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THE FIRST DUTCH VOYAGE TO THATTA (1631) The Journal of Gregorij Cornelisz

por
WILLEM FLOOR

When the Dutch arrived in Sind the Portuguese had preceded them by at least 50 years, for they had established direct trade relations with Thatta around 1580, if not earlier. However, the role of Thatta as an important trading center predated the advent of the Portuguese. After the Portuguese had established their protectorate over the kingdom of Hormuz in 1515, they became aware that the ports of Thatta and Lari Bandar¹ formed an important element for the trade with the Persian Gulf, in particular with Hormuz and Basra. In fact, in the 1540s trade with Sind represented 7-10 percent. of the customs revenues of Hormuz.² During the peace negotiations with Portugal in the early 1560s, the Ottoman Soltan Soleyman therefore asked Portuguese agreement to the establishment of an Ottoman factory in Sind, indicating its

¹ On the port of Lari BANDAR see Monique KERVAN, "Le port multiple des bouches de l'Indus; Barariké, Deb, Daybul, Lahori Bandar, Diul-Sinde," in Rika GYSELEN (ed.), *Sites et monuments disparus d'après les témoignages des voyageurs* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 45-92. The name Lari Bandar denotes that it is the port (*bandar*) of Lar (the name of southern Sind). The shifting nature of the Indus makes it difficult to establish the exact location of Lari Bandar, but it was near the later port of Karachi. Thatta is situated in the Punjab, Pakistan (Latitude: 33° 39' 53 N, Longitude: 72° 45' 23 E), west of the Indus River, inland from Karachi and the Arabian Sea coast at about 98 kms (61 miles) east of Karachi.

² Fernão Lopes CASTANHEDA, *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, 2 vols. (Porto, 1979), II/58, p. 340; J. H. van LINSCHOTEN, *The voyage of Jan Huygen van Linschoten to the East Indies* ed. and translated into English by A.C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele, 2 vols. (London, 1885), vol. 1, pp. 60-64; Tomé PIRES, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, an account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1511-1515* translated and edited by Armando Cortesão, 2 vols. (London, 1944), vol. 1, pp. 20, 29; Artur Teodoro de MATOS, *O Tombo de Chaul 1591-1592* (Lisbon, 2000), pp. 13, 33, 42, 44-48, 74, 88-89; Duarte BARBOSA, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* translated by M. Longworth Dames, 2 vols. (London, 1918-21), pp. 105-07; A. de Almeida CALADO (ed.), "Livro que trata das cousas da Índia e do Iappão," in *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 24 (1960), pp. 128-30. J. de COUTRE, *Aziatische omzwervingen. Het leven van Jacques de Coutre, een Brugs diamant handelaar 1591-1627* (Berchem, 1988), p. 137 also draws attention to the trade with smaller ports such as Sohar, Khur Fakkan, Jolfar and Qatif.

importance to the trade of Basra.³ At the same time, Thatta and Lari Bandar constituted a major link with the Indo-Gangetic plain, as is also clear from the Journal. From Lahore, via the Ravi branch of the Indus River, boats connected with the port of Thatta. The trade with Thatta represented as much as 15% of the total Hormuz trade around 1600.⁴ Imports from Sind to Hormuz included fine cottons, veils, muslin, coconut oil, Indian nuts, ghee in high earthen pots with small necks, pitch, tar, sugar candy, iron, and beautifully wrought, figured and inlaid leather.⁵

It is not entirely clear when the Portuguese established direct and regular trade relations with Thatta. There must have been direct contacts prior to 1556, the year that Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the ruler of Thatta, asked for Portuguese military assistance against Shah Hoseyn Arghun, his nominal overlord. This request turned out badly for Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, because the Portuguese tired of waiting for his arrival sacked Thatta, set fire to the city, killed many of its inhabitants, and acquired an alleged booty of "dous milhoes de ouro."⁶ If the Cornelissen Journal is correct that the Portuguese established a presence in Thatta around 1580 it meant that Portuguese political relations with Thatta had been normalized after this incident. In fact, Portuguese commercial interests considered the increasing trade with Sind to be very important. In 1589, the Municipal Chamber of Goa wrote about the lamentable state of the fort of Hormuz to Filipe I and indicated that this might endanger the convoy from Sind.⁷ This indicates that the familiar pattern of the annual 'caffila' from Sind to Hormuz was already well established at that time.

³ As *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo, Gavetas I-XXIII* (henceforth *Gavetas*) 12 vols., edited by A. Silva Rego (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960-77), XV, 3417, pp. 463-465 (14/11/1563); Salih ÖZBARAN, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion. Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands During the Sixteenth Century* (Istanbul, 1994), p. 152 appendix III; Diogo de COUTO, *Décadas*, nova ed., 24 vols. (Lisboa, Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1777-1788 [reprint: Livraria S. Carlos, 1973-1975]), *Década*, 8.^a-II-iv, pp. 123-128.

⁴ Sidi Ali REIS, "The Mirror of Countries or The Adventures of Sidi Ali Reis," in Charles F. HORNE (ed.), *The Sacred Books and early Literature of the East*, vol. VI (Medieval Arabic, Moorish, and Turkish) (New York-London, 1917), p. 333; D. H. A. KOLFF and H. W. VAN SANTEN (eds.), *De geschiften van Francisco Pelsaert over Mughal Indie, 1627. Kroniek en Remonstrantie* (The Hague, 1979), pp. 96, 278; LINSCHOTEN, *The Voyage*, pp. 55-56; COUTRE, *Aziatische Omzwervingen*, p. 137; DUNLOP, H., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzië* (The Hague, 1930), p. 5; Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, "The Portuguese, Thatta and the External Trade of Sind, 1515-1635," *Revista de Cultura* (Macao), V-I, nrs. 13/14 (January-June 1991), pp. 48-58. On routes in general, see Jean DELOCHE, *Recherches sur les routes de l'Inde au temps des Mogols* (Paris, 1968).

⁵ LINSCHOTEN, *The Voyage*, pp. 55-6; COUTRE, *Aziatische Omzwervingen*, p. 137; DUNLOP, *Bronnen*, p. 5; see also KOLFF en VAN SANTEN, *De geschiften*, pp. 278-79.

⁶ COUTO, *Década*, vii/i, p. 279; SUBRAHMANYAM, "The Portuguese, Thatta," p. 52.

⁷ *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* 50 vols. (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1955-1989) 15, no. 243, p. 118 (29/11/1589).

The Mughal government, which had established control over Sind in 1592, was also interested in the commercial opportunities that Sind and other Indian regions offered. The Sind route with the Persian Gulf especially was important, because whenever the route to Qandahar was closed, which was often the case, trade could be and was diverted via Sind and vice versa. The Portuguese viewed the imposition of Mughal rule over Sind as a potential threat to their interest in the area, especially given the volume of the smugglers' traffic. They therefore decided to investigate what the Mughals were up to in Sind through Hormuz's captain, António de Azevedo, who discovered that the Mughals were building a large ship to trade directly with the Red Sea. On instructions from Lisbon the ship's construction was eventually halted, and its hull probably destroyed, which might explain why Portuguese merchants faced problems in Sind about 1598-99.⁸ In spite of occasional problems with Mughal authorities, especially during periods of confrontation between *Estado da Índia* and the Great Mughal, Portuguese ascendancy grew in Sind.

The land route to Iran via Qandahar was an important competitor to the maritime route to Hormuz.⁹ The former's importance, inter alia, depended on the safety of the road and the level of tariffs and non-tariff barriers at Hormuz. Because of the containment of the Uzbeg threat after 1594, when Shah 'Abbas I decisively had defeated them and the subsequent death of the Uzbeg leader 'Abdollah Khan, the land route via Qandahar had become more attractive. As a result more trade was channeled through that route via Sind and Lahore. It was a point of exchange for horses on the one hand and textiles and indigo on the other, and the Sind market was frequented not only by Asian merchants but also European ones. Since 1596 the *Estado* was very much preoccupied by this and in vain issued various orders banning Portuguese traders to frequent that market. An incident in that year involving Portuguese merchants led to chilled relations with Sind and required the captain of Hormuz's intervention to improve relations.¹⁰

⁸ João Manuel de Almeida Teles e CUNHA, *Economia de um império. Economia política do Estado da Índia em torno do mar Árábico e golfo Pérsico. Elementos conjunturais: 1595-1635* (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1995), p. 21, "Letter of viceroy count of Vidigueira to king Filipe II", Goa, 18/12/1599, in BNL, Fundo Geral, codex 1976, ff. 125-127; "Letter of king Filipe I to viceroy count of Vidigueira", Lisbon, 05/02/1597, in *Arquivo Português Oriental* (henceforth cited as APO), ed. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, 6 vols. (Nova Goa, 1857-76 [New Delhi, 1992]), fasc. 3, p. 672.

⁹ Concerning the Qandahar route see Niels STEENSGAARD, "The route through Quandahar: the significance of the overland trade from India to the West in the seventeenth century," in Sushil CHAUDHURY and Michel MORINEAU (eds.), *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 55-73; Willem FLOOR, *The Economy of Safavid Persia* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 200-10; *Ibid.*, "The road to Qandahar," in Willem FLOOR & Edmund HERZIG (eds.), *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* (London, 2010).

¹⁰ Teles, *Economia*, pp. 20-21 quoting TT-Graça ex3-6^oL, Filipe I to da Vidigueira (15/01/1598), f. 481-82; BNL-FG 1976, da Vidigueira to Filipe I (18/12/1599), f. 125-27; *Ibid.* (03/12/1599), f. 141-43vs; *BFU* 2, Filipe I to da Vidigueira (28/02/1596), p. 419-20; *Ibid.*, idem to idem (21/11/1598), p. 235.

Because of these developments, Hormuz began to suffer from the diversion of trade to the land route and other cheaper ports. Where previously most merchants had gone via Hormuz to Sind and returned the same way with Indian products many now went via Lahore and Qandahar to Isfahan and beyond. This did not mean that there was no trade at Hormuz anymore, only less so.¹¹ In fact, to thwart Portuguese interests Shah 'Abbas I had favored trade going via the Qandahar land route.¹² Connock reported that Hormuz had declined much in trade, so much so that since 1612 the turnover in spices had not even been one-sixth of the former situation. Indian commodities did not do well either, while the Portuguese had become weakened so that they could not protect the licensed native shipping against pirates any more, who took advantage of that situation. As a result of which much of the trade that traditionally went from Thatta to Hormuz now was shipped overland to Safavid Persia.¹³

This situation may have led to the issuance of a viceregal order in October 1613 banning any Portuguese or other subject of the king of Portugal to travel with merchandise from Hormuz to Persia, Basra or from Sind to Lahore on pain of severe penalties.¹⁴ This ban must have been temporary in view of continued trade with the ports concerned. Already in November 1613 Goa had issued an order to facilitate travel of Armenian merchants and their goods between Sind and Hormuz and vice-versa.¹⁵ D. Jerónimo de Azevedo, the viceroy, went even farther; he instructed the new captain of Hormuz, D. Luís da Gama (1614-1619), to extend those tariff privileges to all Armenians who used the Sind-Hormuz route, which news was to be announced in Lari Bandar and Thatta.¹⁶ By February 1614, after D. Luís had sent a messenger

¹¹ Edward MONOX, "Relation of the Late Ormus Businesse, Gathered out of the Journall of Master Edward Monoxe the Agent for the East Indian Merchants Trading in Persia," in *Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. (London, 1905[-]07), vol. 10, pp. 190-91.

¹² Don García de Silva y FIGUEROA, *Comentarios de la embajada que de parte del rey de España Don Felipe III hizo al rey Xa Abas de Persia*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1903), vol. 2, p. 397.

¹³ ANONYMOUS, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal mission of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, 2 vols. (London, 1939), vol. 1, pp. 102-04; these incidents were also related by 'Abbas I to Fr. Paul Simon. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 129, 205, 212; R. W. FERRIER, "An English View of Persian Trade in 1618," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, XIX/2 (1976), p. 187; C. R. BOXER tr. *Commentaries of Ruy Freyre de Andrada* (London, 1930), p. 178.

¹⁴ APO, 6-1175, pp. 988-89 (20/10/1613).

¹⁵ APO, 6-1185, p. 995 (27/11/1613).

¹⁶ António BOCARRO, *Década 13 da Historia da India*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima FELNER, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, 1876), vol. I, chap. XIX, pp. 82-83; *Ibid.*, vol. I, chap. XLVIII, p. 203; *Documentos Remetidos da India ou Livros das Monções*, eds. R. A. Bulhão PATO and A. da Silva REGO, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1880-1972) [henceforth cited as *DRI*] III-499, pp. 185-186 (31/01/1615); Luís MATOS (ed.), *Das relações entre Portugal e a Pérsia 1500-1758. Catálogo bibliográfico da exposição comemorativa do XXV centenário da monarquia no Irão* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1972), p. 273 (27/11/1613; APO 6-1084, pp. 913-14 (09/02/1613); *DRI* I-100, pp. 327-29 (13/02/1610); *DRI* I-17, pp. 54-55 (03/01/1607); Francisco Paulo Mendes da LUZ, *O Conselho da India, contributo ao estudo da história da administração e do comércio do ultramar português nos princípios do século XVII* (Lisbon, 1952), pp. 498-501.

to Sind to proclaim the new order, Armenian merchants began using that route again. As a result of the stabilization of the situation around Bandel de Comorão (now Bandar 'Abbas) as well as the more attractive tariffs at Hormuz the Sind trade with Hormuz increased. (November 1614). Most of the ships calling on Hormuz in those years were from Dabhol and Sind.¹⁷

Portuguese influence was strong in Thatta. For when Robert Sherley landed in 1614 there was a riot against him organized by the Portuguese with the help of the local governor. He left quickly, leaving three dead behind and reached Isfahan via Lahore and Qandahar.¹⁸ Nevertheless, there was a temporary halt in Sind textile exports from the end 1614 until October 1615 due to Emperor Jahangir's orders. But more importantly, trade with Hormuz was essential for Sind, because it was the main market to obtain cash. Indian merchants used Portuguese protection to trade directly with Basra to sell spices and textiles in exchange for cash that they used in the Sind market.¹⁹

A major obstacle on the trade between Hormuz and Sind were the high tariffs at Hormuz, in particular the export duties (*corujos*) for Safavid Armenian and Moslem and other Asian merchants, which gave them an incentive to take the overland route via Qandahar to Lahore and Sind rather than via Hormuz. This was the reason that these duties were repealed and this fact was heralded throughout Sind.²⁰ It was also decided not to levy consulage, and to further stimulate trade the Portuguese established a new tariff for Sindi merchants of 5-6%, except for sugar, to lure them away from the Qandahar land route and instead use the ports of Gwadar and Jask.²¹ Fr. Belchior dos Anjos noted the continuation of commercial traffic coming from Sind with textiles and returning with cash. He estimated in 1619 that 20-30 ships coming from W. India called on Hormuz every year. A Dutch estimate,

¹⁷ *Documentos Remetidos da India ou Livros das Monções* eds. R. A. Bulhão PATO and A. da Silva REGO, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1880-1972) [henceforth cited as *DRI*] III-499, pp. 185-87 (31/01/1615); BOCARRO, *Década 13*, pp. 200-01.

