

Editor's note:

Cesar Fedrici's travelled in India, Southeast Asia and the Middle East in the 1560s-1580s and his account has been immensely influential in the literature. One reason for this, is that it is not given to the hyperbole of the near-contemporary account of Mendez Pinto and because of its great attention to detail concerning the state, its administrators, and trade at Pegu. Unfortunately Fedrici, who spent a considerable amount of time in Pegu and to a lesser extent in Martaban, in the late 1560s, does not provide us with comparable information on local society, although he still provides some valuable information in this area.

Fedrici was presumably a Venetian, from where he says he began his travels, and his account was originally published in Italian. The most complete version of his account published in English is the original publication of Thomas Hickok's translation (London: Richard Jones, 18 June 1588), under the title of *The Voyage and Travaile: Of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, Into the East India, the Indies, and Beyond, Wherein are Contained Very Pleasant and Rare Matters, With the Customes and Rites of Those Countries. Also, Herein are Discovered the Merchandises and Commodities of those Countreyes, aswell the Abundance of Goulde and Silver, as Spices, Drugges, Pearles, and Other Jewelles.* Fortunately, the British Library has a complete and clear copy of this early book. The Hickok translation is the translation used by later editors. However, one obstacle in making full use of Fedrici is the way in which his account was cut by different editors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and published in various extracts. Even the two earliest compilations that incorporated Hickock's translation altered the text and unconsciously incorporated copyist's errors. For example, those who questioned, as asserted by these later editions, whether Tenasserim did indeed supply nutmeg to the world market, will find that "nuts" in the Hickok original was transformed into "nutmeg." The first of the two early republications is the first collection of travels edited by Richard Hakluyt. This was published in London in 1600 within the third volume of Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation made by sea or overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant quarters of the Earth at any time within the compass of these 1600 years* (hereafter *Voyages*). The more commonly used version of Federici, however, is the later and shorter version edited by Samuel Purchas and published as "Extracts of Master Cæsar Fredericke his eightene yeeres Indian Observations" in the *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*. (hereafter *Hakluytus*). Not only were Hakluyt's errors repeated, more were added, and substantial sections of the account related to Burma were deleted.

The account reproduced below attempts to provide as complete a version of Federici's account of Pegu as possible, based on the Hakluyt and Purchas editions, but checked for major errors against the original Hickok translation. The text included below only includes the sections relevant to Burma and Southeast Asia, for information on trade in India and the Middle East, the reader is directed to the *Voyages* or *Hakluytus Posthumus*, or the Hickok original (the latter may be republished here in a later issue).

M.W.C.

ACCOUNT OF PEGU

Cesar Fedrici of Venice

Translated from the Italian by Master Thomas Hickock

Cæsar Frederick to the Reader

I having (Gentle Reader) for the space of eighteene yeeres continually coasted & traueiled as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreyes beyonde the Indies, wherein I have had both good and yll successe, in my travells. I have seen & understood many things worthy the noting, and to bee knowne to all the world: the which were never as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the almightie had given me grace, after so long Perilles in passing such a long voyage,) to returne into my owne countrey, the noble Citie of Venice I say, I thought it good, as briefely as I could, to write and set foorth this voiage made by mee, with the mervellous things I have seene in my travels in the Indies. The mightie Princes that govern those Cuntreys, Their Religion, and faith that they have, the rytes and customes which they use, and live by, of the divers successe that hapned unto me, and howe many of these conntreys are abounding with spices, drugs, and jewels, giving also profitable advertisement, to all those that have a desire to make such a voyage. And because that the whole world may more commodiously rejoyce at this my travell, I have caused it to bee printed in this order; and nowe I present it unto you (Gentle and loving Readers) to whome for the varieties of thinges herein contened, I hope that it shall bew with great delight received, and thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

Cæsar Frederick

A Voyage to the East Indies, and Beyond the Indies, &c.

IN the yeere of our Lorde God 1563, I Caesar Frederick, being in Venice, and very desirous to see the Easte partes of the worlde: I shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice with certaine merchandise, governed by M. Jacamo Vatica, which was bound to Cypris with his ship, with whome I went, and when wee were arived in Cipris, I left that ship and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward I tooke my journey to Alexo, & there I acquainted my selfe with merchantes of Armenia, and Moores: that were Merchants, and consorted to go with them to Ornus, and we departed from Alepo, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, we came to a Citie called Bir...

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand, five hundred, sixtye and sixe [1566], I went from Goa unto Malacca, in a Shippe or Galion of the King of Portingales [Portugal], which went unto Banda for to lade Nutmegs and Maces: from Goa to Malacca, one thousand eight hundred miles we passed within the I[s]land Zeyland [Ceylon], and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or else through the channell of Sombrero, which is by the middle of the I[s]land of Sumtara, called Taprobana: & from Nicuber to Pigue [Pegu] is as it were, a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of I[s]landes, of which many are enhabited, with wilde people, and they call those I[s]lands the I[s]lands of Andeman, and they call their people savage or wilde, because they eate one another: also these I[s]lands have warre one with another, for they have small Barkes, and with them they take one an other, and so eate one an other: and if by evill chaunce any Ship be loste on those I[s]lands, as many have beene, there is not one man of those Ships lost there that escapeth uneaten or unslaine.

These people have not any acquaintance with any other people, neither have they trade with any, but live onely of such fruites as those I[s]lands yeeldeth: and if any Ship come neere unto that place or coast as they passe that way, as in my voiage it happened, as I came from Malaca through the channell of Sombrero, there came two of theyr barckes neere unto our shippe laden with fruite, as with Mouces which we call Adams Apples, with fresh nuttes, and with a fruite called Inany: which fruite is lyke to our Turnops, but is verye sweete and good to eate: they would not come into the shippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for theyr fruite: but they would trucke for olde shirtes or peeces of old linnen breeches, these ragges they let Downe with a rope into their barke unto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee worth, so much fruite they would make fast to the rope and let us hale it in, and it was tolde me that at sometimes a man shall have for an olde shirte a good peece of Ambar.

Sumatra

This I[s]land of Sumatra is a great I[s]land and devyded and governed by many kinges, and devided into many channels, where through there is a passage: upon the head land towards the West is the kingdome of Assi and governed by a Moore king, this king is of great force and strength as he that beside his great kingdome, hath many foists and Gallies. In his kingdome groweth great store of Pepper, Ginger, Benjamin, he is a bitter enemy to the Portingale and hath divers times beene at Malacca to fight against it, and hath doone great harme ti the bowzoughes thereof, but the Cittie alwaie defended ...valientlie, and with theyr ordinaunce dyd great spoyle to hys Campe, at length, I came to the Cittie of Malacca.

