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Edited by Edward Grey

Excerpt

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LETTER IV.

From Onor, Octob. 30, 1623.

BEING departed from *Goa* and arriv'd at this Port of *Onor*¹ I shall give you some account of what hath happened in my observation during the few days since the last that I writ to you, on *October* the tenth ; and because

I understood that it lay still at *Goa*, with the two Ships which were to go thence for *Persia*, I have thought fit to send this to accompany it, and I hope you will receive both of them together, and that not without as much delectation of my News, as I am pleas'd in writing to you from several places, and (when I can get opportunity) from those very places which afford the Novelties and matters whereof I write, which therefore may possibly be more grateful in the reception as being native of the Country.

I took ship with our *Portugal* Ambassador, Sig. *Gio. Fernandez Leiton*, about Evening, *October* the fourteenth, and, departing from *Goa*, we remov'd to a Town call'd *Pangi*² in the same Island, but lower, near the place

¹ See *ante*, p. 190, *note*.

² Now called Panjim, or New Goa, on the left bank of the Mandovi river, three or four miles from the sea. It was made the seat of government in 1759, and was formally raised to the dignity of being the capital by Royal Proclamation in the year 1843. Fonseca (pp. 97 to 103) describes it in detail, and speaks of it as having a "picturesque

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where the River enters into the Sea, and whither the Vice-Roys used to retire themselves frequently to a House of Pleasure which they have there, besides many other like Houses of private persons upon the River likewise, and where also at the mouth of the Sea, or Bar, as they call it, which is a little lower, almost all Fleets that depart from *Goa* are wont to set Sail. We might have performed this journey by Land along the Sea-coast, passing along the other lands of *Adil-Sciáh*¹ till we came to those of *Venk-tapà Naieka*.² But to avoid expences and occasions of disgust with many Governours of those Territories subject to *Adil-Sciáh*, who sometimes are little courteous and impertinent, the Vice-Roy would have us go by Sea, and for more security sent five of those light Frigats or Galeots, which the *Portugals* call *Sangessis*,³ to accompany us as far as *Onor*, where we were to land. So that we were in all ten Ships or Galeots, to wit, one which carry'd the *Portugal* ambassador and us, another in which *Venk-tapà Naieka's* Ambassador the Brachman⁴ went; three others laden with the baggage of the two Ambassadors (and particularly with Horses and other things which the Vice-Roy sent for a present to *Venk-tapà Naieka*, and other Horses which I know not who carry'd thither to sell)⁵; and the five Ships of war, whereof *Sig. Hettor Fernandez* was Chief Captain or General. Nevertheless we parted from *Goa* the aforesaid Evening onely with our own Ship, the rest

appearance"; and C. de Kloguen (p. 142) says: "It is now (1831) a very handsome town, all the houses being well built and the streets being broad and well paved."

¹ See *ante*, p. 143, *note*.

² See *ante*, p. 168, *note*.

³ Properly "Sanguicel". (See *Vieyra's Dictionary*.)

⁴ See *ante*, p. 191.

⁵ The horse trade was a great business on the west coast of India. (See *Commentaries of A. Dalboquerque*, vol. ii, pp. 76, 77, 107, and 111; vol. iii, p. 21; and Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, pp. 84, 88, 324, 333, etc., and Index.)

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being already fallen down lower toward the Sea, and the Ambassador *Vitulá* was above a day at *Pangi* expecting us, where we arriving the abovesaid night did not land, because it was late, but slept in the Vessel.