¹⁸ BOCARRO, *Década 13*, pp. 201-03; F. C. DANVERS, *Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, 6 vols. (London, 1896-1902), vol. 2, pp. 99 (19/08/1614), 209; *Assentos do Conselho do Estado (Proceedings of the State Council at Goa)*, edited by Panduronga S. S. PISSURENCAR/Vithal T. GUNE, 5 vols. (Bastorá/Goa: Rangel, 1953-57) [henceforth cited as *ACE*] I-2, pp. 8-9 (24/09/1618); *DRI* III-466, p. 132 (12/03/1614); Carlos ALONSO, "Cartas del P. Melchior de los Angeles, OSA, y otros documentos sobre su actividad en Persia (1610-1619)," *Analecta Augustiana* XLIV (1981), p. 278; *BFUP* 4, no. 120, p. 807 (09/01/1616).

¹⁹ TELES, *Economia*, pp. 111, 127; *DRI* VII-189, p. 276 (21/12/1620).

²⁰ *DRI* III-499, pp. 185-86 (31/01/1615). The treatment accorded to Portuguese and Banyan merchants also put them off, see, e.g., *DRI* III-748 (14/03/1616); *DRI* III-764, p. 494 (16/03/1616). Moreover, the abuses by the captains continued, see *DRI* VI-8, pp. 104-05 (18/02/1621).

²¹ TELES, *Economia*, 133-34; *BFUP* 2 (01/03/1588), p. 276; *DRI*, III-488 (14/03/1614), p. 134; *DRI* VI-157; *DRI* VI-8 (26/03/1620), pp. 298-99; *DRI* VI-92 (22/03/1620), pp. 393-94; *DRI* VI-101 (26/03/1620), pp. 401-02; *DRI* VI-142 (26/03/1620), p. 441; *DRI* VII-189 (21/12/1620), pp. 273-76; *DRI* VI-157, pp. 197-98 (07/02/1620); *DRI* VI-101, pp. 401-02 (26/03/1620); William FOSTER (ed.), *The English Factories in India 1618-1669*, 13 vols. (London, 1906-27), vol. 1, p. 197 (07/02/1618); Neils STEENGAARD, *Carracks, Caravans and Companies. The structural crisis in the European-Asian trade in the early 17th century* (Copenhagen, 1973), p. 197.

dated 1623, puts the number of ships at 54 from all over India, excluding the small vessels that came in great number from India, Melinde (E. Africa) and Arabia, of which 8 came from Sind, loaded with white and colored textiles.²²

When the Portuguese lost Hormuz in 1622, they tried to draw the trade of Sind towards Masqat. Initially, this was not without problems. There was a conflict between Martim Afonso de Melo, the captain of Masqat, and Rui Freire, the captain-general of the fleet, about the passes. The former wanted to stimulate trade with Sind and allowed his factor therefore to issue these passes, which right Rui Freire claimed for himself. As a result, in November 1623 a group of Armenian and Safavid Persian merchants were arrested and their goods with a value of 20,000 *pardaus* confiscated, despite the fact that they had received a verbal safe-conduct in Diul, the port of Sind.²³ Goa ordered the merchants to be released and their goods returned. Rui Freire's attacks on the Safavid Persian coast had the desired result in that these hurt the Safavids, but they also negatively affected the Masqat-Sind trade which, as a result, had no access to the Safavid Persian market anymore. The governor of Sind and its traders complained to the *feitor* of Masqat, and, as a result, Portuguese officials all the way up the hierarchical ladder pressured Goa to resolve this issue. Most of the Sindi trade had been with Safavid Persia and the merchants wanted to continue that trade. The route to Basra alone was not profitable enough for the Sind traders, because the extra protection cost for the route to Aleppo after the Safavid conquest of Baghdad in 1623 made this destination less attractive to merchants.²⁴ It was therefore not surprising that the governor of Sind sent a galliot with some merchandise at the end of 1622 to Bandar 'Abbas to assess whether direct trade relations might be established, which he considered promoting if imports would be exempt of duties, in which case trading vessels from Sind would return again in convoy, as before to Hormuz.²⁵ This did not happen, but it is an indication that the Sindi mercantile community was interested in divesting itself of the Portuguese hold on the trade of Sind, which is also clear from the Diary of Cornelissen.

In 1626, Goa discussed the issue of the Sind-Safavid Persia trade connection, but reached no definite conclusion. Rui Freire for tactical reasons did not yet want the re-establishment of the Masqat route with Safavid Persia, because that would pre-empt the reanimation of the routes that

²² Mendes da LUZ, *O Conselho da India*, LXXVII, p. 594 (Belchior do Anjos 08/09-10/10/1619); H. TERPSTRA, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren der Oost-Indische Compagnie (Suratte, Arabië, Perzië)* (The Hague, 1918), p. 285; STEENSGAARD, *Carracks*, p. 197.

²³ TELES, *Economia*, p. 47 quoting BNL-FG 1983 (Assentos 09/03/1623, f. 8v-9 and 06/04/1612, f. 13r-v.); ACE, vol. 1-2, p. 5 (14/06/1624). Filipe III had granted the prizes taken, in particular *pimenteros*, to the captain and the crew of the ship that seized them, which provided a powerful incentive to ignore passes. DRI VIII-193, pp. 303-05 (18/03/1622).

²⁴ ACE vol. 1-19, p. 35 (17/03/1625).

²⁵ Pietro Della VALLE, *Les Fameux Voyages*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1663-64), vol. 3, p. 627.

the Portuguese had controlled in the past. In short, he wanted victory and glory not accommodation and dull reality. The governor of Sind continued to pressure the captain at Masqat for passes, while its merchants left for Safavid Persia via Qandahar. Goa therefore finally decided to (i) allow shipping that carried Portuguese passes, further to (ii) attack all ports east of Bandar 'Abbas and (iii) allow trade with Bandar-e Kong via Masqat, thus hoping to collect enough customs duties to pay for the upkeep of the fleet in the Straits of Hormuz. As of February 1626 this had already become the informal reality among the Indian and Safavid Persian merchants in Masqat.²⁶

By 1634 the official chronicler António Bocarro stated there were Portuguese ships of all types carrying silver, gold and pearls with a value of two hundred thousand *patacas* (pieces of eight), adding that in 1633 Sind was visited by some 200 Portuguese merchants aboard more than 21 ships. According to Bocarro, there were about 30,000 looms in Thatta and its surroundings at that time.²⁷ Whether this number of Portuguese was really that high is questionable. Since the number of Christians that the Carmelites tended to in Thatta was much higher it may be that Bocarro also included people of mixed-ethnic background to arrive at his 200 number.²⁸

To ensure the safety of the trade route, the government of Goa sent each year two to three frigates to escort vessels of Portuguese traders from Sind and Diu to Masqat and Basra.²⁹ Often use was made of the protection of armed ships that were sent with food supplies to Masqat.³⁰ Goa hoped that the Sind trade with Masqat would increase, because it offered a secure shipping route, and was bringing some order to the confused state of affairs of the Masqat factory.³¹ Apart from the security offered by the convoy, this route was made more attractive to Sind merchants by the fact that the Portuguese gave loans to Sindi merchants. These loans were given on condition that the merchants shipped their merchandise with the armed Portu-

²⁶ TELES, *Economia*, p. 48, n. 253. In 1634, the export duty per horse was 49¼ *pardaus de larin* with an annual revenue of only 250 *pardaus de larin*, underlining the need for a more attractive export duty. António BOCARRO, *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, vol. II, *Transcrição* (edited by Isabel Cid) (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992), p. 50.

²⁷ BOCARRO, *O livro das plantas*, 1992, p. 66. Bocarro also mentioned the presence of a Portuguese royal factor in Thatta, but the Dutch make no mention of his nor of the presence of a large number of Portuguese.

²⁸ On the activities of the Carmelites and Augustinians in Sind see João de Deus RAMOS, "Merchants and Missionaries: Portuguese settlements at the mouth of the Indus in the 16th and the 17th centuries," *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995), pp. 243-46 and ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle*, vol. 1, pp. 155, 300, 214, 279, 361, 445; vol. 2, pp. 852, 1219-20.

²⁹ National Archief [NA] (The Hague, the Netherlands), VOC 1143 (04/06/1635), f. 684-85; ACE, vol. 1-26, p. 101 (03/12/1619); Arnaldo Faria de Ataíde e MELO and A. Botelho de Costa VEIGA (eds.), *Diário do terceiro conde de Linhares* 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1937-43), vol. 2, p. 177.

³⁰ TELES, *Economia*, p. 67 quoting TT-LM 30 de Linhares to Filipe III (03/02/1633), f. 263vs-264.

³¹ BFUP 5, no. 321, p. 143 (25/01/1630); BFUP 7, no. 283, p. 551 (08/11/1630).

guese escort vessels, who charged more for freight than Asian vessels did.³² In Masqat, the Portuguese bartered for horses and pearls with textiles from Sind and Cambay, and further paid with silver *larins* and '*abbasis*'.³³ Consequently, there was an increased use of Masqat as a port-of-call on the Sind-Basra route. The pilgrim 'trade' was another important aspect of the Sind-Masqat link, for Sindi pilgrims going and returning to/from Mecca usually traveled via Masqat. In 1644, for example, the Mir of Sind asked for passes for five pilgrim ships, which carried pilgrims traveling to Mecca via Masqat.³⁴

It is within this context that the first Dutch voyage to Sind took place. After the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC; Dutch East Indies Company) had established itself on the Indian West coast (Surat), the VOC slowly extended its business relations in the Mughal Empire, while it also reached out further west by establishing trade relations with Mokha (in 1614) and Gamron/Bandar 'Abbas (1623). Although the VOC was quite aware of the fact that the trade of 'Sinde-Thatta' and 'Diolsinde' was important, where the Portuguese sold mainly spices and pepper and, in exchange bought large quantities of textiles, which they sold in Persia and Basra. It was believed to be a very profitable trade for the Portuguese, who also had access there to large quantities of cheap life necessities.

However, neither the VOC, nor the English East India Company (EIC) decided to act on this information, because there was doubt about the profitability of its trade. The EIC factors reported that "The trade between Syndu and Ormus is... not so great as pretended, nor the profit to the Portugalls a tenth part. The ould trade is given over for the great avenue layd by the Portugalls."³⁵ Moreover, the VOC had its hands full elsewhere in the Indian Ocean, in particular in the Persian Gulf where it was in the business of supplanting the Portuguese and competing with the EIC and Asian traders. It was due to this competition with the EIC as well as the reduced military danger of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf that the VOC decided to make a trial voyage to Sind. In 1631 a fleet under the command of Philips Lucasz.³⁶ had sailed from Batavia to Surat with the objective to inspect the

³² NA, VOC 1103, *Schriftelyck verbael ... Cornelis*, f. 82vs.

³³ C. R. BOXER, "Anglo-Portuguese rivalry in the Persian Gulf," in E. PRESTAGE (ed.), *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations* (Watford, 1935), pp. 126-27.

³⁴ *ACE*, vol. 3-13, p. 21 (20/05/1644).

³⁵ FOSTER, *English Factories*, vol. 1, p. 12 (*avenues* from the Italian word *avania* or 'exactions'). There also was incomplete information about the nature of the trade with Sind. "Syndu you may freely goe too, lade and relade; but it is inhabited by the Portugal; lies no way well for your stock (except you scatter it); it vents only your teeth [elephants tusks] and affords good cloth and many toys." FOSTER, *English Factories*, vol. 1, p. 14.

³⁶ Philips Lucasz. arrived in Batavia in 1618 as an assistant, but soon thereafter he was appointed chief merchant and Second at Patani. In 1625 he was Second in Amboyna, and from June 1628 until May 1631 as Governor of that place (since August 1629 with the rank of Extraordinary Councillor of the Indies, later ordinary councilor). He then was for some time employed

various VOC factories in the Indian Ocean area. During his stay at Surat in October-November 1631 Lucasz. learnt about EIC intentions to start trading with Sind. They shortly thereafter, during the presence of the Dutch mission at Thatta, obtained a *farman* (royal command) from the Great Mughal and *parvannas* (implementation decrees) from Asaf Khan, the governor-general of Gujarat and Sind,³⁷ but due to the fact that the leading members of the EIC staff in Surat had died, the remaining EIC staff had decided not to avail themselves of this commercial opportunity, or so the Dutch believed. However, the English factors reported that they did not do so, because they feared the strong Portuguese presence in Thatta.³⁸ However, the Dutch apparently considered this less of a problem, and, given the important role that Sindi textiles played in the Persian Gulf trade, Philips Lucasz. decided to send *de Brouwershaven* under Gregorius Cornelisz³⁹ to Sind.⁴⁰

De Brouwershaven was sent to Sind with a cargo of a value of Dfl. 30,000 consisting of cash, spices, minerals, etc. According to Lucassen, based on the information that he had received, good profits might be made at Sind and because the Dutch had never been there he had decided to make an assessment of its market. Information on market prospects had been obtained from Giacomo de Spinola, a merchant at Surat, who had been in Sind three times. He had stressed that many textiles were to be had there at civil prices. Also much grain (rice, wheat) might be had there.⁴¹ Cornelisz. received instruc-

at Batavia where he became the brother-in-law to governor-general Specx. From August 1631 until July 1633 he commanded a fleet in the Indian Ocean. End July 1633 he was at Surat whence he repatriated. Since January 1636 he was director-general and first councilor of the Indies in Batavia. On February 9, 1640 he conquered Negombo and May 5, 1640 he died on the return voyage to Batavia. His portrait by Rembrandt is in the National Gallery in London. W. Ph. COOLHAAS (ed.), *Generale Missieven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, 6 vols. (The Hague, 1960-1980), vol. 1, p. 257, n. 4.

³⁷ 'Abdol-Hasan Asaf Khan (d. 1641) was the brother of Nur Jahan, the wife of emperor Jahangir (r. 1605-1627) and the father of Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1627-1658). Asaf Khan was appointed governor of Lahore in 1625 and had even more much influence at court after Shah Jahan's accession to the throne.

³⁸ FOSTER, *English Factories*, vol. 5, pp. xiv, 117-18; *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 35-36.

³⁹ Gregorius Cornelisz. had served in the Spice Islands as merchant from 1612 to 1616. From 1621 until 1627 he had been in the Netherlands, when he returned to Batavia he was ordered to inspect the affairs of Amboina and Banda. In 1629 he was in Solor to close down Fort Henricus. In 1630 he was the president of the council of aldermen of Batavia and then was sent with Philips Luycassen to inspect the VOC's factories in the Indian Ocean area (Surat, Gamron). COOLHAAS, *Generale Missieven*, vol. 1, p. 262, n. 4.

⁴⁰ COOLHAAS, *Generale Missieven*, vol. 1, p. 344.