Malacca

Malacca is a Cittie of merveilous great trade of all kind of merchandize, which commeth from divers parts, because that all the Ships that saile in these seas, both great and small, are bound to touch at Malacca, to paye their custome there, although they unlade nothing at all as we do at Elsinor: and if by night they escape away, and pay not their custome, then they fall into greater danger after: for if they come into the Indies and have not the seate of Malacca, they paye Double custome, I have not passed farther then Malacca towards the East, but that which I will speake of here, is by good information of them that have beene there. [It] be sailing from Malacca towards the East, is not common for all men, as China and Giapan, and so forwards to goe who will, but onlye for the king of Portingale and his nobles, with leave granted unto them of the king to make such voiages, or to the jurisdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca thether, and these are the kings voiages, that every year, ether Departeth from Malacca, two Galions of the kings, one of them goeth to the Muluccos to lade Cloves, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. These two Galians are laden for the king, neither doo they carrye anye particular mans goods, saving the portage of the Mariners and Soldiors, and for this cause, they are not voiages for Merchants, because that going thether he shall not have where to lade his goods of returne, and besides this the Captaine will not carrye anye Merchant for either of these two places. There goeth small Ships of the Mores thether, which come from the coast of Java, and change of guild their commodities in the kingdom of Assa, and these be Maces, Cloves, and Nutmegs, which go for the Straights of Meca. The voiages that the king of Portingale granteth to his nobles are these, of China and Giapan: from China to Giapan, and from Giapan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voiage of Bengaluco Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and every sort of of Bumbast cloth. Sonda is

an I[s]land of the Mores, naere to the coast of Giava, and there they lade Pepper for China. It be ships that goeth everye yeare from the Indies to China is called the Ship of Drugs, because she carieth divers Drugs of Cambaya: but the greatest part of hir lading is silver. From Malacca to China is 1800 miles, and from China to Giapan, goeth every yeare a great ship of great importance, laden with silke, which for returne of their silke bring bars of Silver which they truck in China, that is diffant betweene China and Giapan 2400 miles, and in this waye there is divers I[s]lands, not very big, in which the friers of S. Paule by the helpe of God, make many Christians there like to themselves: from these I[s]lands hetherwards is not yet Discovered, for the great sholdness of the Sands that they find. The Portingales have made a small Citie neere unto the coast of China called Macha, whose church and houses are of wood, and hath a Bishoprike: but the customes are of the king of China, and they go and pay it at a Cittie called Canton, which is a Cittie of great importance, and verye beautifull, two dayes journeye and a halfe from Macheo, which people are Gentiles, and are so jealous and fearefull, that they would not have a stranger to put his foote within their land, so that when the Portingales goe thether to paye their custome, and to buye their Merchandize, they will not consent that they shall lye or lodge within the Cittie, but sendeth them forth into the suburbs....

Pegu's Conquest of Siam

Sion was the Imperiale seate, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God 1567. it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by land foure moneths journey with an armie of men through his land, and the number of his armie was a Milion and foure hundreth thousand men of warre: when he came to the Citie, he gave assault to it, and besieged it twentye and one moneths before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu six monethes after his departure, and sawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent five hundreth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treason against the Citie, it had not beene lost, for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the King gat into the Citye, and became governour of Sion: and when the Emperour saw that he was betraid, and that his enimie was in the Citie, he poysoned himseife, and the wives and children, friend and noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the Citie, were all carried captives into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphes and victorie, which coming home and returning from the warres was a goodlye sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden

with Gold, Silver, Jewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that Citie.

Now to returne to my Voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great Shippe which went for S. Tome, being a Cittie situate on the coast of Chiriamandell, and because the captaine of the castels of Malacca having understanding pro aduyzo [by advice], that the King of Assi would come with a great armye and power of men against them, therefore upon this he would not give licence that anye Ships should Departe: Wherefore in this Shippe we departed in the night, without making any provision of our water: and wee were in that Shippe fowr [four] hundreth and odde men: wee Departed from thence with Intention to goe to an I[s]land to take in water, but the windes were so contrary, that they woulde not suffer us to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and forty Dayes in the Sea as it were lost, and we were driven too and fro.¹

Tenasserim

From the Port of Pequineo I went to Cochim, and from Cochim to Malaca, from whence I departed for Pegu eight hundred miles distant. That voyage was wont to bee made in twentie five or thirtie dayes, but wee were foure moneths, and at the end of three moneths our Shippe was without victualles. The Pilot tolde us that wee were by his altitude [not farre] from a Citie called Tenassiry, a citie in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his wordes were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of manie I[s]lands, and manie uninhabited rocks, and there were also some Portugals that affirmed that they knew the Land, and knewe also where the Citie of Tenassiry was.

Which Citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great river side, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this river runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mergy, in whose harbour everie yere there ladeth some Shippes with Verzina, Nypa, and Benjamin, a few cloves, nuts & maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest merchandise there is verzina and nypa, which is an excellent Wine, which is had in the flowze of a tree called Nyper. Whose liquor they distill, and so make an excellent drincke cleere as Christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomacke, and it hath an excellent gentle virtue, that if one were rotten with the french pocks, drinking good store of this, hee shall bee whole againe, and I have seen it proved, because that when I was in Cochim, ther was a friende of mine, that his nose began to droppe away with that disease, and was counselled of the Doctors of Phisicke that he should goe to Tenassary at the time of the new wines, and that hee should drinke

¹ What follows is an account of India's eastern seaboard, which we omit here. M.W.C.

of the nyper wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more stronger, and [if you] drincke much of it, it will fume into the heade with drunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I have seene him after with a good colour and sounde. This Wine is verie much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is everie yeere great quantitie made thereof.

Difficulties of Journey

And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rockes, and farre from the land which is over against Tenassary, with great scarcitie of victualles, and that by the saying of the Pylate and two Portugalles, holding them firme that we were in front of the aforesaide harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victualles, and that the Shippe shoulde stay for us in a place assigned.

We were twenty and eight persons in the boat that went for victualles, and on a day about twelve of the clocke wee went from the Ship, assuring our selves to be in the harbour before night in the aforesaide port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good landing, and this came to passe through the evill counsel of the two Portugalles that were with us.

