tanjore and at Masulipatam. See Foster, *English Factories*, 1622-3, pp. 117, 213, 238.

⁴ Masulipatam. No contemporary confirmation of the wreck of the Danish vessel has been found either in the English or Dutch records, but the date of the occurrence can be fixed as 5-10 November 1623, by the mention of the presence at Masulipatam of the Mughal Prince, for whose visit see below.

⁵ Masulipatam was a centre of trade at this date and was especially noted for silk and cotton piece-goods. See Foster, *op. cit. passim*.

⁶ The "Mogúla Soldán's" (Mughal Sultan's) son was Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān), third son of the Emperor Jahāngīr, who had been in open rebellion against his father since the end of the year 1622. After a severe defeat at Bilūchpur, forty miles south of Delhi, the Prince, with the troops remaining loyal to him, retreated through the territories of the King of Golconda and reached Masulipatam on 5 November 1623. The Danish vessel must therefore have been wrecked on or about that date, as the Prince left Masulipatam five days later.

had often shown and displayed to Christians against his father's orders and wishes¹. I do not recall the number of his army, but he had 11,000 elephants, 11,000 camels and 11,000 horses². He was desirous of settling wherever he should see good prospects in the lands of heathen people³. He upheld justice in his army and enjoined righteous conduct on all his subjects. He had taken this city and caused it to pay tribute to him⁴. And when he heard in his encampment that certain Christians were come thither who had suffered shipwreck, he forthwith sent for them. And when they came before him he received them kindly, and held friendly discourse with them in the Portuguese and Dutch tongues, offering them service with him under his safe protection and kindly authority, and therewith sixteen gulden every month, and three suits of holiday garb; moreover they were to be allowed faithfully to observe their religion, and finally to be granted leave and free permission to depart when they so wished⁵. Further, while serving him they were to be closer to him than any of

¹ Jón is wrong as to the reason for hostilities between Shāh Jahān and Jahāngīr and also as to the former's predilection for Christians. Shāh Jahān rebelled in order to secure the succession to the throne. For details see Foster, *op. cit.* pp. xxiii-xxix.

² These are purely imaginary figures, such as Indians love to indulge in, and are quite incorrect. According to a report from the English factory at Masulipatam (*Factory Records, Surat*, cii, p. 463) quoted by Foster, *op. cit.* p. 314, the army consisted, "as neere as I cann geather," of about 4500 horse, 500 elephants, 10 or 12,000 "boyes" (*i.e.* attendants) and camels for "carreadge," making a total of about 16,000 persons. Jan Libenaer, Dutch factor at Masulipatam, gives the numbers as 14,000 horse, 1500 elephants, 2500 camels and 36,000 [*sic*] foot (*Hague Transcripts*, Series I, vol. vi, no. 216). If all these figures, however, are divided by ten (taking off the last 0) the real size of the Prince's *entourage* will probably be arrived at.

³ On the contrary, Shāh Jahān had no intention of settling at Masulipatam or at any place in Madras or Bengal, to which latter Province he was then bound.

⁴ Here again Jón is wrong. Shāh Jahān encamped about a mile and a half from Masulipatam and neither pillaged the town nor exacted tribute from the subjects of the King of Golconda, by whose courtesy his army was allowed in the neighbourhood. For an interesting account of his five days' stay in the district and the moderation shown by his troops, see the letter quoted above, reproduced by Foster, *op. cit.* pp. 313-15.

⁵ No confirmation has been found of this story. It is, however, possible that the Danes, like the English, had intercourse with the officers of the Mughal army, and that they had an interview with the Prince himself who was desirous of enlisting them as gunners in the Mughal service.

the courtiers, because he had a great liking for Christian men, and said that for that cause he now was a fugitive¹. To which they humbly replied that they served the King of Denmark and were pledged to him by oath, and therefore could not break their faith with him. And when he heard that, he was well pleased, and praised their fidelity and allegiance, and gave them noble gifts and free leave to depart, and letters of safe-conduct all the way back to us², which journey was successfully accomplished.

There was one of our people, Cornelius by name³, a carpenter and very handy at many things, endowed by God with many good gifts and accomplishments. He was one of the most gentle of men in daily intercourse, courteous, almost the best-looking of us, and with the best voice of us all. A short time before he left Holland this man had fallen into great misfortune through the evil influence of a sorceress there, because he would not wed her granddaughter, to whom he had nevertheless made some promises. Through these evil influences he had fallen into very wicked ways. It so happened that he was once at the baths or spring for washing (for it was the custom every day that the garrison went to bathe) and was in the company of his six messmates, when one of them, by name Claus the carpenter⁴, lost a Spanish dollar out of his purse, down by the water, and the truth was revealed by an old sorcerer, all being called together in his solitary dwelling, and he pointed and with his finger clearly indicated the man who had done it, which was this said Cornelius, whereat all were greatly astonished. This old man had three books written on a special kind of parchment 300 years old, and these he did not allow to lie on the ground, but had a stone tablet between them and the earth. Instead of parch-

¹ See above, p. 159, n. 1. Jón may be confusing Shāh Jahān with his son, Dāra Shikoh, who openly favoured the Christian religion, but if so, he must be repeating what was told him many years after his return from India.

² Here again Jón is in error, for Shāh Jahān was then under the protection of the King of Golconda and had no power to grant safe-conducts from Masulipatam to Tanjore.

³ This Dutchman had evidently preceded Jón to India and was already in the garrison on his arrival.

⁴ Claus From. See the list on p. 33.

ment they contained human skin, and one might pull it as one would, it would always spring back into its proper shape¹. Another revolting and terrible crime of which Cornelius in his misfortunes became guilty was that (by your leave) he had carnal intercourse with a goat, late on one dark evening, in which act and wickedness he was found by the Englishwoman Temperance, the wife of the clerk Hieronymus, who was walking about with an Indian lad outside the smithy, where he did his work.

He [Cornelius] was one of my messmates, and had become a sincere Lutheran, to judge by his words. He was eager to read Lutheran books, and I taught him all the Hymn-book in Danish, so that he was my especially good friend, and I was sorely grieved by this his melancholy case and delinquency. Temptations assailed him in his sleep, so that he leapt up very hastily and all at once leapt violently out of his bed on to the floor. I awoke and enquired what was the cause of his sudden movement. But he said he must go outside, and was a long time gone. And when he came back and laid himself in his bed he sighed deeply. I asked him why he was out so long, but he answered nothing, and lay weeping for a long while thereafter. The next morning this ugly rumour was about, and when I heard it I told him, and said that if it were a lie he should manfully refute it. He said he agreed, and promised to try to do so. When such evil talk came to the ears of our officers they were much afflicted, especially the Rector, for he and Cornelius had been friends from their youth up, and had been to school together.

The following morning Cornelius went into the gateway and out of the gate, singing, in his best suit, with his carpenter's rule in his hand. The watch asked him where he intended to go, and he said he had business to do with Antonius the tailor. And they saw him no more. The officers thought it well that matters had gone thus, but pretended that they regarded it as a great transgression, and blamed the watch that they had not hindered or checked him. The

¹ Parchment is unlikely in South India and the human skin story was probably told by someone who was playing on Jón's credulity.

Rector sent letters about him in all directions, and the last that was heard of him was that he was come to Pulicat, where the Dutch had a trading-station, and which was 240 miles from our fortress Dansborg¹. A short time before this happened he drew out the fortress Dansborg very prettily, and the drawing was sent home by the *Pearl*² to the King and the Company, and was much praised and admired, that the fortress could be so well depicted by the pen. He was a very handy man at all carpentering, house-building and statuary, tower-building and carving, but above all at ship-building, also an excellent singer and good at reckoning.

¹ The distance given is exaggerated. Pulicat is twenty-four miles north of Madras, that is, only about 100 English miles distant from Tranquebar.

² The *Pearl*, a Danish man-of-war, sailed to India in 1623 (see vol. I, p. 220, n. 1) and Jón returned in her to Europe, as is narrated later on.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE lad Sivile, whom I have mentioned before, served me for twelve weeks. And before he departed he obtained for me an excellent Indian lad, of good disposition, eleven years old. His mother was a widow, and I only saw her twice: she commended her son to my charge, that I should correct and train him as I thought good, and teach him Christian manners, and take him with me to Denmark and there have him baptized and made a Christian, which I promised her to do on condition that I obtained the permission of the General, when he should come from Denmark. Another son of hers, called Catthei, and afterwards Christian, had already gone to Denmark with the first ship¹. But this son of hers, who served me well and faithfully, so that many were jealous of me, was called Agamemnon or Agamenan². God had given him a fair form and a pale skin. He used to kneel every time that he asked leave to remain outside the gates at night, to look upon their idolatrous festivities and the sports and games, which they perform by the light of fires and great torches. And every evening he used to come to me, fall on his knees and take my right hand and place it on his head, bidding me bless him, and in many other ways he showed his good disposition. Every Saturday the year round his mother sent me a great box, as it were, of brass, full of baked sugar cakes.

One day late in the summer it happened that we seven messmates got leave (like others who were in health) to walk abroad to stretch our legs, and we went nearly eight miles. And when we were come a little way from the town, a great

¹ Catthei. Possibly from Tam. *kaṭṭai*, *kaṭṭaiyāna*, dwarfish. His small size would make him desirable as a body servant to European ladies at that period.

² The latter part of this name seems to refer to the South Indian writer-caste, Menon. *Mēnōn* (Mal.) is a village accountant in Malabar and is a frequent third name there. See *Madras Manual of Admn.* III, s.v. Mail; Barbosa, ed. Dames, II, p. 18, n. 20. The name would therefore probably be Aga (or Akka) Menon. Agamemnon is folk-etymology and is, of course, Greek and not Indian.

multitude of people met us coming from the country, and bearing all kinds of fruits in baskets on their heads, as is their custom, and bringing other wares to the city¹. These men called to us, saying "*pampo!*" that is a snake or great serpent², but we thought it would mean bamboos, that is hollow reeds through which they take their tobacco³, and we bade our lads go to them and buy some of them for us.

And when they had approached and saw what was afoot they ran back to us in great excitement and terror, and told us. When they saw us set to running they feared for us, and when we saw this serpent we too were smitten with awe at its size and fierce demeanour. As soon as it saw us pursuing it, it rose⁴ with great ferocity against us, so that we ran to either side, but yet had our swords raised to strike. It defended itself a long while, but when it saw how set and fearless we were against it, it began to flee, creeping through every bush on the way, while we pursued it with the greatest ardour. One of us, Peter Arndal by name, fetched it a sound blow near the tail, but its skin being very tough it was but slightly harmed. We seven must have attacked it for a good hour and a half. At last my companions declared themselves weary, and yet we had not succeeded, so that four of them left us, on account of fatigue, and also declaring that they would no longer put themselves in such peril. For we needed to heed ourselves very carefully, so that we never came within his own length of him, throughout all the turns he made, his movements being both swift and fierce, and dire hurt certain if he had chanced to strike us, either by his poisoned breath, or by the point near the end of his tongue, with which he stings many a one to death⁵. The beast was three-coloured, black, white and grey, and the sting or bite of this kind of serpent is so

¹ This is a good description of a scene in the early morning round an Indian town.

² Tam. *pāmbu*, a snake.

³ Jón is referring to a rude hookah or hubble-bubble, in which a hollow joint of bamboo serves as a water-bowl. See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Tobacco, p. 486.

⁴ The snake was evidently a cobra since it rose to fight.

⁵ Jón is mistaken. No serpent has poisonous breath. Its poison is in a hollow tooth and not in the tongue.

poisonous that few survive it, and some do not live more than twelve hours after it¹. These reasons caused my comrades to quit the chase, bidding us three cease our venture while we yet could, on account of this peril; but I thought that a great disgrace to us in a strange land, and therefore begged the other two, Peter Arndal and Salomon, to remain with me, which they did, chiefly on account of my prayers, for they too were much alarmed for me, seeing my blood was up and that I was entirely set on overcoming the serpent, if God would give me the victory. And when the others had, to our regret, left us and gone away, we set to work to continue the chase in good earnest and all together, and sought the serpent with great persistence, until he fled into a large bush, forcing his way into it so violently that the whole thicket trembled and shook, as also the earth under our feet. But as he was making his way through the bush I ran round to the other side of it with great daring, and at the same moment he issued forth from it fiercely and at a great speed, raising his head and upper part nigh upon two ells high², and raged against me with much hissing and puffing, so that there seemed as it were a blue smoke in front of him and around him. But so was I gloriously upheld by God, that I was not terrified either at him nor at his cruel look, but my comrades cried aloud and were sorely frightened, bidding me heed myself in God's name. And as he made to strike me I hewed at him with all the force God had given me, brandishing my broadsword with the strength of my two arms so mightily, that the others were surprised that I or one like me could show such strength. I was about an ell's distance from its head, which I cut clean off, but my sword buried itself in the earth up to the hilt, and when I tried to draw it out it was broken just below the hilt, so that we had to dig up the blade. I walked at once between the two pieces of the serpent, so that it should not join together again, about which the Indians had warned me

¹ This is a moderate estimate. The bite of a vigorous cobra often proves fatal in a few minutes.

² This must be an exaggeration, for the Danish ell is twenty-four inches English.

shortly before¹. But when I was about to cut out the serpent's tongue out of its head, being fully purposed so to do, because I had read somewhat, though not enough, about its properties, my companions seized me and hindered me, so that I could not carry out my wish, which I sorely repented afterwards, for a surgeon in Copenhagen said that I should certainly have got sixty dollars for it. And a wise man in Iceland told me that I had been foolish indeed to have omitted to take the tongue, and said that I could have been sure of 100 dollars for it in that country, on account of the healing properties possessed by it, for many kinds of hurts and sicknesses². And now, this deed having been accomplished and brought to a successful issue, we departed thence and took our way up into the country, and bought milk and what else was to be had there.

But when the garrison officers learnt what had been done they went out to where the serpent lay dead, to behold it, and were greatly amazed at its size. It was no thicker than perhaps two ells round, but its length some thought to be eight ells and some nine, and I am not able to say for sure. But it was set down in our Log or Journal³, and praised as a great feat, both among ourselves and the Indians, from which the esteem in which I was held waxed greatly, and so too the favour shown me, especially while the deed was yet fresh in men's minds.

In the evening, after we had come home, a message was sent to me from the Rector and Governor bidding me come up to the great hall. And when I appeared the Rector greeted me very kindly, and said that I had done a deed of great daring, which would make me famous, and that it was already written down in the Log. He said he had been in the Indies seven years at one time, up at Jackitra (that is in Java)⁴, and

¹ This is pure folk-tale.

² The curative power of the snake was believed in from very early times. Mr Henri M. Leon (*Notes and Queries*, CLX, p. 13) notes that: "The flesh of the snake mixed with other things was considered, according to the Talmud (*Shabbat*, 109 *b*), the most effective antidote against the poison of its own kind as well as of other animals. A snake cooked in olive oil is said [*ibid.* 77 *b*] to be a remedy for the itch."

³ See note 6 on p. 146.

⁴ Jakatra, the native town close to which the Dutch built Batavia in 1619.

another time in Pulicat¹, but that he had never seen so large a serpent killed. But he told me of one serpent in Java which lived in a hill in Java, and never came out save on Christmas Eve, and at that season there were great reverberations and earthquakes in the neighbourhood, as he made his way in and out; and this serpent he said he and other persons had seen from a distance, with great fear and trembling, and that he was the size of a small whale, and was held to be an evil spirit or some wicked man changed into that shape². Soon after I took my leave, they bidding me a friendly goodnight, after they had all drunk toasts to me, and ordered me a stoup containing eight pints of wine.

Every time I went down to the market-place the merchants who were standing in the booths came out to meet me, and one young merchant in especial used to come out and greet me with embraces, every time I came thither, and used to call me Sinior Joram³.

Late one evening, when we were standing guard, I fell into a dispute with a man called Peter Jensen. This man had been on the warship of King Christian IV to Spitzberg or Greenland in the year 1620, as far as I remember, for whale-fishing⁴, though they did not prosper therein, and got into great difficulties and perils through the Polar ice, which pressed them so hardly that the vessel was crushed and destroyed by it eighty sea-miles to the north-east of Iceland, and they had to quit the ship and abandon the main part of its cargo, in a boat with nigh thirty men in it. They rowed the greater part of those eighty miles, but were in daily peril through storms, frost and fatigue. They reached land, if I

¹ See note 1 on p. 162. Pulicat was the seat of a Dutch factory. For Christoffer van der Mohlen, the Rector, see pp. 26, 99.

² This is a fine folk-tale, but no contemporary version of it has been found.

³ As Dr Blöndal points out, the Indian merchants probably called Jón (in Portuguese) Senhor João (Joam, an Icelandic form of which Joram is a corruption in the text).

⁴ This man does not appear to be identical with the Peter Jansen or Jensen of the list on pp. 33-4. The expedition to which Jón alludes is probably the one he describes in vol. I, pp. 147-9 as having taken place in 1618. Or Jensen may have served on one of the two vessels sent out by the Danish Greenland Company in 1619 (see vol. I, p. 150, n. 4).

remember rightly, close to Húsavík¹, many of them maimed by frostbite and hardships, and lived through the winter with worthy folk. Among these shipwrecked mariners was this Peter, who had had his lodging, together with their surgeon, in the house of the late lawman Halldór of Möðruvöllum², all the time until the following summer, when ships came out to the trading-stations. But what caused the difference I had with him was nothing else than the refractory speech about Iceland of this ill-bred and ungrateful cub, which was the return he made for benefits and hospitality received, and for the gift of his life. I was ill-pleased on this account, and grew much vexed with him, so that I struck him a blow on the cheek, with which he ran off to the officers and complained of me, so that I was set up with him on the wooden horse³. He was sternly forbidden to anger me further or to raise my bile, which he afterwards eschewed.

¹ See vol. I, p. 140, n. 2.

² Dr Blöndal has a note here: "Halldór Ólafsson, Law-man for the north and west [of Iceland] 1619-38." Cp. Jón Sigurðsson's *Lögsögumannatal* in *Safn fyrir Sögu Íslands*, II, pp. 132-3.

³ For the wooden horse, see vol. I, pp. 101, 116. This and other statements show that, whatever may have been Jón's relations with his superior officers, he was treated just as an ordinary gunner whenever he misbehaved.

CHAPTER XXV

ABOUT a mile from the town stood a horse made of pasteboard and leather; of a huge size, nearly five fathoms round and as much in height. On it stood the figure of a man, very tall, who had two faces, one in front and one behind, with very fierce eyes: he also was made of pasteboard and leather, and was several hundred years old, and was in the likeness of some great hero, who lived in that country in old times. On the charger was the image of two reins, which were in the hand of him who rode him, and by each boss on the bridle stood a man holding the reins, and seeming to hearken to the orders of their lord (him who rode the charger), to hold the horse or loose it when bid by him, and they were made of the same substance as the rest. Under the horse's belly, in the region of its privy parts, stood some young men in the same style as the rest. We often went out in this direction to look at this which I have just described, which seemed to us a strange and curious sight, whenever we went thither¹.

One of their temples stood close by, and in it were seven of their idols, with the one chief idol they have, who always stands in the middle of the inner wall in every small temple², and according to their custom lamps of vegetable fat³ burned within. These our people used frequently to extinguish, but I used to stand guard outside, for their boldness did not please me, and I used to ask them to cease, or would threaten them else with breaking my promise of silence, and they were greatly afraid of me and my grave warnings. Which may suffice for this matter.

Now follows an account of the marriage of these people,

¹ Jón is describing one of the symbolical figures common in South Indian villages. Mr Richards tells me that such horses are found all over the Tamil country and are usually made of clay. For an illustration, see Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, Plate VI, facing p. 34. See also E. O. Martin, *Gods of India*, p. 196.

² The only ancient Hindu building now standing at Tranquebar is the remains of the Shaiva temple, alluded to on p. 120 and n. 3.

³ Coconut oil.

the Malabarīs as they are called¹ (who are worshippers of the devil, in order that he being evil, may do them no harm)². It is the custom among them that all their young daughters should be married under ten years of age—at the earliest at four years and at latest ten—and most of their sons in the same way³. On the day of their betrothal they are placed together in a noble *palakīn*, wherein they lie in splendid beds⁴, and are anointed with precious balsams of many colours. Above them is a canopy of many-hued silken cloth. The bridegroom is borne in front with trumpets and the beating of drums until late in the day, all through the city, and she follows in the same manner, and money is offered them at most of the houses, and in some they are honoured with gifts. Finally they are borne to the gate of the temple yard, where the priest consecrates them as man and wife laying his hands on them their heads being laid together⁵. Afterwards they are carried away to the house her parents rule over; guests are called, and seated (among the common folk) on the ground, and well-dressed victuals brought forward, red water, spiced and of a sweet flavour⁶, offered to the company to drink, and after the meal they partake of *bitilarech*, whereof men become as if drunk⁷, and at the last they take tobacco.

They greet ordinary folk by offering the right hand, but when they meet persons of authority, or us Christians, in the street or market-place, they greet with both their hands, kissing the fingers and stretching them out from their mouth and spreading them wide, their head being bowed⁸. Of this enough.

¹ By Malabarīs Jón means South Indian Hindus. See p. 115, n. 6.

² For so-called devil-worship, see p. 131.

³ An allusion to the custom of infant marriage.

⁴ The reference seems to be to the board or bench on which the bridal couple are seated. See *Gaz. of the Tanjore Dist.* I, p. 74.

⁵ Jón is giving a confused account of what he can remember about wedding ceremonies in South India, which usually last for three days. For a description of the various rites, see *op. cit.* pp. 73-5.

⁶ Saffron water is used at marriage festivals. Vermilion is also used. Jón may have confused the two.

⁷ For "bitilarech" see pp. 115, 116. The guests would not, however, become drunk from betel-chewing, but from drinking of spirits, to which Tamils are addicted.

⁸ Jón's memory has quite failed him here. For the five forms of Hindu obeisance, see Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Etiquette, p. 183.

But every child bride, of which I have spoken above, remains at home with her parents until she is fourteen years old, and her bridegroom pays the half-price of her sustenance to her parents. Then in her fourteenth year he takes her home to his house to bed and board, and to provide for her every day thereafter¹.

When children are named they are brought, when well grown, to their *brameni* or priest, and he passes fire over them, making a long discourse, but I know of no other details of the ceremony².

Together with my comrades and our chaplain I once beheld one of the Indians beset by an evil spirit. In every town there is a man whose practice it is to drive out the devil when he effects an entrance. This expulsion is accomplished with a shrill resounding piece of copper which he bears in his hand and strikes close to the ear of the victim with an exceedingly finely-wrought hammer³. In this man the unclean spirit spoke, and answered every question addressed to it, whence it had come or how it had found the man, or what reproach it had against him, or how long it would plague him? To all of which it made response thus. Firstly: that it had come from Trichlagour⁴ (which lies four miles' distance from our fortress) and it said it had there burnt down a whole street. It said it had found this man outside the city, where he had been bathing in a pool; and as to what offence it charged him with, his disobedience to itself, and that he had abandoned the practice of sacrifices to it, and his favour to the Christians who had come into the land. The other asks how long it will possess the man. It says, as long as the man does not reconcile himself with it by the usual worship, obeisances, sacrifices and such-like. The other says that on the man's behalf he will reconcile himself with it for a certain amount of sacrifice, and with other conditions which they might agree

¹ The age given is incorrect. In South India it would be eleven or twelve.

² For the name-giving (*nāma-karma*) ceremony among Hindus and the sacrifice to fire (*homām*), of which it is a part, see Dubois, *op. cit.* i, p. 138.

³ See Crooke, *Things Indian*, s.v. Demonology, p. 132, for a varying form of exorcism.

⁴ Tirukkadaiyūr.

upon according to his means and what was possible. The unclean spirit makes one condition after another : firstly it claims as yearly sacrifice two capons as meat-offering, then as much rice as is bought for one *fanó*, *bitilarech* for another *fanó*, tobacco for a third, and further it forbade all favour to Christians. It was this man's office to defend the possessed, and he disparaged his possessions and means and said that his poverty and misery were too great for him to pay or meet such sacrifices or expenses every year, and so sought for more indulgence, and at the end the amount was made less by half. Meanwhile, during their conversation, the man with the gong strove to drive out the unclean spirit in the usual way, which did not serve on this occasion, and it said that it would not depart for such reasons before it chose to do so. After the reconciliation and contract was made the wretched man was seized with a great fit of yawning, trembling and spasms, and all present were bidden depart, so that the doors of the house might stand empty. And when the unclean spirit departed from the man he was seized with horrible yawning and spasms, so men thought his mouth would split up to his ears, and frothed at the mouth, and then lay a long while as if dead. Then he leapt to his feet in haste and ran out to a pool near by and lay in it a long while, so that he was thought to be dead. Afterwards he came up out of the water like one half-stunned, and was for a long while as if beside himself¹. May God be gracious to us all and be near us, and have mercy on us! Amen.

¹ Jón had evidently been present at a ceremony of exorcism among some low-caste people who were not really Hindus.