⁴¹ I have not been able to find any further information about Giacomo de Spinola. He is not mentioned in COOLHAAS, *Generale Missieven* and other similar publications of VOC documents. It is very strange that Pelsaert's *Remonstrantie* (1627), which also gives a market assessment of Sind, was not available to Lucassen, although the Surat office as well as Batavia should have had a copy. The text of his *Kroniek*, but not the *Remonstrantie*, which was a confidential report, was quite well known in Europe and had already been translated into Latin and published by de Laet in 1631. One likely reason is the enmity between van den Broecke and Pelsaert, which may

tions to trade with everybody and to stress in his contacts with the local authorities that VOC trade in India was under the protection of the Mughal. Further, that the Dutch were at war with Spain and Portugal. Cornelisz. had to invest all his capital and he had to investigate in particular what kind of silk and cotton might be bought in Sind. He also had to take samples of each commodity. Sind was considered to be a staple market. Therefore, he had to make an inventory of the entire trade of Sind, i.e. both goods and prices. He further had to try and get 40-50 loads (*last*) of rice and wheat for Surat, because of the famine that was raging in Gujarat. Cornelisz. had to be back at Gamron by 31 January or February 2 and failing that he had to be between February 28 and March 5 at Swally Hole. He also had to see whether saltpeter and indigo from Agra and Ahmadabad might be purchased at Sind and whether prices would be competing when landed and taken aboard VOC vessels. He had to be on his guard for the Portuguese and avoid being taken by them.⁴²

De Brouwershaven reached the mouth of the Indus on 19 November 1631 and sent a small boat into the river to sail to Bander or Lari Bandar. After discussion with the customs master there, who informed the authorities in Thatta, the latter invited Cornelisz. to come to Thatta for further discussions. The arrival of the Dutch was very much opposed and resented by the long established Portuguese community, who threatened the Sindi authorities that they would leave if the Dutch were allowed to trade in Sind. They also said that the commander of Portuguese forces in the Persian Gulf, Rui Freire de Andrade, was preparing a fleet to come and take the Dutch ship lying at the mouth of the Indus. The Sindi authorities were not really impressed with the Portuguese threat, although they wanted to make it appear as if the Dutch were allowed to trade for this single occasion only. This was done to allow Sindi merchants to withdraw their goods and other capital from Portuguese controlled Masqat and Portuguese vessels. It is unknown whether the Portuguese were deceived by this strategem, because they also must have been informed that the Dutch and English both had been given a royal command allowing them to trade freely in Sind.

It is clear that the Dutch mission stuck to its instructions and did not want to exceed them. This is, for example, clear from the fact that the Dutch mission did not respond at all to the rather indirectly formulated question by the local Mughal authorities whether the VOC would be willing to supplant the Portuguese in Sind and provide the same kind of protection to ships from Sind as the Portuguese were doing. The Dutch mission had not been author-

have led the former to suppress Pelsaert's report. KOLFF and VAN SANTEN, *De geschiften*, pp. 2, 40-49, 278-79. For the English translation of this text see *Jahangir's India, the Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, translated from the Dutch by W. H. MORELAND and P. GEYL (Cambridge, 1925).

⁴² NA, VOC 1003, Lucassen to Batavia (on the ship Amboyna, 09/11/1631 in the roads of Swaly), f. 60-62vs.

ized to enter into such an arrangement, however. Their objective simply was to establish whether the VOC might carry on a profitable trade in Thatta and report back to Batavia for further instructions. And that is exactly what it did, although the mission issued two passes (*cartazes*) to the Mughal authorities for two Sindi ships with the destination of Bandar 'Abbas. However, this gesture served as a sign of the good relations that existed between the two sides rather than as an expression of Dutch interest to assume the role of the Portuguese concerning the Sind trade.

It is further of interest to note that the Dutch carried on their negotiation in Portuguese as they did elsewhere in Asia at that time, which explains the use of a large number of Portuguese words in the Journal. It was quite common for the higher ranking VOC staff (merchants and above) to speak Portuguese, which made perfect sense, since the only European language that was known to Asian courts and merchants was Portuguese. Moreover, few Dutchmen had as yet sufficient knowledge of the various local Asian languages.

Cornelisz. died during the mission in Thatta and his task was taken over by merchant Janssen Bol, about whom no further information is available. He stuck to the positions taken by his predecessor and made it clear to the local Mughal authorities that he had to return on time to report about his findings. Although the Dutch were able to sell all their goods during the last two and a half weeks of their stay (the first half of January 1632) in Thatta and to invest their capital in textiles and grains the voyage was not a commercial success. True, a profit of Dfl. 14,000 was realized (about 40%), but the terms obtained were not better than those under which the Portuguese were trading. This also held for the high overhead of doing business in Sind. In addition to taxes and duties, the Portuguese as well as the Dutch had to pay fees for the services of the customs master and his staff, which were about equal in size to official government duties.

Batavia did not single out this particular circumstance as a hindrance to trade, for it concluded that the miserable condition that Sind was in at that time did not favor a future profitable trade. The goods that the VOC had bought in Thatta, mostly textiles, also were too expensive. Lucasz. ascribed this to the inexperience of the members of the VOC mission and the machinations of the Portuguese, in addition to the prevailing scarcity as a result of the famine in Gujarat. However, he believed that once normal conditions prevailed again in Sind trade there would be substantial.⁴³

Although the mission's report provided an assessment of trade in Sind as well as samples of the textiles produced for the Persian Gulf market, Lucasz. apparently did not consider that information adequate enough.⁴⁴ He therefore instructed the VOC factory at Gamron to examine what kind

⁴³ COOLHAAS, *Generale Missieven*, vol. 1, p. 207; FOSTER, *English Factories*, vol. 4, p. 207.

⁴⁴ DUNLOP, *Bronnen*, p. 379.

and what quantities of goods were imported from Sind into Persia, at what prices and what level of profits these yielded.⁴⁵ In 1634, Nicolaes Overschie, the VOC director in Persia, reported that the total exports from Sind to Persia by country traders amounted to Dfl. 680,340. These imports were transported overland, and if transported by sea, even assuming a 27% rate for overhead, freight, etc. would yield a profit of Dfl. 1,011,500 or some 67%, which seemed very attractive.⁴⁶

The Sind mission's report and the samples of the textiles and their prices that it had collected were sent to Batavia for further consideration.⁴⁷ The Governor-general and his council did not even wait for further information, such as the report by Overschie from Gamron, but in 1632 decided that the VOC would not continue to trade with Sind. Batavia concluded from the Sind mission's report that, although substantial trade was carried on in Sind, the mission had not been able to do much, due to the impact of the famine in Gujarat that also had affected Sind. As a result of this situation, the inexperience of the mission and ignorance about trade practices there, they had not been able to achieve much. Because Asaf Khan, governor-general of Gujarat, was also in charge of Sind, the English had applied to him for privileges to be allowed to trade in Sind. Although these privileges had been granted to both the EIC and VOC, the latter decided to take a wait-and-see attitude, the more so since Asaf Khan seemed to be of two minds about having the English and Dutch in both Surat and Sind.⁴⁸ The Dutch did not understand his problem, since both Surat and Sind were under his control and thus he would not lose income, because some trade might be diverted from Surat to Sind.

The EIC decided to begin trading in Sind in 1635 and established a factory in Thatta, because England had concluded a peace agreement with Portugal in 1634.⁴⁹ The VOC was, of course, aware of this development, but it decided not to change its mind with regards to the Sind trade.⁵⁰ It was only in 1652 that the VOC would return to Sind and establish a factory there.⁵¹ The Portuguese, who had been such a nuisance during the Dutch mission at Thatta, also continued their much reduced trade in Sind. However, their

⁴⁵ DUNLOP, *Bronnen*, pp. 429, 434.

⁴⁶ DUNLOP, *Bronnen*, p. 494. For a discussion of the data supplied by Overschie and the Sind trade see Willem FLOOR, "The Import of Indian Textiles into Safavid Persia," in Michele BERNARDINI, Masashi HANEDA and Maria SZUPPE (eds.), *Liber Amicorum for Jean Calmard – Eurasian Studies* 1-2 (2006), pp. 113-16.

⁴⁷ NA, VOC 1103, Lucassen to Batavia (28/02/1632), f. 41

⁴⁸ COOLHAAS, *Generale Missieven*, vol. 1, pp. 344-45.

⁴⁹ FOSTER, *English Factories*, vol. 5, pp. xii-xiv, 117.

⁵⁰ DUNLOP, *Bronnen*, p. 641.

⁵¹ On the return of the VOC to Sind and further Dutch relations with Sind, see Willem FLOOR, "Dutch East India Company's Trade with Sind in the 17th and 18th centuries," *Moyen-Orient & Ocean Indien*, 3 (1986), pp. 111-44; later republished as a separate study by the Institute of Central & West Asian Studies, University of Karachi, 1993-94, pp. 43-87, enriched with comments by various Pakistani scholars.

hey-day was over due to the waning of Portuguese power in the Persian Gulf, although there would remain a commercial link, be it a fading one, between Sind and Kong, the last Portuguese toehold in the Persian Gulf.⁵²

As to the translation itself, I have indicated in the text in bold ciphers the end of each folio for easy verification with the original Dutch manuscript. In the text, I have given the modern geographical name of a town, person, or other item, but between brackets the original orthography is then also given. In case a word is explained in the text, or a text addition is made, then this explanation or addition appears in the text between square brackets. In some cases I have retained the original Dutch orthography rather than replacing it by a modern word such as with 'ropia' instead of rupee. Likewise I have also retained the Portuguese terms used in the text. The orthography of names, whether Dutch or Sindi, is not consistent, but I have preferred to retain the various variant forms of the names rather than opt for one them to achieve consistency. Parts of the manuscript are very difficult to read, which is made worse by some water damage that affects the upper part of each folio. However, with the exception of two illegible words and a part of three lines, which I have indicated in footnotes, the entire text has been made available in translation.

**Written report, pursuant to the special orders from Commander
Philips Lucassen, done by Gregorio Cornelissen and after the death
of said Cornelissen continued by merchant Dirck Janssen Bol,
concerning these orders and trade conditions in Sind.**⁵³

1631, November 10. After a resolution had been taken in the roads of the Swally Hole (Swaly Com),⁵⁴ it was decided unanimously to send as soon as possible the yaught *Brouwershaven* to examine the trade and commerce with its conditions in Sind. With it we sailed this same evening into the river of Surat, where five of our ships were at anchor in order to take in our cargo of spices, quicksilver, and vermillion as well as a chest with money containing 4,000 lion dollars (*leeuwendaelders*)⁵⁵, which together amounted to a sum of Dfl. [blank]. With this cargo we sailed in God's name on the

⁵² On the role of Kong see Willem FLOOR, *The Persian Gulf. A political and economic history of five port cities 1500-1730* (Washington DC, 2006), chapter seven. FOSTER, *English Factories 1637-1641*, pp. 247, 249 ("the Portugas Muscatt fleet, with juncks from Sinda and Cambaya"); Ibid., *English Factories 1646-1650*, p. 45.

⁵³ This report is kept in the National Archief (NA – The Hague, the Netherlands), VOC 1103, f. 65-83.

⁵⁴ Henry YULE and A. C. BURNELL, Hobson-Jobson, *A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (New Delhi, 1994), q.v. Swally.

⁵⁵ Minted as of 1575, the *leeuwendaelder* was worth 40 *stuiver* or 2 guilders. It was authorized to contain 426,16 grains of 0.75 fine silver.

eleventh at midnight – our yaught had a crew of 80 men – may the almighty make that this intended voyage, in the service of our honorable masters, will be successful.

On the 19th ditto at exactly 24 degrees northern latitude, after we had sailed with great difficulties along the coast, we came to anchor at night at about 2 [German] miles off shore at 6 fathom's depth. The morning had hardly begun when we found ourselves at the mouth of a large river; we saw some fishermen both at sea and on shore. We did our best to hail them, but they were afraid to come to us. We therefore raised anchor and continued about 2 to 3 [German] miles into northerly direction along the coast, where we once again dropped anchor. We saw 10 to 12 fishermen close to the shore, so that we gave a salvo with the heavy cannon [*grof canon*] to induce a few to come aboard. Two of them came so close to where we were that we could call and hail them and we learnt that they were afraid to come aboard. Therefore we dropped a boat with 5 to 6 unarmed men to go and speak to them. When they saw our men go into the boat they immediately rowed away while making a lot of noise and commotion. We therefore kept our men aboard. The said fishermen when they came ashore came together in a group of about 12 to 13 men closely together. Therefore we crewed our boat, and had them take some hidden arms and the helmsman with them, to row towards them ashore. When they saw that our boat came towards them they did not dare to wait for it, although they were in a large group, but rowed along the shore into the river. Our men rowed straight towards land, saw some people from the fishing village that is situated close to the mouth of the river on the beach who were waiting for our men; [65] and having lowered sail informed them that the large river, where we had been this morning was the true salty river of Sindie and that the country was called Thatta (Tatee). Our men learning this asked them to take a pilot to the ship. They then answered we all our pilots and would be able to take in the ship. However, they were not allowed to do so without the permission of the authorities of the Lari Bandar (Bandeer), a small town situated at about 3 [German] miles up the river, where the *alfandega* or custom-house is. They further submitted that we had to take our ship again to the aforementioned location and stay there, promising us to bring some refreshments and a pilot aboard. In the afternoon, the helmsman once again returned with the boat reported the above. We then raised anchor and sent the junior mate with the boat ahead to take soundings and we came to anchor at the same location again. At midnight the mate returned aboard who had taken sounding at the mouth of the river and reported that he had not found more than 2½ fathoms.

21 ditto, we are still at anchor and despite the said promises we did not hear from anybody ashore, thereafter, after breakfast, we manned the boat and sent both merchants Dirk Janssen ende Elias Walscappel⁵⁶ ashore to the fishing village to learn why no pilot had come and furthermore to learn whatever else. They returned aboard in the afternoon and reported that when they came ashore that the entire population of the said village were in arms and dared to wait for 3 to 4 of our unarmed men. They talked openly to them and said that they were ready to take the ship onto the river when they had received permission from the authorities at Lari Bandar (Bandeer). Our men then replied that someone of them should go there to ask for

⁵⁶ I have not been able to find any details about these two persons.