For wee had overshot the harbour and left it behinde us, in such wise that wee had loste the lande enhabited with the Ship, and we twentie eight men had no manner of victuall with us in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners, had brought a little Ryce with him in the boat to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or fowre men would have eaten it at a meale: I tooke the government of this Ryce, promising that by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for us until, it plesed God to send us to some place that was enhabited: and when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they shoulde not rob it from me: we were nine dayes rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but Countries uninhabited, and deserts I[s]land, where if we had found but grasse it would have seemed Sugar unto us, but wee coulde not finde any, yet wee founde a fewe leaves of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chew them, we had Water and Wood sufficient, and as we rowed, we could goe but by flowing Water, for when it was ebbing Water, we made fast our boat to the bancke of one of those I[s]lands.

And in these nine dayes that we rowed, wee found a cave or nest of Tortugaes [Tortoise] egges, wherein was a hundred & fortie fowre egges, the which was a great helpe unto us: these egges are as big as a hennes egge, and have no shell about them but a tender Skinne, everie day wee sodde a Kettle full of them

egges, with a handfull of ryce in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the ende of nine dayes, wee discovered certaine fisher men fishing with small barkes, and wee rowed towards them, with a good cheere, for I thinke there were never men more glad then we were, for we were so sore afflicted with penurie that we could skarce stand on our legs. Yet according to the order that we set for our ryce, when we saw those fisher men, there was left sufficient for foure dayes. The first village that we came to, was in the gulfe of Tavay, under the king of Pegu, whereas wee founde greate store of victualles: then for two or three dayes after our arrivall there, wee woulde eate but little meate, anie of us; and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the most part of us.

Martaban

From Tavay to Martavan in the kingdome of Pegu, are seventie two miles. We laded our boate with victuals which was abundantly sufficient for sixe monethes, from whence wee departed for the porte and Citie of Martavan, where in short time we arrived, but wee founde not our Ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently wee made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of Water, being at an ancker with a contrarie winde, and came very yll to passe, because that shee wanted her boate a moneth which should have made her provision of wood and water; the ship also by the grace of God arived safely in the aforesaide port of Martavan.

We found in the Citie of Martavan ninetie Portugalles of Merchantes and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Rector or Governour of the Citie, and for this cause, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugalles had slayne five falchines of the kinges of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after that the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquer the kingdome of Sion, they have for custome in this country and kingdome, that the king being wheresoever his pleasure is to be out of this kingdom, that everie fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a caravan of falchines, with everie one a basket on his heade full with some fruites or other delicates of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this caravan passing by Martavan, and resting themselves there a night, there happened betweene the Portugalles and them: wordes of dispight, and from words to blowes, and because it was thought that the Portugals had the worse, the night following, when the falchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugalles went and cut off five of their heades.

Nowe there is a Lawe in Pegu, that whosoever killeth a man, hee shall buy the shed bloud with his monie, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these falchines being the servauntes of the king, the Retors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the king, because it was necessarie that

the king should knowe of such a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gave commaundement that the malifactors shoulde bee kept untill his comming home, and then he would duely minister justice, but the captaine of the Portugalles would not deliver those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in armes, and went everie day through the citie marching with the Drumme and ancient [Ensignes] displayed. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reason they were gone al to the warres and in businesse of the King: in the middest of this rumour wee came thether, and I thought it a straunge thing to see the Portugalles use such insolencie in another mans Cittie.

Dealings with the Retor at Martaban²

And I stode in doubte of that which came to passe, & would not unlade my goodes because that they were more surer in the ship then on the land, the greatest part of the lading was the owners of the ship, who was in Malacca, yet there were divers merchants there, but their goods were of small importance, al those merchants told me that they woulde not unlade any of their goodes there, unlesse I would unlade first, yet after they left my counsell & followed their own, and put their goods a land and lost it everie whit.

The Rector with the customer sent for me, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payd my custome as other men did? To whom I answered, that I was a merchant that was newly come thither, & seeing such disorder amongst the Portugalles, I doubted the losse of my goodes which cost me very dear, with the sweate of my face, and for this cause I was determined not to put my goodes a lande, untill such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I shoulde have no losse although there came harme to the Portugalles, that neither I nor my goodes should have any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in this rumor: my reason sounded well in the Retors eares, and presently commaunded to cal the Bargits, which are as Counsellers of the Citie & there they promised me on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should have anie harme, but that we should be safe & sure: of which promise there was made publike notes, and then I sent for my goods and had them a land, and payd my custome, which is in that countrie ten in the hundreth of the same goodes, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Retors house.

The Captain of the Portugalles, and all the Portugal merchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the ship. We had our dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentils devised to be revenged of the Portugales; but they woulde not put it in execution untill such time as our small

² This section is included in *Voyages* but not in *Hakluytus*. M.W.C.

Shippe had discharged all her goodes, and then the next night following came from Pegu fowre thousand souldiers with some Elyphants of Warre; and before that they made anie rumor in the citie, that the Retor sent, and gave commaundement to all Portugalles that were in the Citie, when they heard anie rumour or noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, and as they tendered their own health. Then fowre houres in the night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of Warre, with Eliphants which threwe downe the doores of the Ware-houses of the Portugalles, and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which rumor there were some Portugalles wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making prooffe of their manhoode, which the daye before did so bragge, at that time: put themselves to flight most shamefullye, and saved them selves a boorde of little Shippes, that were at an ancker in the harbour, and some that were in their beddes fledde away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the suburbes into the Citie, and those Portugalles that had their goodes in the suburbes with all.

After this the Portugalles that were fled into the shippes to save themselves, tooke a newe courage to themselves, and came a lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbs, which houses being made of boord and straw, and a fresh winde; in small time were burnt and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recover any part of their goodes againe, which goods might amount to the summe of sixteene thousande duckets, which, if they had not set fire to the towne, they might have had their goodes given them gratis.

Then the Portugalles having understanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were verie yll content, knowing that they had made a greate fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugalles began to batter, and shoote their ordinance against the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued fowre dayes, but all was in vaine, for the shotte never hit the Citie, but light on the top of a small hill neere unto it, so that the Citie had no harme, when the Retor perceiving that the Portugalles made batry against the Citie, he tooke twentie and one Portugalles that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrie, there to tarrie untill such time as the other Portugalles were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done unto them.

I was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man shoulde doe mee injurie, nor harme me nor my goodes; in such wise that hee performed all that hee had promised mee in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was my hindrance greatly, because I was twentie and one moneths sequestred, that I coulde not buy nor sell any kinde of merchandize. Those commodities that I brought thither, was

Peper, Sandolo, and Porcellan of China, so when the king was come home, I made my supplication unto him, and I was licensed to depart when I would.