CHAPTER XXVI

NOW I must tell how in October¹ the King of Travanzour² sent a certain very great lord of his to visit our officers. This man had seven servants who followed him bearing swords. When they descended from their *palakíns* they entered the castle two and two. This *nico*³ and lord was well received by the garrison. Before him walked twelve *tallaris*⁴ or soldiers, uttering loud shouts, as is their custom there. They were girt with swords, and bore long spears in their hands, and performed many feats with them after the military fashion. All the garrison stood drawn up on either side of the fortress gateway, and fired off their muskets three times, and further, the great guns of the fortress were fired off thrice three times. This *nico* came with a letter from the King, in which he asked from the Rector and Governor as much lead as could hardly be carried in six waggons. Thereto the Rector, who had all the goods of the fortress in his charge, answered that as much lead as the King had named should be forthcoming, as soon as he should receive a written declaration from the King declaring how many hundredweights he desired, and at what price he should estimate each hundredweight. And therewith he bade the King not take his answer ill.

The King's ambassador was greatly vexed and at once took his departure in high dudgeon, all his servants entering their *palakíns*, and so, with no farewells and no honour, he went from our fortress to Travanzour, to the Nico de Regnato⁵, and told him of the issue of his journey. And when the King heard the Rector's answer he was filled with a great rage. And

¹ Of the year 1623.

² By the "King of Travanzour," Raghunātha, Nāyak of Tanjore, is meant.

³ *Nāyak*, noble.

⁴ See note 5 on p. 16.

⁵ Raghunātha, Nāyak of Tanjore.

the next morning he despatched a message and a letter to the Rector, that if he did not yield up as much lead as he desired without any question to him about a reckoning for the same, the King would declare him to have broken the treaty which had previously been concluded between the Kings, and further, he threatened that he would not only take the lead alone for nothing, with his royal power, for that more than that was in our hands¹, but also that he would take the castle down to its foundations, and doom it and us and all that was in it to destruction, for he said the ground was his and all that stood on it, the treaty having been broken (as he said) by us. And though the Rector excused himself earnestly in letters, pleading the difficulty he was in, and how he was unable to do anything without orders, against the rules laid down for him, it did not avail to check or soften his wrath, so that at last the Rector wrote a grave letter, together with the Governor, that he must do what he wished, and we would await the issue².

The King immediately sent a message to his general, who was called Calicut³, bidding him make ready for war against us with his 40,000⁴. The general readily and swiftly obeyed the message, and was to take the castle and put us to death. This Calicut, the King's general, lay perpetually out in tents with his army of 40,000, never coming under a smoky roof⁵, and when he got the King's war message in the evening, they

¹ The text is obscure here. Apparently Jón means to say "for other goods, besides lead, were in our hands."

² No confirmation of this disagreement with the Nāyak of Tanjore has been found in the contemporary records, nor in the *Hist. of the Naik Kingdom of Madura*, but Jón is evidently telling a true story of events that occurred while he was at Tranquebar. It also reads "true," as the story discloses a fine specimen of Oriental bluff. There was evidently no intention—probably not even the means—on the Nāyak's or his "General's" part of doing anything further than try and coerce the Danish Governor into giving up a valuable quantity of lead for nothing. Childish wrath at failure may also have had something to do with the storm in a teacup that was raised.

³ This seems to be folk-etymology on the part of Jón for Tam. *thaḷa-karthan*, chief captain, general.

⁴ The figures are due to the common custom of overestimating any large number, usually by an additional 0: that is, by ten times.

⁵ By a "smoky roof" Jón apparently means a permanently occupied house.

were to be ready for battle the next morning. Now they thought that our fortress would be a likely place for tit-bits, and accordingly they made ready to meet us with no relenting.

We on our side made ready with the greatest speed and made every kind of preparations for war. We loaded all the guns, which stood round the walls, first with powder and tow, and in some guns we put a bunch of 9-inch iron nails tightly bound together with a strong hempen thread, the points facing outwards¹, and in some we put bar-shot, scissor-shot and chain-shot². And when all this was ready and we had placed langrel bags³ in some of the guns, in order to destroy men, elephants, camels and horses with many kinds of ammunition, we made ready to go out into the plain with those who went to fetch water, and we got eighty pipes of water before we were pressed, that is 800 barrels. Calicut had in his army 1100 horses, 1100 camels and 1100 elephants⁴.

Then our officers had all the Indian merchants of the city summoned to the fortress, and they were offered two courses, to choose which they liked of them: namely, to betake themselves to the host of their countrymen, and join them, or to suffer with us whatever fate had in store, however matters turned out for us. And they all with one voice declared that they would join us, and said they would suffer with us whatever fate held in store, with all the soldiers and citizens that had their business and dwelling-place in the city. And as a visible sign of their purpose they had all their goods carried into the fortress; but they mostly slept in the city. Also our *taliaris*, the Indian soldiers, who daily stood guard with us, were in the same way questioned which choice they would take, and falling on their knees they said their lives were at

¹ Bags full of iron scraps used at times instead of cannon-balls. (B.)

² Bar-shot, a double shot consisting of two half cannon-balls joined by an iron bar, used to injure masts and rigging. Scissor-shot is apparently a term for clippings of iron used as projectiles. Chain-shot, two spherical shot fastened together by a short length of chain.

³ Langrel bags, bags for langrel (langrill) shot, an obsolete nautical term. See Smith, *Seaman's Grammar*, xiv, p. 67.

⁴ Compare these figures with those given for Prince Khurram's force (p. 159). They are evidently stock figures for any large army.

our service, and with signs they made clear that they would rather be cut to pieces while yet quick than that they would desert us or break their pledged faith¹.

Now it happened that people were continually falling sick in the fortress Dansborg; many dying (those not the least of our men) after a short sickness² of but three, four or five days. This was not kept so secret that it did not reach the ears of Calicut, the King's general, the which encouraged him to greater persecution and harrying of us Christians. We also had our spies abroad, who daily brought news of them to us (but yet secretly), concerning the advance of their army towards us day by day, also concerning their plans, threats and boastful words. Often we caught sight of small parties of their army when we were out in the plain with those who were fetching water, about two miles to the west of the fortress. Both we and they were on guard against each other, but at last, as they became more numerous every day, we thought it best to cease our water-carrying and to remain quietly within the fortress, ready to meet whatever might happen and be brought upon us by God. Many and awful threats and various plans were carried from their encampments to us. And yet it was to be observed that fear had been sent by the Lord into their army, for though they let boastful words be carried from their tents to us, that they would visit us and put us to death on such and such a day, yet God delayed their attack, and their daily marches towards us became shorter and shorter. Yet at last Calicut and all his aforesaid army reached Trichlagour³, and lay there fourteen days without accomplishing anything. This was about Mid-Lent⁴ and the days following. But it had happened two nights before Christmas in the previous winter that a great piece of the fortress wall had fallen down of itself, and our men feared that this event must portend something evil. And whereas our posts had previously been set in five places, one was added thereto, so that

¹ The local merchants and the native traders evidently gauged correctly the value of the Nāyak's bluff.

² Dysentery. See p. 155.

³ Tirukkadaiyūr.

⁴ March 1624.

after this occurrence we had to have six posts every time, both night and day. At this breach in the walls those men were placed on guard in whose watchfulness, manliness, skill and strength the officers most confided; and this post was given to the unworthy author of this work, together with three others of my watch. Each one took a turn lasting four hours by the hour-glass, when he was relieved. It was very difficult (as matters stood) to stand guard at this breach, for at night it seemed as if one saw and heard so many things in the pitch darkness. Yet they durst not repair it as matters stood. And in such anxiety and fear we remained all the winter, first till Christmas and then through the New Year until Passion Sunday¹, on which day our ship the *St Lawrence* was sighted sailing from Ternasseri, on board of which was my captain, Christoffer Boye, and our artillery-master's mate Hermann², a very good friend of mine, who had sojourned here in Iceland for three years, buying and selling on behalf of the ship-owners in Denmark. But they had lost our chaplain, Master Christian³, who had come out with us, and eight others, commended to God's mercy. The man who first sighted the ship was called Jens Andersen⁴, and he got a silk suit and a large stoup of wine for the joyful sight⁵, and we rejoiced exceedingly as may be well guessed, for we had become diminished in numbers by the destructive flux which rages in that land, and from which none who goes to India escapes. Those of us who did not die on that occasion had to suffer a revolting sickness of the same nature, whether they were afoot or in bed. I was only in bed two days out of twelve weeks of the sickness and those two days not in my watch. To add to all this was the strength, hostility and beleaguering of the enemy, and the threatening talk of the heathens without by day and by night made us greatly tremble, and there was the strict and harsh superintendence of our officers

¹ 24 March 1624.

² Hermann Rygaardsen. See the list on p. 34.

³ Christian Jensen of Skelskor. See the list on p. 34.

⁴ Probably one of the garrison in residence on Jón's arrival. His name does not appear in the list on p. 33.

⁵ According to the old custom of rewarding the bringer of good tidings.

and their continual reprimands, of which I need not speak further.

And when this ship arrived off the fortress, we hoisted banners, as did they at once, declaring themselves with shots, which we returned. And when Calicut heard the report of these shots in his tents, which were nearly four miles from the sea, he immediately sent down to the shore to learn what was afoot. And when he hears of the coming of our ship he falls silent for a while, but yet takes courage again, and said we should nevertheless not be saved by this, and ordered his camp to be broken up and his army to advance with speed. He ordered a halt about two miles to the west of the fortress, and at that spot he lay all the week till Palm Sunday¹, with no further action, save that every day his threats were reported to us. But God himself softened and turned aside his wrath, so that he neither set afoot nor accomplished any more evil against us than this. Praised be the name of the Lord to all eternity! Amen².

Now I must tell how on Palm Sunday I went early in the morning to the Governor, who was putting on his clothes, being this same day invited to the vessel by my captain, Christoffer Boye, and sought leave from him to go out to the ship to my two good friends Hermann and Bernt Andersen³. He said he would hardly venture to give me leave on account of the impending peril and enmity of the heathen, for if he gave it to me others would desire it of him. My messmate Henrik⁴ stood behind me and made the same plea, whereat he grew angry, but at last he gave us leave with stern injunctions that we should return to land in the evening in a condition so little affected by ale that we could do all that might be needed to attend to our work. Now as we were going down from the fortress to the shore, where four Indians

¹ 31 March 1624.

² Probably no one in the two camps was better pleased than "Calicut," notwithstanding all his tall talk, at the arrival of the Danish ships, as reported below, for it must have relieved him from the necessity of continuing the attempt to extort lead from the Danes.

³ Hermann Rygaardsen and Bernt Andersen. See the list on pp. 33-4.

⁴ This man has not been mentioned before. He was probably one of the original garrison.

were waiting with a boat, a new sight revealed itself to us, whereat we rejoiced greatly. We saw two ships sail out of the south with snow-white sails and flags flying from their mast-heads. We instantly recognized the *Pearl*, the great vessel of 700 lasts, and the *Jupiter*, the smaller vessel¹. Forthwith flags were hoisted on the fortress and as many guns fired as they on board fired off for a salute. And yet we were not hindered in our outing, and were honourably received and given gifts of the commodities brought from where they came from.

All the officers went out to the ships as soon as the service was over², to visit General Roland Crappe, who was come with the *Pearl*, and who had made seven voyages to the Indies as a merchant and was now come to such dignity as I have said. He was unmarried, a Dutchman by birth and come of poor folk. Early in youth he was taken on shipboard as a ship's sweeper and cabin-boy. He first got his book-learning from his shipmates, and so gradually rose to higher places, until he finally reached the height of his prosperity. All this he told me for my instruction on a short walk, together with other circumstances pertaining to his youth and forlorn condition³.

The next following day all the Indian merchants who lived in the city went out to the ship to welcome the General. And when he came on shore they had ordered all the church hussies and their *baldor*⁴ and all the soldiers of Trango-barich⁵ to meet him as soon as he landed, dancing in their

¹ For the *Pearl* and *Jupiter*, Danish men-of-war, see vol. I, p. 238, and *supra*, ch. XXIII, p. 162. In the *Pearl* was the Rev. Mads (Matthias) Rasmussen, sent out by the Danish East India Company to be chaplain at Dansborg, but for reasons to be stated later, he returned in her to Europe. He wrote a brief account of his experiences, printed in the *Danske Magazin*, I Række, I bd., pp. 104 ff. Dr Blöndal has most kindly translated the narrative for me and all the pertinent allusions will be found in subsequent notes.

² The date given by Rasmussen for the arrival of the *Pearl* does not tally with Jón's story. Rasmussen says that the *Pearl* reached "the castle or fort of Dansborg... 14 March 1624, being a Sunday... fourteen days before Easter," whereas Passion Sunday fell, as stated above, on 24 March (O.S.) or 3 April (N.S.) in 1624.

³ For Rollant Crappe, see p. 4 and note 3.

⁴ That is, temple dancing-women and their *bailador*, for whom see p. 123 and n. 2.

⁵ Tranquebar.

accustomed manner. All this mob accompanied him to the gateway of the fortress, where nine guns were fired from the walls in his honour, and all the soldiers stood drawn up within the gates in full accoutrements and fired off their muskets.

When the General Calicut learnt what was happening, he came in the middle of the week before Easter¹, with 500 fully accoutred servants and nine *palakins*, in which he and his son of seven years, and the other chief men in his company, were borne according to their custom. These 500 were drawn up in ranks outside the fortress gateway. And when he himself entered the fortress nine guns were fired off in his honour and all the soldiers in full equipment fired off their muskets thrice, while the great flag of the fortress was hoisted and trumpets blown. And when he and his company had gone up into the fortress I and another of our people went to look at their *palakins* and other travelling-gear. But when I opened the *palakin* where the General's son lay, he was startled and I no less. He lay on silken mattresses and cushions, all set, sewn and decked with gold, pearls and gems, and a tassel, whereby they raise themselves in the bed, and which is fastened to the beam above it, was on a thick gold cord, set with crystals and other precious stones. Moreover, in accordance therewith, the *palakins* were wrought with fine skill of ivory, which looked like polished white glass. And when one of their servants saw me doing this, he ran up waving his arms and crying "*Ille! Ille! Ille!*" that is to say "O nay, O nay, it is forbidden²!" This young lad was both fair and good to look upon, with a pale skin and well-made in all his bodily form, and he was anointed all over with balsams of divers hues. He wore much gold and precious stones about his person and in his ears, according to their custom.

Meanwhile Calicut greatly reproached our Rector, de-

¹ Wednesday 27 March 1624 O.S. See *infra* where Jón mentions the day of the week. Rasmussen says: "The 17 March came the highest military commander of the Naic... on a visit to our general in the Castle. He stayed there about an hour and a half. He was accompanied by four large elephants, about fifty horses, and two hundred black Indians, and in his honour a Danish salute was fired simultaneously from the ships and the castle with great display."

² Tam. *illai*, no.

claring that he was the sole cause of the strife and dissension which had arisen between us. He had with him nine elephants, and 500 horses. His soldiers had mostly Turkish dress: they were allowed to eat any food and likewise to drink themselves drunk¹. Our General showed Calicut all our magnificence, and awed him with all our military preparations, and showed him all the cannon standing on their smooth carriages and sunk into their embrasures. As he paused by each gun it was fired off in his honour, and each of the ships replied by an equal number of shots. The *Pearl* had two large bronze guns, which were always outside and never taken in²: these were of the kind called half-cannonades³: their ball weighs forty-eight pounds. They were in front of the steering-platform by the cabin-door, and were now fired off by the *Pearl* in reply, with other good guns. When I had fired off my three guns which I had in my charge on the walls, Calicut enquired of the General in the Portuguese tongue⁴ whether there were any larger than these in the ships, to which the General said, "Yes." That awed him very much, and when he heard the said two cannon fired off, he struck his hands on his breast and said "*Abbæ! O father*⁵!"

On this Wednesday there was so great heat that it was beyond all belief, so that about noon we who were standing guard on the walls had to turn round and round like a steak which is to be kept from burning; and one of the elephants

¹ This reads as if the bodyguard of the Tanjore general was composed of Arab mercenaries or Africans, known in Southern India as Habshis or Abyssinians.

² They were probably so kept to be ready to fire at all times as saluting guns. Brass and bronze guns make a noise out of all proportion to their size, but they were not likely to be so large as Jón says they were, although, as he travelled home in the *Pearl*, he should have remembered correctly.

³ That is, half cannon-balls, and so they could not have been as large as Jón states.

⁴ This looks as if it were not Raghunātha's general, but some interpreter sent to represent him.

⁵ Tam. *appā*, voc. of *appan*, an exclamation of astonishment or alarm. See pp. 138, n. 1, 152. The whole of this part of the story shows that the Tanjore Nāyak's or his "General's" action was pure bluff, for when the Danish ships turned up, the latter comes in state to see the Danish commander as a friend, just as if nothing hostile had occurred. The action is thoroughly Indian.

which stood fastened by their hind feet, as is the custom there with elephants, camels and horses, broke loose, though it was fastened by chains, so that it tore up the tree by the roots. The man who should have watched it was not at hand, for he was sitting in a house in the neighbourhood, taking tobacco with his comrades. And when this was reported to him, he went to it and addressed it gently, holding a bundle of hay in his hand which he had dipped in oil, but it was a long time before he could soothe it, and he gave it a long drink of the water which was at hand. These elephants understand men's speech, and have great understanding, so they lack but words¹. I and a man called Peter Lollik² rode one of them for a short distance, for which we paid some money, but we thought it very rough in its paces. Though they have no middle joint, they yet lie down and take their rest³.

Calicut was a handsome man with a pale skin and a body immoderately stout. He wore much finery of gold and gems, and a garment of gold cloth around his middle, and another round his head, with costly gems in it. His boy attendant followed him with a gilded stave of ivory splendidly wrought. And when Admiral Roland⁴ and he had finished their discourse and established peace by the King's consent, Calicut and his company departed, having made their obeisance to the gods in their *pagóga* or temple, and repaired straightway to the King. And soon afterwards our General proceeded to the King with letters from the King of Denmark⁵, and presents, namely two new and well-polished bronze cannon,

¹ The intelligence of the elephant in some directions is remarkable, but it has often been exaggerated by travellers.

² A gunner, see ch. XVIII, p. 124.

³ This is a careful observation about elephants. They appear to have no knee, as the joint of the forefoot turns inward, not outward, like the knee of other fourfooted beasts.

⁴ Rollant Crape is now styled "Admiral." In Jón's day "admiral" and "general" were convertible terms.

⁵ Crape appears to have been commander of the third expedition sent to India by Christian IV of Denmark. Rasmussen says that on 22 April 1624 he travelled with "General Henrik Hess" to Tanjore, "the residence of the Naik," but he does not mention Crape as being of the party.

with seven figures of groups of people stamped upon them. These the King had installed in his sleeping-apartment and regarded as a gift bringing great honour upon him, not least on account of the pictures. Also a bed of cypress wood¹, and his own likeness, finely adorned. The heathen King sent him in return a portrait of himself finely set out, and a bed of splendid cloth, handsomely decorated with ivory, which was valued at 100,000 dollars or a ton² of gold. But before our General left, there came a letter with a stern message from the King, that our Rector should go with him to seek audience of the King at Travanzour³. Which he did, and was as near as possible to losing his life. And thus he fell into disfavour with our General, who regarded him as a criminal for imperilling so many lives, not to speak of the goods of the King and the Company. Such was the injustice that fell to his lot for his fidelity and loyalty. He was, however, pardoned on condition that he should undertake a long and dangerous journey to the Moluchas islands, on the expedition which was despatched thither from our fortress in quest of every kind of spices and merchandise⁴.

The General's harshness fell no less heavily on our minister, Master Jens⁵ (for I judge that he was wrongfully accused). It so happened that he had privately asked the barber who came on the *Pearl*, Master William⁶, to lance a sore which he had on a privy part of his body. But this English barber could so little keep faith that he went to the General and told him that the minister had got the sore by impure converse with Indian womenfolk. And since the General already had a

¹ By cypress-wood, cedar is probably meant.

² The Dutch *ton gouds*, representing 100,000 *gulden* (not dollars) is meant. See *English Factories*, 1661-64, p. 310.

³ Raghunātha, Nāyak, at Tanjore.

⁴ From the Dutch Records (*Hague Transcripts*, Series I, vol. VII, no. 225) we learn that the *Jupiter* reached Macassar, returned in "a very desolate condition" and was wrecked "between 15 and 16 August [N.S. 1625] on the coast of Orissa, through want of crew, thunderstorms, etc.: only 8 men are saved."

⁵ Here again, as in ch. XVI, p. 109, Jón calls Peter Sørensen Aale "Master Jens."

⁶ Neither here nor *infra*, p. 199, does Jón give the barber-surgeon's full name.

grudge against him for his bold denunciations of heretics and dissenters, in his sermons, he welcomed the information, seeing his chance of getting even with him, and commanded that he should forcibly and tyrannously be laid in a solitary cell and be tested by the barber with the strongest of those medicines which publish the truth of such accusations, by the hair and beard falling off. Whereby the General, had he succeeded, hoped to destroy him, but God saw to it that matters did not fall out as the minister's enemies hoped. General Roland¹ forbade any of our men to enter the house where he was shut up, or, under the severest penalties, to tend him or provide him with any comforts, and thus none ventured to go near. But because he was attached to me, I went to see him from time to time, though secretly, which greatly cheered him, though he trembled on my account. And when he had lain shut up there, weeping and groaning, for nine nights, constantly calling upon his God, he rose from this martyr-bed without those signs which they thought he would display. Thereupon the General hit upon the device of making him swear an oath that he was unsullied by any woman in India. But there was a Portuguese woman, a widow, who did his laundry-work, and on her account he would not take the oath: God alone knows how matters really stood. Then the General forbade him to perform his priestly duties or to have anything to do with the service of the church. The minister said he would pay no heed to his command, for he acknowledged no guilt in the eyes of the law, and therefore he maintained that the General had no power to deprive him of his ministry, and he appealed from his and suchlike temporal judgments to the verdict and decision of the archbishop and clergy of Copenhagen. Now when the General saw that he was powerless to hinder or disturb the performance of the minister's office, he ordered him to sail on the *Jupiter* with the Rector on that perilous journey to the Moluccan islands, as a kind of punishment, therewith to wipe out his offence. And the clerical robes, which he had previously given to him, and then at the beginning of their

¹ That is, Rollant Cranne.

quarrel had taken away from him, by reason of his enmity, these robes he now restored to him. The minister who came with the *Pearl* had been minister in the fortress while the feud lasted between the General and Master Jens. His name was Matthias¹, and he was also minister on the *Pearl*, so that I and others were in his company on the voyage home.

With the General there had come from Copenhagen a man called Ólaf Vismar². He was from Skåne, on the eastern side of the Sound. He was amongst the tallest of men, and much addicted to gay clothes: his everyday suit was of red cloth with silver lacing. Yet he was not haughty in his bearing. He had long served our late King Christian as a captain in the army, and was sent to take over the same office in India. Immediately on his arrival he became captain over me and my comrades. In his company was a very good and faithful friend of his, by name Paul Arnesen, and these two had been together for many years, both at home and abroad, and neither had ever failed the other in friendship. This Paul had for many years been Sheriff of Skåne. Me he favoured especially, as he often showed both in word and deed.

In the fortress was being reared a young stag, belonging to our Governor³, which was to be sent home to Denmark. This animal was often ill-disposed and ungovernable: he used to set upon men and stab them with his horns, sometimes very hard, but no one dared to pay it back in its own coin for fear of the Governor, who was tender of him and never showed that he thought the animal had done aught ill to those who had dealings with him. It so happened one evening that as I was making my way to my lodging at the top of my pace, from my watch at the gate, this stag was standing concealed somewhere, so that I did not see him, and he made a violent dash at me, flinging me to the ground, and then stabbed me

¹ Mads (Matthias) Rasmussen. He has no allusion to this episode. He merely remarks: "After our return [from Tanjore] to the Castle of Dansborg our Danish folk became more sick and weak. . . the worthy Mr Peter Aale became sick at this time on board the *Spaniel* and I had to perform service both in the Castle and on board the ship for nine weeks with great trouble."

² Mads Rasmussen calls him Ole Viseer.

³ Henrik Hess, who returned to Europe in the *Pearl*.

badly; yet I could not rise. Paul Arnesen saw this, and ran from the gate with his ramrod in his hand and laid on lustily, swinging his weapon with both hands on the creature's back. Whereupon the Governor came running full tilt, drew his sword, and made as if to strike Paul. And since I had got to my feet, and Paul had also drawn his sword from its sheath, I hastily put my sword between them, so no one was hurt; and so they parted, both filled with wrath. The watch who were at the gate all hastened to the spot when they saw what was afoot, and were ready to have joined in on Paul's side if it had been needful, and they all made the same complaint of the dangerous temper of the stag, which had frightened and attacked so many of them. But the Governor said he would be all the less inclined to part with it. Whereupon Paul said his injustice was all the greater. But when the affair came to the General's ears he at once reconciled them¹.