II.—*October* the fourteenth. We went ashore in the Morning at *Pangi*, and the two Ambassadors saw one another upon the Sea-side, where, I being present with them, Sig. *Gio. Fernandez* told the Brachman Ambassador who I was, and that I went with them out of curiosity to see his King, wherewith he testified great contentment, but was much more pleas'd with the Pendant which I wore at my left ear, as I have us'd to do for many years past for remedy of my weak sight, because wearing Pendants at the ears is a peculiar custom of the *Indians*, especially of the *Gentiles*, who all wear them in both ears¹: and because this is among the *Portugals* a thing not onely unusual, but ignorantly by some of the ruder sort of them held for unlawful onely because 'tis us'd by *Gentiles*, therefore the Ambassador marvelled that I, being of the *Portugal's* Religion, nevertheless us'd it; but being told that it was not forbidden by our Law, but onely customarily disus'd, and that in *Europe* it was us'd by many,² he commended the

¹ See Quintin Craufurd's *Sketches relating to the History, etc., of the Hindoos*: "In the ears all the Hindoos wear large gold rings ornamented with precious stones." The custom of wearing ear-rings has been adopted by males as well as females in India, as is well known, from time immemorial. They are frequently of large size. (See Burton's *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 232.) Instances have been known in which their weight amounted to no less than 2 lbs. In some parts pieces of shell are inserted in the lobes of the ears, and in Burma cheroots are carried in this way. Nose-rings are commonly worn by women. (See Sir M. Williams' *Modern India*, p. 61.) Ear-rings are mentioned as being generally worn by Indians in Arrian's *Indica*, chap. xvi. Mr. Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*, p. 390) says: "The Malabar women's ears, loaded with rings and heavy jewels, reach almost to their shoulders."

² It is said that Charles I. of England wore pearl ear-rings, and that

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custom, and bid the *Portugals* see how well I shew'd with that Pendant, and better than they who wore none ; so powerful is use to endear things to the eye, and make that fancy'd and esteem'd by some, which others, through want of custom, dislike, or value not.¹

This day we departed not, because one of the Frigats of the Armado which was to accompany us was unprovided with Sea-men, for which we were fain to stay till the day following, and then were not very well provided. The cause whereof was that there was at this time a great Scarcity of Mariners in *Goa*, because the Governours of the maritime parts of the Continent subject to *Idal-Sciãh*² would not permit their Ships to come, as they were wont, to supply Mariners for the *Portugal* Armado ; which seem'd an argument of some ill will of that King against the *Portugals*, of which, were there nothing else, their being weaker and more confus'd in their Government than ever, and all things in bad order, was a sufficient ground ; for remedy of which they took no other course, but daily loaded themselves with new, unusual and most heavy Impositions, to the manifest ruine of the State, taking no care to prevent the hourly exorbitant defraudations of the publick Incomes, which otherwise would be sufficient to maintain the charge without new Gabels³: but if such thefts continue both the publick Incomes and the new Gabels, and as many as they can

he gave one of them to Bishop Juxon, the day before his execution, for his daughter, the Princess Royal. They were at one time much worn in Europe, as being good for the eyes.

¹ See Shakespeare (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act v, sc. 4): "How use doth breed a habit in a man!"

² Should be Adil Shah. See *ante*, p. 143, note.

³ This word (said to be derived from the Arabic *Kabãlu*, "a tax") was in France specially applied to a tax on salt, and is said to have led King Edward III. to the perpetration of a pun in remarking that King Philip, who imposed the tax, was the author of the "Salique law".

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THE VICEROY'S LICENCE REQUIRED.

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invent, will be all swallow'd up. Nevertheless the *Portugals* are heedless according to their custom, and out of fatal blindness, making no reckoning of these signs which shew the evil mind of their neighbour *Adil-Sciãh*, think he knows nothing of these disorders, and that this with-holding of his Subjects is onely an impertinence of his Officers. What the event will be Time will shew.