that permission by telling that a Dutch ship had come in the roads to request permission to trade. They then said that they were not qualified to do so and that low-class people like them were not allowed to do so. They advised our men to there with some of the leading men who would act as guide to show the road to Bander to request there all that was necessary. Having heard this report it was decided (because night had already fallen) that on 22 ditto early in the morning the same two merchants would go to the fishing village. Two hours before day-break they went ashore and having arrived in the said village they immediately, with 2 persons [65 vs] who had been sent from up the river to speak to us and bring us to Bander, they rowed with a small Moorish barque (having ordered our boat to row immediately to the ship). There they arrived in the afternoon at about 3 [German] miles and were taken to the location where an official named Mirza Darvish Mohammad (Miersa dervees Mahomet), customs-master of Lari Bandar (Bandeer) has his residence. After they had waited for a while, he came to our men with some Banyan merchants, who welcomed us very friendly and after the usual reciprocal compliments we exhaustively explained to what end and with what objectives we had come there. While we were still were [speaking] with the Banyan merchants, who spoke Portuguese well, 5 to 6 Portuguese with swords under their arms, rushed in, and, without asking permission from the official, sat themselves down next to us on the carpet, while greeting us, sort of (*taliter qualiter*), which I considered to be very odd and absurd. They impertinently, without asking what our request or intentions were and without any reproach by the officials, and after they had learnt our objective, stated boldly and without simulation that we Dutchmen had come here to the official to request free and unhindered trade (just like they had done previously) and after having given a reasonable and measured reply, one of their principals among them said, whether we were aware that this was royal land and, moreover, that they Portuguese were in charge here and that we had better depart immediately. I replied tersely that we had come here to request them [i.e., the officials] something and that we had no business with them. Furthermore, that they could not command us to depart or to stay, and that they better immediately cease their boastful words (*palabras de ronchadas*) to us. He then immediately began to protest vehemently to the official, Mirza (Miersa), and depicted us as odious and nasty, saying, if you allow the Dutch to come here and trade we will immediately raise anchor and depart with our galliots and we will not return. We learned from their argumentation that the governor was residing above in Sindee or the large city of Thatta (Tatae), who has the supreme authority over all the surrounding areas. They said that they wanted to go there immediately to make us even look uglier and more dangerous, so that steps be taken to make us depart. Then the Banyan merchant, saying some things to Miersa in their own language; they then replied to the absurd statements by the Portuguese, who then left greatly discontented, while telling us that we should not be dissatisfied or be taken aback. They had indeed misbehaved and had acted badly; we should remain unperturbed in such cases, because for as long as they have traded and visited this place here and a [member of] foreign nation came there to spoil their commerce and reduce their prospects they had acted in this manner. To this I replied that we had no knowledge about their trade and commerce, we only had come to them as being the authorities of this land to request free and unhindered trade to which end we had a cargo of about 10 to 12,000 *reals*, both in goods and in cash, to trade with and probe the market. They then asked what kind of goods we had and in what quantities, which we communicated to them. They then

made note of this in writing. [We added that] in case this [voyage] would be successful and we might make some good profits for our Masters we aimed to frequent this place with more goods and ships in the future. Furthermore, that we would use the profits in the same way as the Portuguese and that we had several trading stations in the realm of the Great Mughal, in Surattte as well as on the coast of Choromandel,⁵⁷ with whose permission we carried on our trade freely there and we hoped that the same would be accorded to us here, in which case we considered establishing a trading station in Thatta (Sindee).⁵⁸ We assured them that they would be more satisfied with our ships than with those of the Portuguese, because over time, both action and implementation would show what kind of nation we were. It did not suffice to act contemptuously and inveigh against all other nations as was their [i.e. the Portuguese] custom and therefore we requested them to give us leave. In response they reacted very favorably and bade us not to be bothered by what the Portuguese had said. They could and might do their best and travel upriver to go to the governor of Sindee, but we were there and we should be of good spirits and satisfied. He wanted to write immediately upriver [66 vs] assuring us that their emissaries would be there and remain as long as the Portuguese would stay, until they had received a reply. Meanwhile, he immediately sent for his sons, who, together with the Miersa and the Banyan merchants, wrote a letter about our welcome and request. After it had been sealed it was sent immediately with a *pademaer*⁵⁹ or messenger. After the sealing [of the letters] we had some further discussions, after which we asked leave to depart to our place of residence, whence the Miersa in person with the Banyan merchant accompanied us with a reasonable suite. After having tarried a while he returned to his home and in the evening he sent us dinner and he himself in person with 4 or 5 of his retainers dined with us, after which he departed. He had our dwelling guarded by 10 to 12 of his armed servants, because he believed that we were afraid and although we said it was not necessary they nevertheless remained with us.

23 ditto we still have not received any answer to the Miersa' letters. In the evening, after dinner, the said Miersa came to visit us in our dwelling with the Banyan merchant and some others. They brought some presents and after long discussions about our country and the situation of the Portuguese, concerning the war, at sea and on land, as well as the difference between our and their religion and other exhaustive discussions, in which they take great pleasure, they departed.

24 ditto early in the morning a secretary or clerk from the Governor upriver [i.e. of Thatta] arrived, who reported that the letters were en route and we might expect them the next day. Our interpreter Jandaeij told us that he had learnt that the Portuguese had gone up river to blacken our reputation with the governor; they had offered said governor 20,000 ropias if we would depart from here and would not return, which was declined and they had not been able to obtain anything [against us].

⁵⁷ The text here should not be misunderstood that the Mughals also held sway over Choromandel.

⁵⁸ On Dutch trading activities in India see, e.g., M. A. P. MEILINK-ROELOFSZ (ed.), *De VOC in Azië* (Bussum, 1976) as well as the many works by, *inter alia*, Om Prakash and A. das Gupta to mention but a few.

⁵⁹ YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson*, q.v. *pattamar*.

25 ditto early in the morning the messenger with the letters arrived. We were immediately sent for by Miersa who offered us friendship on behalf of the governor and that we were permitted to trade freely and unhindered just like other nations, provided that we pay the royal taxes. He showed us great friendship and said that he wanted to be helpful [67] and supportive in all matters and instructed the pilot to go immediately downriver to bring the ship, assuming that I would send a junior merchant to inform the captain that they had let the pilot navigate the ship and come upriver.

26 ditto a Portuguese galliot arrived in front of the *alfandega* coming from Masqat (Muscatte); it had been 11 days en route and was loaded with a red dye called *ruyna*,⁶⁰ elephants tusks [i.e. ivory], and also had some pearls and other trifling goods.

-ditto Aadman,⁶¹ the secretary of the governor of Thatta (Sindee) sent for us and showed us the governor's letter, translated its contents and finally handed it to me, saying that it was a *forman* [sic; *farman* or order] and could serve us in all things; [further] that this country was the best for us, and that we could have our ships come and go, load and unload [goods], trade and do business, as we choose. If we liked to leave some merchants behind in Sindee as well as in Lari Bandar (Bandeer) to take up residence there that would be very much appreciated by them. I thanked him profusely for this, and for all honor and friendship shown to us; then we took our leave and went to our lodgings.

-ditto at night merchant Walscappel came to us with the pilot (the latter had sailed downriver with merchant de Groote on the 26th to navigate the ship hither) informing us that the pilot, after he had come aboard, had raised some objections as to navigating the ship upriver, and did not want to depart before the next day; therefore, the next day.

27 ditto I went to Miersa and requested, because the pilot had disembarked without permission making some frivolous excuses about navigating the ship, that he might be again sent downriver and do his duty to help the ship. In reply the Miersa immediately instructed the interpreter to go downriver immediately and [even] offered his own services to go with me and the pilot, which I excused very politely, saying that this was not necessary.

28 ditto at three hours before day-break I was ready to go downriver with the interpreter, but the interpreter delayed this because he wanted to talk to Miersa early in the morning. In the morning, the interpreter went to him and informed him that we were ready to go downriver. He sent the interpreter immediately to me and informed me that most merchants [67 vs] would remain and that only one would go downriver. I immediately became aware of a great insecurity among them, and assured them that we could easily continue with the ship. I therefore had merchants Dirck

⁶⁰ From the Persian *runas* or madder. On this product see, e.g., Robert CHENCINER, *Madder red: a history of luxury and trade: plant dyes and pigments in world commerce and art* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000).

⁶¹ The name is written in different orthographies in the Journal; [Miersa] Adadman and Miersa Hadadman are also found; I have not been able to identify this name or the person.

Jansen and Walscappel remain behind and then sailed immediately downriver with the interpreter to put things in order. The ship might come in the afternoon; at 3 o'clock having arrived downriver I found that the ship at rest at about one [German] mile into the river; having arrived aboard, the captain told me that due to calm he had not advanced much, but that the worst was over. It seems that they are not accustomed at seeing such large ships and are reluctant in piloting it and do not dare to take the responsibility.

29 ditto to take away the distrust of Miersa and the others (due to the constant whispering by the Portuguese, who daily fill their ears with stories that we are up to no good, because they do not like to see our ship coming upriver) I had the boat loaded with all the spices and sent the captain with an assistant with it to deliver it to merchant Dirck Janssen in the *alfandega* to give them greater assurances as to our good opinion and intentions. That these people are hesitant and do not trust us (the more so, because they [fear] the power of the ship); this is not odd, because it was easy to take the ship before the *alfandega*, where, being right facing the *alfandega*, which is situated close to the bank of the river and the small town of Lari Bandar (Bandeer) is situated at a good musket shot's distance from there, which is unwalled and unprotected and we might easily shoot it to tatters with [our] heavy cannons, and then having landed with 5 muskets, we might plunder it, while next to it were vessels, both Moorish and Portuguese, which we could have taken or set fire to and thus take very good booty with us.

Ditto we moved more than one [German] mile upriver and have anchored before the small fresh [water] river, which is still about 1½ [German] mile from the *alfandega*. As soon as we were settled, I have, as related above, loaded the large boat with spices and sent it upriver to be weighed with the scales in the *alfandega*. About one hour into the evening Miersa Hadadman with a large suite of both merchants and others came rowing in a Moorish barque to pay us an unexpected visit aboard, en route taking the interpreter Jandaeij from the boat, where he was busy with the captain to navigate upriver, and after having been aboard the ship for more than one hour [68] and having seen everything with great wonderment they altogether were happy and satisfied to have seen such a powerful ship, they rowed to land again, we saluted them with 7 salutes. Among themselves, as the interpreter told me, they said that the king did not have such a strong fort in his entire realm.

30 ditto the captain with the boat and a large empty Moorish barque (to load and transport further our remaining goods) came aboard.

Primo [December 1631]. First, the Moorish barque has left upriver loaded with our cargo accompanied by merchant de Groote, the first mate and an assistant to have the goods sealed in the *alfandega*.

2 ditto I went with the sloop, accompanied by merchant Dirck Janssen Bol and taking the cash-money with me, to Diul (Bandeer) and deposited the money into the *alfandega*. To put matters in order, Miersa Adadman came in our inn in the afternoon as soon as we had arrived here informing us that a letter had come from upriver from the governor, [stating] that I had to go to him. I told them that we were ready

to depart the next morning, whereupon he promised to send me one of his horses. Shortly after the departute of the said Miersa and his suite 6 to 7 Portuguese came to our inn and offered and showed us friendship.

4 ditto early in the morning was our departure to Thatta (Tatae); we presented Miersa with a beautiful roll of white damast, 4 lbs. of cloves, 3 lbs. of nutmegs, and 1½ lbs. of mace, and a pair of gloves and took our leave from Miersa. Merchant Dirck Janssen Bol and I were mounted on horseback to make speed in our journey to Thatta (Sindee). In the afternoon we crossed a river; some Portuguese who had arrived before us at the river with all their baggage had to wait for the ferry boats that came from the other side. Before they were allowed to embark their goods and baggage; these were opened and examined by some Banyans, others, whether it be Moors or Banyans, check and examine [everything] including the turbans. It seems that everything that has not been sealed in the *alfandega* or by the customs-master is not allowed to pass there. Nevertheless, they did not touch our luggage. In the evening we arrived at a village where we spent the night. [68 vs]

5 ditto we mounted up again one hour before sun-rise and passed 4 to 6 villages that day; we had to pay toll at two locations, to wit: 4 *paisa* (*peijs*) for each camel and 2 dittos for each horse. In the evening at about nine o'clock we arrived in Thatta (Tate) or Sindee and took our rest in an inn.

6 ditto we went to Aqa Jamal (Agasiomael), who had sent us two horses to the inn. On arrival we found a Portuguese sitting there, who wanted to make a request, and after his dispatch few words were exchanged between us and him. Because said Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael) and his two sons had departed he went with us to an official named Janbielbeecq.⁶² When we arrived at his residence we had to wait a long time for him. At about noon he came to us and welcomed us with compliments, in accordance with old custom, and although he knew very well to what purpose we had come there, he nevertheless asked us once again to expound all, which we did in extenso and made our intentions known. They then put their heads together and discussed among themselves in their own language. They then told us that we were tired of the journey and should now take it easy and relax in our inn. They wanted to reflect [on what we had said] until tomorrow and we should do the same when we would meet again. Having been told this we politely took our leave; during the night Dirck Janssen fell very ill due to a fever.

7 ditto only with the interpreter (as said Dirck Janssen is still ill), I went to Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael), where I once again received a horse. With his son I went to the residence or seat of the above-mentioned governor Janbielb., whom I found sitting in audience with some Banyan merchants and some high officials. While the others were discussing the above-mentioned Aqa Jamal (Agadsioml.) arrived, who walked with great difficulty due to infirmity. It seemed that they were very busy due to the reception and demands of some letters. We sat there for at least two hours without knowing what they had to tell us about the reflection that they had informed us about

⁶² I have not been able to identify this governor of Thatta, whose name perhaps may be read as Jani Beyg. It also occurs as Janbielb. and Janbielbk.

yesterday and we did not know yet what their opinion was. They allowed us to depart to a separate room with the interpreter and three or 4 of them, one of whom was a Banyan who spoke Portuguese very well [69] and having seated ourselves the above-mentioned Banyan asked me whether we had taken reflection. I replied that I did not know what to reflect upon concerning what we had previously requested in Lari Bandar (Bandeer) from Miersa and that we had requested the very same thing yesterday from the said Janbielbk and his company as well as from Aqa Jamal (Agad-jamael), to wit: freedom to trade just like other nations, provided that we paid the royal tolls and duties as per the country's usage and custom, and that, in consequence of the said promise and letters that we received when we were still downriver, our ship had entered [the river], had unloaded its goods, which had already been taken into the *alfandega* and that prior to my arrival from downriver I had given orders to bring all these [goods] with a vessel upriver. The Banyan then stood up to report all this to the governor and when he returned he began to raise serious problems, saying that in case we would be allowed to trade that the Portuguese would depart from here. The king of this country received a profit of 200,000 ropias from the Portuguese as well as from those who traded with them; did we have any advice to give that if the Portuguese would leave the country how to give the country as many benefits and profits? Also, I should counsel them how they should address that problem. I replied to this that it was not given to me to advice them in this matter, as I did not know what benefits Portuguese trade produced for this land and that I was totally ignorant in these matters. It was my explicit mission, given by our Commissionair from Surat, to come here in order to request that which I had already communicated a few times to them and that we did not care about Portuguese trade. However, once we would have any knowledge about trade possibilities here and that our manufactured goods, as much as was imported at Batavia, might be in demand and sold here; moreover, that with the cash-money we might be able to buy such goods that would be useful and profitable, then we could assure them that we would market more in one year than the Portuguese would be able to do in two. This small cargo was only meant as a trial and if they would find a demand for more among their merchants that they only had to let us know and inform us what quantity of cloves, nutmegs, mace, lead, [69vs] quicksilver, vermillion and the like they could sell annually, because we would be able to handle that, if only they knew what kind of variety of textiles would be in particular useful to us and what kind of goods had been exported from here that would yield profits and not a loss. In reply the above-mentioned Banyan said that concerning spices, quicksilver, vermillion and lead, these were all goods that were imported and consumed up-country and taken to Agra, Bahrapur (Barampour), Ahmadabad (Amadabat) and other places, for here, locally, there was little demand for them. Concerning rice and wheat there was demand, because this was mostly in the hands of the high officials, who purchased them to store them and then would sell them at the highest price themselves. As to textiles likewise there was a certain season when these were bought by the weavers from the countryside to the market, when everything could be bought at better and lower prices. These were immediately bought, and still are, by those who had traded here for many years, such as the said Banyan and Portuguese merchants. We could not learn right away within the space of one or two months the entire state of commerce, because all goods were marketed when it was their time and season. He furthermore submitted how and in what manner the high officials such as the governor Janbielbk as well as others

would make, who had each their own vessel, which they sent as a freighter to make the voyage to Masqat (Muscatte), Kong (Congo) and other places. If the Portuguese would depart, they would not be able to call on some of their places, because they would be debarred from them and would have to forgo large freights and profits that they would [otherwise] have enjoyed there as well as raising other matters and more of similar frivolous objections. They also know very well that the Portuguese and we are great enemies and that we are at sea we would attack and damage them, which partly were Moorish goods, from which great trouble and enmity might arise between them and us. I therefore told the Banyan: concerning the threat of the Portuguese that they would depart from here then the high officials here might want to go to Gamron with some vessels, and if our trade would have been established here (each year 3 to 4 ships or yaughts would come here that would sail from here to Gamron) so that they could easily sail hither assured of our protection, unless they [i.e., the Portuguese] were stronger and [70] more powerful than we and thus had an advantage over us and would even come into the roads [of Gamron]. Concerning their voyage to Masqat (Muscate), Kong (Congo) and other places where the Portuguese have forts and strongholds we would not go there with our vessels. Furthermore, I showed some dissatisfaction about the fabrication of all their arguments and questions. I said I could have come upriver (without unloading and bringing the goods into the *alfandega*) to speak to them, and in case we would not have been able to come to an agreement they could have let us depart as friends just like we had come. Otherwise, it was not in my powers and authority to supply them here upriver with all that I have related. Because after their abovementioned promise that the land was open to us, that we freely and unhindered could unload and could go and trade and deal with other merchants our cargo was already in the *alfandega*. We would have taken it to Thatta (Sindee) and leave one or 2 of us here to sell these during that time, while at the same time buying a quantity of rice, wheat, and textiles, as much as the [available] cash allowed, and take it aboard and then depart with them to Gamron to inform our Governor [i.e. Lucassen] about everything and to learn what his opinion was. In case this trade seemed to be attractive to him, based on the aforementioned proposals, it would be well, but if not, then we would remain dear friends, remove our staff and depart from here. This proposal was acceptable and attractive to them, because it had been their wish and objective from the very beginning that we should take care of the job;⁶³ they also wished that we (they said) should speak with the governor himself.