Voyage to City of Pegu

From Martavan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in three or foure dayes; they may goe also by Land, but hee that hath merchandize it is better for him to goe by sea, and lesser charge, and in this voyage you shall have a Macareo, which is one of the most mervellous things in the world that nature hath wrought, and I never sawe anie thing so hard to be beleaved as this, the great encreasing and deminishing that the Water maketh there at one push or instant, and with the horrible earth quake and great noyse that it maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martavan in barks, which are like to our Pylot boates, with the encrease of the Water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bowe, so long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselves out of the Chanel towards some bancke, and there they come to anker, and when the Water is diminished, then they rest a drye: and when the barkes rest drie, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any house toppe is high from the ground.

They let their barks lie so high for this respect, that if there should any shippe rest or ride in the Chanell, with such force commeth in the Water, that it would overthrowe ship or bark: yet for all this, that the barkes be, so farre out of the Chanell, and though the Water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their prow to the streme, and often times it maketh them verie fearfull, & if the Anker did not hold her prow up by strength, she would be overthrowne and lost with men and goods. When the Water beginneth to encrease, it maketh such a noyse and so great, that you would thinke it an earthquake, & presently at the first it maketh 3 waves. So that the first washeth over the barke, from stem to stern, the second is not so furious as the first, & the third raiseth the anker, and then for the space of six howres while the water encreaseth, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you woulde thinke they did flye, in these tides there must be lost no jot of time, for if you arive not at the stagious before the tide be spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place but at these stagious, and there is more daunger at one of these places then at another, as they bee higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martavan, they goe but halfe the Tide at a time, because they will lay their barkes up aloft on the banckes, for the reason aforesaide. I could never gather any reason of the noyse that this water maketh in the encrease

of the Tide, and in deminishing of the Water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this.

City of Pegu

By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the old Citie are the Merchant straungers, and Merchants of the Countrie, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This Citie is not very great, but it hath very great suburbes. Their houses be made with canes, and covered with leaves, or with straw, but the merchants have all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon, which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any value, to save them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe.

In the new Citie is the Palace of the King, and his abiding place with all his Barons and Nobles, and other Gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new Citie: it is a great Citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about, and with Ditches that compasse the Walls about with water, in which Ditches are many Crockadels. It hath no drawe-bridges, yet it hath twenty Gates, five for every square on the Walls, there are many places made for Centinels to watch, made of Wood and covered or gilt with Gold, the Streets thereof are the fairest that I have seene, they are as streight as a line from one Gate to another, and standing at the one Gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as ten or twelve men may ride a-breast in them: and those Streets that be thwart are faire and large, these Streets, both on the one side and the other, are planted at the doores of the Houses with Nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadow, the Houses be made of wood, and covered with a kind of tiles in forme of Cups, very necessary for their use.

Royal Elephants in Pegu

The Kings Palace is in the middle of the Citie, made in forme of a walled Castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the Lodgings within are made of wood all over gilded, with fine pynacles, and very costly worke, covered with plates of gold. Truly it may be a Kings house: within the gate there is a faire large Court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Eliphantes, hee hath foure that be white, a thing so rare, that a man shall hardly finde another King that hath any such, as if this King knowe any other that hath white Elephants, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrie, and that cost me something the sight of

them, for that they command the Merchants to goe to see them, and then they must give somewhat to the men that bring them: the Brokers of the Merchants give for every man halfe a Ducket, which they call a Tansa, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of Merchants that are in that Citie; and when they have payd the aforesaid Tansa, they may chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the Kings stall, every man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so.

This King amongst all other his Titles, is called The King of the white Elephants, and it is reported, that if this King knew any other King that had any of these white Elephants, and would not send them unto him, that he would hazard his whole Kingdome to conquere them.

He esteemeth these white Elephants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meet service, every one of them is in a house, all gilded over, and they have their meate given them in vessels of silver and gold. There is one blacke Eliphant, the greatest that hath beene seene, and he is kept according to his bignes; he is nine cubits high, which is a marvellous thing. It is reported that this King hath foure thousand Elephants of Warre, and all have their teeth, and they use to put on their two uppermost teeth sharpe pikes of Iron, and make them fast with rings, because these beasts fight and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many young Eliphantes that have not their teeth sprouted forth: also this King hath a brave devise in hunting to take these Eliphantes when he will, two miles from the Citie.

He hath builded a faire Palace all gilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and round about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stand to see this hunting: neere unto this Palace is a mighty great Wood, through the which the Hunts-men of the King ride continually on the backes of the female Elephants, teaching them in this businesse. Every Hunter carrieth out with him five or sixe of these females, and they say that they anoint the secret place with a certaine composition that they have, that when the wilde Elephant doeth smell: hereunto, they follow the females and cannot leave them: when the Hunts-men have made provision, and the Elephant is so entangled, they guide the females towards the Palace which is called Tambell, and this Palace hath a doore which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long Straight way with trees on both the sides, which covereth the way in such wise, as it is like darknesse in a corner: the wilde Elephant when he commeth to this way thinketh that hee is in the Woods.

At the end of this darke way there is a great field: when the Hunters have gotten this prey, when they first come to this field, they send presently to give knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there goe out fifty or sixty men on horsebacke, and doe beset the field round about: in the great field then the

females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Elephant is entred in there, the Hunters shoute and make a great noise, as much as is possible, to make the wilde Elephant enter in at the gate of that Palace, which is then open, and as soone as he is in, the gate is shut without any noise, and so the Hunters with the female Elephants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leaving the wilde Elephant alone: and when hee perceiveth that hee is left alone, hee is so mad that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, he flingeth, he runneth, he justleth, he thrusteth under the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kill some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great that he cannot hurt any body, yet he oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates.

At length when he is weary, and hath laboured his body that he is all wet with sweat, then he plucketh in his trunk into his mouth, and then he throweth out so much water out of his belly, that he sprinkleth it over the heads of the lookers on, to the uttermost of them, although it be very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine Officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and pricke him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that are made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Elephant is in, hee cannot turne himselfe to goe backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should bee very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Elephant would kill them if they were not swift to save themselves: at length when they have gotten him into one of those houses, they stand over him in a loft, and get ropes under his belly and about his neck, and about his legs, and bind him fast, and so let him stand foure or five dayes, and give him neither meate nor drinke. At the end of these foure or five dayes, they unloose him, and put one of the females unto him, and give them meate and drink, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my judgement there is not a beast so intellective as are these Elephants, nor of more understanding in all the world: for he will do all things thay his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humane speech.