III.—But to return to my purpose. Not being to depart this day we went to dine and pass the time, with intention also to lodge the following night, in the house of Sig. *Baldassar d'Azevedo*, who liv'd constantly in a fair House there by the Sea-side, a little distant from the *Villa*, or Fort,¹ where the Vice-Roys lodge in *Pangi*.² Whilst we were recreating our selves, Sig. *Fernandez*, bethinking himself of what, perhaps, he had not thought of before, ask'd me whether I had the Vice-Roy's Licence to go with him this Voyage, and I telling him that I had not because I did not think it needful, he reply'd that it was needful to be had by any means if I intended to go, otherwise he could not venture to carry me, for fear of giving malevolous³ persons occasion to criminate him, by saying that he had carry'd me, a stranger and without the Vice-Roy's licence, into suspected places, where matters of State were to be handled; in brief, knowing the matter to be blameable, and the wonted cavils of many of his own Nation, and being admonished by many and great troubles befallen others, and particularly a Kinsman of his, very innocently for very slight causes and much inferior to this, he told me resolutely that without the Vice-Roy's Licence it was no-wise good, either for him or me, that I should go. Wherefore, being⁴ we were not to depart that day, he advis'd me to return to the City, and procure the said Licence, if I

¹ Built by Yusuf Adil Shah.

² See p. 193, *note*.

³ An obsolete word for "malevolent".

⁴ For "since" see *ante*, p. 27, *note*.

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intended to go, and he would stay for me till the next Morning ; but without the Licence I must not return to take Ship, nor would he by any means venture to carry me. I who well understood the procedures of the *Portugals*, and what rigor they use in their Government,¹ and to what suspicions and malevolences they are prone, which cause a thousand ill usages and injustices, was sensible that Sig. *Fernandez* had reason, and that the not having gotten this Licence was an inadvertency, because I accounted it not necessary ; but to obtain it of the Vice-Roy, who knew me well and had shewn himself courteous to me, I look'd upon as not difficult. Wherefore, being loathe to lose my intended voyage, as soon as I had din'd with these Gentlemen, I went by boat to the City, and having first given account of my business to Sig. *Antonio*, and Sig. *Ruy Gomez* his Brother, (to whose House I repair'd, having left that which I had hir'd, and remov'd my Goods to that of the said Sig.^{ri} *Barocci*), I went with the same Sig. *Ruy Gomez* to speak to F. *Moryad*, a Jesuit and the Vice-Roy's Confessor and my Friend, whom I desir'd (as the fittest person to do it in the short time left me) to get me a Licence from the Vice-Roy. He went immediately to speak to the Vice-Roy about it, and had the fortune to find him before he enter'd into a Congregation, or Council, which was to sit till to-night ; and the Vice-Roy presently writ a Licence for him with his own hand, directed to the Ambassador *Gio. Fernandez*, wherein he told him that, whereas I desir'd to go along with him, he might carry me and shew me all kind of Civility and

¹ The policy of Admiral Dalboquerque, first Viceroy of Goa, which, it may be presumed, was adopted in a general way by his successors, is thus described by Fonseca (*Historical Sketch of Goa*, p. 144): "While on the one hand he treated the Muhammadans with undue severity and harshness, he showed marked favour to the Hindoos, but punished with merciless rigour every species of oppression practised on the merchants and traders."

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INTERVIEW WITH THE BISHOP.

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Honour as a deserving person, with other like courteous and high expressions.

Having gotten my Licence, I went with F. *Ruy Gomez Baroccio* to visit the Bishop of *Cocin*,¹ who in the vacancy of the See administred the Arch-bishoprick of *Goa*,² and whom I had not yet visited ; and understanding that he was desirous to know me, and was a Prelate of great merit, not only as to Ecclesiastick matters but also in point of Government and War (for he took divers strong places, and perform'd other exploits in *India* for the service of his King with great valour) I would not depart without first visiting him and making myself known to him. This Prelate is called *Frà Don Sebastiano di San Pietro*³ and is an *Augustine* Fryer. We discours'd above an hour together concerning things of *India* and *Persia*, and other matters, and I recommended to him, with the F. Confessor, the *Augustine* Fathers of his