All was quiet and peaceful among us after the return of the Governor, the General, the Rector and the interpreters, the three Moorish brothers, and the rest of their following, from their discussion with the King at Travanzour, the terms of peace being concluded, and kindred matters settled, both concerning the cargoes of every kind which were there purchased according to the contract previously made, and also concerning the conveyance thereof to our fortress by the natives, according to the heathen King's orders. And every Saturday from that time, as long as I and my company remained there, right up to the time of our voyage home on the *Pearl*, as a mark of esteem and goodwill, the King's General, Calicut, sent three wild boars from his chase up to the fighting men, to serve us as fresh meat, together with some of his huntsmen and boar-hounds, to show us the manner of their chase. Their dogs are very large and have a spiked collar round their necks².

All the pepper which the heathen King allowed us to have at a fixed price, he himself bought from the King at

¹ Unless Jón is exaggerating, this is an account of an undignified squabble between two high officers before the men of the garrison.

² These are still known as poligar dogs, that is, dogs of native chiefs. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Poligar.

Cotzína¹. From him it was carried up to the inland town called Peita², thirty-two miles from us, and thence it was borne on the King's horses, elephants, camels and oxen to our fortress. The whole train of animals had bells on their necks, so that its approach could be heard before it was seen.

¹ Cochin on the Malabar Coast, an emporium for pepper.

² "Peita" probably represents "Pettah," Tam. *peṭṭai*, a town attached or adjacent to a fortress (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Pettah), and the town in question may be Tanjore, which, however, is some forty miles distant from Tranquebar.

CHAPTER XXVII

IN June an English vessel came to land about four miles south of our fortress, at a place called Carical¹. Her officers at once repaired to the court of the heathen King, and asked leave to remain there for trading purposes². And as soon as they had made known their errand to the King, he sent a letter and message to our General, bidding him come with twelve of his best soldiers with all the speed he might, by night or day³. I amongst others was ordered on that journey, and greatly longed to go, but five of us were hindered by flux, so we remained behind, and five others were taken in our stead. Before the General started we were all served with wine⁴, and the following night three men who were standing guard in the fortress, each on his bastion,

¹ The ship was the *Hart*, a vessel of 500 tons, belonging to the East India Company, commanded by John Bickley. She reached Kārikāl, as we learn from her Log, preserved at the India Office (*Marine Records, Logs*, vol. xxxvi), on 23 May 1624 (O.S.).

² The story of the abortive attempt by the English to settle a factory at Tanjore, at the instigation of John Johnson, master of the *Christian* which was wrecked on the coast of Ceylon in 1622 (see p. 12), and the reasons which induced the Company's factors at Batavia to attempt such a settlement, is given at length by Sir William Foster in his Introduction to *English Factories 1624-9*, pp. xxxix-xli. Jón is wrong in saying that the officers of the *Hart* "at once repaired to the court of the heathen king," i.e. Raghunātha, Nāyak of Tanjore. The entry in the Log for 24 May 1624 runs thus: "This morning myselfe [Captain John Bickley] and the Chiefe Merchant Mr Joseph Cockram and the rest of the other of our merchants went a land, where wee were all kindlye entertained by the Governour of that place of Carracall, wee being the first English shipp that had ever bin in theis partes before.... The next daye the Governour sent awaye a poste unto the Kinge at his cheife cittye or place of his abode, called Tangeur." It was not until 8 June that the English merchants went to Tanjore and had an audience with the Nāyak.

³ The urgent message must really have been sent the other way round, for the truth was that the Danes were so anxious to prevent the English from participating in the trade at Tanjore that they lost no time in circumventing them. Jón was evidently anxious not to say anything to belittle the Danes.

⁴ Partaking of wine would hasten the deaths of those suffering from dysentery, though it must have been welcome enough, as dysentery is an exhausting disease.

failed in their duty, and were found asleep by the captain of the watch, who together with the Governor and lieutenant used constantly to visit and test the watch. But in the fourth bastion the *taliaris*, the heathen Indian warriors, kept watch then, as always, well and faithfully. These three men, Peter Arndal, Salomon and Leunart, a harmless Dutchman¹, were immediately put in prison and carefully guarded until the General should come back from Travanzour.

Now it must be told how when the General came before the King, the latter makes known his business and wishes, namely to ask him what answer he would give on behalf of his Lord and King to his question: Whether he would agree with the King if he should give the English permission to settle and trade in our neighbourhood? But the General in all humility begged that their wish might be rejected. The King received his answer favourably, and praised him much for his fidelity, and said that it should be as he wished, and that he had thus tested how faithful he was to his master². And after this conversation between them the King had the Englishmen summoned to his presence. And when they had come before him and laid down their gifts, the King asks them again what their request is, and it was as we have told³.

¹ For the first two see the list on pp. 33-4. The Dutchman has not previously been mentioned.

² This, as Dr Blöndal remarks, is evidently Jón's own version of an interview at which he was not present and of which it would be only possible for him to glean a few details.

³ The English account of the events of May-July 1624 differs widely from that of our author. From the Log of the *Hart* we learn that on 29 May the Danes sent a letter to Joseph Cockram, one of the Council at Batavia and the merchant empowered to treat with the Nāyak, saying "that wee were best for too departe, for there was no trade there too be had for us, because they had formed [farmed] all the sea portes of the Kinge betwene Nagapatan and Pullacatt for the use and bennefit of the Kinge of Denmarke, therefore willed us agayne to bee gone or else they would send us awaye in haste. Wee badd them doe theire worste for wee would staye in spite of them all, they being three to one...."

"The 8th daye [of June 1624] our merchantes went up for Tangeur about the affaires with the King, where they were all ryall[y] entertained both by the King himselfe and also by his noble men and were by the King his owne mouth promised free trade and allsoe that they should have the Porte of Carracall at any easye rate; but the Portingals and the Danes were greatly agaynst it, but moste of all the Danes were our deadly and most cruell enimyes."

The King says they are overbold to ask leave to settle in his land, they being notorious in all countries for their faithlessness, especially towards their own King and master: how much the less, then, would they prove loyal to him¹. And having thus expressed himself, the King bade them begone with speed, saying in his own tongue: "*Pa, Pa!*" that is "Away, away²!" and in such ignominious wise did they leave the presence of the King³. Our General was present at this conversation. And having been well entertained at the royal table in the hall, which was nicely decorated with gold and jewels, the General received the King's leave to depart, and they parted in friendship, all being honoured with gifts⁴. He gave the General two civet-cats, but each of a different kind: one whose testicles were sweet-smelling, when it was dead, while the excrement of the other was sweet-smelling while the animal was alive, and this latter was sixty times as valuable as the former⁵.

And when the General had come home with all his company, having had no adventures on the way, the aforesaid men, who had been guilty of sleeping at their posts, were summoned before the court-martial. But as our numbers were failing sorely, the decision was made that three slips of

¹ Dr Blöndal suggests that Jón is alluding to the deposition and execution of Charles I and is forgetting that these events occurred in 1649, long after he left India.

² Tam. *pō*, go.

³ The English merchants, however, remained at Tanjore for a month. On 4 July the entry in the Log runs: "I [Captain Bickley] received a letter from Mr Cockram that he would bee at Carracall with mee very shortlye, for hee could doe no good with the King because the Danes had given the King great bribes, the which hee had no order too doe as the Danes dyd," and on 9 July "Mr Joseph Cockram and the rest came to Carracall from the King, the which would not grante us trade unless that wee would give him 7000 Ryalls of Eaight rent the yere for the porte of Carracall, the Danes being the cause thereof."

⁴ It seems, however, that the gifts of value emanated from the Danes and not from the Nāyak, and were the cause of his friendly reception of Rollant Crappe.

⁵ The two species of civet-cat (*Viverridae*) here described appear to be *Viverra zibetha*, which ranges from Arabia to Malabar and the Indian Archipelago, and the small Indo-Malayan species (*Viverricula malaccensis*); the perfume from the latter is highly valued, but in both cases the secretion is extracted from a pouch in front of the scrotum in the living animal.

paper should be placed in a hat, two of them white, but "death" on the third, and a cloth was to be round the eyes of each guilty party, and whosoever of them should take the slip of death was to be executed. It fell to the lot of the worthy Leunart to die, and he at once received the Sacrament from the minister, and was led out to the post which stood outside the fortress gate. To this he was bound, and a cloth fastened over his eyes. Before he was led out he chose five out of all the soldiers, and those his best friends, to shoot him in a volley, two to aim at his heart and three at his head. Now it so happened that when he was led out I was standing guard in the gate according to the ordinary rule. When he reached the gate and found me there he said that he had lost my help in this matter. But I told him what some feeling bade me, that he would not be killed on that day. He said that was impossible, since all preparations had been already made. I bade him take courage in the thought of God's grace and Our Lord's precious merit, and he kissed me a loving farewell with many tears, and begged me and others to pray God for him in Jesus' name. And as he was standing bound to the post, with the five men ready to shoot, there came a shout from the fort and a sign of reprieve, made by the General's servant according to his orders, with cries of pardon and the waving of a white cloth. All praised God with loud voices, and all the soldiers emptied their muskets in a volley, and he was led in again to the sound of pipe and drum and a joyful meeting it was between him and me. Then he went up to the officers and humbly made them his grateful thanks.

The following day the officers of the English ship (which I have already mentioned) paid us a visit, and were well entertained. A salute of many guns was fired at their departure, and all ended in a friendly manner¹. Afterwards

¹ The visit took place on 22 July and is thus recorded in the Log: "Our merchantes were invyted by the Danes too there Forte of Trank-combar, where they did couller there former mallice in givinge that enter-tainment unto our merchants, the which they did not expeckt at there hands, for at there coming and goeing they shott of 150 peece of ordinance from there Forte and out of there three shippes: this out of there love gave us a plaster for to cure the wound they gave us at the Kings Courte; therefore beware of any such fayned frindes in theis partes." The English

these men sailed away to seek another place and station for trading¹.

That Paul Arnesen whom I have already told of was seized with a sore sickness, and Captain Ólaf Wismar asked Temperance, who was English, the wife of Hieronymus the book-keeper², if she knew of any good man among us whom he could trust to tend him in his weakness and sickness. And because I had been of some little service to two of my comrades on their death-beds, my reputation not suffering thereby, and because she loved me much by the grace of God, she said that she knew no one better fitted to tend him than I. And he made a firm agreement with me about money in recompense for this. But since no part of his pay may be promised or given by any man who has wife or children or brothers or sisters, save only bed-gear and weapons, he promised me these if he should die, in the hearing of the

made a pretence of returning the hospitality of the Danes: "The 24th daye [of July] the Danes were invited aborde the *Harte* by our merchantes, but I prevented it by some importe businesses that wee had too doe that daye; and so were cleare of them, whereof wee weare all very glad soe to bee cleare of there fayned frindeshipp." Mads Rasmussen notes the arrival of the *Hart* and the entertainment of her officers by the Danes but he gives the date of arrival as 11 June and implies that the feast took place almost immediately after: "The 11 June 1624 an English ship came to us in the East Indies, and we held a great feast in honour of the fact that we were visited by a ship from a Christian country."

¹ The *Hart* would have sailed on 25 July but some of her men were missing. Captain Bickley remarks: "I thinke the Danes at Trenkcombar had them away by menes of James Mounttany, but the Danes denyed it." James Mounteney was an Englishman in the service of the Danes. Eventually, on 27 July "wee departed out of the Roade of Carricall, hoping to bee past by the Danes before daye, but being very littell winde, at the break of daye wee were hard by the Danes shipps and spake with them about our men that rann awaye. And as soone as I were past there shipps the Castell shotte and all there shipps shotte at least 40 peeces too our farewell, soe that wee could doe no less in some sorte too them againe, though against all reasons, they haveing done us great wrong before at Tangeur." Mads Rasmussen says: "The said English merchant ship [the *Hart*] remained with us till the 17th July, and from this ship and our ships more than 200 shots were fired as salutes during the stay of the English with us; but they left us the 16 August 1624." It will be seen that Rasmussen's dates do not agree with those of the Log of the *Hart*, which records the sailing of the ship on 27 July (O.S.) or 6 August (N.S.). Rasmussen seems to be ten days out all through his account of the incident.

² See pp. 7, 161.

General, the Governor, the Rector and the minister, and confirmed it by giving me his hand. But if he should recover, he was to pay me their full value. This worthy man lay ill for a week and then died.

There was a certain woman who travelled about those towns where sick men lay, and was employed to heal them. These she trod underfoot, limb by limb, and all who were not appointed to die soon recovered under her feet, while the others passed quickly away¹. Ólaf Wismar had this woman fetched from the nearest town for his dear friend, though I was ill-pleased at it and the sick man also. But Captain Ólaf insisted, for he greatly longed that Paul should live and become hearty again. However, as soon as she saw him she said nothing would avail; and this proved true. Yet she demanded her full reward, such as was agreed upon, and by such payments she earned a good living from her childhood to her death.

When he was dead and borne out to his last resting-place, I took possession of all his bed-gear according to the urgent commands he and the officers had given while he was yet living, together with two valuable hats or caps, some shirts and linen clothes, and a sword with a handsome loop, worth five dollars. He² bade me especially grant him the purchase of these things on behalf of the widow, and he was to give me in return, in a week's time, two silken garments. Thereto he wished to add two shirts, and on those terms we made a new agreement.

The time had come for all those who were desirous of returning home to bid the fortress adieu, for the cargo was all on board, its value estimated at ten tons of gold³. There were $3\frac{1}{2}$ lasts⁴ of pepper, cotton cloth, plain and patterned,

¹ Jón is describing a drastic method of shampoo (Hind. *champna*) or, as it is now called, massage.

² Ólaf Wismar.

³ Here, as on p. 183, Jón's "ton" represents the Dutch *ton gouds* of 100,000 *gulden*, ten of which would represent roughly 83,350 *l.* Jón's estimate of the cargo of the *Pearl* amounts to 460,000 dollars. Assuming the dollar to be the *stöt daler*, worth about one-sixth less than the rix-dollar, the value of the cargo was about 86,500 *l.*, corresponding roughly with his "ten tons."

⁴ For "last" see vol. I, p. 157, n. 2.

worth an hundred thousand rixdollars, silk and gold-cloth and such things for another hundred thousand rixdollars, precious stones in five small bags for 60,000 dollars—one alone of these was worth 500 dollars. Item, dye, for a hundred thousand rixdollars; it is called indigo and is made by burning a very beautiful plant¹. Item, cotton half woven with silk, which they call *salvecat* and *bengalli*, and which comes from the kingdom of Bengal, and which feels silky and like fur to the touch². This for a hundred thousand rixdollars. Moreover, there were other rare things seldom seen among us.

Now our people received leave to travel home with this vessel. But since the guns on the *Pearl* had proved to be bad and dangerous, by which cause the best men on her crew had met their death, and since, on the other hand, the General had offered me and another man, Anders Ólafsen by name, to remain with him, together with Niels Dreyer my master-gunner (whom, with two more and four guns, he lent, after our departure, to the King of Travanzour to fight against the King of Bengal³), I would have taken his offer, for I had a great distaste for voyaging home with the *Pearl* on account of her old guns. But I could not stand out for my comrades' sake, for they steadily dissuaded me from staying; and moreover the General's offer was not good: he only offered us one gulden a month in addition to what we had, and this we thought too little. But with all this our departure from the fortress was delayed, so that we were the last of those who made ready to go home. Because of the ordinances which had come out with the General, forbidding more Indians to be brought home (for they thought that if any number were to come to Denmark and any of them were to find his way back,

¹ See p. 18 for Jón's previous remark on indigo.

² *Salvecat*. This term possibly represents Salpicado (past participle of Port. *salpicar*), the name for a cloth, usually speckled or spotted, obtained from Masulipatam.

Bengalli. A cotton cloth, so called because exported from Bengal. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Bengal.

³ The greater part of the period during which Raghunātha was Nāyak of Tanjore was spent in fighting with Vyankātha Nāyak, Governor of Jinji, and Tirumal Nāyak, ruler of Trichinopoly. See Kincaid and Parasnis, *Hist. of the Maratha People*, 1, p. 136. It must be one of these whom Jón styles "King of Bengal," most likely the Nāyak of Jinji.

our trade would be injured thereby), I could not take my lad back with me, which was a sore grief to both him and me. He accompanied me to the shore, however, with many tears, and when we parted he took my hand and laid it on his head, and bade me bless him, and greet his brother from him. And then he buried himself in the sand under the keel of the Indian boat which was lying there, a very sorrowful deed to see and to look back upon. Many others besides myself grieved over it, and I mourned for a long while¹.

That day, the 28th of August, all those who were to remain behind quitted the *Pearl* and went on shore, and we (*viz.* those who were to go home) went out in their place to the ship in Jesus' name.

The following day three chiefs from Nicopotam², sixteen miles to the south, came to our fortress to visit our General, and were received with the highest marks of esteem, entertained and presented with gifts.

The next morning we went with the *Pearl* four sea-miles to the west, to seek water at a place called Pularom³. On the shore there stood a castle or fortress which had been deserted for forty years; it had an eight-sided wall round it, and the King would allow no one to inhabit it because in old time a duke who had set himself up against the King of that kingdom had defended himself for fifteen years in that same castle, against the King and his army, inflicting great losses on them before he was overcome⁴. A river flowed past the castle-walls, and here for three days we drew water in our barrels at flood-tide, which was when surf and waves were worst in this estuary, and it was not agreeable to be in a boat. At ebb-tide, when the surf could not pass over the bar, the

¹ The burying of his head in the sand was a sign of humiliation and grief on the part of the lad.

² Negapatam. By "three chiefs" apparently three Dutch merchants are meant, but I have failed to identify them. Valentijn's lists of the servants of the Dutch East India Company at Negapatam do not begin till 1658.

³ No such place or any name at all approaching it can be traced either in old or modern maps, gazetteers, or Revenue Department village lists.

⁴ It is impossible to say what fortress Jón is describing, since "Pularom" has not been identified.

water could not be taken because it was salt. As we were going to the ship in our large boat, which held ten lasts and thirty men, our captain, Christoffer Boye (who was returning with us), set to asking what could be the cause of this thing, that when the sea had gone out and was not there, the water could not be taken out of the estuary by reason of its saltness, but when the sea came in with surf and breakers there was clear water, and he promised a measure of wine to whosoever should have guessed right by the time we reached the ship. Each man said he could not answer, and so the matter had come to a standstill, until, on the captain's addressing me, I made a suggestion which pleased him¹.

About two o'clock on the 7th of September, that is the tenth day after I had left the fortress and the land, it happened, as frequently, that the guns were fired in the fortress, and the General had ordered that every time guns were fired from the ramparts, answer should be made from the ships lying out there with an equal number of shots. Now when it happened this time, our boat was at the shore, or only just rowing out, for we were a good half-knot from the land. And just before I and two assistants were sitting forward in the ship's beak in vain chatter as to which of their parents I would lodge with in the winter, when I was at home, and they were quarrelling very foolishly about it, though I bade them not talk of it, seeing that none of us knew what our lot would be in the meanwhile, or whether it would be granted to us to reach home safe and sound. And at that moment there was a shot from the ramparts. At once the master-gunner shouted for musketeers to shoot. Anders Ólafsen was ailing some-

¹ Miss Margaret Wedd, to whom this passage was referred, informs me that "such an occurrence as is mentioned is by no means uncommon. At flood-tide the mass of sea water brought by the inrush up the estuary buoys up the outward-flowing river water because of the lower density of the latter, so that the fresh water can be taken from the surface. This is possible during the period of high water and even during the first part of the ebb. At ebb-tide the outflowing river water is unhindered and it is more quickly dissipated in the ocean, so does not lie as a distinct layer on the surface. The statement that the sea water 'could not pass over the bar' makes the affair appear much more of a problem than it really is. No river bar is continuous enough to keep out the sea water." See H. A. Marmer, *The Tide*.

what, and thought himself unfit to set to work, and I was called not once but many times, which men agreed had not had to happen often before, for a man who is a stranger and not a native soon finds out in such an unknown and mixed company that nothing else will serve if he has his eyes open, and he does not want to disgrace his own country. But I had such a distaste on that occasion for serving the guns.

Some smacks, such as they call *siampan*s, were sailing by, intending to escape without paying toll, because they did not see our boat out, or pursuing them. And as we saw no better target to shoot at than these vessels, I was ordered to shoot in their direction, yet without harming them. But as they did not see our boat in pursuit they held out further from the land. And after I had fired eighteen shot¹, according as was also done from the fortress, I went to load one gun, which I had fired from a good while before. Now a spark was concealed in the crevices inside it. In those days guns were fired with *carduses*², that is to say, linen bags in which the charge of each gun is placed to save time, and when the gun is fired the charred linen leaves sparks in the treacherous chinks which are in the gun from its casting. But these guns were 300 years old, and were called Surland-guns³. After wiping out the gun three times according to my custom, I was putting the powder in and ramming it, when I saw that the powder had ignited in the gun. As soon as that happened I used all my strength to check the powder with the rod, slide-nest, and pestle commonly used therefor. A tongue of flame leapt out of the touch-hole, but this being too small the powder sought another way to burst out. But though the strength in the powder strove mightily to escape through the muzzle of the gun, I was able to hold it so firmly that it could not break out as swiftly as its nature is, until at last the pestle burst into fragments, and

¹ Salutes were at that time fired with shotted guns, not with blank cartridges. See vol. I, p. 144, n. 1.

² Cp. Blom, *Kristian den Fjerdes Artilleri*, p. 283. (B.)

³ Dr Blöndal points out that, as the use of guns was not general until the fifteenth century, those of the *Pearl* could not have been 300 years old. On "Surland-guns" he remarks: "Surland is Sauerland, the district between the rivers Sieg and Ruhr, tributaries of the Rhine. There is much iron in the soil and in old days cannon were cast there."

three fingers on my right hand were broken, and the three corresponding fingers on my left hand sorely crushed, and the force of the explosion scorched both my arms and my body up to the shoulders. At the same time the gun hurled me a sixty fathoms¹ length away overboard, and when I fell I sank almost to the bottom, close upon a hundred fathoms. While I was sinking after the plunge I commended my soul to Almighty God, and expected to regain this life no more. But as soon as I tried to find my way up again, to save myself, if it might be, by swimming, I could not point my hands owing to the broken fingers on both. But by the help of God's special grace I made shift with my legs and finally reached the surface again. Praise, glory and thanksgiving be given and granted, sung and said to the blessed and precious Name of our God, Who gently and paternally displayed on me His tender mercy, so much beyond what I, miserable and unworthy man, deserved or merited, but only to prove His Grace, to the comfort and strengthening of the faithful, and the increasing of their virtues, that His holy name might all the more be magnified and loved, and His miracles be laid to heart by me and His faithful and be always remembered with gratefulness.

Now just at this moment our boat arrived from shore, and when they caught sight of me they turned quickly to rescue me, and came to where I floated face downwards, drenched in blood, able to speak a little but hardly to hear at all, for blood and brains² gushed from my ears, and my head was dazed by the great roar the cannon made when it exploded and when it hurled me instantly away. My breast and belly were torn and bruised. The man who first got a hold of me was called Marcus, our second mate³, an excellent and sensible man, very sharp witted. I had no more clothing than a shirt and linen breeches, with a silk cap on my head, and barefoot. And when I came to the ship's side in the boat, men stood close-pressed together each side of the ladder, as I was

¹ The statement is impossible.

² Here Jón is piling on the agony. He would soon have been dead had this been true.

³ Second mate of the *Pearl*.

assisted up it, and both captains, Sixt Jacobsen¹, the ship's captain, and Christoffer Boye (who was returning home as a passenger with me and my comrades, but who was the other's equal in command), both these stood on the bulwarks and received me in their arms. But I do not venture to write down in this place my captain's words nor the praises which he uttered, weeping sorely the while, as he took me in his arms and kissed me, but yet I may be permitted to say that he would have lost two or three men rather than me, the which may sound incredible, though it is indeed truth. They both conducted me aft amidships to the capstan, and there I swooned. At once Christoffer Boye took me up and carried me down and laid me on the sea-chest of Master Arend², the surgeon. Master William was on shore: he was English and newly-come, and had authority over the others who were on the voyage. But he was not at hand on this occasion, and no hope of him before the following day. Christoffer Boye ordered Master Arend to use all his efforts to stanch the flow of blood, and to bleed me as soon as possible from an uninjured vein, but this the latter declared he could not do, for blood was spurting from more than a hundred places. He declared moreover that he would have to amputate the left hand at the wrist. The captain was so angry at this that he boxed the other's ears so that he nearly fell, and forbade him to do more for the nonce than to stanch the blood. The surgeon demanded bandages and the like, whereat the captain seized a richly embroidered shirt, which must have cost a rose noble³ in Copenhagen, rent it in strips and gave it to him, bidding him come for more if it should be needed. Then they brought a large wine-bowl full of tepid wine, and both my hands were laid in it, with other devices to stay the bleeding, yet with no success before midnight, from two o'clock in the afternoon.