Armies of the King of Pegu

It is reported that the greatest strength that the King of Pegu hath is in these Eliphantes, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands under his bellie: and in everie Castle foure men, verie commodiouslie sette to fight with Harqubuses, with Bowes and arrowes, with Dartes, with Pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this

Eliphant is so hard, that an Harquebusse will not pierce it, unlesse it be in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body.

And besides this, they are of great strength, and have a very excellent order in their battell, as I have seene at their Feasts which they make in the yeere, in which Feasts the King makes Triumphs, which is a rare thing and worthie memorie, that in so barbarous a People there should bee such goodly orders as they have in their Armies, which be distinct in squares of Eliphants, of Horsemen, of Harquebusers and Pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very naught and weake, as well the one as the other: they have very bad Pikes, their Swords are worse made, like long Knives without points, his Harquebusses are most excellent, and alwaies in his warres he hath eighty thousand Harquebusses, and the number of them encreaseth daily. Because the King will have them shoot every day at the Plancke, and so by continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also he hath great Ordnance made of very good metall; to conclude, there is not a King on the Earth that hath more power or strength then this King of Pegu, because hee hath twenty and sixe crowned Kings at his command. Hee can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the field against his Enemies.

The state of his Kingdome, and maintenance of his Armie, is a thing incredible to consider, and the victuals that should maintayne such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleeeve it. I have seene with mine eyes, that those people and Souldiers have eaten of all sorts of wilde beasts that are on the earth, whether it be very filthie or otherwise all serveth for their mouthes: yea, I have seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great Armie want not Water and Salt, they will maintayne themselves a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers, and leaves of trees, they carrie Rice with them for their Voyage, and that serveth them in stead of Comfits, it is so dainty unto them.

The Wealth of the King of Pegu

This King of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, gold and silver, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This King hath divers Magasons full of treasure, as Gold, and Silver, and every day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is never diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Saphirs, and Spinels. Neere unto his Royall Palace there is an inestimable treasure whereof he maketh no account, for that it standeth in such a place that every one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open every day.

And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses covered with Lead, and in every one of these are certaine heathenish Idols of a very great valure. In the first house there is a Statue of the image of a Man of gold very great, and on his head a Crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Saphires, and round about him are foure litle children of gold. In the second house there is the Statue of a Man of silver, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as he sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceeds the height of any one rooffe of an house; I measured his feet, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a Crowne of his head like to the first. And in the third house there is a Statue of. brasse of the same bignesse, with a like Crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house, there is a Statue of a Man as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, and this metall is made of Copper and Lead mingled together.

This Statue also hath a Crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that every man at his pleasure may goe and see it: for the keepers thereof never forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I have said before, that this King every yeere in his feasts triumpheth: and because it is worthie of the noting, I thinke it meet to write thereof, which is as followeth. The King rideth on a triumphant Cart or Wagon all gilded, which is drawne by sixteene goodly Horses: and this Cart is very high with a goodly Canopie over it, behind the Cart goe twenty of his Lords and Nobles, with every one a rope in his hand made fast to the Cart for to hold it upright that it fall not. The King sitteth in the middle of the Cart; and upon the same Cart about the King stand foure of his Nobles most favoured of him, and before this Cart wherein the King is, goeth all his Armie as aforesaid, and in the middle of his Armie goeth all his Nobilitie, round about the Cart, that are in his Dominions, a marvellous thing it is to see so many people, such riches and such good order in a People so barbarous as they bee. This King of Pegu hath one principall wife, which is kept in a Seralyo, hee hath three hundreth Concubines, of whom it is reported, that hee hath ninetie children.

Justice in Pegu

This King sitteth every day in person to heare the suits of his Subjects, but he nor they never speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The King sitteth up aloft in a great Hall, on a Tribunall seate, and lower under him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demand audience enter into a great Court before the King, and there set them downe on the ground forty paces distant from the Kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the King, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in

their hands, which are made of long leaves of a tree, these leaves are three quarters of a yard long, and two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe Iron made for the purpose, and in those leaves are their supplications written, and with their supplications, they have in their hands a present or gift, according to the weightnesse of their matter. Then come the Secretaries downe to reade these supplications, taking them and reading them before the King, and if the King thinke it good to doe to them that favour or justice that they demand, then hee commandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents.

Death and Property in Pegu³

They that die in the Kingdome of Pegu lose the third part of their goods by ancient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the Kingdome of Pegu, the King and his Officers rest heires of a third of his goods, and there hath never beene any deceit or fraud used in this matter. I have knowne many rich men that have dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they have desired to goe into their owne Countrey to die there, and have departed with all their goods and substance without let or trouble.

Commerce in Pegu

In the Indies there is not any merchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, unlesse it be at some times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if hee bring money hee shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely merchandise for that place, which is the great quantitie of cloth made there, which they use in Pegu; which cloth is made of Bombast woven and painted, so that the more that kinde of cloth is washed, the more lively they shew their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such account of this kinde of cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duckets. Also from S. Tome they layde great store of red yarne, of Bombast died with a root which they call Saia, as aforesaid, which colour will never out. With which merchandise every yeere there goeth a great ship from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they usually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 10 or 11 of

³ This section has been moved up from the miscellaneous comments added by Federici to the end of his account.

September, and if shee stay untill the twelfth, it is a great hap if shee returne not without making of her voyage.

Their use was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kinde of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it bee well dried, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his freight, thinking to have the winde alwaies to serve their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the winds blowe firmly for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the wind in poepe, and if they arrive not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast and anker there, then with great labour they may save their Voyage. Also there goeth another great ship from Bengala every yeere, laden with fine cloth of Bombast of all sorts, which arriveth in the Harbour of Pegu, when the ship that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The Harbour where these two ships arrive is called Cosmin. From Malaca to Martavan, which is a Port in Pagu, there commeth many small ships, and great, laden with Pepper, Sandolo, Porcellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo, & other merchandice.

The ships that come from Meca enter into the port of Pagu & Cirion, and those ships bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and Chickens, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they have no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteem not the losse of them, for that they make such great gaine of their commodities, that they carrie from thence out of that Kingdome. Also the King of Assi [Achen] his Shippes come thether into the same port laden with Peper; from the coast of Saint Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they goe it up the River in foure dayes, with the encreasing water, or with the floud, to a Citie called Cosmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of every man, and take the charge of the goods on them, and convey them to Pegu, into the Kings house, wherein they make the Custome of the merchandize.

When the Customers have taken the charge of the goods, and put them into barks, the Retor of the Citie giveth licence to the Merchants to take barke, and goe up to Pegu with their merchandise; and so three or foure of them take a Barke and goe up to Pegu in companie. God deliver everie man that he give not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any Custome: for if they doe, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly undone, for the King doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceived of his Custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine Cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the Jewels that come into Pegu,

and are not found of that COUNTRY, pay Custome, but Rubies, Saphyrs and Spinels pay no Custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that COUNTRY.