Ditto. In the evening a letter arrived from merchant Adriaen de Grootte from Lari Bandar (Bandeer) complaining that after our departure Miersa had not kept his promise to seal the goods stating that he was not allowed to do so, before he had orders from the governor in Thatta (Sindee). I therefore send the next morning the interpreter to the governor Janbielbeecq requesting and asking him that he would instruct and order the aforementioned Miersa in Lari Bandar (Bandeer) to seal our goods as soon as possible and to send them upriver, before the trading season expired and that we really looked forward to that. Shortly thereafter the interpreter returned reporting that the Portuguese had stayed the entire night with the high officials,

⁶³ I am not entirely sure about the translation even if I have correctly deciphered the Dutch text, which seems to read as: *wij het werk soudén laten*.

requesting permission [70vs] to depart and that they (because we had been allowed to trade here) did not want to stay any longer; furthermore had bothered them with many allegations. They received as answer that they had to stay and could not leave, if they wanted to trade they could do so and if not they might sit on their hands and do nothing. It was a royal gate and trade for them as for others stood open and was free. Furthermore, concerning the sealing of our goods in the *alfandega* one of his chief men would go downriver and see to it, because we were strangers, who had come here for the first time. [Therefore] we should not be wronged; everything would be handled correctly and care would be taken that all [goods] would be sealed. Here begins the tune about demands that among all these Moors is an old custom and method. After the interpreter's report about what had taken place last night between the governor Janbielbeecq and the Portuguese, I was sent for, about 2 hours later, by Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael) to come to his house. Once again I had to hear the aforementioned problems about the departure of the Portuguese, which weighed heavily on them. He asked me explicitly what they should do about that and like I had said and replied before [I reiterated] that they should know best what to do about it. Furthermore, I stuck to the aforementioned subject, which was the freedom of trade. After he had asked me several times my opinion as to what answer they should give the Portuguese as to their request to be allowed to depart I said that 'nobody should be kept against his will, but allow those who wanted to go to leave without further ado.' His reaction to that was that it was not up to the Portuguese to determine whether they would leave or stay, if only we kept our commitment to continue our trade with this place on an annual basis. What bothered them most was the difficulties of the traders of this place who trade annually with Masqat (Muscatte) and who had not yet received their return goods and outstanding debts. However, since they did not know how to remedy this within a short time period they submitted to me whether it would not be most advisable to inform the Portuguese that they would allow the sale of this small cargo; meanwhile I would leave for Gamron with the yaught and then I would recall our staff who would depart. Thus, in this way it would be presented to them [i.e. the Portuguese] that we were denied to trade. I therefore considered it advisable to put them [the authorities] in a more positive frame of mind towards us⁶⁴ [and said that] we might wish to call on this place when we passed it with our fleet returning from Persia en route to Suratte. He also advised me that in case the return goods (*retour*) from Gamron came hither that it might not be easily done with a vessel, because the Portuguese had sent an advice yacht expressly to Masqat (Muscatte) [71] to apprise them there of our arrival here. He also wished that Masqat was on our side and that the Portuguese had been expelled from there. One or 2 days after our arrival in Lari Bandar (Bandeer), a Portuguese galliot arrived there coming from Masqat (Muscatte) bringing news that Rui Freire was lying there with an *armada de remos* of 20 sails⁶⁵ and that it had been partly occupied by Arabs, both at sea and at land.

⁶⁴ The Dutch text has, as far as I can make out, "*om haer ontser genouch te beter te stillen*" which I think means what I have translated.

⁶⁵ *Armada de remas* (Portuguese), a fleet of rowing vessels, used by the Portuguese for convoy and coast guard duties. On the activities by Rui Freire see FLOOR, *The Persian Gulf*, pp. 226-29, 342-34, 429-36.

Ditto. About one hour into the evening I was sent for by the governor of the castle, whom I had not seen yet and who was called Nabab Amilchan.⁶⁶ Because Dirck Jansz was still bedridden with fever I went alone with the interpreter to the house of Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael). Having mounted on a horse with his son, I arrived there and found the governor of the city Janbiel beecq at ditto Amilchan with some others sitting around him, where I was ordered to join them. After reciprocal appropriate compliments, [they said] that our arrival was a pleasure for them, furthermore, questions were asked and answers given during the discussions, concerning our situation as well as that of the English and Portuguese, as to the differences in religion and faith, which we all did to their satisfaction. Also, concerning the origin of the war between us and the Portuguese in the fatherland, and above all the above-mentioned Amilchan was very curious to know where the cloves came from and how and in what manner they were grown, because in the past the Portuguese used to bring them here, but not anymore. I submitted to him that cloves grow on trees in the forest of the islands of the Moluccas (Mullucquas), where I had lived for six years. He was very much surprised by that because they [the Portuguese] had made him believe that they were thrown onto the beach by the sea. I further informed him about the nature of the trees and its produce in detail, also why the Portuguese nowadays had no access to them anymore, which was that at the places that they frequented they had imposed themselves by force on its inhabitants, by their arrogant behavior and their desire to impose their rule, who could neither accept nor tolerate [rule by] a foreign nation. Therefore, these people had come to us in Bantam to seek our help and assistance so as to liberate them from that nation and to entrust those lands to us. We therefore had immediately gone there with ships and men and assisted by the inhabitants had expelled the Spaniards from there. Now, provided we pay them, they benefit from its fruits.⁶⁷ Because I knew for certain that the Portuguese were working on [71 vs] this official to have him deny us trade there and, in a villanous and abject manner were painting a picture of us as being black-guards, I therefore apprised them of those and other methods and practices as well as their [Portuguese] crookedness that they had to fear. [I related] that they [Spaniards]⁶⁸ had incorporated and occupied entire kingdoms in the West-Indies, Peru and Mexico and from the time that they had taken up residence here in the East-Indies how they had treated some places and that they daily were still trying to do so and that their arrogance was better known to them than to me. Concerning our nation [I said that] its reputation was sufficiently well-known in the world, viz. that we were honest people who carried on trade and that we had come to be allowed to do so in all these parts of India under the protection of the said Majesty, the Great Mughal. They were also well aware of all that which I had detailed and after this and more discussions (too long to relate) I took my leave and

⁶⁶ Nabab Amilchan was the deputy-governor (Nabab is from the Persian-Arabic word *na'eb*, meaning deputy). Amilchan probably is Amir Khan, about whom I have not been able to find any particulars.

⁶⁷ This is, of course, too good to be true, see Heinrich BOKEMEYER, *Molukken. Geschichte und quellenmässige Darstellung der Eroberung und Verwaltung der ostindischen Gewürzinseln durch die Niederländer* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1888).

⁶⁸ From 1580 until 1640 Spain and Portugal were ruled by the Spanish king, while the Netherlands were at war with Spain from 1568 until 1648. Therefore, the Dutch did not make a distinction between the Portuguese and Spaniards at that time, if they thought that this was to their advantage.

left with the interpreter, accompanied by the son of Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael), to the residence of the governor Janbielbk inside the castle. This castle is situated inside the walls of the city and is a large jurisdiction, but, according to the interpreter (because we could not see it as it was night), equipped with few cannon. The governor, Nabab Amilchan, who is an excellent, important and new person does not occupy himself with trade, but only with matters concerning the land that are of interest to his Majesty the Mughal.

As related earlier, when we had arrived at the residence of Janbielbk, I waited for about one hour for him to arrive, because he wanted to discuss somewhat more with me, because during the day (when I come to them) there are too many listeners such as Banyan merchants, others, and the Portuguese. Only present and seated together were Aqa Jamal's son, Janbielbk and his secretary and the interpreter. He began again to tell how our arrival was a pleasure and delight and that an express messenger would be sent to his Majesty to obtain a royal order (*ferman*) to ensure that it contained all that had been discussed, provided that I kept my word that we want to continue our trade here for many years with ships and yaughts, and furthermore that I will assure them that when returning from Gamron that I once again would call on this place. He raised once again the problem about the Portuguese departure, submitting that they wished that all [72] their affairs in Masqat (Muscatta) had been settled with the Portuguese, adding that they would like to see that we had conquered the town of Masqat (Muscatte) and if it were possible they also would offer their help to achieve this, because it would be a profitable opportunity both for us and for them, in which case they would not have to fear anything from the Portuguese (who would have left here). Having listened to this proposal in surprise, I started to shed all my previous doubtful thoughts about their sincere commitment and offers as well as their favor and friendship towards us and felt sure and certain that it all had been sincere and true, affirming that they were serious. I therefore thanked them and bade them, because I had only been here for three days and had been sent for by them daily to discuss with them, that until now I still had not had the opportunity to learn about trade activities here. I asked to be given as much respite as was necessary to examine and assess what might be done here in that respect that was useful and profitable for us, and, once having done this and having found items in the field of trade that would yield considerable advantages to our Masters, they could be assured that we would not disappoint them, because we had been sent here for exactly that purpose. I had the interpreter tell them that what we had discussed in secret concerning the Portuguese had to remain a secret, that I understood well that the said interpreter was their friend and had to be true and faithful to us in this respect, for which we would recompense him. We ordered the interpreter explicitly that this [matter] should not be discussed and in case even a whiff about this would become known we would know for certain that this had come from him and nobody else. This problem still bothered them, viz. that they had informed the Portuguese that once we had negotiated our cargo they would deny us the privilege of free trade. However, the ship would be allowed to depart and some of us would remain here to sell the cargo. We impressed upon them, to better deceive the Portuguese, the need to rapidly expedite the sealing [of the goods] in the *alfandega*, which then had to be sent immediately upriver, where we had to sell it and to buy what we thought to be the necessary, and thus continue with the said activity, acting as if trade had been denied to us,

and if it happened that we came with one or more ships then our governor [i.e, commanding officer] himself could take action here and cut the cackle, [72 vs] which they also looked forward to, and thus it was agreed. What will happen time will tell; we took our leave at 9 o'clock in the evening and went to our lodgings, which was a large square stone building, below with four warehouses and above with 7 small rooms, which I had rented the day before at 4 *reals* per month to store our luggage and to put and store the rice purchases.

9 ditto. I sent for the interpreter who was lodging in our house (as he had left his wife and children in Lari Bandar (Bandeer) and asked him about the situation of Masqat (Muscatte), whether he had been there. He replied, 'yes' and that he had left there more than 9 months ago. It had three forts or strongholds, one towards the land, one at the seaside with yet another small one, which did not amount to much. The garrison that was there nowadays consisted in 50 to 60 Portuguese, the remainder were mostly Moors and were [blank] in number.⁶⁹ Rui Freire (Roijs Frero) commanded them as governor; who had the abovementioned *armada de remos* there and was at war with the Arabs. I asked him why the forts of Muscatte were manned by so few Portuguese to which he replied that Rui Freire (Roijsfrero) did not trust that many Portuguese any more, because they had so easily lost and surrendered the fort of Ormus, while the Moors and Caffers⁷⁰ were brave warriors, both at sea and at land, and therefore were greatly honored by them if they did something of note. He had chosen many officers from among them who were treated like Portuguese and in case of a notable success they were given a liberal donation.

The 10 and 11 ditto. We all were sitting while waiting very patiently for the barque with merchandise from downriver, because we could not do much else in trade. The illness of Gregorie Cornelij increases considerably, such that he increasingly felt worse.

The 14th. The son of the governor of the castle sent a servant with the request whether we would be so kind as to join His Honor, who was staying at about one [German] mile outside the city with many erected tents, horses, camels, etc. in order to continue his journey to the upper parts [of the country]. This was politely declined as both [of us] were ill and confined to bed, but if we experienced a slight change of [73 vs] improvement to inform his master that we would come and visit, with which [answer] he returned to his master.

On the same date a galliot came here from Goa with a cargo of areca, clay to be used in glazing, morfiel⁷¹ or elephants' tusks, sandalwood (*sandalo*), cardamom, Chinese porcelaine, and coco-nuts, whose interior [flesh] is much in demand and consumed

⁶⁹ This information does not seem to be correct. In 1633, the Portuguese had a military presence of 1,223 soldiers in the various forts in the Straits of Hormuz consisting in 22 captains (of which five were laskars), 456 soldiers and 745 laskars, in addition to 515 naval personnel. TELES, *Economia*, p. 139.

⁷⁰ From the Arabic word *kafir*, or infidel, by which term, Arabs traders referred, among others, to Africans. Europeans adopted the same term in one or another bastardized form, in the meaning of black African.

⁷¹ From the Spanish word *marfil*, meaning ivory.

both here in Thatta (Sindee) as well as in higher [regions], all kinds of curiosities of glass and earthenware water bottles (*gorgeletten*),⁷² gum and silver inlaid with stones and costly pearls, a load of pepper, cinnamon, *chuusche*⁷³ damask [fabrics] as well as some similar ones woven near Goa. The arrival of the said galliot caused the market price of pepper, cloves, cinnamon, etc. to drop such that, within the period of 2 to 3 days, pepper (about which several merchants had asked us about so often, because they had none in stock anymore), which had cost 120 rupias (*ropias*) per large *man* equal to 60 lbs. Dutch finally dropped to 16, at which [price] it spoilt the market.

13 ditto. In the morning we both [rose] early. We learnt from a letter from merchants de Grootte and Walscappel from downriver that the dispatch of our goods proceeded slowly. We decided to send the interpreter to the officials with a serious request that our goods might be sent upriver. They had already been lying for about 10 days in the *alfandego* without even having taken the trouble to seal them (which is completely contrary to the promises made by Miersa at the occasion of our departure to Thatta (Sindee) that they would soonest be weighed and sealed and forwarded upriver) or was it that His Honor preferred to receive double duties, in which case we would have embarked the goods and departed immediately, because we would have preferred to suffer this injustice rather than not having made our voyage to Persia, because time was important for us. When the interpreter returned he reported that they would write immediately to Miersa downriver and enjoin him to process and forward these goods first and foremost.