¹ Of Sixtus Jacobsen, Captain of the *Pearl*, Dr Blöndal notes: "Sixtus (Sixt, Six) Jacobsen was on the voyage to India with Ove Giedde. He took part later in several voyages, and came to Iceland with Holger Rosenkrands in 1629. Mads Rasmussen says he was of English origin. Cp. Lind, *Kr. IV og hans Mænd*, pp. 257-8."

² Apparently surgeon's mate of the *Pearl*.

³ Rose noble, the noble of Edward IV, a gold coin worth 6s. 8d.

After that I was given the Sacrament, and they thought I would pass away at any moment, into the Lord's hands. But after midnight my breathing began to be stronger, and I began gradually to show signs of life, so that they could clearly see that I was alive and could stir. The carpenters were ordered to make me a broad wooden bedstead with four small posts, so that it might be carried about the ship, which was at once done¹.

That same evening, soon after the accident had befallen me, the captain sent a writing to the General on shore, to relate to him how this sudden misfortune had overtaken me, whereat he and all the officers and men in the fortress, and the Indians too (for they had become my good friends) sorely lamented, and the following forenoon he himself in person, together with the Governor, Rector, minister and many Indian *marcatoris* or merchants came out in an Indian boat and honoured me with a visit.

And all the crew being summoned and assembled, Master William and Master Arend were bidden examine with all gentleness and skill my scorched bones, broken fingers and cut sinews, and to display their training and knowledge the best they might, and each of them was promised drink-money and extra gratification, over and above their monthly wage, if they succeeded, with Divine help, in healing me. What most troubled them was that I was burnt all over, so that my bones were as white as if they had lain in the fire². All the officers looked on, many weeping tears of compassion, most of all my captain Christoffer Boye, who appointed six men to sit upon me while the surgeon William examined me and treated me as was customary. But I begged the captain that none should touch me unless necessity drove them to it, for by God's grace it sufficed me that the ministers and the others were present, sitting in front of me and comforting me with the

¹ It is a fine comment on the story that Jón was never really unconscious and knew all that went on from the time he was rescued in the sea, so that, excepting the injury to his hand, he could not have been so damaged as he makes out.

² This again must be a great exaggeration, though it is possible that he was considerably scorched.

words and promises of God's grace; and in sooth it proved enough. The surgeon said he had never met any man more patient, and this God alone wrought in His mercy, for the barber had with his tongs to break my fingers where necessary, to take out the joints with his steel, pluck away the burnt skin, to saw asunder with a blunt instrument, and to probe with many kinds of tools between each finger and finger-joint, and especially to remove with the exactest care all splinters, of which he said there must be over three hundred¹. The captain bade him not to torture me so before his eyes. He said it had to be; he was obliged to use his tools. All these tortures and much else I had to suffer and endure, whereat all were amazed because I was delivered from such mortal need and restored to life, obviously by no skill of man. It was a miracle attributed, as indeed it behooved, to God's holy name, for the praise, honour and glory of Him, to Whom alone it was due, and it was set down as a wonder-working of God in our Log-book, that He, rather than the surgeon, had wrought my healing.

The General invited me both then and constantly to return with him to the fortress, and told me I should be as well treated as himself, but I steadfastly declined, for my heart was set on home. Two men out of the whole crew were set aside to be always at my service, and to watch over me night and day, and also two men of the watch.

In all I lay sick fourteen weeks, eight of them on my back, raised on cushions, and with my arms stretched out in front of me. They were supported on eighty cushions, which were lovingly placed at my disposition by various persons whose kindness I trust that the Lord in His mercy has remembered and repaid. Moreover, seven mutchins of wine were ordered for me and brought out every two days; also I was served with the most delicate food, which was gently pressed upon me, and I was instructed hourly to mention anything I had a mind for. All this loving care from high and low cannot be

¹ The credulity of Jón's listeners must have been severely tested, though no doubt surgery was brutal at that period. Particulars of the resultant damage are given on p. 245.

narrated in this place, but may the God of all mercy, grace and tenderness grant each of them the prize of eternal grace, to partake eternally of His glory.

In spite of the greatest and most earnest efforts which were made to induce me to eat, if that were possible, it was utterly beyond my powers to do so, and it was of no avail, though our cook, Hans Petersen by name¹, constantly lamented that I refused everything (for he said he had given himself much trouble to prepare my food variously and in the most delicate fashion). Nothing was bettered thereby, for I could not look at food or taste wine, owing to the pain I suffered internally, which was far greater than the external pain, for the gun had burst my inside, and also my head, and had twisted me from top to toe, and brought me out of my right shape, so that I became unrecognizable to my acquaintance².

Many lamented my dire fate, especially my captain, the General, the Rector and my good friend, Master Jens³, my comrades, and even the Indians. He who had been my servant came out twice to grieve over me. The pious Temperance sent me out milk, apples and fruit and what else she thought I might fancy. The General came out thrice to visit me and in his friendship invited me to return to shore and be his guest, which I declined, for I did not trust the surgeons who were at the fortress, on account of their youth. But the General thought I lacked confidence in him, which was far indeed from being the case.

¹ The cook of the *Pearl*.

² The shock of the accident would be enough to prevent Jón from taking food, without all the horrible details that he said had happened to him. Besides, it is not easy to believe that all this fuss was really made over a wounded gunner. If every man who was hurt was treated in such wise the ship could not have been sailed. Dame Bertha Phillpotts, however, thinks Jón's story not improbable, for, she says, "the Danes are very kindly people, and no doubt the condition of the gun was on the conscience of the authorities."

³ Peter Sørensen Aale, chaplain of Dansborg, whom Mads Rasmussen had been sent out to replace, but who decided to remain in India being, as Rasmussen says, "still sick." He could not therefore have sailed to the Moluccas in the *Jupiter* (see p. 184). Rasmussen returned to Europe in the *Pearl*, "whereby we both got our hearts' desire."

CHAPTER XXVIII

SEVENTEEN days after I had received this injury, *viz.* the 24th day of September¹, the company on the *Pearl* sailed away in Jesus' name, all farewells said, prayers and blessings uttered, and most of the guns having been fired off.

The officers on the ship were actually: Captain, Sixt Jacobsen², and two masters; but Christoffer Boye, two noblemen, Arent von Coten and Søren Harbou³, together with the Governor⁴, were passengers home with the ship, together with most of the sailors, the crew who came out with her having been for the most part set down in our stead in our fortress Dansborg, while we took their places on the *Pearl*. We got a fair wind thence, regard being had to the season. We had with us on the journey a parrot which could speak with a human tongue, both in the Indian, Portuguese and German languages⁵. When we had been nearly eleven weeks at sea he fell sick, and bitterly upbraided the General for having sent him on such a perilous voyage, and said that his would be the fault, if he should die of it; but if it was God's will he said he would nevertheless be content⁶. He died within three days and was thrown overboard.

By the grace of God I recovered gradually as time went on, though I suffered greatly, both within and without, so that I cannot compass a description of it. My hair lay loose on my head, so that a man could stroke it off like dust; all my beard below the mouth fell out, but the rest was preserved by faithful

¹ Mads Rasmussen says: "The 27 September in the morning, two hours before break of day, we hoisted sail and set out from Dansborg in the name of Jesus," and he says that they were at sea for six weeks "minus two days" before reaching the Cape on 6 November.

² See p. 199, n. 1.

³ Arent van Kalden or Kolden is mentioned as a captain in 1626. (B.) Søren Harbou had voyaged to India with Ove Giedde. (B.)

⁴ Henrik Hess.

⁵ By German, probably Dutch is meant.

⁶ Jón seems to be relating stories carried to his sick bed. Parrots can only imitate sounds. They do not really speak.

care, my head being wrapped about with a cloth which was daily taken off and brushed, and it was as if it had been pulled off melted wax, by reason of the grease which exuded from my skin. Likewise the rest of my body expelled marrow and fat, so that most of my shirts had to be cast overboard¹. Let this suffice for the nonce, though many other things might here be related at more length, as for instance about my dreams, delusions and the like. A lamp burnt by my side from dusk to bright day, and no shadow might be cast to intercept its light, for it was like as if a sword were plunged in my heart. My watchers declared that, so far as they could see or tell, I had not slept for eleven weeks. When fourteen weeks had passed since my day of trial, I was lifted up in my bed, and afterwards placed on a seat by the buttery, supported by cushions, and with those two men to watch over me. Afterwards, at the Captain's orders, I was carried in my bed up to the deck, where he and others held pleasant converse with me daily, and so also our minister Master Matthias², until with the help of God's grace I was able to walk, but I was never set to any task, and a general order was given by the officers that everybody should comfort and cheer me, and this was done, and was the wonderful work of God. His name be praised to all eternity! Amen!

There were no events of note on our return voyage save that once the cook Hans³ (who men thought had made a contract with Satan) ran amok, so that the whole crew were gathered against him. This he did not heed; for on the outward voyage he single-handed had challenged 180 persons. Then he had been fettered, head, hands, and feet, and chained head downwards, feet uppermost, to stout iron rings; yet in a moment he was loose again. On this occasion on the homeward voyage, I was the only man below deck when he escaped from the whole crew and leapt down the hatchway by the mainmast and so reached his berth. I asked what was the

¹ Once again Jón is delighting in horrifying his hearers.

² Mads Rasmussen. He, however, does not allude to Jón or the accident in his account of the voyage.

³ Hans Petersen. See p. 202.

matter. He said he would kill the captain, and he seized his two large cook's knives. But before he could turn round, Captain Christoffer Boye came up behind him and seized both his wrists, whereupon he at once asked for pardon—for many laid hands on him all at once—and freely allowed himself to be seized and placed in irons, and himself begged that these men should hold watch over him with muskets and burning matches, saying that it would serve them best, if he were not to cause worse misfortune. This was done till the following forenoon, and then he was again set free, for he heeded no punishment, and it was in vain to use any against him, save only the greatest of all—and what penalty is more fitting for such as he—one of those who makes a mock of all other punishments. Another time he was brandishing a red-hot fire-fork, with which he intended to run the captain through, if I had not seen him and caught hold of the captain. Enough said for the nonce about this cook, though my story is not done with him yet.

When we first sailed from the Indies we had on board in all 140 persons (I mean a "long hundred")¹, but as we proceeded homewards our people began to fall sick one by one of the dropsy² which attacks most persons on that long and perilous voyage. And thus, before we came to Africa five of our men had passed away and been cast overboard. When we were off Caput de Bona Sperantia³ in Africa a great storm arose from the north-east, such that few men could remember its like. The seas run very high off the Cape, for when one gets so far the air begins to cool somewhat, and the heat becomes

¹ The long or great hundred was in general use in Jón's day to indicate a number greater than a hundred, usually six score, or 120.

² Sir Leonard Rogers, to whom this paragraph was referred, thinks that "the most likely cause of the dropsy mentioned would be beriberi, in the severe wet form of which dropsy is the most marked symptom. In such cases sudden death often occurs from heart failure, which is very characteristic, and the disease is largely due to deficient diet, as in scurvy."

³ We learn the exact date from Mads Rasmussen's account: "We were at sea six weeks minus two days, to the 6th November, when we came to the country called Caput Bonæ Spei or Bon Esperance. There we buried one of our mates and I was put ashore to preach to our sick people." On Christmas Day he preached on board the ship, which was still lying off the Cape, "the people being so exceedingly sick and faint."

endurable on shore. We did not land¹, for our course lay far from the shore. But we anchored off the island of St Helena, which was nearly on the line of the Equinox or Equinoctialis, and sea-faring folk customarily do this, when they find it, and are not prevented by currents and storms. It is like a bluff standing very high up out of the ocean, and difficult to climb up². In former times some Portuguese lived there for a while, and kept swine and goats and other domestic animals³. They sowed crops of tobacco and had planted splendid fruit-trees in many places down by the shore, and right up on the fair smooth pleasant plateau every tree bore the most delicious and sweetest fruit. It is very difficult to reach from below, for when a man thinks he sees the highest point there proves to be another, and yet a third peak, and it is believed that no other land exists like it, or with such a formation. A landing can only be made at one place, which is called Church Harbour⁴, where the Portuguese had their church. At the time we were there, Anno 1625, it was still standing in good repair⁵. But when the Spaniards⁶ and Dutch were at war, their people were at enmity with each other wherever they met, and hence these islanders did not venture to remain there on account of the raids and attacks of the Flemings, which they continually had to encounter, especially towards the last, so that they were obliged to flee both land and possessions in great fear and terror⁷. For this reason there are great herds

¹ Mads Rasmussen, however, says that on 26 December the *Pearl* made for the Gulf of Saldanha and lay there from 2 to 13 January 1624-5, and that "after we had been ashore, burying some of our dead in the country of Soldan, we set sail and succeeded in coming to the country called St Helena."

² See Mundy, III, p. 412, for a similar description.

³ See *op. cit.*, p. 414, n. 2, for the stone enclosures built by the Portuguese for the imported swine.

⁴ Chapel Valley, renamed James Valley at the end of the seventeenth century in honour of James II of England.

⁵ Mads Rasmussen says that he preached in the chapel at St Helena on 6 February 1625 (N.S.) "to our sick" and that "this church or chapel had been built by the Portuguese."

⁶ Once again Jón confuses Spaniards and Portuguese.

⁷ This is incorrect. The Portuguese found the island uninhabited in 1502 and it was not colonized until the English settled there in 1659. Jón is probably giving a confused account of what he heard regarding St Helena after his return to Europe.

of swine on the uplands and in the valleys of the island, left behind by the fugitives, and these have become wild and cannot be caught save by the chase, many persons joining in it. They have weapons to attack them, which they call cross-lances and it is seamen's custom that any who use them (of those who land) should leave their weapons behind on the path where it first rises towards the mountain, and anyone may use them who has need of them¹. Our men caught nine very large swine, but with great trouble. I also clambered up these lofty heights and lay there with my companions in a large tent². We made a great bonfire, and sat around it, having both wine and provisions, and a goat which they had just killed was roasted on the aforesaid lances and afterwards eaten. And while we were sitting over our meal, as snugly as possible, a huge wild boar came trailing past us to the fire. Those appointed for the purpose (in case aught should befall) instantly flung aside their knives and meat, and pursued him till they killed him. Then we all slept till morning, save only the watchmen.

We caught four swine on this expedition, and by midday we went out to our great ship. Towards evening men who had climbed to the mast-top saw a large vessel sail towards the island. We were not afraid of the Spaniards, because the Kings³ were friendly at that time; nevertheless telescopes were snatched up and their flag at the top-mast examined, and it was seen that they were Flemish, a Company-vessel⁴, plying between the East Indies and Amsterdam. The vessel was called the *Fair Falcon*, captain, Johan Cather⁵. They were in need of bread and other provisions, as they at once made known to us, as soon as the ships approached one another.

¹ I have found no other reference to such a practice among the crews of vessels calling at St Helena.

² Jón's recovery must have been rapid to enable him to "clamber."

³ Philip IV of Spain and Christian IV of Denmark.

⁴ A vessel of the Dutch East India Company.

⁵ Mads Rasmussen does not give the name of the vessel nor her captain. He remarks: "While we were lying there [St Helena] a Dutch ship came to us, to our great joy, because we could get news from the North and from European countries. At that time our people were so ill that even our gunners were not able to fire the guns and bring them through the portholes, when we wanted to fire a salute in honour of the Dutch, on 10 February [1625]."

They proposed to accompany us so long as neither wind nor other misfortune should part us, and this we accepted willingly, each being glad of the other. The steward, Peter Frandsen¹, was called into the cabin and the officers enquired of him whether he could safely hand over any bread to them. He said he could, for he thought we were sufficiently provided with every kind of provisions. He acted thus because it behoved him to show friendship to his fellow-countrymen², but he did not consider what might happen later, for then all went well and the wind was astern. Such heedlessness and lack of thought is often shown, perhaps not least in higher matters. He allowed the others to have many sacks of the best bread, for our officers trusted him fully in the matters pertaining to his office. He also parted with quantities of other food and wine for the benefit of these Flemings, and further, our catch of wild swine, which was made on the aforesaid island of St Helena, was also divided between us and them. And when we had lain there five days we sailed away in company out to sea under excellent fair winds.

A certain Dutchman, by name Peter Alkmaar³, while he was sitting in the ship's beak⁴, was burnt in his hinder parts by a cannon which was fired off, and which stood right forward. None knew that he was in the beak. This man lay long under the hands of the surgeons, who found him difficult to treat on account of his impatience, and they frequently mentioned the precious gift of God, granted to me in my troubles by His mercy and fatherly love.

For some time Master Arend⁵ and I were not the best of friends, because he kept my two amputated fingers⁶ in his

¹ Purser of the *Christianshavn* on the outward voyage (see the list on p. 34) and apparently a Dutchman from the remark which follows.

² The Dutch.

³ A gunner of the *Christianshavn*. See the list on p. 33.

⁴ The men went there for the purpose of easing nature. (B.)

⁵ Surgeon's mate. See p. 199.

⁶ This is the first mention of the amputation of two of Jón's fingers. Dr Blöndal remarks that fingers of dead men, or, as in this case, dead fingers, according to the belief of Jón's day, possessed magical properties, and that, in the present instance, the allusion is probably to the superstition that a person in the possession of a dead finger could not miss his way.

possession, and said they were rightfully his property, which pleased me little, but so it had to be, and he had a case secretly made for them and laid them in it with precious unguents. This he denied, but once he had said in his cups that he would not lose them for a hundred dollars, for his travels in foreign parts.

One day in fair weather, with a following wind, and everything promising well for us, so far as mere mortal flesh could perceive, some of us were lying rather far forward on deck, occupied in vain chatter. A man named Bartel¹, a good playmate of mine, especially in fencing, was talking somewhat ignorantly about our lot, and said God alone knew why all should return home safe and sound in life and limb save I alone. But before we were well aware Captain Christoffer Boye stood among us, and went up to Bartel and dealt him a box on each ear, saying that it would be a better use for his tongue to give me comfort rather than annoyance, and that he was not come home yet, and warned us all against overconfidence, and forbade any to do me any disservice whether in word or deed, in the which he was obeyed.

Now we had come so far on our way that we were ninety sea-miles this side of Barbary², having had good winds and all well, and only lost five men, *viz.* Jakob³, our mate, one gunner and three sailors. But now, on Palm Sunday⁴ itself, after the sermon and our dinner, an ugly sport began among the crew below deck, dancing and singing after the heathen Indian manner, as when the Indian *pagóga* girls⁵ dance before their accursed idols. Our barber Arend had joined in the game, for he was then a young man. When I saw what was toward I grieved sorely in spirit, and forbade the barber and Peter Lollik to play such a devil's game (for they were both

¹ Probably the Bertil Petersen, boatswain, of Simon Johansen's list.

² See pp. 6, 7, 46, 48 for the region indicated by this term.

³ This must be the mate whom Mads Rasmussen buried at the Cape (see p. 205, n. 3). He was Jacob Adrianssen, and according to Jón's list (p. 33) he was boatswain in the *Christianshavn* in the outward voyage, but Dr Blöndal tells me that he figures as mate in Simon Johansen's list.

⁴ Palm Sunday fell on 23 March in 1625.

⁵ Temple dancing-women. See pp. 123, 127, 130.

dear to me), and I reproached them bitterly, so that it reached the ears of the officers in the cabin. Master Arend and Peter Lollik at once desisted. Thereupon this evil game was stopped and some thought it had gone too far. Our minister, Master Matthias¹, thanked me heartily for what I had done, and with other kind words he bade me continue to administer pious admonitions; at that time he himself was somewhat ailing. Both the captains were also pleased by it.

So this day passed away. And at evening after supper, the watch being set, all men went to their rest, save the watchmen.

Towards midnight I dreamt a dire dream, and it was in this wise. I was lying in my berth (as indeed I was), when that Bartel, of whom I have spoken before, came to me and lifted the bedclothes off my face and down to my middle, and I thought he bore a large whetted knife in his hand. I thought that I trembled at his wrathful countenance and his rough and hasty grasp, and I thought that he raised the big knife and seemed about to stab me with it, but I thought that I urgently pleaded with him for mercy, and said that I was greatly amazed at his treatment of me. But he said that he was commanded by God, the great King, to kill me and all the ship's crew with the big knife. I thought that I vehemently denied that he had to kill me, or that he had any Divine ordinance thereto, since God had but just granted me to live. Methought he said, "Very true." He had not to kill me, but had only intentionally proved me. But yet it was true that he had to kill the crew. Meseemed I asked what use life would be to me, if all the rest of the crew were killed, and that I particularly begged him to spare also certain of the others who were my best friends. And he said he was bound to do what he said, and if any were pardoned and life granted to them, it would be for my sake and on my plea; but that he was commanded to go down both sides of the ship with his knife. And I saw that he began first outside the cabin doors on the larboard side, saying: "Ye had an evil sport yesterday; to-day it is my turn." This fierce conduct terrified me in my

¹ Mads Rasmussen.

sleep past all bearing, and I was not wakened by the shouts of those who lay in bed, nor until two men of the watch came and at last succeeded in awakening me: and I did not recognize them for a while. They gave me something to drink, for I was beside myself. When my captain heard of it he came at once to me and said he had heavy thoughts as to the interpretation of the dream, and that he was sorely troubled. Men bade him not grieve or distress himself aught, for that dreams were not wholly to be trusted¹. That day I could take no food of any kind, for I was sorely oppressed at heart.

About midnight Peter Alkmaar² came below decks from his watch, and came up to my berth and asked if I were awake. I said yes, and that I had had but little rest for two nights. I asked him how the weather was and he said that our customary favouring wind had fallen. He came again to me, praying for God's grace, for that now a contrary wind had sprung up from the north-east. And by sunrise it blew great guns, so that the ship staggered under it and the maintop-sail was taken in. Soon after the hurricane increased so mightily that the maincourse and forecourse blew away as if they had been made of paper. The maincourse was of four thicknesses and the forecourse of three. There had been a heavy swell out of the Atlantic, and now the waves rose from the north-east with a fury beyond all imagining, and with the sails stripped, these vast seas tossed our great ship from one billow to another like an empty box. And although from her poop or round-house it measured seven fathoms to the sea level, a man standing on the lee deck could have drawn sea water in his hand on to the ship's deck, had he so willed, when the ship heeled over.

The first misfortune that occurred that forenoon was that when the top-sail was to be taken in, Peter Alkmaar fell overboard from the yard end, by reason of a huge wave which hurled him away; but he got a hold of the mainsheet until he was rescued. The second was when the sails were blown away

¹ This story shows the strength of the Icelandic belief in dreams, for Jón would not have told it in his own country unless he had been sure of a sympathetic hearing.

² A gunner. See the list on p. 33.

like a strip of seaweed. The third, that our small boat was hurled overboard, over the head of a man who was standing by the starboard bulwarks on the lee-side; but it did not injure him, which was a great miracle of Almighty God's. This boat was always placed unfastened inside the large boat. The fourth, that when we were striking our maintop-mast, topgallant mast and flagstaff, it was perceived that there was a crack in the mainmast. Both the ship's carpenters were aloft to see if they could devise a means of striking the upper mast, which could not be accomplished (for the vessel lay continually over on the starboard side), and although men climbed on their fellows' shoulders all the way up the rigging, those above heard none of their shouts bidding them come down before the mast gave way. And presently it did give way, and went overboard with these two carpenters. The one a Norwegian, Anders Johnsen¹, received its full weight, and was crushed to pieces, but the other, Claus From², had stood on the windward side, and he was rescued by a cable which was flung out to him. Thereupon all the rigging was cut away to clear the decks and in order that the vessel should not take damage from it.

The fifth misfortune happened soon after, when the bow plunged into a sea and our bowsprit broke off at the stem-head and the forestay gave way. This was also at once cut free. Sixthly, but a little later, the foremast broke loose from its stepping, and it too must needs be cut loose in all haste; and all this was a loss of much money. Now of the whole rigging there remained nothing more than the mizen-mast, and the vessel was grievous to look upon. All this happened on the Tuesday next before Easter³. The great seas washed

¹ This man has not been mentioned before. He appears to have been one of the crew of the *Pearl*.

² Claus From had sailed to India as a carpenter in the *Christianshavn*. See the list on p. 34.

³ 25 March 1625. Mads Rasmussen's remarks on the events, related in such lurid language, are brief and to the point: "The 4 March we passed the Equator on our homeward voyage towards the North, and we suffered great privation and distress on board the ship during the period from 4 March to 1 June, being twelve continuous weeks and four days, and during that time we only saw the sky and the sea, the sky as a blanket

over the ship in a terrifying manner, and men went to the pumps, but could not pump the ship clear, although there were thirteen pumps, including the bilge-pumps.