I have spoken before, how that All Merchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must carrie all manner of houshold-stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging, nor Innes, nor Hosts, nor chamber roome in that COUNTRY, but the first thing a man doth when hee commeth to any Citie is to hier a house, either by the yeere, or by the moneth, or as hee meanes to stay in those partes.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Now from Cosmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their Boate to the River side, and there tarrie untill the water flowe againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant Voyage, having on both sides of the Rivers many great Villages, which they call Cities: in the which Hennes, Pigeons, Egges, Milke, Rice, and other things bee verie good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly COUNTRY, and in eight dayes you may make your Voyage up to Macceo, distant from Pegu twelve miles, and there they discharge their goods, and lade them in Carts or Waines drawne with Oxen, and the Merchants are carried in a Closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with Cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and Raine, and there he may sleepe if he have will thereunto: and his foure Falchines carrie him running away, changing two at one time, and two at another. The custome of Pegu and freight thither, may amount unto twenty or twenty two per cento, and twenty three according as he hath more or lesse stolne from him that day they custome the goods.

It is requisite that a man have his eyes watchfull, and to bee carefull, and to have many friends, for when they custome in the great Hall of the King, there come many Gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaves, and these Gentlemen have no shame that their slaves robbe strangers: whether it be Cloth in shewing of it, or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Merchants heipe one another to keepe watch, and looke to their goods, they cannot looke thereto so narrowly but one or other will robbe something, either more or lesse, according as their merchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you have set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape unrobbed of the slaves, a man cannot choose but that hee must be robbed of the Officers of the Custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that you have, and not by rate of every sort as they ought to doe, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the Custom-house in this order, the Merchant causeth them to be carried to his house, and may doe with them at his pleasure.

Duties and Currency in Pegu

There are in Pegu eight Brokers of the Kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the merchandize to come to Pegu, at the common or the corent price: then if the Merchants will sell their goods at that price, they sell them away, and the Brokers have two in the hundred of every sort of merchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they bee sold by their hands or meanes, and on their words, and oftentimes the Merchant knoweth not to whom he giveth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the Broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the Merchant sell his goods without the consent of the Broker, yet neverthelesse hee must pay him two per cento, and bee in danger of his money: but this is very seldome seene, because the Wife, Children and Slaves of the debtor are bound to the Creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and carrie him home to his house, and shut him up in a Magazen, whereby presently hee hath his monie, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the Wife, Children, and Slaves of the debtor, and sell them, for so is the Law of that Kingdome. The currant money that is in this Citle, and throughout all this Kingdome is called Gansa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and Lead: It is not the money of the King, but everie man may stampe it that will, because it hath his just partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy Gold or Silver, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Gold, Silver and other Merchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things bee.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, and this name of Byza goeth for the account of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our account) halfe a Ducket, litle more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and Silver is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza never changeth: everie Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Jewels, if hee will doe well, it behooveth him to bee a whole yeere there to doe his businesse. For if so be that he would returne with the Ship he came in, hee cannot doe any thing so conveniently for the brevitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from Saint Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they have customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Merchants that come from Saint Tome take for the paiment of their goods. Gold and Silver, which is never wanting there.

And eight or ten dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may have Rubies in paiment, but they make no account of them: and they that will Winter there for another yeere, it is needfull that they bee advertized, that in

the sale of their goods, they specific in their bargaine, the terme of two or three moneths paiment, and that their paiment shall be in so many Ganza, and neither Gold nor Silver: because that with the Ganza they may buy and sell everie thing with great advantage. And how needfull is it to be advertized, when they will recover their paiments, in what order they shall receive their Ganza, because hee that is not practicke may doe him selfe great wrong in the weight of the Gansa, as also in the falsenesse of them, in the waight hee may bee greatly deceived, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any will receive money or make paiment, hee must take a publike weigher of mony, a day or two before he goe about his businesse, and give him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this hee is bound to make good all your money, and to maintaine it for good, for that he receiveth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when he hath received any store, then he causeth it to be brought into the Magasea of the Merchant, that is the owner of it.

That mony is verie weightie, for fortie Byza is a strong Porters burthen; and also where the Merchant hath any paiment to bee made for those goods which hee buyeth, the Common weigher of money that receiveth his money must make the paiment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Merchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiveth and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Mercandizes that goe out of Pegu, are Golde, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spinelles, great store of Benjamin, long Pepper, Lead, Lacca, Rice, Wine, some Sugar, yet there might be great store of Sugar made in the Cuntrey, for that they have abundance of Canes, but they give them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that Kingdome they spend many of these Sugar-canes in making of Houses and Tents which they call Varely for their Idols, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great abundance, great and small, and these houses are made in forme of little Hits, like to Sugar loaves or to Belles, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable Steeple, at the foot they are verie large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The said houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with Bricks and dirt in stead of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foot they make a covering for them with Sugar-canes, and plaister it with lime all over, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great abundance of Raine that falleth in those Countries. Also they consume about these Varely or Idol-houses great store of leafe-gold, for that they overlay all the tops of the houses with Gold, and some of them are covered with gold from the top to the foot: in covering whereof there is great store of Gold spent, for that every ten yeeres they new overlay them with gold, from the top to the foot, so that with this vanitie they spend great abundance of Gold. For every ten yeeres the raine doth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make gold dearer in Pegu then it would bee, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee

noted in the buying of Jewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall have as good Jewels, and as good cheape, as hee that hath beene practised there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or Brokers *of Jewels*.

These foure men have all the Jewels or Rubies in their hands, and the Merchant that will buy commeth to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that hee hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they have such quantitie, that they know not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Merchant hath broken his mind to one of these Brokers or Tareghe, they carrie him home to one of their shops, although hee hath no knowledge in Jewels : and when the Jewellers perceive that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The use generally of this Citie is this; that when any Merchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carrieth them home to his house, let them bee of what value they will, he shall have space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if hee hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes have many Merchants in that Citie that have very good knowledge in Jewels; with whom hee may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew them unto whom he will; and if he finde that he hath not employed his money well, he may returne his Jewels backe to them whom he had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to have his Jewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should bee thought that he sold them so deare to have them returned. For these men have alwayes great care that they affoord good penniworths, especially to those that have no knowledge. This they doe, because they would not lose their credite: and when those Merchants that have knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deare, it is their owne faults and not the Brokers: yet it is good to have knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price.