On the same ditto, a large barque appeared in the river Sind coming from Masqat (Muscatte) with news that our Governor Philips Lucasz. jointly with the Arabs (who had besieged it for some days) and with 5 ships had occupied the city and had totally burnt the place. Also, that Rui Freire (Roijs frero), admiral of 10 *navetten*,⁷⁴ was currently staying in the Gulf of Persia and had turned his prow into this direction intending to seize that Dutch *petassje*⁷⁵ (as such the ship had been presented to him) [73vs] and then to continue to Goa. He had given orders to come hither,⁷⁶ while the vessel was manned with more men than normal. This news was immediately spread throughout the entire city, so that some, including some of the authorities, who believed it, advised us to let the ship, which currently was lying halfway the river from Lari Bandar (Bandeer), float [downriver] and to anchor at the bar at the mouth of the river, so that it would be informed and as soon as it learnt about [the arrival of] the armada it could immediately go to sea and thus escape. We replied that we very much appreciated their concern and that the ship would not yield one inch. Moreover, we could not think that they [the Portuguese] would be so audacious as to

⁷² YULE and Burnell, *Hobson-Johnson*, q.v. goglet.

⁷³ I think that the Dutch text employs the word *chuusche*, if so, I have not been able to identify it.

⁷⁴ From the French word, *navette*, meaning 'ship'.

⁷⁵ From the Portuguese word, *patacho*, meaning a ship with two masts, previously used in warfare, which served in squadrons to carry despatches, reconnoitre the coasts and guard the entrances of ports

⁷⁶ The Dutch text has: *Hij dede hem seer herwaerts festineeren*. I am not certain about its meaning.

cause us any injury or show hostility within the confines of the royal land; we were very sure of that and that the authorities would act accordingly, since we had put ourselves totally under their protection.

Mr. Gregorij's and my strength is increasing; the boys also started to fall ill, so that they could not any longer help us. We have sent for merchant Walscappel, who also was in Lari Bandar (Bandeer) with the merchandise, to come upriver. He arrived on 16 ditto and we understood from him that the goods still have not been weighed and sealed and are lying in the *alfandega* and that Miersa without orders from the authorities could not do anything about this; thus, matters dragged on and we therefore had to sit here flipping our thumbs, because without these goods we could not carry on any trade, which was very vexing.

14 ditto. We learnt via the interpreter that the authorities have sent a written order to Miersa to weigh and seal our goods (which they had promised us to do 2 days ago) and we therefore have become less anxious about how matters would develop for which we had waited so long.

From the same day until 17 ditto nothing happened. We learnt from the interpreter that various merchants had approached him to ask us whether they might send a load of goods with us to Gamron for which they would pay cash, provided that they paid the same toll as they were wont to pay the Portuguese or as much as they could arrange with us. If we could permit them to do so, they would not deal with the Portuguese, who had come down so hard on so many of them and [only] looked for their own benefit. We informed them via the interpreter that because we did not know how much grain and other goods we would get, we could not make a firm commitment. Also, that this time it might not be convenient for us, even if we would not get any grains or other goods. It was the first time that we had come here and therefore we were unable to take a decision immediately. In the future [74] we would see what might be done; seeing that there was little chance that they might embark goods with us for some time they have prepared their goods to be embarked with the Portuguese. According to the interpreter, this was much against their grain. Despite the fact that we had really absolutely declined their request, we occasionally indirectly were told what quantity of goods were lying ready to be embarked to facilitate the loading of the goods with the Portuguese. According to the interpreter, and others who daily come to our lodgings, none of the merchants would send any goods with the Portuguese until they saw the ship with our own goods and fully laden and that the likelihood of embarking their own goods increased as well.

On 18. 19. 20 we really expected the arrival of the barque with goods with great patience, because without these goods we could not carry on any trade.

22 ditto early in the morning, the Hon. Gregorius Cornelij sent for me (feeling somewhat better) telling me that he had decided to go to Lari Bandar (Bandeer) at sunrise and then embark on the ship, because his illness was getting worse, in the hope that the change of location would result in convalescence. He therefore charged me in his absence with the furtherance of the General Comp.'s affairs recommending above all the purchase of grains, but, because of the current high cost, until his further orders,

not to get more than [for the amount of] 2,000 ropias that the son of Aqa Jamal (Aga dsio-mael) had promised to supply us with and to buy such goods and merchandise as ordered by the instruction, after which he took his leave and departed downstream.

At about noon I went with merchant Elias Walscappel to the house of the son of Aqa Jamal (Aga dsio-mael). On the road we met the governor of the castle Janbielbeek, Aqa Jamal (aga dsio-mael) and his son, who were accompanied by a stately suite. The son of the said Aqa Jamal (Aga dsio-mael) ordered us to follow them, which we did, and having arrived at the place where they were gathered, the governor of the castle had us told in order that we should come there he had simply sent for us, to see Dutchmen in person, character and shape and whether they are similar as they. He had seen the captain, who was ill now, once at night fall and had heard him speak, but not really. [74 vs] He asked why we, but not the Portuguese, wore such long hair. We said that there no difference in wearing long or short hair, but noticing that he just wanted to shoot the breeze, we took our leave. The son of Aqa Jamal (Aga dsio-mael) who was also sitting there said that he would send the promised money in the afternoon, when they would have parted, to his house. To receive the money I sent the interpreter in the afternoon to learn whether he was at home. The interpreter when he returned reported that he was at Janbielbeecq's house and not to waste time I went with merchant Walscappel to the residence of the said Janbielbk., who asked many questions as he was wont to do, concerning war at sea and on land between us and the Portuguese, the situation of their and our country, the power of both kings (he thought we also had a king), the difference in religion, etc. to which we replied as was appropriate and sufficient for that occasion. Finally, he had some costly curiosities fetched such as golden ewers, mirrors, arm and leg rings and many costly items studded with stones and pearls to show them to us. He asked whether we had not brought some costly items. We replied that there was nothing on the ship, but if something might be found with private persons we would see and have it taken up river. He then said that he would appreciate it if we do that first, because he was quite anxious to see and get some curiosities and nice things, for which he would pay. Finally, because it was getting late, he admonished the son of Aqa Jamal (Aga dsio-mael) concerning the promised money, who said that he would sent somebody in the morning to inform us that it was ready, and, if we wanted more, we only had to ask, for which we thanked him and said that we would wait and see before we asked [for more], after which we departed and expect the good news early in the morning.

23 ditto in the morning I sent a Hormuzi Banyan (whom daily had visited us in our lodgings, which we used to the benefit of the Comp., and who told us much of everything concerning the country's trade and situation, and who also has parents and brothers who live Agra and have served the Comp. there for a long time) with the interpreter to the house of the abovementioned son of Aqa Jamal (aga dsio-mael) to fetch the money, who, God be praised, because the Moors and Banyans are very slow and tardy in furthering their affairs, returned with this [money] that I immediately used to buy all kinds of samples of textiles, fabrics, etc.

24 ditto the person sent by the governor's secretary (*baxy*)⁷⁷ came, requesting that I pay him a visit, which I politely declined in view of my indisposition, but when

⁷⁷ YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson*, q.v. *buxee*.

my health would be improving [75] I would visit his master, with which [message] he left.

To-day I sent a servant to go alongside the river to learn whether the expected barque, which still had not arrived, had not come yet and whether it was lying somewhere else forced by the strong downstream current and contrary wind. When this messenger did not return I sent another one who returned the next day on

26 ditto and he said that he had seen it at three [German] miles from the city about 15 vessels [*coggen*], but it was lying on the opposite side of the river and he had not been able to hail them. This man (as we learnt later) had not set one foot outside the city to look for the barque, so that we knew as much as before.

In the evening [of that same day] we learnt from a messenger who had taken a letter from downriver to Janbielb that Mr. Gregorius Cornelij had died on the 25th of this month and had been buried in Lari Bandar (Bandeer).

On 27 ditto nothing particular happened, we busy buying samples of textiles and other items.

On 28 ditto merchant Adriaen de Grootte came to us upriver; he also confirmed the death of the said Gregorij Cornelij, also that the barque with our merchandise had been sent upriver from Lari Bandar (Bandeer) 9 days ago. To-day there was a strong rumor about the arrival of the Portuguese armada commanded by Rui Freire (Ruy ferero) *maistro del campo*⁷⁸ of Goa and that he was approaching the river of Sind, with the intention to attack and try to seize our ship. Although we are convinced that these are but rumors spread by the Portuguese to instill fear in us so that we depart from here, but above all to [create an atmosphere in which they could] buy goods much cheaper and at more profitable rates and to make that the merchants embark their goods with them (who would have preferred to embark them with us), we nevertheless have communicated this downriver [with orders] to keep the ship on the alert and to have everything in good order. The Portuguese bothered the authorities in Thatta (Sinde) daily about us, saying that we had been allowed to stay there only for one month and that we had promised to depart [after that], which time period had now expired, but they allowed [this period] to continue. If they did not order us to depart immediately they (like they had stated previously) would at once start packing their goods and would depart from here. The authorities were said to have replied the the decision as to who came and went was [only] theirs, but to force the Dutch to depart would not happen: 'the country was [open] for them and other honest and pious people as well as for them [the Portuguese]; it was true [75 vs] they they [the Dutch] had only been granted one month to sell the cargo that they had brought with them and in return to procure goods to take with them, but because the cargo had not arrived yet and was still en route they could not order them to leave without having achieved anything to appease them [the Portuguese]. There was no doubt that

⁷⁸ The military title *mestre de campo* (Port.) indicated that the officer was in charge of a *terço* (Port.) or *tercio* (Sp.), meaning one-third, a Spanish military term to denote the so-called 'Spanish square', a mixed infantry formation of some 3,000 pikemen and musketeers.

as soon as they had traded their goods and had obtained return goods in their stead they would depart from here without having been ordered to do so. For the time being the Portuguese had to be content with the answer and left, meanwhile not failing to spread [the rumor of] the arrival of the aforementioned armada, thinking that out of fear to make us depart from there earlier.

29 ditto a letter arrived for the governor of the castle, reporting among other things that the English, lying in Surat (Suratte), had strongly pressured the Mughal for a royal order (*ferman*) granting them the free and unhindered [trade] in Sindee, to go and come where they pleased, which they finally had obtained. Also, that likewise the Dutch (whom had already appeared in Thatta (Sindee), as was understood) were granted to carry on free and unhindered trade just like all other merchants, etc. This reply (as the interpreter understood it) was in reaction to a certain letter that the authorities of Sindee (having understood from Miersa, the official in Lari Bandar (Bandeer) that Dutchmen had arrived requesting to [be allowed to] trade) had written and dispatched to the Mughal one day after our arrival to apprise his Honor of our arrival and request.

Primo January 1632 I sent a messenger to learn whether the barque, in which our cargo was, had not arrived yet,⁷⁹ who returned the next day saying that he had seen it lying at about 2 [German] miles from the city. Therefore, merchant Adriaen de Grootte and others has ridden hither the next morning with a number of camels and oxen to disembark the goods, except for the lead that belonged to Jacob de Herder, *vrijman*⁸⁰ at Batavia, and bring it here, while leaving the barque there, which then easily could sail up the river Sindee (it being too dry at 2 to 3 [German] miles below the city for big deep drawing barques) to us, and would do its best to follow and arrive in timely fashion. In the evening the said de Grootte arrived with the goods higher up and he had left the barque at about 2 [German] miles from the city, which, if they did their best, might be able to arrive before the *alfandega*.

From the aforementioned date until the 15th we were busy with the sale, weighing and delivery of the goods, which proceeded slowly, because the Moors [76] are very laid-back in the furtherance of their affairs. Moreover, there was a shortage of weigh-bridge [capacity] (there was only one available in the city and it was used by everybody), so that then they and then we [used it], which was very disappointing, the more so because we were close to running out of time to be able to sail and meet with the Hon. Mr. Philips Lucass at Gamron.

On the 16th ditto after much toing and froing to, and insistence with the authorities during 2 to 3 days, we finally, after having obtained the samples of the textiles that we had bought as well as those that we had decided to take with us, induced them to the point where [the value of] these goods might be estimated and sealed. We have

⁷⁹ The Dutch text reads: *bij den wercken nog niet en was*. I have no idea what *bij den wercken* means, but I think that the context suggests the translation as given.

⁸⁰ *Vrijman* meant someone who was not in the service of the VOC, but who was nevertheless allowed to trade. Only those employed by the VOC or those authorized by it were allowed to trade in the areas under its control, sail on or send goods with its ships.

embarked them as well as the goods belonging to Jacob de Herder and in the evening we sailed with them downriver. When merchants Elias Walschappe and Adriaen de Grootte were about to board the barque, the son of the governor of the castle, who is camping out in the field at about one [German] mile from the city to depart soon higher up, came to request them to see him to which end he had sent a carriage to the lodgings, because he wanted to discuss something with us. Because the said merchants really would have liked to depart that same evening they did not dare or want to neglect him and visit him for one last time in all haste, because due to my indisposition I had often for form's sake declined to do so, and they had a suspicion what it was all about. Thus they mounted up and rode thither, and having arrived there he, like the other officials had been wont to do, asked about the situation of our country and that of the Portuguese and the English, the war between us and the Portuguese, both at land at at sea, the difference in religion and what that exactly meant, whether we were friends of the English and when these would also come here, whether we would also keep good relations with them, whether there also was a difference in religion with them, etc. In all these we gave him satisfaction and because night was about to fall we asked and obtained finally our leave (which we hardly could obtain as he was very talkative and invited us to stay somewhat more in which he insisted very much) and the said merchants have gone to the barque to go with it downriver that same night.

On the 18th ditto we only have received the remainders (because of 1 *man* of cloves and 2 dittos of nutmegs supplied to the governor of the castle) with great difficulty at about mid-night from his cashier (who also tried to benefit by getting a gift). The next day, early in the morning, I went to the house of Janbielbeeck to take my leave, having arrived there I found him alone, [76vs] which very seldom has happened. Two days before the merchants Walschappe and de Grootte had gone downriver with the barque and now I also was ready to follow [them] to leave for Gamron and to tell the governor [i.e. Lucasz.] everything that we had experienced and what we had learnt about the situation of this place and that the freedom of our trade there had been granted) so that without doubt we would again sent a ship with 2 or 3 excellent cargos there to pursue the work that had been started. Therefore, his Honor without a doubt had to believe, who so far had felt doubt about our [intentions], that we are sincere and true about this, and that we are not spies and scouts like the rumors that Portuguese had so often circulated and that they had wanted his Hon. to believe. In reply he said he never had believed or given credence to such stories from the Portuguese, for he himself had made exhaustive inquiries on our arrival in Sindee, yes even when we were still in Lari Bandar (Bandeer), about the behavior and conduct of our staff, from some persons who had been in Agra and Persia and who know our people there, and after that he had welcomed and treated us as friends, if not better. He also asked immediately whether we were also pleased with them. I replied, 'Yes,' and therefore I profusely thanked his Hon. and the other officials for all honor and friendship shown to us, wishing that I might be able to return the courtesy any time soon. He further said that when we would return again we always would have him as a friend and that he would help us wherever he could, with other similar phrases about his frienship towards us. Having taken my leave I went to the house of the son of Aqa Jamal (aga dsiomael), who also promised us to give us all help, favor and friendship in the future. After my departure from there, I went to the castle, but because the governor had gone to be with his wives I was unable to speak

with him, reason why I returned to my lodgings and then immediately left for Lari Bandar (Bandeer), where I arrived the next day at about noon, finding that the barque had not arrived as yet, contrary to expectation.