And now, so far as our mortal vision could discern, and in the absence of all human aid, it seemed clear that there was nought else before us but death and a speedy departure from this miserable world. All this we left in the hands of our pitiful and mercy-loving God, to Whom we heartily commended ourselves, our souls and bodies, both now and for ever. The trumpets were blown for prayers and the bells rung. And when we were all gathered together, the minister, Master Matthias¹, lovingly and paternally exhorted us to repentance and contrition for all sins committed, and bade each and all of us set all his hope in the promise of God's mercy, in perfect faith and confidence in the precious merits and mediation of our Redeemer and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ. Lamentation and weepings were heard on all sides. From this let every man learn to heed himself at play and at work, to beware of a thoughtless mode of life, and to know that fortune is fickle, but above all to bear in mind that death is certain but the hour thereof uncertain.

Before this sermon which the minister preached, we had the hymn, "Hence I fare in peace," and after it, "When sore our need²."

A certain Fleming, by name Adrian³, spoke to me in the middle of the service and asked me whether I thought that

and the water, which then had become the grave of many of us. We were sick; we had a great tempest and with our own hands we were obliged to throw overboard much of the tackle and fittings of the ship, and also our mainmast; we suffered much from thirst and also greatly from hunger, so that many died thereof, and we got no farther than that at last we could see Ireland."

¹ Mads Rasmussen, who, however, says nothing of such exhortation.

² On these hymns Dr Blöndal has kindly supplied me with the following information. The first is a translation of Luther's hymn, "Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin," the Icelandic translation of which was first printed in 1589. The Danish translation, used in the Icelandic text, is to be found in the Danish *Hymnal* of Hans Thomisson of 1569, then in use. The second hymn is an Icelandic translation of Paul Eber's hymn, "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein." It is found in Thomisson's *Hymnal* in Danish and is still in use in Danish churches.

³ This man has not been mentioned before.

drowning in the sea would be a hard death. I bade him quit such foolishness and think more of eternal than of temporal life, of being undismayed and commending himself to God in the name of Jesus. A man named Johan Christensen¹ (who on the first voyage to the Indies had been captured by the Portuguese²) strove persistently to discover what we had been talking about, but though we were good friends, I would not betray the weakness of Adrian's flesh, either to him or to any other, in order that he might not be mocked at later.

After service had been held, my captain, Christoffer Boye, asked that men should go to the pumps and try once more to save our lives, so that we might not be guilty of our own death, as we should be if we neglected anything of that kind, for the Lord could still dispose which way our fate should be. We agreed that whatever He in His mercy let befall us was the best for us, and after the manner of Our Lord's Prayer in the Garden, we asked that His merciful will should be wrought in us, and thus commended ourselves, our souls and bodies into His hands.

At a little past two o'clock the whole cable of the main anchor broke loose. It had lain forward near the bow on the lower deck, and had not been used on this voyage. Its length was 300 fathoms, and it was so stout that every fathom weighed a *vætt*, or as much as eighty dried cod-fish³, and cost five dollars. And when the ship rose by the bows to meet the huge seas, the coil was hurled aft on the ship and flung from side to side, so that the vessel trembled under it, and we could not tell that it would not then and there crush it into fragments.

For a long time we were obliged to look on helplessly, with fearful hearts, at its ravages and perilous tossings. Further, we had to watch the spoiling and destruction which its violent plunges wrought on all our provisions—all except the little bread which remained to us after the steward's wasteful

¹ Possibly identical with Johan Christensen, gunner, mentioned in vol. 1, pp. 72, 182.

² See ch. III, p. 14, for the wreck of the yacht *Øresund* and the capture of her crew by the Portuguese.

³ See vol. 1, p. 21, n. 1, for the Icelandic *vætt*.

gift to his Dutch countrymen¹, and his grievous lack of forethought at St Helena's Island, of which I have spoken before. The cable broke all casks, barrels and vessels: all our wine was spilt, the good red Spanish wine, nearly two pipes full, and each pipe fills ten barrels²; item, two casks of butter; item, eight casks of meat, and amongst it was spilled tar and oil, so that everything was unfit for food thereafter. All our rice too was spilled out, which was to serve us as food; item, peas and beans. But our watercasks lay under this deck in the ship's hold, together with all the ship's cargo, *viz.* pepper in lead-lined cases, which we often had to turn about with forks and iron shovels, on account of the great heat engendered when the pepper dries amiss, as with hay here in Iceland³. There too lay all our Indian goods, which we had with us, totally uninjured.

The rightful ship's captain was Sixt Jacobsen⁴. In these straits he was of no avail but lay and wept in his berth. But my captain, Christoffer Boye, he took command in everything. In no one on board did I see understanding or capacity to do aught which might help us or save our lives except for this one man and Master Mutten who was our mate, a tried man and an old sea-dog, who had formerly for many years been engaged in piracy and freebooting with his five ships, owned by himself, but for one or more of his famous deeds had been pardoned by the King of England⁵.

¹ See p. 208.

² Dr Blöndal informs me that an Icelandic tun or barrel of liquid at this period contained 20 pots or about 30 gallons English.

³ This is a valuable statement regarding hay-harvesting in Iceland.

⁴ See p. 199 and n. 1.

⁵ This man is a puzzle. I can find no trace of him in the *State Papers* or contemporary records. Mr Carr Laughton, to whom the query was referred, writes: "I have myself worked fairly thoroughly at the piracy of the first quarter of the seventeenth century and I have come across no man named Mutten or by any other name that could be easily travestied into that form." Neither does the name appear in any of the voluminous notes on pirates left by the late S. C. Hill. But that there was an individual named Mutten or Mutte alive at this period is certain, for Mads Rasmussen alludes to him after he was landed at Youghal: "At last, after the man-of-war called *Flensburg* had sailed from us homeward, and after Master Mutte's ship had sailed from Jochel to East India, we set out for our homeward journey in God's name the 2 July [1626]." It is possible that Jón is mistaken in calling Mutten a mate of the *Pearl* and may be confusing him with the pirate Campana mentioned in ch. xxix.

Captain Christoffer Boye sought to check the fury of the aforesaid coil of cable, and had five men set each a post within the coil at the same moment, when it was lying fairly still, and these five posts were at once made fast to the bitts, so that it could not shift nor be tossed about nor flung over. Until this was done it was a constant peril and a danger to our lives. And when once the cable was brought to rest by the skill of my captain, Christoffer Boye, there was more peace and less trembling on board.

Towards the evening of the same day there came three terrible waves of such force that they carried away the rudder. Each wave seemed to fall from the sky and no man could stand on deck: those who tried were flung down by the fury of each wave. Our destruction seemed less doubtful than ever. But my captain, Christoffer Boye, had all the more courage, by the inspiration of God's spirit, comforting with his constant cheerfulness both himself and others in God. Now he said that his strength and that of the others had been tested to the uttermost, as far as human strength could go, and bade all to pray God for spiritual strength, that even though our bodies might suffer shipwreck (if God so willed) our souls might be preserved, by His mercy, from the shipwreck of faith, so that we should lose nothing, but rather be caught up into the true eternal harbour of souls, through the perfect prowess of our blessed conqueror Jesus Christ, which in the time of our afflictions accomplished the promises made to mankind in the name of the Holy Trinity, announced to all true believers, and in the fullness of time brought to fulfilment.

And having uttered his thoughts in this manner, he set men to the pumps by turns, the others to rest meanwhile. But me he bade come on deck with him, if I was able, and he conducted me to the captain, and bade me pray to God, with all the ardour of the gift vouchsafed to me, for the abatement of our afflictions, and that He would look down on us in His mercy in our need and sore straits. Then he left me for a space and afterwards returned, and conducted me to my berth.

The great storm abated as soon as evening came. But in

the night a very handsome young man, Johan Falk¹ by name, broke his leg, so that he lay for twelve weeks under the surgeon's hands.

A strange thing was seen next morning, when the fury of the storm was wholly past, that the ring of our largest anchor had disappeared, no one touching it. Now this same morning the crew dragged themselves sorrowfully on deck and scanned the horizon in every direction for a sight of our consort and our comrades², who had been driven out of our sight, and had lost their mainmast and been in sore straits and great peril. We did not see them again.

In this storm a Dutch ship off Africa of 500 lasts went down, with a cargo valued at thirteen tons of gold, and the other Dutch vessel, her consort, threw overboard a hundred tons of pepper, and was all but lost³.

¹ This man, probably one of the crew of the *Pearl*, has not previously been mentioned.

² The Dutch ship, with which the *Pearl* had kept company from St Helena.

³ I have failed to find any confirmation of this statement, which, however, is quite probable, as many violent storms are recorded in the *State Papers* of the period.

CHAPTER XXIX

TOWARDS midday we saw a tiny vessel sailing towards us from the east-south-east, and at first we thought it was our comrades. But these were Biscayans¹ who voyage far and wide after whale and fish. They sailed twice round our ship, thinking that we had been in a battle, and therefore they did not venture to board us, though we urgently begged them to help us in our straits and to convey us to land, offering a threefold reward.

There is an island in the Spanish main which is called Torney², and all those who visit it go to fish for *cabela*³, that is, cod and ling, and these boats are called Torney-vessels. These Biscayans, and those who came later, were making this voyage.

Now we were come ninety sea-miles this side of Barbary, and were far out in the western main: 150 sea-miles to the south-east of us lay Spain, and England was 500 sea-miles off⁴. Our ship was rudderless and stripped of its sails, and we were all but without provisions. All this caused fear and a lack of faith among our people, who said our loss was certain, unless by some chance a ship should come our way which would tow us to land. I became sorely vexed with men who spoke thus, conducting themselves alike in prosperity and adversity as though they had no God, neither to fear nor to love, and therefore unable to desire aught of Him. They bore with me patiently, though they thought I spoke harshly, and because they had not found me untruthful in our dealings and converse together, they gave up their vain confidence and

¹ For Biscayans (Basques) see vol. I, p. 147, n. 2.

² In the Bay of Biscay (Jón's "Spanish main") there is no island of that name, and it is evident that Torney must mean Terre Neuve, the French name for Newfoundland, then, as now, famous for its fisheries. Jón probably believed that Terre Neuve, a word that his Danish comrades would pronounce Ternov, was one word and that the last syllable was the Danish word "Y" for "island." Therefore he has translated the word into Icelandic as Terney or Torney, Island of Tern or Torn. (B.)

³ Du. *kabbeljau*, Fr. *cabliau*, cod. See Mundy (IV, p. 222, n. 4), who calls this fish "coddelau."

⁴ These figures cannot be taken seriously.

reasonings, while I maintained that the same God Who had shown us such fatherly mercy and had preserved us from death would Himself conduct us to land, when He thought fit. The minister bade me not desist nor weary in exhortations to the crew on his behalf and to check ungodliness in word and deed, for his sickness weighed ever more heavily upon him. Our crew also sickened daily from dropsy¹.

As good fortune would have it, our yards had remained lying along the bulwarks after the sails had blown away, and Captain Christoffer Boye had the carpenters cut a mast and yard for the foresail from them. We had two spare sails on board. He had a rudder made out of a seven-ell beam, which they call a davit, by which the anchor is lifted into place. Bolts from the vessel were forged into rudder-pintles and iron slings bent round the davit: all the holes were bored in cold iron. It was a week before we got this fixed in place, but whatever happened we could not get it on deck again, for all the ship's tackle and gear had gone. And when our scrap of a rudder had been got into its place with great difficulty, and one little rag of a sail unfurled and set to the wind, God gave us a north-west wind for half a month, and it brought us along famously².

One evening, shortly after suffering all this damage, we saw a large Turkish vessel to the south-west of us. Some were content that the Turks should take us rather than that we should die of hunger, for we had the written pledge of the King that we should be redeemed from captivity under them if matters should go so amiss with us. But I and many others, not least that night, prayed that God would let us pass them in peace and out of their sight, so that they could not meddle with us. And this was granted to us by God's grace and His Almighty power, so that neither they nor any other foreign folk caught sight of us nor did us harm. Blessed be the name of our God. May His Name be magnified and His glory, power and wondrous deeds be made known to all! Amen.

¹ Beriberi. See note 2 on p. 205.

² They must have had fine smooth weather after the storm to do what they accomplished.

The day after the damage men were sent down into the bread-room to see what could still be used there. Only a few fragments were found in it and these damaged by a multitude of insects, as large as small crabs, which came on board in India, flying at night. They are called *cachilacar*¹. When men make ready their beds in the evening, before their night's rest, these creatures lurk in the beds in great numbers, and men have a switch in their hands to flick them away, because they cannot fly until after sunset. Moreover, there are often rats on board which do much damage to the victuals.

Now when these grievous tidings reached the officers, my captain, Christoffer Boye, and others with him, desired that our steward, Peter Frandsen, should be hanged. But because the merchants were Flemings² like Peter, they were of a different opinion, and punishment was promised to him later, if he lived.

In the cabin they fared no better than we as regards lack of victuals, for everything was instantly consumed, except so long as the damaged pieces of bread lasted. The Governor had two animals with him, namely a stag and a large Indian pig³, but so chary was he of parting with them, either for his own behoof or that of others, that no words could persuade him to it, even though his own death threatened. But when the crew saw his mercilessness and obduracy, both to himself and others, they agreed one evening among themselves to put an end to the creatures during the night, but one at a time, so that no one should suspect; and they thought that the cabin folk would not eat of animals that had died of suffocation. In the morning they pretended that the animals must have perished in the dark. Their owner must needs stifle his grief,

¹ Cockroach, Tam. *kakkaḷaththu*, Du. *kakkerlak*, Dan. *kakkerlakker*.

² Although Flanders at this time formed part of the Southern Netherlands, then under the rule of the Archdukes, the term Fleming was used indiscriminately with Hollander to denote a Dutchman.

³ Jón has before (p. 185) mentioned a stag owned by Hess. Mads Rasmussen relates how, on the homeward voyage, they visited the island of Ascension, went hunting there and took on board a hind and wild pig. I suspect that the description of St Helena given by Jón (p. 206) is more applicable to Ascension and that the hunt took place on that island as stated by Rasmussen. But there is the possibility that they hunted on both islands. (B.)

though with sighs. But the officers were right glad to eat the animals which were supposed to have died from natural causes, for dire need was upon them; and they took half and gave us half¹.

Late one evening a Dutchman, Jón by name², offered to kill the cat as a meal for us. I said I would wait awhile before taking that course, and the matter was deferred, so that it was never done. We had a plenty of water for drinking, and the cook handed over to us a large vessel of fat, which he had intended to sell to the shoemakers, and with this and the fragments of bread we made shift for a while, both in the cabin and out of it.

And when we had had a north-west wind for half a month, and were making good progress, being not more than 100 sea-miles from England, that wind dropped and violent hindering winds arose, contrary winds from the south-east and east, which drove us far out to the north-west, so that at the last we were no more than 150 sea-miles from Iceland³.

The fourth Sunday after Easter⁴ I was called into the cabin and my counsel was asked, whether it would seem good to me to make for Iceland, if the wind held, this being the nearest land. But I said that it would be the greatest folly to make for Iceland, seeing that we were almost without rudder or sail, and if these should fail, by any mishap, we should be in the direst peril. And when I had urged these considerations and many others, they abandoned the plan and said all that I had told them was very probable. And when the discussion was at an end I went away, telling them that help would soon be at hand by the working of God's grace, mercy and long-suffering.

Soon after these events a north-east wind rose again, with constant fog and foul weather. Now all this time the lamentations and murmurings of the crew increased daily, on

¹ This reference to a prejudice against eating the meat of animals not slaughtered in the usual way is interesting.

² This man was probably one of the original crew of the *Pearl*.

³ Such assertions must be guess-work in the conditions after the storm.

⁴ The fourth Sunday after Easter fell on 27 April 1625, rather more than

account of the dropsy which attacked them and which caused men to swell like bladders filled with air, and while we were the sport of wind and sea (which was for nearly eight weeks), we lost fifteen of the best of our people before God gave us a sight of land. They were sewed up in sacks and a service sung over them in Christian wise; and then they were cast overboard.

The next Sunday after Ascension Day¹, about six of the clock, we saw land. It was an island close to the west of England which they call Sjörlis². Great was the rejoicing on board, and all who lived and could speak gave thanks to God, and many of those who were sick dragged themselves on deck, though some of them had to return again to their beds. As night was at hand, the officers and those in authority thought it best to hold away from the land during the night, as shoals were to be expected. But the next morning the land had disappeared and a storm arose from the north-west which lasted eight days, during the which we lost our small and frail rudder, which in all but following winds had done us yeoman service.

Again we were come into sore straits, not knowing whether we were off France, England or Ireland, for all these countries lie close to each other, and all have red mud off their coasts on the sea bottom. When the north-west storm moderated the wind veered to the south-east. And about midnight the mates dropped the plummet overboard (as they frequently did) and found twenty-eight fathoms, and the sailors dropped the anchor and the yard was lowered to the bulwarks, but owing to the crew's weakness the sheets had perforce to dangle in the sea, there being but three men on their feet. My captain, Christoffer Boye, had now also taken to his bed, but for at least eight days before this, he crawled about on his knees.

Early one morning I heard the door of the cabin on the upper deck open (and heard no more) until someone came to me (I had lent my sleeping-place to my good friend Anders

¹ Whit Sunday, 18 May 1625 (O.S.).

² The Sorlings (Les Sorlingues) or Scilly Isles. See Mundy III, p. 420.

Ólafsen)¹. This was the Governor, Henrik Hess, who stood without and asked me if I could come to him. I said that I could do so if I might lean on him. And when I came out, he says that we are in great peril because we knew nought of where we were. I say we shall soon see land. He conducts me across the deck to the starboard side. It was squally weather with sunshine between the squalls. I tell him that I fancy that I see land over there where I point. He says no and offers to wager a rose noble against a dollar², and gives me his hand upon it. Soon after the squall cleared away and the sun shone upon a fair wall on land. He left me and shouted, "Land! Land!" clapping his hands, and all praised God with great rejoicings. And I was conducted down to the guns and fired fifteen shots, for the guns were already loaded³. Master Jóris, our first mate⁴, said that it was Ireland, which lies twenty-nine sea-miles from England, washed all round by the sea⁵.

It so happened that a man had gone out of that town we saw, and which was called Johel or Jochel⁶, and of no set purpose but just for his pleasure, had walked out on a point which looks eastwards. This man saw us and heard the shots (though we were far from land, fully two sea-miles); and he hastened back to the town and before its chief men, and said that he had seen a large vessel out to sea, and that it was continually firing shots, and he added that he thought its rigging was very small. Whereat the harbour-pilots were ordered to seek out who these men might be. There were two of them, William and Robert⁷.

¹ See the list on p. 34.

² That is, 6s. 8d. to 4s. 2d.

³ Here is another statement that makes the accuracy of Jón's stories of storm and stress doubtful.

⁴ Boatswain of the *Christianshavn* on the outward voyage. See the list on p. 34.

⁵ Mads Rasmussen says that it was on 1 June "being Wednesday before Whitsunday," that Ireland was sighted, and that "in the ship there was then only left a sack of rice." On 3 June, he says, he was taken ashore sick and placed in the care of a Danish woman at Youghal.

⁶ Youghal, co. Cork, Ireland.

⁷ Only one man is mentioned as attempting the pilotage of the *Pearl* and his name was John. See below, note 2 on p. 224.

At once they started from land, each in his herring-buss¹, and it was a race between them which should get to our vessel first, for they thought that whichever did so might reckon on a high reward. The weather was fickle and squally and we could see no more than that they were like to capsize, until one of them gave up, so saving both himself and his fellow, although he had to return almost to shore again with no profit. The first shouted to us and asked us how we fared and what ship we were. We told him with all clearness what it behooved him to know, and that it was our desire that the vessel might be brought into harbour.

He offered himself for the task and demanded a token and pledge from the chief man on board, that we would take none other than himself, and the profit which accrued therefrom he declared to be granted him by God, who had given him the good fortune to be the first to come out to us, we being in need of much aid. Captain Sixt Jakobson, the true captain of the *Pearl*, forthwith handed over to him his purse of red velvet with his gold signet ring attached, as a pledge of the agreement. And when everything had been done on both sides as agreed upon, this pledge was to be handed back to the captain.

Now things were come to that pass on board, as has been mentioned before, that men died daily, and nearly all were bedridden, so that none could help the other nor even give a drink the one to the other. So the moaning of helplessness and misery was heard everywhere among us, both on account of hunger and disease. Neither of the two pilots² had any victuals on board their vessels or busses, save that one crew

¹ Buss, a two- or three-masted vessel of various shapes, used especially in the Dutch herring fishery. See Mundy, iv, p. 223 and n. 2.

² Jón's memory has failed him here (see above, note 7 on p. 223), for after saying that one pilot returned to the shore, he now talks of "the two pilots" helping the crew. The actual facts are given on p. 111 of *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*: "A Danish ship, the *Pearl*, was driven by stress of weather to take refuge in Youghal harbour, and would not have reached that shelter but for the courage of a fisherman, John Griffin, who risked his life to get on board and pilot her into safety, and had his deed chronicled in the Youghal Council Book."

had a raw cod, not yet cleaned, and this was at once cooked and portioned out among a hundred and seventeen men; and I got its shoulder-bone with a little of the flesh clinging to it, the which I chewed, bone and all.

The two crews of these pilots, and the pilots themselves, got our boat lowered with the assistance of some of our people, to whom it was a great effort. Then they lowered my captain, Christoffer Boye, down into our boat by a rope, he sitting in a chair, also the minister and those who were not able to help themselves. And when my captain, Christoffer Boye, had got into the boat, I gazed supplicatingly after him, and called out to him and begged him to bear me in mind, if he and I both lived, that I might come ashore as soon as possible. He waved to me with a kerchief and promised that, if he should survive, I should be conveyed to land at the first opportunity. And at parting, when they were about to be conveyed ashore, each party bade the other a loving farewell, leaving our next meeting in the hands and to the will of God.

Two of our people died while rowing to land and two more at table on shore, as they tasted fresh victuals. They were lovingly received in Johel¹, and given many kinds of food and precious drinks. My captain, Christoffer Boye, lived two nights, and then died, and was given an honourable funeral and burial, costing 300 dollars². A great iron bell which had not been rung for thirteen years was used on his funeral day, as a last honour and token of esteem, together with other fitting ceremonies. I was not ashore when these things happened.

The same night as our boat went ashore from the ship, it was sent back again by the highest in the town of Johel with a plenty of drink and victuals, *viz.* two whole oxen, twelve sheep slaughtered, twelve barrels of strong beer, two casks of biscuits and two of hard ship's bread of rye; one cask of butter, three casks of wine, one of which was of French brandy, another of Spanish wine and the third of French

¹ Youghal.

² Presumably at the cost of the *Pearl*. No details of the burial have been found.

mass-wine¹. There were also new plates, wheat, two kinds of salt, vinegar, jugs and vessels, also herbs and wholesome green foods, also many kinds of distilled wine², and tobacco. With the boat came a few of our people who had been ashore, together with the English³ who had been hired in the town to row.

And the next day a hundred men were taken and chosen at the town hall to be both watchmen and guardians of our ship and goods while sickness was so rife among our own people, and until the vessel could be got into harbour. These hundred men swore an oath on their souls and bodies that all their conduct, while their watch should last, should be honest and upright, without any false dealing. And further, that if a shot were heard from our vessel, even when they were ashore, they should make all haste out to her.

For it so happened that at that time a notorious and much hated robber and freebooter (as they are called) was constantly cruising in those waters, and often used violence against merchants and honest sailors, causing them terror by his robberies, murders and manslayings. His name was Captain Compan⁴, a man of low birth and a Fleming by race⁵. He had seven ships under his command and offered odds to many, as had recently happened at that time, when in the Spanish Main he offered battle to thirty-two vessels all in one company, of the kind which ply to Spain, and of which but few have as many as twelve guns. By such-like deeds he maintained himself for many years. He had a wife and children in Holland. He was a man of much experience, surpassing all others both at sea and in drinking-bouts, and much practised in navigation. The High *Stater*, States and Gover-

¹ Sacramental wine. Here again we seem to have exaggeration. The food appears greatly in excess for the needs of about 100 very sick men! But it may have been meant to cover rations for the guard of 100 able-bodied seamen mentioned below.

² By distilled wines spirits seem to be meant.

³ The men would be Irish, not English.

⁴ The name of this pirate, which is variously spelt, appears to have been Captain Claes Campané.

⁵ Here again Jón uses Fleming for Dutchman, as is evident from what follows.

nors of Holland¹ had written a gracious letter to this man, urging him to desist from this evil life and mend his ways utterly, and they offered him the highest command at sea in Holland, with some kind of privileges. With this letter was sent a loving appeal from his lawful wife; but all this impressed him not a whit, for he well knew how much their advice and offer were worth, and the daily condemnation of his conscience told him how little he was worthy of them; and therefore he would not risk the venture. His drummer, by name Cornelis, had sickened of scurvy on this man's own ship, and been put ashore, and he came to us in Johel in Ireland and was tended with us. Later, he came with the *Pearl* to Denmark. He told us much about him and clearly described to us all his ways at sea and on land, how he had psalms and prayers sung both evening and morning, and other such Christian customs, and yet lived in his piracy and execrable crimes².

¹ The States-General.