There is also a very good order which they have in buying of Jewels, which is this; There are many Merchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not understand how the Jewels bee sold, the Broker and the Merchants have their hands under a cloth, and by touching of fingers & nipping the joynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by know not what is demanded for them, although it be for a thousand or ten thousand Duckets. For every joynt and every finger hath his signification. For if the Merchants that stand by should understand the bargaine, it would breed great controversie amongst them.

Manner of Dress at Pegu⁴

In Pegu the fashion of their apparell is all one, as well the Nobleman, as the simple: the onely difference is in the finenesse of the Cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which serveth for a shirt, then they gird another painted Bombast cloth, of fourteene braces, which they bind up betwixt their legs, and on their heads they weare a small Tocke of three braces, made in guise of a Myter, and some goe without Tockes, and carrie (as it were) a Hive on the heads, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted up: they goe all bare-footed, but the Noblemen never goe on foot, but are carried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a Hat made of the leaves of a tree to keepe him from the Raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feet bare in the stirrops.

All sorts of women whatsoever they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foot they weare a cloth of three braces, open before, so straight that they cannot goe, but they must shew their secret as it were aloft, and in their going they faigne to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straightnesse of their cloth. They say that this use was invented by a Qyeene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remove from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly given unto; which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe barefooted, their armes laden with hoopcs of Gold and Jewels: And their fingers full of precious Rings, with their haire rolled up about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a Cloake.

A Typhoon

And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569 having gotten well by my endeavor, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of Saint Tome, but then I should tarie untill March.

In which journey I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolved to goe by the way of Bengala, with a Ship there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chitigan a great Harbour or Port, from whence there goe small ships to Cochin, before the Fleet depart for Portugall, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolved my selfe, I went a boord of the ship of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of

⁴ This section has been moved up from the miscellaneous comments added by Federici to the end of his account.

Touffon: concerning which Touffon you are to understand, that in the East Indies oftentimes, there are not stormes as in other Countries; but every ten or twelve yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that have seene it, neither doe they know certainly what yeere they will come.

Unfortunate are they that are at Sea in that yeere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yeere it was our chance to bee at Sea with the like storme, but it happened well unto us, for that our ship was newly over-plancked, and had not any thing in her save victuall and balasts, Silver and Gold, which from Pegu they carrie to Bengala, and no other kind of Merchandize. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it carried, away our sayles, yards, and rudder; and because the ship laboured in the Sea, wee cut our Mast over-board: which when we had done, shee laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came over the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights, sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a third place: and for all this storme, the ship was so good, that she tooke not one jot of water below through her sides, but all ranne downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driving too and fro as the wind and Sea would, wee were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a shold: yet when it was day, we could neither see Land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the Divine power, there came a great wave of the Sea, which drave us beyond the shold. And when wee felt the ship afloat, we rose up as men revived, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelve fathom water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fathom, and then presently wee came to anker with a small anker that was left us at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the ship strooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that shee should not overthrow. When it was day the ship was all drie, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land.

Sundiva Island and Arakan

This Touffon being ended, wee discovered an I[s]land not farre from us, and we went from the ship on the sands to see what I[s]land it was: and wee found it. a place inhabited, and, to my judgement the fertilest I[s]land in all the world, the which is devided into two parts by a channell which passeth betweene it, and with great trouble wee brought our ship into the same channell, which parteth the I[s]land at flowing water, and there we determined to stay fortie dayes to refresh

us. And when the people of the I[s]land saw the ship, and that we were comming a land: presently they made a place of Bazar or Market, with Shops right over against the ship with all manner of provision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that wee were amazed at the cheapnesse thereof. I bought many salted Kine there, for the provision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be twelve shillings sixe pence, being very good and fatte; and foure wilde Hogges ready dressed for a Larine; great fat Hennes for a Bizzle a piece, which is at the most a Penie: and the people told us that we were deceived the haife of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine Rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seene it.

This I[s]land is called Sondiva belonging to the Kingdome of Bengala, distant one hundred and twentie miles from Chitigan, to which place we were bound. The people are Moores, and the King a very good man of a Moore King, for if he had bin a Tyrant as others bee, he might have robbed us of all, because the Portugall Captaine of Chitigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, and every day there were some slaine, at which newes wee rested there with no small feare, keeping good watch and ward aboard every night as the use is, but the Governour of the Towne did comfort us, and bad us that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selves securely without any danger, although the Portugals of Chitigan had slaine the Governour of that Citie, and said that we were not culpable in that fact; and moreover he did us every day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrarie to our expectations considering that they and the people of Chitigan were both subjects to one King.

Wee departed from Sondiva, and came to Chitigan the great Port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugals had made peace and taken a truce with the Governours of the Towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugals with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time eighteen ships of Portugals great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then he would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yeere was spent to goe to the Indies. The night before hee departed, everie ship that had any lading therein, put it aboard of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies.

In this time there came a messenger from the King of Rachim [Arakan] to this Portugall Captaine, who said in the behalfe of his King, that hee had heard of the courage and valour of him, desiring him gently that hee would vouchsafe to come with this Shippe into his port, and comming thither hee shoulde bee verie well entreated. This Portugall went thether and verie well satisfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemy hee hath is the King of Pegu: which King of Pegu imagineth night and day, to make this King of Rachim his subject, but by no meanes he is able to doe it: because the King of Pegu, hath no power or armie by sea. And this King of Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fusts by Sea, and by Lande he hath certaine sluses with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of his Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way that the King of Pegu shoulde come with his power to hurt him.

Commodities of India⁵

From the great port of Chitigan they carie for the Indies great store of ryce, verie great quantitie of Bombast cloth of everie sorte, Suger, Corne, and Money, with other merchandise. And by reason that Warres was in Chitigan, the Portugall shippes tarried there so late, that they arived not at Cochin so soone as they were wont to doe other yeares. For which cause the fleete that was at Cochin was departed for Portugalle before they arived there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleete, in discovering of Cochin, wee also discovered the last shippes of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where shee made saile, for which I was mervellouslie discomforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no goinge for Portugalles, and when we arived at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it woulde not continue long. For all this, I embarked my selfe in a Gallie that went for Goa, meaning there to ship my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the viceroy would not suffer any Portugall to depart, by reason of the Warres.

And beeing in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an infirmitie that helde mee fowre moneths: which with phisicke and diet cost mee eight hundred Duckets, and there I was constrayned to sell a small quantitie of Rubies to sustaine my need: and I solde that for five hundreth Duckets, that was worth a thousande, and when I began to waxe well of my disease, I had but litle of that monie left, everie thing was so scarce: For everie chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seven or eight Lyvers, which is six shillings, or six shillings eight pence.

Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of sixe moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to worke, for Jewels were risen in their prices: for, whereas before I sold a

⁵ This section is in *Voyages*, but not in *Hakluytus*.

few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my Jewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60 percels of Opium, which cost me two thousand and a hundreth duckets, every ducket at foure shillings two pence. Moreover I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred duckats, which was a good commoditie for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commanded that the custome of the Opium should be paide in Goa, and paying custome there I might cary it whither I would. I shipped my three bales of cloth at Chaul in a shippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ship that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome.

When I came to Cochin, I understoode that the ship that had my 3 bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800 Seraffines or duckets: and departing from Cochin to goe from [sic, for] S. Tome: & in casting about for the I[s]land of Zeiland the Pilote was deceived, for that the Cape of the I[s]land of Zeiland lieth far out into the sea, and the Pilot thinking that he might have passed hard aboard the cape, and paying remour in the night: when it was morning we were farre within the cape, and past all remedy to goe out, by reason the windes blewe so fiercely against us. So that by this meanes wee lost our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ship to Winter there, the Ship having lost her mastes, and with great diligence we hardly saved her with great losses to the captaine of the Ship, because he was forced to freight another Ship in S. Tomes for Pegu with great losses & interest, & I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary us to S. Tomes; which thing, we did with al the rest of the merchants, & ariving at S. Tomes I had news through or by the way of Bengala that in Pegu: Opium was verie dear, & I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go from [sic, for] Pegu that yeere, so that I was holden of all the Merchantes there: to be verie rich: and so it would have approved, if my adverse fortune had not beene contrarie to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great shippe from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantitie of Opium, and there to lade Peper: in which voyage there came such a storme, that the ship was forced with wether to go romer 800 miles, & by this meanes came to Pegu, wheras they arived a day before me; so that Opium which was before veriw deare, was now at a base price: so that which was solde for fiftie Bize before, was solde for two Bizze and halfe, there was such quantitie came in that Ship, so that I was gladde to stay two yeeres in Pegu unlesse I would have given away my commoditie: and at the ende of two yeeres I made of my 2100 Duckets which I bestowed in Cambaya, I made but a thousand Duckets.

Return to Pegu

Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with greate quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chiall, and from Chiall to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I lost occasion to make mee ritche, for whereas I might have brought good store of Opion [Opium] again, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And nowe againe I determined to goe from [sic, for] my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

Commerce of the East Indies

I thinke it verie necessarie before I ende my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to shew what fruits the Indies doth yeelde and bring foorth. First, in the Indies and other East partes of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some partes of the Indies, the greatest quantities of peper groweth in amongst wilde bushes, without any manner of labour: saving, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the Peper groweth on, is like to our Ivie, which runneth up to the toppes of trees wheresoever, and if it should not take hold of some tree, it would ly flat and rotte on the ground. This Peper tree hath his flower and berry, like in all partes to our Ivie berry, and those berryes be graynes in Peper: so that when they gather them they bee greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

The Ginger groweth in this wise, the Land is tilled and sowed, and the herbe is like to Panyzzo, and the roote is the Ginger. These two spices growe in divers places.

The Cloves came all from the Moluches, which Moluches are two Islands, not verie great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

The Nutmegs and Maces, which growe both together, are brought from the I[s]land of Banda, whose tree is like to our Walnut tree, but not so big.

All the good white Sandolo is brought from the Island of Timor. Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and al that which groweth in canes commeth from Bruneo, and I thinke that this Canfora cometh not into these partes: for that in India they consume great store, and that is very deare.

The good Lignum aleos commeth from Chochinchina.

The Benjamin commeth from the kingdome of Assi [Achen] and Sion.

Long Peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Giava.

Muske commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I have bene told, there is a certain beast in Tartaria, which is wild [and]

as big as a wolfe, which beast they take alive, & beat him to death with small staves that his blood may be spread through his whole bodie, then they cut it in peeces, and take out all the bones, and beat the flesh with the bloud in a morter verie small, and drie it, and make purses to put it in of the Skinne, and these bee the coddess of muske.

Truely I knowe not whereof the Amber is made, and there is divers opinions of it, but this is most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and throwne a land and found upon the sea banckes.

The Rubyes, Saphyres, and the Spynetly, they be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamandes they come from divers places: and I know but three [sorts] of them. That sort of Diamands, that is called Chiappe, they come from Bezeneger. Those that bee pointed naturally come from the land of Dely, and from Java, but the Diamands of Java are more waightie then the other. I could never understand from whence they that are called Balasy come.

Pearles they fish in divers places, as before in this booke is showne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodiom coniealeth [concealed?] in certaine canes; I founde manye of them in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I have saide before) they make their houses there of woven Canes like to mattes. From Chianela they trade alongest the coast of Melyndy in Ethiopia, within the lande of Caferaria: on that coaste are many good harbors kept by the Moores.

Thither the Portugalles bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a Lowe price, and greate store of Paternosters or beads, made of paltrie glasse, which they make in Chiawle [Chaul] according to the use of the Countrie: & from thence they carry Eliphants teeth for India, Slaves called Caferi, and some Amber and Golde. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozenbich, which is of as great importaunce as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies under his protection, and the captaine of this castle hath certaine voiages to this Caferaria, to which places no merchantes may goe, but by the agent of this Captaine, and they use to goe in small ships, and trade with the Caferaries, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speeche one to the other. In this wise the Portugalles bring their goods by little and little alongst the sea coast, and lay them down: and so depart, and the Cafer merchants come & see the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they think the goods is worth, and so goeth his way and leaveth his golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal: and finding the gold to his content, he taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, & then commeth the Cafer and taketh the goodes & carieth it away: and if hee find the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugalles are not contented, and if the Cafer thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugalles must not stand with them to[o] strickt; for if they doe, then they will have no more trade with them, for they disdain to be refused, when they thinke that they have offered ynough, for they be a peevish people, and have dealt so of a long time, & by this

trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Castle of Mozonbich, which is in an I[s]land not farre distant from the firm land of Caferaria on the coast of Ethiopia, and distant from the India 2800 miles.

End of Voyage

...Now to finish that which I have begun to write, I say, that those partes of the Indies is verie good, because that a man that hath little: shall make a great deale thereof, alwaies they must governe themselves that they be taken for honest men. For why? To such there shall never want helpe to do wel, but he that is vicious, let him tarrie at home and not go thither, because he shall alwayes bee a begger, and Dye a poore man.