¹ In original *Cocin*—generally written *Cochin*—on west coast of India, in lat. 9° 58' N. Properly *Kachhi* or *Kuchi*, called also *Gutschin*, *Couhi*, and *Cocym*. According to Sir H. Yule (*Cathay*, vol. ii, p. 455), it is first mentioned by *Conti*, under the name of “*Cocym*”. Now the chief port of *Malabar*. The town gives its name to the adjacent territory, which is governed by a native ruler, who pays a tribute of 200,000 Rs. annually to the British Government. A Portuguese fort was erected here in 1503 by Admiral *Dalboquerque*. In 1663 it became the capital of the Dutch possessions in India, and in 1796 was taken by the British. It is at present remarkable as the residence of the black and white Jews, and of the sect of Christians called *Nazaranis* or *Nestorians*, who ascribe their conversion to *St. Thomas*. (*Eastwick's Handbook of Madras*, pp. 316, 317.)

² *Goa* was made a metropolitan, or archiepiscopal, see by Pope *Paul IV* in 1557, and two suffragan bishoprics were created at the same time, viz., those of *Cochin* and *Goa*, of which the former extended from *Cranganur* to the *Ganges*, and the latter from *Cranganur* to *Cape of Good Hope*. (See *C. de Kloguen*, p. 58.) There were afterwards seven suffragan bishoprics altogether, viz., *Cochin*, *Malacca*, *Macao*, *Tunay* (*Japan*), *Meliapur*, *Nankin*, and *Pekin*.

³ He was the first Bishop of *Meliapur*, and was confirmed as Arch-bishop of *Goa* in 1629. He completed the cathedral begun in 1616.

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Religion in *Persia*, giving him an account of their necessities, and how he might help them.

Night being come, I went to make a Collation in the House of Sig^{ri} *Barocci*, and when it was grown dark I return'd to imbark in the Ship which expected me, and went to the Town of *Pangi*¹ to find Sig. *Gio. Fernandez* and my other Companions, who were very glad at my return with the Vice-Roy's Licence so favourable and courteous to me, because they were loath to have gone without me; and so I slept with them that night in the same House. My charge, *Mariàm Tinatin*,² went not with me this journey because it was not expedient, being³ I was to return to *Goa*, but stay'd still in the House of Sig^{ra} *Lena da Cugna*: onely *Cacciatùr*⁴ went with me to serve me.

October the fifteenth. A little before night we were ready to set sail, had we not been necessitated to stay for certain Mariners till the next Morning, when we went to hear Mass in a Church of Saint *Agnes*⁵ belonging to the *Augustine Fryers*⁶ and standing in the Island of *Goa*; after which, being imbark'd, we stay'd a while longer waiting for the Brachman Ambassador, for what reason I know not, unless, perhaps, he was minded to make us stay for him, as we had made him stay for us. At length being got out of the mouth of the River we continu'd sailing all night, but with

¹ See *ante*, p. 193, *note*.

² See *ante*, p. 24, *note*.

³ For "since", see *note*, p. 27.

⁴ See p. 126.

⁵ A small church in the village of St. Agnes, to the west of Panjim. In this parish is one of the three palaces of the Archbishop. Of the other two palaces, one adjoins the cathedral and the other is in the parish of St. Peter.

⁶ The Augustine Friars were the fourth religious order established in Goa, where they came in 1572 under Fra Antonio de Paixão. Their convent is described by Cotineau de Kloguen as "the most beautiful and stately convent or building in Goa", and he adds that "few cities in Europe can boast of a finer edifice of the kind". For a description of it, see De Kloguen's *Goa*, p. 122; and for some general observations on the religious orders at Goa, see the same, p. 133.

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a small wind. Our course was always Southward almost directly, and we coasted along the land at a little distance.