² At the time when the *Pearl* arrived off Youghal, Campané was enjoying a "Protection," not "Pardon," from the King of England, first granted in October 1624 and subsequently renewed. In February 1625 after vainly endeavouring to obtain leave "to revictual and begone to sea to look for more booty," he came to terms with the Lord Deputy of Ireland and agreed to pay £10,000 for "His Majesty's pardon after a voyage to sea to fetch his wealth," and he was accordingly granted further protection. In May 1625, however, the matter of the pardon for "Campané the pirate" was still in abeyance and he was "hovering about" the West of Ireland. Further negotiations took place and Campané was again granted short periods of protection in 1626 and 1627. In the spring of the latter year he arrived on the West Coast of Ireland, supported by four "full ships" and claimed that he had "the King's protection and pardon from the States of Holland." It was reported that the booty in the ships was considerable, "all in Barbary ducats." After this date there is no further mention of Campané in the *State Papers*. See *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1615-32, Index, s.v. Campané.

CHAPTER XXX

NOW I must tell how, when the provisions had come out to the ship, and we were to taste fresh victuals that night, our steward gave each of us leave to choose whatever he desired to partake of first, whether of food or drink. Some asked for bread, others for cheese, and some for eggs, until the meal could be prepared. I asked for one drink of ale. And when I had taken near half a pint I handed what was left in the pint-pot back to the steward, and I was helped up on deck and forward to the beak, and I wound a rope round each wrist and placed myself on the stool, and for nearly a whole round of the clock I had no consciousness of myself, nor knew what went on around me, until I returned to my full senses. It seemed to me then as if I had been relieved of the burden as of a whole mountain, and as if God had given me a new life. When I came below decks again to my comrades, the stewards and others were startled to see me alive, and declared that in truth they had supposed that I was lying somewhere dead. While I was away two others had died. And soon after my good friend Erik Lange¹ died, and also good old Niels Geertsen². Thus, from the time we sailed from India until we had made harbour in Ireland, we lost thirty-five of our best people, amongst them the mate Jakob³, Niels Geertsen, his first assistant⁴, with his stepson Andreas⁵; Master William the surgeon, one of the two sailmakers, and our master-gunner, Søren Knabstrup⁶, a very violent man.

¹ See p. 149.

² Assistant merchant in the *Christianshavn* on the outward voyage. See the list on p. 33.

³ Jacob Adrianssen, boatswain in the *Christianshavn*, who died off the Cape. See p. 205, n. 2.

⁴ This must be a lapse of memory on Jón's part, unless Niels Gertzen, assistant merchant in the *Christianshavn* in the outward voyage, shipped in a different capacity in the *Pearl*.

⁵ This may be Anders Michelsen (see p. 33, n. 2), also an assistant merchant.

⁶ This man was mentioned on p. 14 and on the day of Jón's accident, but not by name (see p. 196). Mads Rassmussen says that "of the 143 common sailors and petty officers [of the *Pearl*] only 75 souls were left, and of these many were in very frail health."

It was near eight days before a rudder of deal was made, which served for the occasion, to bring the ship into harbour at spring-tide. For we had to wait for that, as three shallows lay right across the harbour mouth¹, where the entrance was, and over each were moored barrels to serve as buoys. It was one day before we got our great vessel into harbour—her draught, with cargo, was twenty-two feet, across the upper deck she measured seven fathoms, and seven fathoms also from the quarterdeck to the sea; forty fathoms from stem to stern and forty fathoms from the highest point of the mast to the sea²—that we saw two large vessels about a sea-mile to seaward of us, but to them we seemed to lie off the shore. Instantly a shot was fired and the hundred sworn men came with all speed, according to their oath, to defend us. But by the grace of the blessed God these vessels held off. It was Captain Compan³, and he was greatly vexed that we had escaped from his clutches by such a chance, when he learnt later of our situation.

On the Saturday before the festival of Whitsuntide⁴, about the ninth hour of the morning, which is about the time we break our fast in Iceland, all these men being on board with us, and many of the chief men of the town of Johel, through the faithful guidance of the pilot who had first reached us, and for the sum agreed upon, we were manœuvred and towed

¹ Jón's "three shallows" must be the Bar Rocks, described in *The Coast of Ireland Pilot*, 1893, as lying "on the outer edge of the bar of Youghal harbour, with but three feet of water over them at low water" and consisting of "three irregular patches extending four cables in length and one cable in breadth." Their situation is now marked by a black conical buoy.

² Mr G. Laird Clowes, to whom these dimensions were referred, tells me that "the first three figures are probably right, but both the '40 fathoms' are quite impossible for any ship of that period. A reading of 25 fathoms, however, in each case would be reasonable."

³ For the pirate, Captain Claes Campané, see note 2 on p. 227.

⁴ Jón's dates must be wrong here. He says (p. 222) that it was on the "next" Sunday after Ascension Day (18 May 1625) that the Scilly Islands were sighted, after which the *Pearl* was again stormbound for eight days before she drifted outside Youghal harbour. Here he tells us that it was "near eight days" before the rudder was fixed, which would make the date about 4 June, whereas the Saturday before Whit Sunday fell on 17 May in 1625. Rasmussen, however, says that it was on the Saturday *after* Whit Sunday that the *Pearl* went in to the "town of Jockall in Ireland," which statement solves the difficulty.

over the sand bar¹, without any damage to ship or cargo, to an anchorage close under the town, as good as a man could possibly wish for himself. All the time we were sailing in, every mother's child in the town stood at the very edge of the sea, both on the town side and on the opposite side of the estuary. It seemed to us a most excellent pleasant place, and a fair countryside wherever one looked.

Ireland is a good, fertile and fair land of corn and cattle, so that at that time seventeen hundred live oxen were sent to England as tribute every year. For this special ships are used, which they call meat-ships². There is also much other slaughtered meat, which is conveyed to England almost daily. An ox is there worth four dollars, a sheep one dollar. But such fat sheep I have never seen anywhere³.

When our pilot began to sail to the harbour, he bade all the people fall on their knees in prayer, and ask God for favourable progress and a good ending to the task begun. And afterwards, when the prayers had been said, he commanded that every man should be silent and should utter no word until the vessel had cleared the shallows, and that we should stand by the bulwarks on either side. All the which was duly observed, so that the man who stood at the helm should not be disturbed, and should hear no word save only those uttered by the pilot. And when he had slipped over the innermost bar the pilot and all on board gave a great shout of joy, and then all that great concourse on shore shouted too, as though with one voice, each removing his hat from his head. After all those on board had given humble thanks to Almighty God, with praise for His mercy vouchsafed to us, in that we had made harbour without mishap, the guns were fired off, and so also in the castle on land⁴—trumpets blown, drums

¹ Blackball Ledge, half a mile east of Bar Rocks, now marked by Red Can buoy. See *Coast of Ireland Pilot*, 1893.

² A subsidy was paid by Ireland to England in money and cows at this date, but I have failed to find the actual amount of cattle so exported. See *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1615, p. 86.

³ Jón, as an Icclander, would naturally be impressed by the size and fatness of the Irish sheep and cattle, the "only chief riches" of the kingdom at that period. See *op. cit.* p. 86.

⁴ Perhaps Clay Castle, at the entrance of Youghal harbour, is meant. See

beaten amid general rejoicings, and we were landed on the fair sands, where a great multitude had assembled.

An excellent woman, Elizabeth, married to a sea-captain named William Giæers¹, came up to me, after she had scanned us all, and took me by the hand and considered me for a while, asking me my name and whence I was. And when I had answered her fully she asked if I would not go with her to her home and confide myself to her nursing and care. I said that I would thankfully and willingly accept her offer. So she led me away by the hand, as a mother leads her beloved child, and my comrades gazed after us. When I entered her house she bade me welcome to all it contained, and to all she could do for me, and she set before me fresh victuals and good ale, carving for me herself. She told me that the right hand of her late lamented father had suffered the same injury as mine, and that it was the memory of his sufferings which had urged her to benefit me, when she saw me. She asked my leave to seek out another of our people, so that the two of us might enjoy the same tendance. She left me, and came back with our steward Peter Frandsen, and she had us under her maternal care and tendance for full eleven weeks.

Now I must tell how the captain of the *Pearl*, Sixt Jacobsen, was vexed with the five of us who refused to lie with the multitude of fifty-two men who lay in one sick-house, and all bedridden; and therefore he threatened that we must pay for ourselves, and not one penny would he expend for us, saying we had flouted his offer and the loving care of the Company², wherein he spoke not truth, for we thought at first that each would find lodgings and landlord for himself, wherever he could. These were the five men: the minister Master Matthias, the steward Peter, Christian Johansen, Anders Ólafsen³

Coast of Ireland Pilot, 1893. Youghal was a fortified town at this period.

¹ It is not possible, from Jón's rendering of the name, to guess the nationality of this man.

² The Danish East India Company.

³ Mads Rasmussen, chaplain of the *Pearl*; Peter Frandsen, steward; Christian Hansen, cook's mate; Anders Ólafsen, gunner. The last three were members of the crew of the *Christianshavn* (see the list on p. 33).

and I Jón Ólafsson. Thus quickly did I come to miss my dear friend, as it were my father, Captain Christoffer Boye, who was now asleep in God.

The inhabitants strove to show us all honour, most of the better folk in the neighbourhood visiting us and our ship in their pitifulness and compassion, and bringing us something fresh and useful for nourishment, many kinds of wine and herbs. Among them, moreover, was a great number of the nobility, men and women, both English and Irish, noble matrons and maidens, who showed great courtesy and condescension, bidding God be praised, in that He had delivered us and sent us thither out of such dangers and perils of the sea. All prayed for our recovery, that each of us might return safe and sound to his own country, and find his friends again, when we departed. Further, there visited us the noble Count of Cork, the highest of the three counts who had governance and authority over Ireland at that time¹, on behalf of the King of England, Carolus Stuart². He was termed the President³, and he came with his excellent spouse and their two children, one son and one daughter⁴, and they gave three Jacobus⁵ to us, the ship's crew, which is reckoned at twelve dollars, for drink, and to make merry with. It was seldom that we did not have visits from strangers every day, and these gave us money, so that we daily feasted with music and great merriment.

This count invited the half of our people to be entertained at his home in Cork, which we humbly and thankfully

¹ Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork (1566–1643), the “great earl,” who made a fortune from the purchase of Sir Walter Raleigh’s Irish possessions. In 1616 he was created Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghal, and in 1620 Viscount Dungarven and Earl of Cork. Jón’s description of him as ruling Ireland jointly with two other Earls is incorrect. When news reached Denmark of the hospitality shown to the Danes by the Earl of Cork and the town of Youghal, King Christian sent a gift of £100 to the town and a gold chain and medal bearing his portrait to the Earl as a token of gratitude. The mayor of Youghal replied in a Latin address. See D. Townshend, *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork*, pp. 111–12.

² Charles I of England, who became King 25 March 1625.

³ Jón is here referring to the Earl of Cork and means apparently that he was called “the President” of Ireland.

⁴ Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, had seven sons and eight daughters.

⁵ Jacobus, an old English coin, struck under James I, worth about 24s., but by Jón’s reckoning about 48s.

accepted, whereupon he bade us follow him. And when we reached the castle we were nobly feasted with meat and drink and entertained with other excellent things, with all hospitality and consideration for three days and three nights, after which we travelled back to the place where our vessel lay¹. But on the road, as we travelled back, the Irish country folk kindled great fires on high mountains every night, with much dancing round the fires by great multitudes both of men and women, with junketings and merrymaking. This is the old custom of the Irish people, which they have observed from the most ancient times, maintaining that all goes better with them if they continue it, than if they should let it drop. This is, as it were, their faith, and though the English have tried to wean them from the custom, and sternly forbidden it, the Irish have obstinately refused to give up their fires and dances, which have become the custom and habit of the countryside². All this the Irish displayed to us in their

¹ Dr Blöndal informs me that the version of Jón's narrative in MS. C has the following variation of the account of the visit to the Earl of Cork.

"This Count, whom I take to have been the same who was later beheaded in England, invited us all, together with our captain, up to Cork, to a feast there, and considered it a great honour that he could get us to be his guests, for he said that he had neither known nor heard of any travellers to the East Indies having arrived in that country and that harbour. And a few days after he had visited us the second time we went with our great boat, 52 men in all, up to Cork. We were feasted for two days with honourable treatment and respect by this noble lord and his lady, and in their conversation with us they were very gracious and reckoned it an honour that they were able to show us the greatest friendliness and hospitality. Thereafter we travelled home again to our ship, after having taken leave of them and thanked them respectfully."

Dr Blöndal notes that the conjecture that the Earl of Cork was subsequently executed is incorrect and that probably there is a confusion between him and the Earl of Strafford (Thomas Wentworth) who was beheaded in 1641. He is of opinion that the passage quoted above is the first rough draft of the original and that it was later corrected and abbreviated by Jón or supplied by Magnússon from memory, which would explain the difference regarding the length of stay, etc. Dr Blöndal further observes that "it is very improbable that the 52 men travelled in the 'great boat' from Youghal to Cork, but the matter can be explained thus: The Earl of Cork invited the crew to visit him at his country seat of Lisimore on the Blackwater River, a comparatively easy trip with a boat from Youghal. Jón probably thought that this place was the one from which the Earl took his name and therefore called it 'Cork.'"

² This passage was referred to the Folklore Society and through the courtesy of the Secretary I obtained the following illuminating note from

friendship as we were returning to our ship. And on our return our officers despatched home to Denmark the two gentlemen who had been passengers on board¹, to advise His Majesty and the Company of the damage we had suffered, and to see to other matters which we needed to arrange for, as for instance, the conveying of our letters to kinsfolk and friends.

one of the greatest authorities on the subject, Miss Eleanor Hull. She writes: "The date is rather vague but it would appear almost certain that these must have been the Midsummer Fires lighted on all the hills of Ireland on or about Midsummer Day, 24 June, a custom still kept up in some districts to the present day. Bonfires were lighted, and as they burned low, the dancing of the country people who gathered round commenced. The lads and lasses jumped over the embers to secure marriage and luck during the succeeding months, and the cattle were driven over the still burning wood or through a lane between two bonfires to preserve them from murrain. In Ireland the fire festival seems to have been originally held on May Eve or May Day and to have been transferred under Christian influence to St John Baptist's Day.

"As regards the statement that 'the English have tried to wean them from the custom and sternly forbidden it,' it was the policy of English rule in Ireland through several centuries to discourage all practices and customs differentiating the Irish population from the English settlers." Miss Hull notes the following authorities on the subject: Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 1, pp. 303-5; W. G. Wood Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, 1, pp. 280-2; E. Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, pp. 51, 71, 184-5, 250-1.

¹ For the names of the two passengers see p. 203 and n. 3. It was probably on receipt of their account of the hospitality shown by the inhabitants of Youghal to the *Pearl* and her crew that the tokens of gratitude noted above were sent from Denmark.

CHAPTER XXXI

THESE gentlemen left Ireland early in the summer, and travelled to London in England, where they were delayed a whole month through a sickness which raged there at that time, very severely, so that it was reckoned that for a fortnight six hundred men perished every day¹. Moreover, one of the two himself fell sick, whereby their return journey was further delayed. But at last they reached Copenhagen safely, and reported our storm-tossed voyage to the East India Company, with what matters we were in need of. But the King had but recently repaired to Germany, to fight against the Emperor and the Papists, a war which lasted several years and ended grievously for Denmark (which suffered sorely thereby, for the Emperor's people harried Holstein and Jutland with sword, fire and pillage, destroying and burning towns and villages, killing men and violating maids and matrons, as is the wont of soldiery²). For this reason the Company was hindered from sending quickly that which we needed and had desired of them, chiefly food and rigging, sails and spars, and a rudder for the *Pearl* (for it had been entirely carried away, as I have narrated before), and various other matters which we stood in need of.

About this time the news of our troublous voyage reached Holland. Whereupon Simon Johansen, who had been our chief merchant on the voyage out³, and who was settled in

¹ The year 1625 was that of the third great London plague, with 35,417 deaths. See *Encyc. Brit.* s.v. Plague.

² It was, as Jón says, in 1625 that Denmark took an active part in the Thirty Years' War, which had begun in 1618 with the claim of Frederick, Elector Palatine, to the throne of Bohemia. In the spring of 1625 Christian IV raised an army in his own territory, was later joined by the mercenary forces of Ernst von Mansfeld, and in 1626 the united Protestant army numbered 60,000 men; but Mansfeld was defeated by Wallenstein in April and Christian IV by Tilly in August, after which the war dragged on intermittently until 1648, the belligerent countries being preyed upon by the ill-paid troops of all parties.

³ See p. 33 and numerous references to his list of the crew of the *Christianshavn*.

Holland, undertook to collect what he understood we lacked. Late in the summer he himself arrived on a vessel with all stores and well-packed victuals, long before the Danes brought these things from Copenhagen. He and his people repaired the *Pearl* entirely, so that she was ready to sail before the others arrived. This Simon Johansen had sailed all round the world with the Dutch, a much-travelled man, well known in many countries¹.

¹ Mads Rasmussen says nothing of Simon Johansen's assistance. He accounts for the long delay of the *Pearl* in Youghal harbour as follows: "We wished many times to get under sail, but our wishes were not granted till a whole year and 22 days had elapsed, partly on account of the sickness of the crew, partly on account of dissensions among the officers, which led to disloyalty and wrong accounts on our arrival home."

CHAPTER XXXII

AFTER these gentlefolk departed from us we constantly had visits from strangers, both Irish and English, as I have said before. Among others, there came to us one very wealthy man, whom they called *gentilman*, and he was half a nobleman¹. This wealthy man travelled at great expense quite 120 miles from the interior of the island, over three great rivers, which lay in his path, to visit us, and sojourned among us fourteen or fifteen days, partly on shipboard and partly on land, and feasted us every day. But on one occasion, as he and our Rector and others were drinking together in a house on shore, this rich *gentilman* took out his purse, and said that on his departure from home it had contained sixty rose nobles in gold², besides other money in silver. All this, he said, he had expended on this journey, and now it contained but four rose nobles, which he said he would need for his journey homeward, since he had to cross three great rivers, and it cost him a rose noble to ferry over each of them. And he emptied these four rose nobles out of his purse into the palm of his hand, and held them up thus for a jest, being in his cups. But our Rector³, being merry, struck up the other's hand with his, so that all four rose nobles were hurtled out of his hand, and across the table and on to the floor. Whereat there were high words, as was to be expected, and in their heat they pushed aside the table in order to fight, but were pacified by the good offices of others who stood by. All thought it an ill-return of the Rector's for the benefits which this *gentilman* had conferred on us with his generosity, courtesy and daily feasting. Afterwards these four rose nobles were searched for, both under the table and everywhere else in the house that men could think of, but only three were

¹ An esquire or landed proprietor is apparently meant.

² See p. 223 and vol. I, p. 60, n. 1.

³ This man cannot be Christoffer van der Mohlen, Rector of Dansborg, if Jón's story that he was sent by Crappe to the Moluccas in the *Jupiter* in

found. The one which was missing was never found. After all this to-do this rich man left us on his homeward journey. But after his departure a rumour arose and was bruited abroad among us—whether true or false, I know not—that our Rector himself must have stolen this gold piece, and this report gained strength as time passed, so that it was generally believed that he had laid a thief's hand on the coin.

During this time Simon Johansen and his people and ourselves were engaged in refitting the *Pearl* with rigging and what else was lacking, both to her and to ourselves, and the most part of us were on board. But on account of the bar¹, the vessel had not put out of harbour, for we must needs wait for the highest tide. And about this time, when we had waited so long, it chanced that our people were talking of the report which made the Rector guilty of the taking of the gold piece. Now there was a coldness between the Rector and Hans, the cook², whom I have already spoken of. This man said he would soon put an end to this evil rumour. And one morning, while the Rector lay in his bed in the cabin, this evil fellow Hans the cook ran in with a large black-handled knife in his hand, and plunged it into his lungs, just under the collar-bone, so that he lay there dead in his bed. Whereupon Hans ran out of the cabin with evil mien and glowering countenance and on to the upper deck, quite beside himself, with the bloody knife in his hand, and swaggered to and fro, brandishing it in the face of any of the crew who were in his path with many awful threats. And though six or seven men leapt upon him at once he shook them all off as though it were nothing, until he came to where I stood, and seized me with one hand by my jersey, while the other brandished that blood-stained black-handled knife in front of me, so that it seemed as if the upshot must be that he would thrust me through with it and so kill me.

I pleaded with him as best I could, to the extent of my little ability and knowledge, but he paid small heed, but continually threatened me with the same awful fate, until at last,

¹ See p. 229.

² See p. 204.

by God's assistance, he flung away from me, and raged up and down the deck in a great passion, dreadful to look upon, with his knife, saying that he could put an end to us all as well as to himself, if he willed. But we tried to soothe him, using fair words and persuasion, and promising him our good offices with the authorities, that he might not pay the uttermost penalty for the murder, if he would but be pacified. At this he quieted down somewhat, and more or less willingly permitted himself to be taken prisoner by us all, and he was then set with his feet in the stocks, and his hands fettered, forward by the windlass.

Shortly after we had left him and gone aft, when only those few were near him who were set on guard over him, he said to them that he would show them what power or capacity they had to put fetters on him, as they had done, and instantly, in their presence, he shook them off and went freely and unhindered up and down the ship again, with ugly temper and evil mien, saying that if we vexed him at all, he would kill us every man.

I went up to him and uttered some persuasive words, whereat he became calmer and said that if we and the officers would faithfully promise that he should not come to the gallows, according to Irish law, but rather be executed with a sword for his misdeed, he would conduct himself quietly. This all promised him. And then it was to be observed by his words, that he must have made a contract with the devil for twenty-one years, this being the twentieth, for he went to the bulwark and took a slip of paper or a tablet from his bosom, and flung it far out to sea, saying that now the devil had no further claim on him, since the twenty-one years agreed upon were not run out, and he added that he was well content to die for his misdeed.

Thereupon he was again put in irons on the ship, and later conveyed to land, and placed in a walled prison with a guard outside, and some days afterwards he was condemned to death on the gallows, according to Irish law, and led out to the place of execution under a strong guard. And when he saw the gallows and knew that he was to be hanged he declared himself betrayed by his countrymen and his officers,

who had promised that he should be beheaded; and he further said that if he had known beforehand of their faithlessness he would not have let himself be taken so easily. After this speech the Irish made haste with his hanging, and thus he ended his evil life in this world, dying without repentance. This happened late in the summer, after we had come into the Irish harbour, which was the sixth or seventh Sunday after Easter in the year 1625¹. There was no other event of interest during this time, so far as my memory serves me.

And when the *Pearl* was entirely refitted and repaired by the labours of Simon Johansen and his people, and ourselves, he desired to sail away, and made great preparations to tow the *Pearl* out of the harbour at spring-tide; but these failed, so that we had to remain where we were for the time.

And about this time, or but little later, came the vessel from Copenhagen, which the East India Company had sent to meet us, according to our message, with provisions and all else needed to repair the *Pearl*. The master of this vessel was the same who had been our captain on our voyage to India with the deceased Christoffer Boye². Now when this vessel arrived in Ireland the *Pearl* was fully repaired and lay in the harbour ready to sail, if she could have got out; but in this she was hindered, as I have mentioned, by the two sand bars which lay across the harbour mouth³. And because this dallying and waiting with the *Pearl* continued so wearisomely, and since there was now a plenty of seamen to go home with the *Pearl* (for Simon Johansen desired his people to remain on her and to sail with her himself to Copenhagen, as, having repaired her, he wished to make sure of his costs from the East India Company)—and because the captain, Sixt⁴, thought the crew over-many for the victuals, he desired that those who were passengers home from India by the *Pearl*,

¹ For "Easter" we should probably read "Trinity." The seventh Sunday after Easter would be Whit Sunday, which fell on 18 May in 1625.

² Peter Andersen. See the list on p. 33. His name does not appear in Simon Johansen's list, which, however, Dr Blöndal thinks, is incomplete. The "vessel from Copenhagen" was apparently the *Flensburg*, man-of-war, mentioned by Rasmussen.

³ See note 1 on p. 229.

⁴ Sixt Jacobsen.

and who were not the proper crew, should leave her and take passages home for themselves. Amongst these was I. Firstly, we greatly longed to be back in Copenhagen, and secondly, we knew not how long the *Pearl* might lie there (as she had not got out with the highest tide); moreover, Sixt Jacobsen would not give board-money at the Company's expense to us, who had lain sore sick on land (of whom five had passed away in Ireland, besides those who had died ere they reached the shore)¹. So our purses were wellnigh empty. Fifthly, we had no great mind to live together with such a multitude of many faiths as was now on the *Pearl*, namely Papists, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Jesuits² and others. So we let the captain have his way with us, and in the autumn of 1625 we fifty-three men, who had been passengers on the homeward voyage by the *Pearl*, hired a vessel in Ireland which took us to the northern part of Helgeland in Norway³. We arrived there shortly before the beginning of winter, and made our way partly by land and partly by ship through Norway and Jutland and arrived in Copenhagen about a fortnight or three weeks after the beginning of winter, after a toilsome journey. We had left all our possessions on the *Pearl*, except for what little each of us had been able to take with him for journey-money, of which the most part was spent when we reached home. But everything else that was ours we had left behind on the *Pearl*, since we could not take it with us, and moreover we had thought that the *Pearl* would arrive soon after us, which was not the case⁴. All my effects had been under the charge and keeping of my good captain the deceased Christoffer Boye, for when I received my injury in India everything was valued, with witnesses, and reckoned up by Indian reckoning, and at once taken to the cabin, to be returned to me if God should grant

¹ See note 6 on p. 228 for Rasmussen's estimate of the casualties during the voyage.