20 ditto the barque having arrived we have gone immediately to the castle of Aqa Jamal (aga dsio-mael) (who had been there already for eight days away from Thatta (Sinde)), requesting him that the barque might be inspected, the goods taxed and the duties due on them be paid to somebody and [preferably] immediately, because the time that we had to meet with our Commander in Gamron [77] had come. He said that this would happen and immediately ordered his secretary to make the calculation of the toll due on the goods, meanwhile asking whether we had had a pleasant time in Thatta (Sindee). We replied, 'Yes,' but that the taxation of the goods that had been sent upstream might have been somewhat lower. I thought that we did not have to pay more than 3 per cent., but it almost came to about double that amount. When I complained about this to the authorities upriver they had replied that the taxation schedule dated from many years ago, that the goods of the Portuguese were taxed in the same way, and when we would return they would lower the taxes and make sure that we would be pleased, now it could not be helped.⁸¹ The said Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael) said to this that he would verify the calculation done, which was immediately done by the secretary and he found that in its application that they had favored themselves (most profit) in such a way that it had to yield such a figure. He then said, since his Hon. had been so kind as to make such a calculation (far higher than our expectation) that we now also should exercise some patience, but when in the future we would bring larger cargos here and they once again would think of imposing such a high toll (beyond right and reason) we would be really upset and might decide to leave this place, because then it would not be profitable for us, and would not seek to frequent it. In reply they said that when in the future we would come again, like he thought that we would, they would meet together to discuss a lower toll. We should not be upset about it now as all would be well in the future. I then said that otherwise the place would be of no use to us and as the secretary started to make the calculation of the toll of the goods that we had brought down, the said Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael) said that we could leave if waiting was taking too long. As soon as the calculation had been made he would immediately send the secretary and another person to inspect the barque and then to receive the toll in accordance with that [inspection]. Thus I parted from there and had the door through which he had to pass to the *alfandega* watched with patience, but nobody of either side heard something and [therefore] I went to the castle, but because Aqa Jamal (agadsiomael) had gone to his concubines he could not receive anybody, which was a big disappointment [77 vs] for us. However, we had to have patience and because night was about to fall we postponed further request to another time.

22 ditto in the morning I again went to the castle and bluntly requested the said Aqa Jamal (Agadsiomael), who was sitting with his chief men to do justice in the main square, to be so kind as to appoint someone and send him to the *alfandega* to make

⁸¹ According to Bocarro, the Portuguese paid 3.5%, but due to great injustices (*grandes tiranias*) committed at the customs-house the effective customs rate came to double that amount, and thus the authorities at Lari Bandar were not lying to the Dutch. BOCARRO, *O livro das plantas*, 1992, p. 66.

the inspection of the barque (which I had hoped would have proceeded last night). He replied that he would come in person to the *alfandega* and had his palanquin brought immediately to have him finally after much ado carried to the *alfandega*, so that everything was completed towards the evening. I gave him two passes, at his request, for two of his barques, which he intended to send to Persia and in the evening we returned, it being evening and everything having cleared and having taken leave from the said Agadsiomael and Adadman, the secretary of the governor of Thatta (Sindee) who was still sitting in the *alfandega*, and immediately embarked and came aboard on the 23 ditto.

24 ditto we could get away from the bar due to a calm; we tried out a kedge, but as the current carried us to undeepest water we were forced again to drop anchor and to hope to sail away with the shore wind in the evening.

25 ditto we still had not been able to sail away; in the afternoon a Portuguese galliot coming from Masqat (Muscatte) passed close by our ship and sailed into the river of Sindee. One of the Portuguese came aboard and told us something about the current state of affairs in Masqat (Muscatte), Goa, Mombassa, etc. Regarding Muscatte that they had concluded an agreement with the Arabs (who had besieged it strongly for a few days) and that Rui Freire (Roijs frero) (of whom they had told us that he with an armada of 20 rowing vessels would come to nest here and to try to seize the ship) was lying ill in the city, that the abovementioned force was cruising in the Gulf of Persia to take coming and going vessels. Also, that a certain *armada de remos* of 20 sails under the command of Don Francisco de Mora, *maistro del campo* at Goa, who had left Goa a few months ago, had been received on their arrival on the coast of Choromãz⁸² situated near Mozambique in such a way that nobody had survived and that their vessels had been set fire to.⁸³ [78] Further, that he had been in Goa about three months ago, where apart from 13 galleys no other spacious vessels were lying, waiting only for crews and supplies (with these they could prepare and arm ships from Portugal that they were expecting any moment now), both of them they were sorely lacking; of those that they had they sent 10 with oars (that were retractable on all sides) to Ceylon (Ceijlaon) (others in Bandeer have told us that they had gone to Suratte to watch us when we are returning from Persia), so that the affairs between them and the inhabitants there are not well.

⁸² I have not been able to identify this appellation.

⁸³ D. Francisco de Moura was appointed to the *Conselho de Estado* in 1629 (ACE, I-72, p. 218) and as *mestre do campo* or commanding officer of the *terço* of Goa in 1630 (ACE, I-93, pp. 271-72). He was a protégé of Count de Linhares, the viceroy. On 26 December 1630, de Moura was appointed to suppress an uprising in Mombassa. His fleet consisted of one royal ship, 6 oared vessels (with sail) and 2 *patacoes* (ACE, I-124, p. 385). After the pacification, D. Francisco was to proceed to Masqat with his flotilla to help Rui Freire (ACE, I-126, pp. 393-96). As the Journal mentions, Moura's handling of the affair was a fiasco (cf. Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, vol. 6, pp. 411-419). He was summoned to the *Conselho do Estado* to give an account of his actions (05/06/1632), and its members asked for an inquiry to be launched (ACE, I-139, pp. 427-31). On 27 February, 1632, Linhares had to agree (ACE, I-143, pp. 437-438), although he continued to protect his protégé, even going so far as appointing him once again as head of the relief expedition to Mombassa in 1635 (ACE, II, p. 21 note). Despite the inquiry, Moura continued to be a member of the *Conselho do Estado* until early 1636 (ACE, II-13, p. 47). The viceroy used Moura as captain of the newly erected fortress of St. Micheal of Cambolim, in Kannara, where he stayed for 3 to 4 months (ACE, appendix doc. n.º 35, p. 563).

A short relation concerning the affairs of the small town of Lari Bandar (Bandeer) and the big commercial city of Thatta (Sindee).

The small town of Bandeer is situated about 3 [German] miles up the river of Sindee; it only has a one hour's circumference, it is without walls and protection and on its north side there is a castle, mostly in ruins, with 3 to 4 pieces of cannon, which cannot withstand [an enemy] without some [supporting] force. The inhabitants are Moors and there are so many Banyans whose number even exceeds that of the native inhabitants and they are much respected. Their chief appears together with the Moors in all important meetings, so that nothing is done if he is not present. All kinds of life necessities are sufficient here – cows, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, chickens, fish, field and tree crops, further camels, oxen and donkeys with which goods are transported – to each one's liking and at a civil price. One pays here for a camel, from here to Sindee being a distance of 9 [German] miles, 1½ rupee (*ropia*). One may charge it with as much as it can carry, because whether you load much or little the price is the same. As to oxen and asses the price is similar. Unless you want to make a deal with the barque skippers to go Sindee, who, having inspected the goods as carefully as one may, nowadays do not take as much advantage of it,⁸⁴ as they did a few years ago, when for one *carobba*⁸⁵ (equal to 720 Holland lbs.) you paid 7 paisas (*peijsen*), then one does not have to complain about the freight over water either. At the distance of a musketshot from Lari Bandar (Bandeer), on the river, the *alfandega* or customs-house is situated, where all goods coming from outside are stored and sealed, but they are taxed in Thatta (Sindee), and where the duty of 3½ per cent. has to be paid. All merchandise coming from upriver [78 vs] is weighed, sealed, and taxed in Thatta (Sindee), but the duty on them is paid in Bandeer. One does not pay any duty on money that one exports and of the goods that one has not been able to sell only half of the toll: the toll is 3½ per cent., of which ¼ is for the secretary who records all goods. The governor here is named Mirza Darvish Mohammad (Miersa dervees Mahomet), substitute of Aqa Jamal (aga agadsiomael), governor and director in Sinde; he is a civil person, very friendly and charitable to speak and deal with. Outside of the small town beyond the *alfandega* is the house of the Portuguese, which they rent, because no foreign nation (such as they), may have a house there lie with their vessels in front of the *alfandega* and also in some holes, which they dig in the square at the *alfandega* because many of the Moorish vessels are large, which are totally empty at ebb. There are many Moorish vessels, small and large, so that one may have a choice to one's liking at all times and that at a civil price.

About the trading city of Sindee.

From Lari Bandar (Bandeer) to Thatta (Sindee) measure 9 German miles overland; between them, at two occasions, one crosses the river Sindee and one pays for the ferrying 5, 6 to 7 paisas (*peijsen*), depending whether one has few or many goods.

⁸⁴ The Dutch text employs an obsolete expression: *slaan tegenwoordich geen ijser gelt daer van* (literally, now they do not strike iron money from it), probably meaning taking advantage of, as the expression is unknown to me and it does not occur in the dictionaries available to me.

⁸⁵ *Carobba*, usually *arroba*, from the Arabic word *ar-rob'* or one-quarter, was a unit of weight, equal to about 11.3 kilograms (25 pounds) in Spain, but in Portugal, equal to about 14.4 kilograms (32 pounds). It also was a liquid measure, having a varying value but equal to about 16.2 liters (17 quarts) when used to measure wine. See also below.

En route they have this custom 2 to 3 times for persons who keep the ferry free from robbers [i.e. protect it] for each camel 4, a horse, oxen, and donkey 2 paisas (*peijsen*); this is all that one has to pay underway. One passes 7 to 8 villages, and a large cemetery is situated at half a [German] mile from the city, where there are many pagodas and excellent houses, which are very much [built] in an episcopal and ecclestial manner; so that, seen from afar, one thinks that it is a small town (just like we did when approaching Sindee), but there are not any until one can see the city of Thatta (Sindee), which is situated in a large plain and much lower than this cemetery. It is a large and populous city and filled with all kinds of life necessities. Its circumference is at least three hours. It has some excellent buildings and very beautiful and graceful pagodas made of stone. Usually the house are made of reeds covered with clay, with some holes on top for light, because they have no windows. The streets are through lanes and some others are very narrow [79] and bumpy, so that a small cart can barely pass through some of them. The city is without walls and protection, for it only has on the side of the road a piece of a wall with a length of one musketshot. During night and day one can leave and enter; on the south-side close to the city there is a large castle built with bricks, it does not have any points like ours, but at a stone-throw's distance from each other there have been many bastions or curtain walls built all around. It is more than four times bigger than Batavia and here the governor Nabab Amil Chan has his court. It has many houses, but doesnot have any heavy cannon at present, only one big metal piece like a half German cannon-royal, which has been positioned to shoot from the land gate. The moat around the castle is on the landside and is dry and shallow, so that one can walk and ride close under the curtain wall. The other side of the fort does not have a moat and is situated close to the houses of the city, so that only a small street separates them. This is the staple for trade and on usually every year many important and powerful merchants from distant parts visit this place and do business. From Agra the caravans (*caffilas*; *qafilah*) come here about half November and they are usually 30 to 35 days underway and bring some indigo (*anil*), saltpeter, carpets, *sagou*,⁸⁶ a glazing mortar to enhance the color of gold, all kinds of textiles, etc. This caravan departs again in the month of February. The merchants also often have their goods transported on the river until Lahore, which is at 400 [German] miles distance from Thatta (Sindee) and then have it taken to Agra, etc. From Sindee to Lahor they are 50 and from there to Agra 24 days underway. When going with the caravans overland, merchants pay 4 ropias per large *man* or 60 lbs Holland in freight, and also for fodder of the pack animals, from all those who guide the animals, who pay 2 ropias as cost. En route there is a hamlet called Isemer,⁸⁷ where you have to pay the duty on silk and its processed products at 8 and further all other merchandise without distinction 4 ropias per one hundred; money is free. Furthermore, until Agra one does not have to pay duties anymore. From Agra, merchandise is often transported to Lahore in wains, which arrive in Lahore in 24 days, paying in freight for each big *man* 1 ropia without any further expenditures to be paid en route, where ½ per cent. has to be paid on all goods without distinction. Furthermore, [79 vs] from there to Sinde via water one pays for each large *man* 2 ropias in freight, one for the freight of the barques, the other for oneself and one's servants being expenses. One usually is two months underway, lying at night at anchor, because of the strong downstream current and dry areas in the

⁸⁶ I have not been able to identify this word.

⁸⁷ I have not been able to identify this village.

river. The merchandise that is sent from here to Agra consists of: quilted blankets, *Tabretios*⁸⁸ of which *cabaijen* [*qaba*; surcoat] are made, and coco-nuts, areca, *pinang*⁸⁹, nutmegs, cloves, mace, cinnamon, vermillion, quicksilver, pepper, elephants' tusks, cardamom, *caleij*,⁹⁰ a material used for glazing. All these spices and goods, except for the quilted blankets and *Tabretios*, the Portuguese bring here in not such a large quantity.

From Lahor, which is a city much larger than Thatta (Sindee) as has been reported to us and is situated 400 [German] miles from it, comes much sugar- candy, crystal and black, all kinds of textiles, drugs, all kinds of very curiously wrought furniture, and it is alleged that one also might sell there a reasonable quantity of cloves, nutmegs, vermillion, quicksilver, pepper, lead, elephants' tusks, mace, etc. and that with higher profits than in Sindee. In the past, the Portuguese have experienced this until now and had higher profits than they made in Thatta (Sindee), but because they only bring a small quantity of each item and could sell it with reasonable profits in Sindee they have neglected for some time now to visit that place with coarse merchandise and instead of that brought diamonds, pearls and many beautiful and rare curiosities, which they are still doing to this very day.

The caravan (*caffila*) from Persia to Sindee does not have a fixed time; when the merchants are ready with their goods it has to go whether in the rainy or in the dry season. The merchandise that is sold at the Sindee bar consists of: *ruijna*⁹¹ or red dye, raw silk, carpets, and much cash money. The merchants also had gone with their goods in Moorish vessels from here to Gwadar (Guadder), 5 to 6 sailing days to the west from here, where they disembark and then transport the goods to Persia on pack animals. They also often embark [their goods] with the Portuguese from here to Kong (Congo), which is situated three days' travel overland from Gamron, from where they travels overland to Gamron. Goods that they bring from Thatta (Sindee) to Gamron mostly are *sayen*, *cadass*, *tabretios*, *dustar*, *calbergijs*.⁹² [80]

From Sevaon⁹³ (situated 5 to 8 [German] miles from Sindee) comes the indigo that the inhabitants [illegible: buy?]. The best quality costs per large *man* normally 28 to 30 ropias. A considerable quantity may be collected of it annually. It is taken to Persia, Basra (Bassoura) and Baghdad (Babilonia) in good quantities. What else may be had in Thatta (Sindee) such as grains, merchandise and other things and at what price and quantity, furthermore, what goods may be sold here with good profits annually the memorandum below will show.

⁸⁸ *Tabretios* clearly are a kind of fabric, but I have not been able to find any particulars about it.

⁸⁹ Both areca and *pinang* mean the same thing, viz. betel-nut. YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Johnson*, q.v. *pinang*.

⁹⁰ *Caley* probably denotes tin, from the Arabic word *qala'i*. YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Johnson*, q.v. *calay*.

⁹¹ *Runas* or madder.