October the sixteenth. In the Morning we discern'd four Ships of *Malabar Rovers'* near the shore (they call them *Paroes*² and they go with Oars, like Galeots or Foists³). We gave them chase for above an hour, intending to fight them, but we could not overtake them; onely we lost much time and much of our way. Night came upon us near certain Rocks, or uninhabited little Islands, which they call *Angediva*,⁴ which signifies in the Language of the Country *Five Islands*, they being so many in number. We found fresh water in one of them; they are all green and have some Trees. We set sail from thence the same night, but had little or no wind and violent rain.

October the seventeenth. Continuing our course the next day with a very small gale we saw the bound of the States

¹ The whole line of coast here (called Ariake by the Greeks, Kemkem by the Arabs, and Kukan, or Konkan, by the Hindús) has always been infamous for the piratical propensities of its inhabitants, whose ancient occupation is well favoured by the multitude of small ports, an uninterrupted view along the coast, high ground favourable to distant vision, and the alternate land and sea-breezes that oblige vessels to hug the shore, and by the fact that the ports, besides being shallow, are protected against large ships by bars. Pliny notices the depredations committed by these pirates, and our early travellers are full of horrible tales about them. (See Sir R. Burton's *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, pp. 12 and 13.)

² For *Prau*, or *Prahu*, a Malay word for a kind of swift sailing-vessel, used in the Malayan archipelago and on the Malabar coast. See *Commentaries of Dalboquerque*, vol. ii, pp. 87 and 91.

³ An obsolete word for a small sailing-vessel, called *Fustas* by the Portuguese. (See *Commentaries of A. Dalboquerque*, vol. ii, pp. 86, 87, 99, and 100.)

⁴ Probably for Panjdwipa, or "five islands" (Sanskrit), a favourite anchorage of the early Portuguese, in lat. 14° 30' N. Called also "Anchediva", and, in Dourado's map of 1546, "Amgedina". They were fortified by the Viceroy of Goa, Don Francis de Taura, in 1683, when the Portuguese were at war with Sambaji, the Mahratta chief.

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of *Adil-Sciàh*¹ and *Venk-tapà Naieka*,² which is onely a brackish River,³ such as are frequent upon the Coast of *India*. The wind was but small still, so that all this day we could not arrive at *Onor*⁴; but when it was night, because 'tis no good ent'ring into the Port of *Onor* in the dark and with ebbing water, as it was now, we cast Anchor, and remain'd all night under an uninhabited small Rock, which they call the Rock of *Onor*. After mid-night the Tide began to flow, but yet we stirred not.

October the eighteenth. About break of day we mov'd along, and by the help of Oars finished the remainder of the way, arriving at *Onor* in good time. This whole voyage from *Goa* to *Onor* is not above eighteen Leagues, but it took up so much time because we had onely a very small wind.

V.—*Onor* is a small place by the Sea-side, but a good Port of indifferent capacity, which is formed by two arms of Rivers,⁵ which (I know not whether both from one or several heads) running one Southward and the other Northward meet at the Fortress, and are discharg'd with one mouth into the Sea. The habitations are rather Cottages than Houses, built under a thick Grove of Palms, to wit those which produce the Indian Nuts, called by the *Portugals* *Coco*⁶; and by the *Arabians* *Narghil*. But the Fortress⁷ is of a competent circuit, though the walls are not very

¹ See *ante*, p. 143, *note*.

² See *ante*, p. 168, *note*.

³ Marked in Wyld's map as the Gungawully river.

⁴ Or Honawar. See *ante*, p. 190.

⁵ Branches of the river Shiravati, on which are the celebrated Gairsappa, or Gerusappè, Falls.

⁶ See *ante*, pp. 40 and 181.

⁷ This fort previously to 1569, when it was captured by the Portuguese, belonged to the Queen of Gerusappè. It subsequently fell into the hands of the Rajas of Bednur, and afterwards passed into the possession of Haidar Ali, from whom it was taken by the British in 1783, and restored in the following year to Tipu Sahib by the treaty of Mangalûr.