² Dr Blöndal remarks that Jón seems to have thought that the Jesuits were a special sect and that his memory has played him false in stating that there were some of the Order on the ship.

³ Helgeland, part of the province of Nordland, in Norway, north of Trondhjem.

⁴ As we learn from Rasmussen, the *Pearl* did not sail from Youghal until 2 July 1626.

me recovery, or to my heirs if I died. And so it would in all truth have been, if God had allowed the deceased to survive, for he was honest and upright and would never have unjustly taken possession of anything. Now the value of these effects, with the chest and all it contained, was reckoned at 600 rix-dollars¹. But Indian goods which are sold at home in Copenhagen yield ten times as much as they were purchased for in India, so that what is bought there for one rixdollar fetches ten in Copenhagen.

When we arrived in Copenhagen the King was in Germany, engaged in the war which he waged on behalf of the Lutherans against the Emperor², but his eldest son, Prince Christian the Fifth³, and the Council ruled the kingdom in his absence. Of these, during the winter, I made humble supplication and entreaty, desiring His Majesty's most gracious decision and verdict, as also his good aid, that the East India Company should pay me for the injury to my hand, according to conditions contained in the articles, seeing that I was become wholly unfitted to earn my living with my hands. In like manner I desired that His Majesty would deign to consider my poverty and pitiable condition, that I might receive some post in my own country, on one of the royal manors or out of the royal revenues, that I might gain a certain livelihood thereby, seeing that I had been in the royal service and served His Majesty for full ten years. Which plea my good master⁴ received well and favourably, and entrusted me with his missive to the Governor of Iceland⁵, bidding him see to my affair without delay, the which letter ran as follows:

"Christian the Fifth⁶, by God's grace chosen Prince of Denmark, Norway, the Wends⁷ and the Goths, Appointed Regent during the

¹ About £120. 10s. in English money.

² Ferdinand II, Emperor of Germany. See note 2 on p. 235 for the share of Denmark in the 'Thirty Years' War.

³ Duke Christian, eldest son and heir-apparent of Christian IV, who died a year before his father, in 1647. See vol. I, Index, s.v. Christian, Duke and Crown Prince.

⁴ Prince Christian.

⁵ Holger Rosenkrands, Governor of Iceland 1620-33. (B.S.P.)

⁶ He did not live to become Christian V, but was evidently known as such while acting as Regent.

⁷ A term applied by the Germans to the Slavs.

absence of His royal Majesty our beloved Father and most gracious King.

“Our favour etc. Whereas the bearer Jón Ólafsson, Icclander, has humbly complained to us how having been for a while in the service of His royal Majesty, and having since taken part in the voyage to the East Indies, he became maimed there, so that he may not gain his livelihood by the labour of his hands, and therefore desireth the charges upon some manor in Iceland for his support. We therefore request and graciously desire you to be of assistance to him according to his wish, that he may receive the annual charges upon some manor in the said Iceland. Given under our signet at Koldinghuus¹ this 23rd of March, in the year of grace 1626. Christian.”

Further, I made a plea and humble supplication to the gracious ship-owners of the East India Company, desiring that by their favour and compassion they would grant me something towards my support, for the injury and loss of fingers, which I had suffered on that voyage, while in their service, according to the clauses and conditions of the articles². Some of them were favourably inclined to my appeal, but others murmured against it, so that there were divisions among them, and they could not decide whether my injury should be reckoned as though I had lost my right or my left hand, or whether it should be valued at less. They came to no agreement, wherefore they referred the matter to His Majesty's decision and arbitration, when he should return from Germany to Copenhagen from the war which he was waging against the Emperor and the German papists on behalf of the league of Lutheran allied princes, whose protector and general he was. This war had a miserable and grievous issue, so that His Danish Majesty lost all his own and the Lutheran army that winter, at the battle of Leipsic³,

¹ Kolding, on the mainland of Jutland, on the west shore of the Little Belt.

² In the “Articles of War,” among other things, a promise was held out to the soldiers that the King would provide for such as happened to be maimed in his service. The like rules applied in the ships of the [Danish] East India Company and there was a list of rates of compensation for different injuries. For the loss of a right hand 500 Brabant guilders were paid and 400 for a left hand, etc. (B.)

³ The battle took place, not in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, but near Lutteram-Barenborge on 27 August 1626. (B.)

and only escaped with difficulty, with two companions. The Germans and Monsur Tilly¹, who was the Emperor's general, took possession of the Danish King's camp with all the booty it contained, and immediately thereafter invaded our King's lands and kingdom, Skåne and Jutland, with a great army, two or three nights after the King had returned. They came unawares, and no preparations had been made against them, so that they burnt and destroyed towns and castles, robbed and stole all that they could lay their hands on, and ill-treated the people, both men and women, whom they violated wherever they gained the upper hand, as the printed reports fully testify which were published at the time.

And since the plight of the kingdom was so sore, and the King's time fully taken up, my plea for compensation could not be laid before His Majesty at once, so that I got nothing. And when I perceived that this would not serve me, several of my good friends advised me to give a warrant of attorney to some worthy person in Copenhagen, to claim and receive payment of the sum which His Majesty should adjudge me from the Company for my injury. For I was desirous of returning that summer to my own poor country, travelling on one of the merchant ships. For after my accident all my mind was turned from Denmark. My good advisers told me that His Majesty would certainly favourably consider my case according to the conditions laid down in the articles, so soon as he had more leisure, and less to think upon. Accordingly I gave power of attorney to my good friend and benefactor Søren the tailor², as follows:

“ I Jón Ólafsson born in Iceland do hereby acknowledge and by this open letter make known to all, that I name and appoint the honourable and esteemed Søren Villatsson, citizen of and domiciled here in Copenhagen, to act in my stead, and give him full authority to accept and receive on my behalf and in my absence, with the same right as if I were present in my own person, whatever becomes due to me, in accordance with the prescriptions of His Majesty's articles, for the great injury which I received in the

¹ The celebrated general of the Emperor Ferdinand, John Teerclaes Count of Tilly, 1559-1632.

² Søren Villadsen (Villatsson). See vol. 1, p. 190.

service of the Company, upon the voyage to the East Indies; *viz.*, the first three fingers on the right hand, half the thumb on the left hand, and also the next finger thereto, which is become crooked, and the little finger on the same hand is become stiff, in sum, that I am not able to button my garments, much less to earn my bread, as is known to God and to the gentlemen of the Company themselves, they having seen it with their own eyes. To which I append my humble entreaty that you, good gentlemen, will allow this my representative, Søren Villatsson, to receive payment of so much money as you will grant me on these counts, according to your Christian consciences, and as you can answer for to God and the civil authorities. In proof and surer confirmation of the truth of the above, I subscribe my name with my own hand. Given at Copenhagen the 10th May, Anno 1626.

Jón Ólafsson, traveller to the East Indies, Icelandic."

Though I had handed over this letter to the excellent tailor, Søren, neither I nor he received anything at all, though he frequently brought the matter up before the ship-owners, and so I had to put up with my injury and maiming without compensation. Further, the *Pearl* did not return to Copenhagen from Ireland, and on her were those goods which I and others possessed and had brought with us from India, had purchased with our money and pay, and which we had to leave behind when we left the vessel in Ireland and travelled home by Norway, as I have mentioned before. She did not return to Copenhagen that winter or spring, so long as I was there, which increased my cares, for I thus lost all these goods, which amounted to the value previously given, according to the true list made under the eye and by the care of my captain, the late Christoffer Boye, at the time when my accident befell me, as I have narrated before. All this I bade the tailor Søren take charge of on my behalf, with my power of attorney, and send to me in Iceland, if the vessel should not come before I left. And this he would surely have done if the goods had come into his hands, for he was an honest and upright fellow. He wrote to me later, when I was in Iceland, and told me that he had not received any part of my goods, for Captain Sixt Jacobsen had returned to Holland as soon as the cargo was discharged, having handed over to his heirs

the effects of the late Christoffer Boye, in whose charge my goods had been. But whether Sixt handed them over at the same time or took them to Holland, he could not discover. And so I lost them all, and had to go empty-handed away. And even though I might have gone abroad again later on their account, yet I did not know where they were to be found, or how I was to set about finding them, and it might have cost me more losses if I had attempted to find them, for which reason I let the matter slide, and sought after them no more.

CHAPTER XXXIII

WHEN the spring was over and the summer begun, the Iceland merchants fitted out their vessel for the voyage hither. I took a passage on the ship which was to sail for the harbour of Eyri in Skutilsfjörð¹. I bade farewell to my good friends, comrades and acquaintances in Copenhagen, and so went on board in the name of Jesus. And some weeks later we arrived safe and sound in Skutilsfjörð.

¹ See vol. I, map facing p. 13.

HERE BEGINS
THE THIRD PART
OF THE LIFE HISTORY AND
BIOGRAPHY OF THE WORTHY AND MUCH-
TRAVELLED HONoured AND MUCH EX-
PERIENCED MAN JÓN ÓLAFSSON, EAST
INDIAMAN, THE WHICH CONTAINS THE
MORE IMPORTANT EVENTS WHICH OC-
CURRED THAT WINTER WHICH HE SPENT
IN COPENHAGEN AFTER HIS INDIAN
VOYAGE, AS ALSO THE MORE IMPORTANT
EVENTS WHICH BEFELL AFTER HIS RE-
TURN TO ICELAND. PUT TOGETHER
AFTER THE ACCOUNT OF HIS SON ÓLAF
JÓNSSON, AND ACCORDING AS HE BEST
CAN RECALL HIS LATE
FATHER'S STORY¹

CHAPTER I

THE late Jón Ólafsson returned to Copenhagen three weeks after the beginning of winter², and lodged at night in the house of the worthy woman Christine Søren's daughter, relict of his comrade Jón Halldórsson, an Icclander, who was one of His Majesty's gunners at the same time as Jón Ólafsson³. But for his food and drink he went to the chief Admiral.

¹ See vol. 1, p. xix, for remarks on this section by Dame Bertha Phillpotts, who is the author of nearly all the notes that follow.

² Really in the spring of 1626. But see vol. 1, p. 8, n. 5 for the manner of dividing the old Icelandic year.

³ See vol. 1, p. 78.

That winter he was offered the post of schoolmaster to the children whom His Majesty had ordered to be cared for and reared. For this he was to have 400 marks¹, but he would not accept the post. Further, his kinsmen at Hamburg, Hannes and Balthazar², wrote to him and invited him to stay with them, and receive honourable support so long as he should live; and this he also refused. Thirdly, there was offered to him honourable wedlock with a well-to-do widow, who had two young student sons, but he would not have this either, but said no to each of these offers, because he had firmly set his mind, according to the vow he made in his sufferings, when he received his injury, to return to his own country, if God granted him life and health, and let his bones rest there, if the Lord permitted. This vow he would on no account break or allow to be broken, wherefore he steadfastly set himself to travel to Iceland the following year, and to remain there for the future, if the Lord would permit him so to do.

During this winter our King Christian IV was not at home in the Kingdom of Denmark, but in Germany, in the three years' war which he waged against the Emperor, and in which he led the forces of the Lutherans, as has been told before³. This war ended in defeat and a great massacre and loss of life among the Lutherans, and later with fire and destruction in the King's lands and kingdoms, Jutland and Holstein, when the Emperor's people invaded them under General Tyli⁴. During these three years Prince Christian V, the King's son, was appointed to the government of the kingdom, under the superintendence of the King's Council. And since it was my settled intention to sail that spring to Iceland for the last time and to settle there, I requested His royal Grace to help me

¹ Icelandic *sljettir dalir*, worth about one-sixth less than the rixdollar. See vol. I, p. 48, n. 3 and p. 67, n. 1.

² This remark is probably due to a misunderstanding of some statement of Jón's. Hannes and Balthazar (more correctly Melchior) were Jón's great-great-uncles, according to his own account. See vol. I, ch. I and genealogy, p. xxxv.

³ See pp. 235, 242. Here and elsewhere in this section, the author of this third part appears to be actually quoting Jón's own words, or perhaps copying notes written by him.

⁴ Tilly. See note 1 on p. 244.

to some good post here, for my support and livelihood during my lifetime, in consideration of my maiming and faithful service of His Majesty; and seeing that the East India Company would give me no compensation for the injury to my hand, which I got on the voyage in their service, although the articles expressly make mention of such¹. In pursuance of my written entreaty, his princely Grace wrote a missive to the Governor of Iceland, Holger Rosenkrands², bidding his lordship help me to some good livelihood or occupation here. This missive of his Grace was later read aloud in the Courts of Laws enclosure at the Öxará *thing*³, and its text is given earlier in this book⁴.

So the winter passed, and in the spring the Iceland merchants made ready to sail to Iceland, and so also the Governor Holger Rosenkrands⁵. The most noble Prince Christian bade him take me in his charge and care, the which he faithfully performed, and he⁶ arrived in his company at Seila near Bessastaðir⁷, together with the Lord Bishop Thorlák Skúlason⁸ and another Icelfander.

But all that winter and far into the spring, until we sailed from Copenhagen, the *Pearl* never arrived from Ireland⁹. On that vessel, as I have said before, were my belongings, under the care of the admiral Sixt Jacobsen, who had taken charge of them, together with the other effects left by the late Christoffer Boye, for which he was responsible to his heirs,

¹ See p. 243, n. 2.

² See p. 242, n. 5.

³ The Althing at Thingvellir was frequently thus called in later times, from the river Öxará, which falls into a chasm close to the place of meeting. The place was that originally selected in A.D. 930, just north of Thingvallavatn, a large lake about thirty miles east of Reykjavík.

⁴ See p. 242.

⁵ During his Governorship, from 1620 to 1633, Holger Rosenkrands usually visited Iceland each summer. See also vol. I, p. 126, n. 1 and p. 130, n. 2.

⁶ That is, Jón. The writer abruptly returns to the third person.

⁷ Seila, a little bay, near Bessastaðir, used as a harbour for the Governor's vessel. Bessastaðir, a few miles south of Reykjavík, was the residence of the Danish Governor and the centre of administration throughout the seventeenth century.

⁸ Thorlák Skúlason was at this time Head of the Latin School. He became Bishop of Hólar (North Iceland) in 1628.

⁹ See note 4 on p. 241.

who were in Saxony in Germany. For this reason Sixt Jacobsen held that he could not distinguish my goods from those of Christoffer Boye, nor deliver them up to my representative, the tailor Søren¹, because they were included in Christoffer Boye's effects; and thus neither he nor I could lay hands on my goods, and I had to go away empty-handed. But the day after the Iceland vessel had sailed out from Helsingør in the Sound, the *Pearl* arrived in the Sound from Ireland with the rich cargo².

The Governor's ship and all who were on her arrived at Bessastaðir before St John's Day³, and there I remained until, with the Governor and his company, I travelled up to the Althing⁴ at the appointed time, where I met many of the chief men of Iceland, such as Gísli Hákonsson⁵ and Halldór Ólafsson⁶, the law-men, Ari Magnússon, Björn and Thorleif, sons of Magnús⁷, and many others, who offered me hospitality for the winter. These offers, however, I did not accept, except that I spent the winter with the worthy magnate Björn Magnússon at Bæ in Rauðasand⁸, that is to say the winter ensuing upon that summer in which I came out. Of this, however, more hereafter.

I will now make mention of the two monkeys, one male and one female, which this Governor Holger Rosenkrands had out with him for his entertainment. The Icelanders, who had not seen such before, never wearied of gazing at them, and

¹ See p. 244.

² According to Mads Rasmussen, the *Pearl* reached Copenhagen on 30 July 1626.

³ Midsummer Day, St John the Baptist's Day, 24 June.

⁴ See note 3 on p. 249.

⁵ Gísli Hákonarson, Law-man for the East and South, from 1614 to 1630, a distinguished man, famous for the fine house he built himself as for his abilities and culture. See Jón Sigurðsson, *Lögsögumanna og lögmanna tal á Íslandi*, p. 131 f., in *Safn til Sögu Íslands*, II, Copenhagen, 1886.

⁶ Halldór Ólafsson, law-man for North and East Iceland 1619-38. He was also Sheriff for the district in which Jón's three farms were situated. See *infra*.

⁷ For Magnús the Magnificent, see vol. I, p. 6, n. 3, and for his son Ari, see vol. I, p. 140, n. 1, p. 157, and *infra*. Björn was Sheriff of the Barðaströnd District, on the north side of the Breiðafjörð (west coast). Thorleif was Sheriff of the Skaptafell District in South Iceland.

⁸ Rauðasand, west of Barðaströnd.

the Danes told them that they were East Indian folk, and that Jón Ólafsson understood and could interpret their speech, which the Icelanders believed, and one of them bowed and did reverence to this Indian couple, presenting them with four pairs of socks which he declared his wife had sent them: all this to the great entertainment of the Danes.

From the Althing of that year Jón Ólafsson accompanied the late Björn Magnússon to his home, and remained with him that summer. During the autumn he rode north to Álftafjörð in Ísafjörð Deep¹, there to meet his friends and kinsfolk. He sojourned there a while, and then that same autumn journeyed west again and remained at Bæ that winter. That same winter he was thirty-four years old, but thirty-three when he first returned to Iceland in 1626; and twenty-two when he first sailed hence to England, as is narrated in the first book. In all he had been abroad eleven years.

The same summer, Anno 1626, that Jón Ólafsson, the traveller to the Indies, came out to Bessastaðir with the Governor Holger Rosenkrands, the latter granted him the lease of three royal manors, according to the aforesaid missive of Prince Christian; namely Ingveldarstaðir, Dadastaðir and Skarð, to hold for the term of his natural life, with all the live stock pertaining thereto. The yearly payment to the King on these manors is fourteen rixdollars. They lie in Höfðaströnd² and had been granted to Ingjald of Reykir in Miðfjörð³, but the Governor had that summer deprived him of them, owing to some difference they had⁴, and gave them to the said Jón Ólafsson, as has been told. He held these manors for two years.

¹ See vol. 1, map facing p. 13.

² Höfðaströnd, a district on the east side of Skagafjörð, in North Iceland. Jón's farms were, however, in Reykjaströnd, on the west side of the fjord. (B.)

³ Miðfjörð, a small fjord, opening into Húnaflói, North Iceland.

⁴ Ingjald of Reykir was a man of some importance, but I have found no reference to this quarrel. (B.S.P.)

CHAPTER II

HE found it inconvenient and costly to have the rents and dues of these manors yearly fetched to the west, hiring men and horses therefor; for he was here in Álftafjörð¹ with his kinsfolk, who would not let him leave them to live in the north, nor was he desirous of parting from his kinsfolk. Moreover, he had begun to consider entering upon wedlock here in the west, with the honourable gentlewoman Ingibjörg Olaf's daughter, who was housekeeper to the excellent Jón Magnússon junior² and his wife Ingveld, daughter of Guðmund of Eyri in Seyðisfjörð. This Ingibjörg was the twin-sister of Randíð, daughter of Sir Ólaf³ who had the living of Stað in Súgandafjörð⁴. Randíð was married to Jón Ólafsson's brother. And since this yearly journey to the north was so arduous and costly, the outlays being but just covered by the income, he was not willing to hold these manors more than the said two years, and in the year 1628 gave them up to the beforementioned Ingjald of Reykir, who again received them. All these two years Jón Ólafsson lived with his kinsfolk in Álftafjörð, except that at times he visited other well-known persons of high station. These continually invited him to their houses: amongst others Ari Magnússon, Magnús Arason, Sir Jón Arason⁵, Sæmund Árnason⁶ of Hóll⁷ in Buðlungavík, Gísli Hákonarson the law-man⁸, and many others besides, among whom he was always welcome, having become a man of mark through his long service under His Majesty.

So the time passed until the summer of 1627, in the month of June, when the Turkish pirate vessels⁹ made their appear-

¹ See vol. 1, map facing p. 13.

² A son of Magnús the Magnificent. See vol. 1, p. 6, n. 3, p. 167, n. 1.

³ For "Sir" as a title for clergymen, see vol. 1, p. 6, n. 2.

⁴ A small fjord, south of Ísafjörð Deep.

⁵ Sons of Ari Magnússon.

⁶ Sheriff of the Snæfell District, west coast.

⁷ See vol. 1, map facing p. 13.

⁸ See note 5 on p. 250.

⁹ For the raid of the Algerian pirates on Iceland in 1627, see *Tyrk-jarámið á Íslandi 1627*, pub. by the Sögufjelag, 1906-9; Knut Gjerset, *Hist. of Iceland*.

ance here in the Eastern Firths, at Grindavík¹ and in the Vestmann Islands², and carried off both men and cattle in those places, as is told in the Journal of the minister, Sir Ólaf Egilsson, who at that time was minister in the Vestmann Islands, and whom they also took prisoner and carried off with 242 others, according to the writing of Cláus Eyjúlfs-son³. But thirty-four persons were found in the Vestmann Islands, dead and burnt, besides those who had perished at their hands in the Eastern Firths and at Grindavík. These Turkish robbers also carried off three Iceland-going vessels, namely the merchant ships from Djúpavog⁴, Grindavík and Skutilsfjörð⁵, together with the merchants, cargoes and crews.

That same summer there came to Iceland two English warships, sent by the King of England to capture French vessels in port or at sea, wherever they might come across them. These English warships were commanded by Captain Húuk⁶ and Captain Trille⁷. They sailed along the west coast and did not come across the Turkish pirates in the south, when they sailed by. But in the west, off Látrabjörg in Breiðafjörð⁸, they found a French whaling-vessel lying at anchor, and engaged in melting down blubber. And since there was war and enmity between the French and English, these captains, Húuk and Trille, had the permission of the English King James⁹ to seize these Frenchmen wheresoever they met with them out at sea. The two English King's ships therefore attacked the French whaler. Her captain was named Dominigo, and he had an old pass of the Danish King Christian IV granting him permission to hunt whales off Iceland in his waters. This he showed to the English captains, thinking that it would deliver him, as also that he was under

¹ A district on the south coast of Reykjanes, the southernmost promontory on the west coast.

² On the south coast.

³ An Icelandic official who died in 1674. (B.)

⁴ In East Iceland.

⁵ See vol. 1, map facing p. 13.

⁶ Captain Francis Hooke, who was sent to Iceland in 1627 to convoy 150 English fishing vessels. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1627-8, p. 131.

⁷ I have failed to find any other reference to this man.

⁸ The northern point of Breiðafjörð.

sail out at sea. But the English would in no wise consider this his plea, but at once started to attack the French whaler with a salvo. She defended herself well, for her crew hauled the whale which was bound fast to the vessel, up the ship's side, so that it received all the shots of the English. Yet after two days the two English ships overcame and boarded the French whaler. But when these saw that they were overmastered, eighteen of them jumped into their largest whaling-sloop or boat, and amongst them Johan Suan, the French captain's brother, as their leader. They rowed away to the north, out to sea, while the English shot furiously after them, and at last reached them with their cannon, killing two men and damaging the boat in many places. But the French on their side plugged the holes with their clothes and all that would serve to save them from sinking. Then they held on to Ísafjörð Deep, and so to Arnarnes¹, all of which they accomplished in one day. And when they reached Arnardal, Johan Suan and some of his men got themselves conveyed to Ögur, in quest of the honourable and sagacious magistrate Ari Magnússon, His Majesty's Sheriff over the Ísafjörð District. This was done on the orders of Captain Dominigo, who intended to commit the case (of wrongful seizure, as he held) to the adjudication of the said official. When Johan Suan had reached him and informed him of how matters stood, he remained for a time at Ögur, until the English men-of-war came to Kuíarmið anchorage outside Ísafjörð Deep, together with the French vessel and Captain Dominigo, for they had captured her immediately after the aforementioned sloop or boat had left them.