⁹² *Sayen* or *saaïen* are lightly twilled woolen fabrics exported from Europe to the East. Cada, from *qad*, meaning man sized, is a variety of an *alajeh*, a multi-colored fabric; *duster* perhaps is a *doty*. Calbergijs, probably textiles made and/or coming from Kalberga. See for Sindi textiles, FLOOR, "The Import of Indian Textiles," p. 115.

⁹³ Sehwan, 190 km north of Thatta.

Memorandum of the normal price of the goods and merchandise listed hereunder and in what quantity they may be sold annually in the mercantile city of Sinda.

Textiles and linnen

<i>Calbergijs</i>	length	14 ¼ ell	Cost	Rop.	1.46
<i>Root lackens</i> ⁹⁴		14			4.14
<i>Tocas</i> or turbans		14 ¼			4.
<i>Cabas</i> ⁹⁵ with silk stripes		14 ¼			2.50
<i>Taffacilen</i> ⁹⁶		14 ¼			1.20
<i>Berams</i> ⁹⁷		16 ¼			1.42
<i>Mangonijs</i> ⁹⁸		16			2.37
<i>Sjouris</i> ⁹⁹		16 ¼			—
<i>Cammerbands</i> ¹⁰⁰					2.23
<i>Betilles</i> ¹⁰¹		14 ¼			— .39
Blue <i>bafftas</i> ¹⁰²					
<i>Malmals</i> de Agra ¹⁰³		20			1.33
<i>Cassas</i> ¹⁰⁴		24			1.14
Grey <i>dotys</i> ¹⁰⁵		—			1.20
<i>Tabritios</i> ¹⁰⁶		—			—
<i>Silo taffacillas</i> ¹⁰⁷		—			—
<i>Alaboucas</i> ¹⁰⁸		—			—
<i>Sarassen</i> ¹⁰⁹		—			—
<i>Tsitse</i> (<i>chit</i> or <i>chintz</i>)		—			—

⁹⁴ Red broadcloth.

⁹⁵ *Qaba* or surcoat. For more information see Willem FLOOR, *The Persian Textile Industry in Historical Perspective 1500-1925* (Paris, 1999), p. 226.

⁹⁶ *Tafsileh* a fabric used to make *qabas* from.

⁹⁷ A high quality cotton fabric, a kind of *tafsileh*, known as *bayram*. See YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson*, q.v. Beiramee.

⁹⁸ Possibly a *manganeh*, see FLOOR, *Persian Textile Industry*, p. 175.

⁹⁹ I have not been able to identify this fabric.

¹⁰⁰ Waistbands or cummerbands.

¹⁰¹ A kind of high quality muslin, derived from the Portuguese word *beatilha* or veil.

¹⁰² *Bafteh*, a Persian word, meaning a woven piece of fabric, had become to denote a special kind of long cotton fabric, in this case blue of color, which could measure up to 23 ells.

¹⁰³ *Malmal* from the Persian word, *makhmal* or velvet, in this case those made at Agra.

¹⁰⁴ Probably a *cashe* (singular), a soft, thin cotton fabric, like muslin, especially originating from Bengal.

¹⁰⁵ From the Hindi word *dhoti* denoting the loin-cloth worn by people in Upper India, and hence also the fabric used for that purpose.

¹⁰⁶ I have not been able to identify this fabric.

¹⁰⁷ This is a *tafsileh*, but what the term 'silo' means in this connection I do not know.

¹⁰⁸ I have not been able to identify this fabric.

¹⁰⁹ *Saras* from the Malay word *serash*, meaning multi-colored, and thus denoting a multi-colored fabric.

The abovementioned goods may be had annually in very large quantities and are much exported to Kong (Congo), Basra (Bassoura), and Masqat (Muscatte) and yield good profits, sometimes ½ cento [=50%], sometimes more. One has the advantage that in Thatta (Sindee) one may tender the orders to the weavers as to the [required] length, width, quality and quantity and this is more much profitable for the Comp. than when one would buy them ready-made in the market. The Portuguese have been doing this for a great many years and have profited much by it. Similarly, they have the linen bleached as soon as it came from the weaver and [as a result] it is much nicer to see and stronger than when it is brought for sale when it has already been bleached. Most of them have been consumed by the Portuguese and nowhere else do they last that long or can they be obtained in such large quantities. [80vs]

Item, extraordinary [illegible] ¹¹⁰ per <i>carouba</i>	Ropias 12	
Candied sugar, coming from Lahor, the best quality, per big <i>man</i>		14 a 16
Of good quality, when available, costs currently		7 a 8
Black ditto, per big <i>man</i>		4 a 4½
Can be had in considerable quantities		
Clarified butter [<i>ghi</i>], which is in leather bottles ¹¹¹ , per big <i>man</i>		4 a 5
Can be had in considerable quantities		

Memorandum of the goods and merchandise, both European and Indian, as well as the quantity of them that may be sold with good profits annually in the mercantile city of Thatta (Sindee).

English and Holland broadcloth of all kinds of color, fine and average; for the time being 8 to 10 pieces may be sent, the Portuguese have (having cost them 8 to 10 *gues*¹¹²) sold it at 30 to 35

Heere sayen,¹¹³ *carsaijen*,¹¹⁴ *stamette*,¹¹⁵ *camelotten*¹¹⁶ should only be sent as a sample; these are ordinarily brought and sold by the Portuguese.

Curiosities of gold, silver, glass that has been intricately wrought, all kinds of nice things from Paris that are fashionable, the notables are very eager for these, may send as commercial goods of which the Portuguese bring each year and make much profit in doing so.

¹¹⁰ It looks like the water damaged Dutch text reads: *tgroot sijde*, and thus indicates the sale of silk, but I am not sure.

¹¹¹ These were sheep skins.

¹¹² It is unlikely that *gaz* or cubit is meant, measuring about 70 cm. For more information see Willem Floor, "Weights and measures of Qajar Iran," *Studia Iranica* 2008, pp. 57-115. It is possible, but also unlikely that the term refers to the *qaz*, short for *qazbak*, a small Persian copper coin, because it is doubtful that broadcloth could be had for as little as 10 copper coins.

¹¹³ Lightly twilled woolen or silken fabric.

¹¹⁴ Bastardization of the name of Kersey, a village in Suffolk, England, where a coarsely twilled cloth was woven that bore the name of the village and that was lighter than broadcloth.

¹¹⁵ *Stamijn* or *stamette*, a small coarse woolen Dutch fabric.

¹¹⁶ Fabrics woven from sheep or goat wool.

40 to 50 sacks of cloves of the best quality
 30 to 40 dittos of nutmegs, not mixed with *rompen*¹¹⁷
 30 sockels¹¹⁸ of the best quality of mace
 15 to 20 cases of pure quick-silver without impurities
 15 to 20 small tubs of the best quality vermillion
 50 to 60 *picol*¹¹⁹ of the best and whitest cinnamon
 330 to 400 *picol* of lead
 40 *picol* of elephants' tusks [81 vs]
 10 *picol* of *cassumba*¹²⁰
 50 to 60 *picol* of pepper
 and a small quantity of variously colored damask, *pangsijis*¹²¹
Pangsijis
*Linthees*¹²²
*Seaukijns*¹²³
 It would not hurt to send these as a sample; we are told that one lot might be sold here.
 Fine porcelaine of varied assortment, but not in a large quantity, as a trial.
 Candied ginger as a sample; should be tender and not hairy and its syrop clear; it arrives here from Lahore in a small quantity and is not very good.
 A parcel of red corral.
 4 a 5 *picol* of benzoin (*benjuin*); currently sells 45 a 50 per big *man*.
 5 a 6 *picol* of turtle shell of the stiffest and the most speckled; currently sells at 65 a 70 per big *man*.

One should know that each year they bring some merchandise, just like the Portuguese, from Thatta (Sindee) to Lahore, Sehwan (Sewaon), Moltan (Multaan), Bhakkar (Baccar), etc. where they make much more profit than in Sindee. Large quantities of goods went upriver, which one might sell [there] with higher profits than in Sindee, which the Portuguese have done so far, but they sent the little that they brought in spices and that could sell profitably in Sindee, and therefore they have let it be, bringing now only [precious] stones, pearls and curiosities there and in those upper parts they obtain their return goods and at prices that at more civil than in Sindee.

The Trade of the Portuguese in Thatta (Sindee).

During the 50 years that the Portuguese have frequented this country and have used the privilege of free trade each year to carry on that trade they came with 10, 12, 14 galiots from Goa, Daman (Damaon), Diu, Masqat (Muscat) etc. bringing areca or *pinangh caleij*, a substance used for glazing, elephants' tusks, sandalwood, pepper,

¹¹⁷ *Rompen* are unripe nutmegs that have dropped from the tree.

¹¹⁸ *Sockel* or *sokkel* was a small bale made of leaves or reed and was used to transport, among other things, mace. On *sokkel* of mace weighed 154 lbs.

¹¹⁹ *Picol* from Malay *pikul*, a man's weight, equal to about 59 kg.

¹²⁰ *Cassumba* from the Malay word *kasumba*, denoting an orange-red flower (*carthamus tinctorius*), which yields a dye used, among other things, for dyeing cotton fabrics and twists.

¹²¹ *Pangsijis* were, among other things, silken Chinese fabrics.

¹²² I have not been able to identify this fabric.

¹²³ I have not been able to identify this fabric.

cardamon, some cloves, Chinese porcelaine, cinnamon, cocos nuts, which are transported in large quantity upriver where they are eaten, cocos nuts, damast, all kinds of curiosities of glass and earthenware (*gorgeleuten*), gold and silver ewers studded with stones and pearls and done so beautifully and many other such pretty things, diamonds, rubies, turquoise, hyacinths¹²⁴, smaragds, pearls that are extraordinarily large and beautiful, red and white coral, *casumba ombularq*,¹²⁵ dates, very small lots of Portuguese and English broadcloth, etc. They have their merchants reside here permanently in Lari Bandar (Bandeer) and here [Thatta], to have the purchased merchandise ready when the galliots arrive, so that they may be loaded immediately and depart at the first opportunity. What they take from here as export goods consist of: clarified butter in leathern pots, oil made from mustardseed and *singili*,¹²⁶ it is white and is used by the Jews in Masqat (Muscatte) instead of butter, cumin, sugar, candy, white and black, all kinds of textiles, indigo (*anil*), etc. They come with much cash money, which the merchants here set out on interest on the condition that that merchants, in addition to the goods that they buy for that money, also are obliged to embark as many [goods] from their own [capital] (their entire invested capital serves as security), otherwise they refuse to give money on interest to the Moors and Banyans, nor will they allow them to embark anything with them. They know fully well that the Moors and their vessels are incapable and afraid to navigate the sea, so that they take advantage of that¹²⁷ and [in fact] this yields most of their profits. The interest depends on whether the places are situated faraway or nearby. For Kong (Congo) they give 20 per cent., for Gamron 30, for Basra (Bassora) 35 to 40, for Masqat (Muscatte) 10. For freight per one *carobba* weight, which is equal to 16 *man*,¹²⁸ 6 ropias and a *carobba* of textiles containing 130, 140 pieces, 14 ropias, because it is a large package; to Gamron for 1 *carobba* of textiles, 16 ropias, to Muscatte 8 ropias and one *carobba* weight 4 ropias. They also go upriver once a year, to wit: to Sahwan (Sewaon), Bhakkar (Baccar), Moltan (Multaon), Lahore, but seldom to Agra with merchandise that cannot be sold here and these are transported by barques to the said places; stones and pearls they carry overland and in return they bring saltpeter, indigo, copper, textiles, fine fabrics, silk, sugars, etc.

Of the weights and measures in Thatta (Sindee).

Carobba, the largest weight is equal to 24 small *mans*, each *man* is equal to 30 Holland lbs¹²⁹; 1 small *man* is 40 *sirs*; 4 *sir* is one *touga* and 240 *tougas* are one

¹²⁴ A precious stone of a yellowish-red color.

¹²⁵ I have not been able to identify *ombularq*. For the term *cassumba* see note 119.

¹²⁶ Properly, *gingili* oil. It is a dark-colored, thick oil made from ground sesame seeds. It is much used in Indian cooking. Nowadays it is used, among other things, in the manufacturing of margarine.

¹²⁷ Assuming I have read the Dutch text correctly, *soo dat sij de selve hier door eer brillen*, which does not make much sense, I therefore had to guess at its meaning and, thus, my translation of this part may be wrong.

¹²⁸ The *man* referred to here perhaps was the *man* of Hormuz of 0.96 kg.; see António NUNEZ, *Livro dos pesos da Yndia, e assy medidas e mohedas escripto em 1554*, in Rodrigo José de Lima FELNER (ed.), *Subsidios para a historia da India portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1868), p. 5f (see *arobba*).

¹²⁹ A Holland pound (not Dutch, as this item refers to the weight of the province of Holland, for there were six other Dutch provinces with their own weights) was about 494 grams, thus 30 lbs. equals 14.76 kg, see further Walther HINZ, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1970), p. 23.

carobba.¹³⁰ This only applies to the buying and selling of grains. [82vs]

Item, *carobba* is also used containing 16 small *mans*, [used] when one buys or sells sugar; butter; oil, etc.

Item, *carobba* is also used for [trade in textiles] and contains one package 130 to 140 pieces of textiles.

The measuring of linen etc. is done per cobidos and per ell; the ell is somewhat larger than the ell of Holland; these are all the weights and measures that they have and use.

Concerning the money.

Ropia is silver money, according to our calculation it has a value of about 24½ *stuijver*; each one is equal to 53 paisas (*peijsen*), which is copper money; each paisa (*peijs*) is 9 *dam* (*dammarij*) or *folus* (*flusen*), which is all the money that is in circulation here.¹³¹ The [value of the] ropia goes up and down in the bills of exchange, so that when a large quantity of copper arrives they do 58 to 60 ropias, which is little and not lower than 50 to 51.

The *real* of eight is here equal to 2 ropias, 2 paisas (*peijsen*) or 106 *peijsen*, when they bring them here in large quantities to the money changers and merchants than they rise in price and sometimes reach [a value of] 112 to 115 *peijsen*.

Dutch crowns obtained as much as *reals* of eight on our arrival, but when they later became aware that they were not like them,¹³² we, finally, only could get 80 *peijsen* and that's where they remained.

Coined gold of Persia is also brought here and obtains 3 1/3 ropias per piece; it is not put into circulation, but they use it to make rings or something else. [83]

¹³⁰ This word is difficult to read and appears to be either *tougas* or *toujas*, which I have not been able to identify. It is unlikely that the term refers to the *tola*, equal to 180 grams, for the *sir* usually was equal to 80 *tolas*, which would argue against this identification. See YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson*, q.v. Seer and Tola. It clearly was a local weight as in Gujarat neither the *carobba* nor the *touga* are mentioned by the Dutch in their report on weights and measures of that region. Pieter VAN DAM, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. F.W. Stapel 7 vols. (The Hague, 1927-1939), Tweede boek, deel III, pp. 100-01.

¹³¹ On the formal classification of coins in the Mughal Empire, which differs in many respects from the actual situation in Thatta as observed in this Journal, see Abu'l-Fazl ALLAMI, *The A'in-I Akbari* tr. H. Blochman 3 vols. (Delhi, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 32-36. For an analysis of the development of the coinage see J. F. RICHARDS (ed.), *The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India* (Delhi, 1987) and [http://www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/papers2/Prakash.pdf].

¹³² I am not entirely sure of this translation as the legibility of the Dutch text is not good. As far as I can make it the text reads: *gewaer werdende van aloe soo gelt niet en waeren*.