And when the vessels were come to the anchorage, Dominigo had himself ferried to land to enquire after his crew. And when he had landed he heard that they were in Arnardal and at Ögur, whereat he greatly rejoiced, and sent a message to his brother Suan, bidding him repair forthwith to the English ships, which he at once did on receiving the message. And when they met it was agreed by Dominigo and the captains that a meeting should be held in Arnardal on a fixed day,

¹ The eastern point of Skutilsfjörð. See vol. 1, map facing p. 13.

to consider the capture, and to this meeting the aforesaid honourable Ari Magnússon was summoned, Johan Suan being sent back to him with this message. On the appointed day Ari Magnússon journeyed to Arnardal with his following, among whom Jón Ólafsson was not the least. Captain Húuk and Captain Dominigo also came with their followings to this meeting, and the matter was taken under consideration. But because it was so old and had not been renewed, they would come to no agreement about the validity of this pass issued by King Christian IV entitling Dominigo to whale-hunting off Iceland. For this reason the affair was referred to the Governor at Bessastaðir, and Johan Suan was to ride to Bessastaðir to fetch his answer, carrying a writing from Ari Magnússon. And Ari Magnússon appointed Jón Ólafsson, the traveller to the Indies, to accompany him. Captain Húuk invited Ari Magnússon to return with him to his ship to a banquet, but Ari excused himself on the plea that he had on hand much royal business and letter-writing for the Althing, both concerning this affair and other matters which he had to attend to. They parted in friendship, and Ari Magnússon journeyed home to Ögur. But the captains Húuk and Dominigo, Johan Suan and Jón Ólafsson repaired to the men-of-war, where a great feast was prepared. There Jón Ólafsson met his old friend, acquaintance and master, Isaac Brommet¹, with whom he had first sailed to England in his youth, as is told in the beginning of this biography. At that time Captain Isaac Brommet was lying with fishing-lines out in the vicinity of the men-of-war, and thence he was fetched to the feast. There was a joyful meeting between him and Jón. At the conclusion of the banquet Johan Suan and Jón Ólafsson were ferried back to land. And at parting Captain Trille gave Jón good gifts, as he had been sent to him from Ari Magnússon, with a letter of thanks for the invitation to the banquet, together with a request that Ari's personal attendance might be dispensed with, on account of urgent business for his master the King, which he was obliged to perform, as his official duty commanded, before the Althing. For which

¹ See vol. I, ch. II.

reason he, Ari, sent the bearer, a man of mark, Jón Ólafsson, the traveller to the Indies, to his lordship with this letter (he being able to interpret it for him into English), who would also personally present his excuses that for the reasons named he could not appear in his own proper person on this occasion. Which letter Jón Ólafsson delivered to Captain Trille and interpreted, and performed his duty as messenger in excusing Ari, as he was commissioned. Captain Trille received the letter and listened to its contents with much courtesy and reverence, and said that he had never before received a writing which so much honoured him; and he said that it should be laid before the King and lords of England. Whereupon he placed it in safe keeping among his other letters.

CHAPTER III

AS soon as Johan Suan and Jón Ólafsson had been landed at Arnardal from the English warships, they had themselves carried the shortest way to Ögur. Johan Suan took with him two of his French countrymen to accompany him on this journey, and also to confirm to the Governor his story of how the vessel had been captured, and he also took with him the aforementioned pass issued by King Christian IV for the royal waters round Iceland. And when they reached Ögur, Ari Magnússon had had everything made ready which they would need on their journey, horses, tent and the like. Jón Ólafsson was to be the leader of the party. And so they started in the Lord's name, with a letter from Sheriff Ari to the Governor, in which he set out all the circumstances and causes of the errand.

When they came south to Borgarfjörð they first heard the grievous news relating to the great ravages and loss of life which the Turkish robbers and pirates had committed in the Eastern Firths, in the Vestmann Islands and at Grindavík, on the 12th of June, 1627, and which has been referred to before. And the further south they came the greater was the apprehension and terror, the weeping and lamentation among the people.

And thus Jón Ólafsson arrived at Bessastaðir with this his following, and found the Governor before his departure for the Althing, and delivered to him Sheriff Ari's letter, from which he could well gather the Frenchmen's business, and that there were two English warships off the West Firths. At this he rejoiced greatly, and at once thought to send Jón Ólafsson back on his tracks to the west, with a letter to the King's ships bidding them come south in search of the pirates. But with regard to the capture of the French vessel, he said he could make no decision as to the King's pass: the matter must be laid before the King and a session of the King's Council. But he promised Johan Suan to support him in this

business, and took him and his followers into his house, to take them abroad.

The Governor, Holger Rosenkrands, was very much occupied at that time in making preparations at Seila, where he had a fortress built against the pirates (if they should come thither). To garrison it he took all the Icelanders who had come to Bessastaðir to pay the rents of the royal manors, and their followings, and he would allow none to leave until it was known where these pirates had betaken themselves. Moreover, he had summoned to Seila the nearest Iceland-going ships, *viz.*, the merchant vessel from Keflavík¹, from Hafnarfjörð² and from the Hólm³. These three vessels lay with the Governor's ship at Seila, ready for defence, with their crews well equipped. And further, he had a watch set all along the coast of Suðurnes⁴, who were to oppose the landing of the pirates.

Now just as Jón Ólafsson had spent one night at Bessastaðir and was to hasten back to the west⁵, as has been told, bearing a letter to the English captains, the news came from the south that the two pirate vessels were already come to Hafnarfjörð, and intended to make their way to Seila. Jón Ólafsson's journey was deferred, and he received orders to stay until he should know for certain how matters stood. The Governor ordered all to be ready to take up their positions for defence, and Jón Ólafsson and the Frenchmen were commanded to repair to the fort and be ready to fire the cannon when needed. But the Governor with his servants and a great number of Icelanders in large brass-bound saddles⁶ rode about keeping watch with long staves in their hands, so that it was as if one saw armoured men, when the sun shone on their saddle-bows.

¹ A bay to the south-west of Bessastaðir.

² A few miles south of Bessastaðir.

³ Until some time in the eighteenth century the trading station at Reykjavík was apparently on an islet, now submerged at high tides. Hence it was called Hólm (island) by traders. Cp. Kålund, *Hist.-Topog. Beskrivelse af Island*, 1, p. 4 f.

⁴ On the west coast of the promontory Reykjanes.

⁵ The north-west peninsula (the West Firths) is always described as "west" by Icelanders living at Reykjavík or elsewhere on the west coast.

⁶ Such saddles can be seen in the museum at Reykjavík.

And when they were all prepared for defence on land, the pirate ships began to sail into the harbour. When those on the ships and in the fort perceived this, they fired some salvos at them, and the pirates replied by firing on them on shore. But just at this moment, by God's appointed plan, one of the two robber-vessels ran aground and stuck fast, for the tide was far out¹. This was the vessel which had the captive people on board and most of the goods. When the other pirates saw this, both vessels lowered their boats to remove the people and goods from the stranded vessel to the other, in order to lighten it, and they also threw overboard many barrels of goods, meal, oil and other liquids, which were heaviest, and which they had taken on Danish ships. The most part drifted ashore, and on these were the mark of the merchant Bogi Nielsson, merchant at Skutilsfjörð². This Jón Ólafsson recognized, and so knew that a vessel from the Skutilsfjörð port must have been captured by the pirates. While the pirates were splashing about and conveying men and goods from one ship to the other, the Danes left off firing at them, both from the Danish ships, and (alas!) from the fort, but the Icelanders desired to fire at them as much as possible while they were in these difficulties. But in this they did not have their way³, and so the pirate ship floated off with the rising tide, and both left Seila, and sailed back along the south coast, and were seen no more until they came to the Vestmann Islands and plundered there in the month of June⁴. These ships came to Seila shortly before the time of the Althing, and therefore neither the Governor, nor any of those then at Bessastaðir, rode to the Althing that summer, by reason of the general terror.

¹ The little harbour Seila is very difficult to enter, owing to shoal water. Cp. Kålund, *op. cit.* I, p. 27.

² See vol. I, map facing p. 13.

³ In spite of his nautical experience (see vol. I, pp. 126, 130), Holger Rosenkrands seems to have been much more of a scholar than a man of action. For plainer spoken strictures on his conduct on this occasion, cp. Espóln, *Annálar*, VI Deild, ch. XLIX.

⁴ According to Espóln, *loc. cit.*, the pirates raided the Vestmann Islands in July, leaving for Barbary on the 19th of that month. In 1924 two large fragments of a gravestone were found in a kitchen garden at Kirkjubæ in the Vestmann Islands. They contain an inscription to "Síra Jón Thortsteinsson occisus 17 Julii."

CHAPTER IV

AND when all this was over, Jón Ólafsson intended to leave Bessastaðir for the west, with the letter of the Governor to the English captains, which the Sheriff Ari Magnússon was bidden to despatch with all speed to the warships, wherever in the west they might be. These captains were [entreated] by the Governor to sail along the south coast, and to seek out and destroy the freebooters if they could. Jón was bidden by the Governor to ride his speediest, night and day, which he also did; and four or five days after leaving Bessastaðir he reached Ögur, and delivered the letter to Ari Magnússon. He was then despatched to the English captains, to deliver the letters, which he faithfully accomplished, and informed the captains of what was afoot. They received the news well and made ready to sail along the south coast to seek out the pirates; but they failed to find them, and therefore returned to the west coast.

Before Jón parted from the Governor at Bessastaðir he entreated him to use his good offices with the honourable owners of Iceland-going vessels in Copenhagen, that they should send another merchant vessel to the port at Eyri in Skutilsfjörð with necessities for the common people in the Ísafjörð District that summer or autumn, since these could not visit any other port for trading. The Governor Holger Rosenkrands promised to use his good offices in the matter, if it should prove possible, and this his promise he faithfully performed, for early in the autumn a merchant vessel arrived at Skutilsfjörð port with the most necessary wares, despatched to both those ports by the Icelandic Company¹. The names of the merchants were ². They said that the Governor and all the trading vessels, save those from the Vestmann

¹ In 1602 Christian IV had granted the Icelandic trade to the cities of Copenhagen, Malmö and Helsingør as a monopoly, and a Company of Danish merchants was formed for the purpose. See Gjerset, *Hist. of Iceland*, pp. 276, 330.

² A blank has been left for the names in the MS.

Islands, Djúpavog, and Grindavík, had safely arrived home. The other four vessels they supposed to be taken by the Turks. At the same time there arrived a Danish guard-ship, sent by our King, to seek out the pirates, but they never caught a glimpse of them. They said they had been sent at the instance of the Governor Holger Rosenkrands. They further told us that Johan Suan and his French companions had prospered well in their affairs, that the Governor himself had conducted them to the Castle to have audience of His Majesty and the lords, and had laid their case before them, so that King Christian IV had been sorely displeased that Dominigo and his ship should have been captured in defiance of his own pass, so near land and in his own waters. He promised to write without delay to King James¹ in England, demanding that Dominigo and his vessel should at once be set free, and suitable damages paid. The following year news came from England that this had been done, and that King James was also displeased that they should have seized a vessel lying so near the land, and in the Danish King's waters, which might have caused strife between the Kings and their subjects. For this cause Captains Húuk and Trille fell under the King's displeasure, and might have suffered worse things, but that Dominigo himself interceded for them, he being content to get back his ship and his cargo².

¹ Really Charles I.

² No confirmation of this statement has been found. In April 1628 and again in March 1629 Captain Hooke was recommended to be employed "in wafting the fishermen in their voyage to Iceland." See *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1628-9, pp. 66, 487. (R.C.T.)

CHAPTER V

THE following year, 1628, the same Governor, Holger Rosenkrands, returned to Iceland, being landed at Seila by a Danish warship. Moreover, two other Danish guard-ships were sent to cruise off the coast of Iceland, and capture the pirates, if they saw them, but this never happened. Moreover King James¹ of England sent two warships to Iceland on the same business, and also to guard the English fishing-vessels². These last told us that in the spring thirteen Turkish ships which were making for Iceland had been taken by the English in English waters, and sunk. Neither this year, 1628, nor the following, 1629, did the guard-ships see any trace of the pirates, neither at sea nor off shore, though both the Danish and English vessels spent these two summers up here. And with this we will leave the pirates for awhile.

The time passed on without any noteworthy events to write of, Jón Ólafsson being with his kinsfolk in Álftafjörð when he was not being well entertained by Ari Magnússon or other chief men. And about this time his kinsfolk strongly urged upon him to settle down and enter upon honourable matrimony. He followed their counsels, and trusting in God, and according to the plan he had set before himself, he asked in wedlock the virtuous and honourable maiden, Ingibjörg, Ólaf's daughter, who was living at Eyri with the honourable couple Jón Magnússon the younger and Ingveld Gudmund's daughter. This Ingibjörg was the daughter of Sir Ólaf who had held the living of Stað in Ségandafjörð, and a sister of Randíð, Ólaf's daughter, who was married to Halldór, Jón's brother. And according to the will of God he married the said Ingibjörg, and their wedding was held at Eyri in Seyðisfjörð³. In the spring they set up their household at Tröð in Álftafjörð.

¹ Charles I.

² As stated above, Hooke was recommended to be Admiral of four ships sent to guard the English fishing fleet in "their voyage to Iceland and the North Seas" in April 1628 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1628-9, p. 66).

³ This is the Seyðisfjörð which opens out of Ísafjörð Deep. See vol. I, map facing p. 13.

CHAPTER VI

NOW when Jón Ólafsson had been married some time and was settled on his farm, but had little or no support or maintenance from his former service of His Majesty, and found it hard to labour owing to his injured hand and his feebleness, it came into his mind to plead with the high authorities and the East India ship-owners (in whose service he had received the injury to his hand) and to try whether in their generosity and sincere fear of God they would grant him somewhat towards his maintenance, in his need. He made his humble supplication to them in writing, and bade the honourable merchant of the Company¹ at Eyri in Skutilsfjörð². . . further his plea and bring back to him a report of their reply. About this time it so fell out that the master-gunner, who had stood guard over the cannon and fort on the Vestmann Islands, had given up his post, and it was necessary to set another experienced man in his place; Jón Ólafsson (who had long been one of the King's gunners) was selected and appointed by the authorities and ship-owners to be master-gunner to the fort on the Vestmann Islands. He was to supervise all preparations for fighting, and to teach the inhabitants the practice of war, and once a week to muster them, so that they should be readier and more accustomed thereto when need was. All this Jón Ólafsson faithfully and with all diligence performed all the time that he remained on the Vestmann Islands, according to the testimony of the commissary, Niels Clemensson (given by him when Jón Ólafsson left and dated Anno 1640, July 17³), which witness

¹ The Icelandic Company.

² Blank in MS.

³ This testimonial (translated from the Danish version by Dame Bertha Phillpotts) runs as follows:

"Testimonial of Niels Clemensson, commissary in the Vestmann Islands.

Whereas Jón Ólafsson has spent a year here in the Vestmann Islands and intends now with God's help to remove himself hence to his friends and acquaintances in the West

And whereas he is desirous of some few words from me about how he

to his honourable bearing and conduct, his pious and God-fearing daily habit in his intercourse with all during the period of his service. For his service and trouble, as wage for his work, he was to have farm and dwelling-house free in the islands, without dues payable, and also daily food and drink in the Danish Houses¹ at the commissary's, and further a yearly payment of fifty *vættir*² of dried fish.

As soon as Jón Ólafsson had received this message and the royal letter, he prepared to travel that summer with his wife and child, and gave up his land here in Eyrardal, which he had farmed for eleven years, selling his stock and what else he could not take with him, in order to buy horses and other necessary matters for the journey. And so he departed with prayers and blessings and loving farewells. On this his journey south he visited many excellent and leading men, amongst them Thorleif Magnússon of Hlíðarendi, Vigfús Gíslason at Hvóll³, Cláus Eyjúlfsen and others, all of whom received him honourably and entertained him well. He was ferried straight to the Vestmann Islands from Eyjasand, and was there well received by the commissary Niels Clemensson, and a dwelling provided for a home for him and his. He himself had his meat and drink daily at the Danish Houses, where he was oftenest to be found, attending to the fort and war equipment, according to the trust reposed in him; but at nights he was at home in his dwelling with his wife and

has conducted himself during the time that he has been here in the Vestmann Islands

I give him this testimony, which cannot be contested, that the said Jón Ólafsson has conducted himself here piously, honourably and well, in word and deed, and that I have heard nothing which should prevent his being free to be and to go where he pleases, entirely unhindered in every way by all men

And I desire in friendship of all honourable men that they should further him to the best of their capacity, wherever he may be, that they may be deserving of aid similar or of a different nature where I can give it or make return.

Written in the Vestmann Islands this 17th of July 1640.

NYELS CLEMENSSON."

Note. The end of the MS. is damaged.

¹ The houses of the Danish trading station.

² See vol. I, p. 21, n. 1 for the content of a *vætt*.

³ Sheriff of the Rangárvellir District (South Iceland). (B.)

dependants. To her was sent daily, for each meal, a can of beer and three or four loaves of bread from the Danish Houses. Jón Ólafsson was well pleased with his situation in the beginning, for all were friendly towards him. But his wife, Ingibjörg, Ólaf's daughter, could not fancy the country there, and could in no wise settle down, and in the end she fell into a melancholy from much moping and home-sickness, wherefore Jón Ólafsson had to promise her to depart and go to the west again. This promise he had to carry out the following summer, and was forced to depart with his people on her account, against his own will and his original intentions. The commissary had him ferried with all his effects to the mainland at his own cost, and gave him letters to many excellent persons, bidding them aid and befriend him in his journey to the west. Which they did, giving him horses and what else he needed for the journey. Thus he travelled west to Álftafjörð with his people, and arrived there in the summer after the Althing. All the farms in the district were occupied, so Jón could get no house, and was therefore obliged to take lodgings for himself, his wife and child with his kinsfolk for the rest of the year.

CHAPTER VII

IN the autumn of this year it happened that Árne Jónsson, a whaler, who lived at Greater Hattardal, left home intending to go to Vigur¹ for fishing, and rowed out of Álftafjörð on the north side, and landed at Dvergasteinn², where Jón and his family were. Ingibjörg, Ólaf's daughter, Jón Ólafsson's wife, went up to him and asked him to ferry her to Kambsnes, for she desired to go to Eyri in Seyðisfjörð to visit Jón Magnússon and his wife Ingveld, Guðmund's daughter. It was supposed that her business was to lease a farm from them. And Árne ferried her according to her request. She stepped on board his boat, and he sailed with a favourable breeze as far as Tröð in Súðavík. There a squall struck the sail and capsized the boat, which turned turtle. By God's aid Árne and his crew got upon the keel and were fetched from the land and rescued by Thorkell Svartsson, the farmer at Tröð, and brought alive to shore. But the woman Ingibjörg was picked up dead. She had a flask of brandy fastened in her belt under her cloak, and this she had meant to give the couple at Eyri. She was brought lifeless to Tröð, and there her body was made ready for the funeral, and she was buried at Eyri in Seyðisfjörð, where she rests. After the squall in which the vessel was lost, there was a dead calm right up to the evening, which all remarked as strange. It was told that Ingibjörg had fallen out with a woman in the Vestmann Islands the previous winter, and they had had words, and (so the story goes) this woman had said that this would be the last time they would quarrel, for Ingibjörg would return to the West Firths and there be drowned in the sea. And so it happened, in the manner that has been set out. Jón Ólafsson was now a lone widower after the death of this his first wife. His son born out of wedlock, Christoffer Boye, was with him for some time thereafter; but he too died that same winter, a fortnight after Christmas.

¹ An island in Ísafjörð Deep. See vol. I, map facing p. 13.

² In Álftafjörð. See map, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER VIII

AFTER some time had passed, Jón Ólafsson began to consider settling again in honourable matrimony, and sought as his spouse the virtuous and honourable maiden Thorbjörg, Einarr's daughter, housekeeper to Jón Thorgeirsson, who at that time lived at Uppsala in Seyðisfjörð. And by the will of God, and with the consent of the girl and her guardian, he received this same Thorbjörg, Einarr's daughter, to wife, and they set up a farm together at Uppsala in Seyðisfjörð, and dwelt there for the five years next following. Then they moved to Eyrardal in Álftafjörð, where they lived for thirty years, until his death, which happened in the year 1679.

CHAPTER IX

ALL this time the excellent Sheriff Ari Magnússon continued to live in good report at Ögur, and was Sheriff over the Ísafjörð and Strandir Districts¹, also commissary for the royal manors in Strandir, Ísafjörð and Aðalvík². After Jón Ólafsson Færey, the commissary for the Stapi District, Sir Torfi Snæbjörnsson received five of the Álftafjörð manors³, which he held for one year, after which Ari succeeded him in the tenure of the manors. About that time, or somewhat later, he leased out to Jón Ólafsson one of these royal manors, Eyrardal in Álftafjörð, with a rent of one hundred ells of wadmal and with a stock of three cows⁴, and this Jón Ólafsson farmed all his life until God called him away. Ari held all the manors in Álftafjörð and several others all his lifetime, until God called him hence, which happened in the autumn of the year 1652, on the 11th of October.

That same year Magnús Magnússon⁵ received the charge of the manors in Álftafjörð and Aðalvík, and still holds them. About this time Jón Ólafsson, traveller to the Indies, had sent a plea to His royal Majesty Frederick the Third⁶ concerning the royal manor Eyrardal which he now farmed,

¹ The northern and eastern coasts of the north-west peninsula.

² A bay to the north of Ísafjörð Deep.

³ On Snæfellsnes. The administrator of the royal manors on this promontory resided at Stapi.

⁴ This minimum stock belongs to the landlord: Jón would pay a rent of 12 ells of wadmal for each cow. (B.)

⁵ Sheriff of the western part of the Ísafjörð District 1652-8 and a leading man in Iceland in his day. He was the son of Sheriff Magnús Jónsson of Hagi and was born in 1631. At the age of seventeen he went to Copenhagen and was in the service of Hans Nansen, the Burgomaster, author of the *Compendium Cosmographicum* from which Jón took his account of Russia, Asia, Africa, etc. It seems likely that the book was lent to Jón by Magnús Magnússon, who is regarded by Dr Blöndal as the author of this third part of the narrative (see vol. 1, p. xxxiii). Magnús composed various works, including *Annals* of the years 1643-84, and he seems also to have collected mss. Cp. Finnur Jónsson in *Safn til Sögu Islands*, iv, pp. 99 ff.

⁶ Frederick III of Denmark, who succeeded Christian IV in 1648 and died in 1670.

asking that His Majesty would graciously grant it to him for his maintenance so long as he lived, without rent or dues, now that Jón was old and feeble, and was unable to work with his hands by reason of the injury to his hand which he had received on the East Indian voyage in the service of His Majesty Christian IV. Now Jón Ólafsson had received no true answer to this plea, and therefore the year following, 1653, he travelled south to the Althing by the Öxará to seek out the noble Governor, Henrik Bjelke, and he humbly begged His Excellency to use his good offices for him with His royal Majesty Frederick III. This the Governor promised him, and the following year faithfully used his persuasion with His Majesty, and wrote that summer to his representative, the Provost at Bessastaðir, Thomas Niculásson, to the effect that he had received a royal missive ordering that Jón Ólafsson, the traveller to the Indies, should freely and fully enjoy the royal farm Eyrardal in Álftafjörð with the stock of the value of three cows, due as lease, without any payment: and the Governor ordered the Provost to allow Jón to enjoy the use of the lands according to the royal missive, and to enter this in His Majesty's accounts, and also show it in writing to whoever had administered the Álftafjörð manors, from whose dues to Bessastaðir, so long as Jón Ólafsson lived, three rixdollars should be annually deducted. But when he died, the farm Eyrardal should again lapse to the royal administrator, who was to receive it freely from Jón Ólafsson's heirs and thereafter be chargeable for its full dues to Bessastaðir, *viz.*, fourteen rixdollars and one ort¹.

Provost Thomas Niculásson wrote the contents of the letter to Magnús Magnússon, who then held three manors, and he granted the said farm to Jón Ólafsson according to the advices received from the Governor and the Provost. And this farm Jón Ólafsson thereafter held, to farm and to live on, for twenty years, without any payment, and with all its profits, both from whales drifted inshore and all else.

And as, in the course of years, Jón Ólafsson and his wife became feeble with old age, their true-born son Ólaf Jónsson

¹ About £2. 17s., reckoning the rixdollar at 4s. and the ort at 1s.

worked for them, together with his half-sister Thorbjörg, Thorstein's daughter, whom Ólaf's mother Thorbjörg had borne to another man, before she married Jón Ólafsson.

And as the burden of age weighed on him more and more, so that he could not serve with his hands, he took to instructing young lads and maidens, teaching them to read in books and to write, as he had used to do in old days during the winter, while he yet farmed his own land. For this man had a natural taste for book-learning, from his childhood's days (as may be seen in the earlier part of this book), so that many a good man and woman are through his teaching well instructed in bookish studies and in good manners, to the which he held his pupils in their youth, with Christian discipline and exhortation, and thus they are become worthy and God-fearing persons. For this Jón Ólafsson was a sagacious, pious and God-fearing man, upright in all his dealings, faithfully accomplishing his duties as overseer of the parish, which was entrusted to him nearly all the time he farmed his land. As age pressed more and more hardly on them both, God in His grace called his wife, Thorbjörg, Einarr's daughter (after a natural illness), out of this miserable world. And so Jón Ólafsson again was left a widower, and mourned her in his old age for two years, during which he frequently ailed. In the spring he contracted the disease in which he fell sweetly asleep in the Lord, with prayers and calling upon his Saviour, in the year 1679, the Eve of the Inventio Crucis, in his eighty-seventh year¹.

¹ 2 May 1679 (N.S.). He was really in his eighty-sixth year.

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