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Sex, Lies and European Hegemony: Travel Literature and Ideology

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The influence of travel literature in popular culture during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is self evident; in spite of this (or perhaps because of it) few scholars have directly discussed the popularity of the genre and its influence since the "age of discovery." A few authors acknowledged the popularity of individual accounts (Penrose 310)¹ or document the increase in these types of accounts (Campbell 256)²; this article, however, begins from the implicit understanding that travel accounts of the period were not only popular across the population of Europe (as is attested by their wide-ranging translations) but were also influential (as is shown by both the manipulation and use of these texts).³

Traditionally travel literature has been viewed as either the *reportage* of the mobile elite or the passive recording of traveler's experiences (i.e. "that was the way it was"). Focusing on India in the early modern era, this paper argues, instead, that this genre of literature constituted a body of "esoteric information":

Esoteric knowledge is knowledge of the unusual, the exceptional, the extraordinary; knowledge of things that in some way or another lie beyond the familiar everyday world. It should not be surprising, then, to find that many domains of esoteric knowledge include 'foreign' elements from geographically distant places, whether it be knowledge of the customs or sacred texts of foreign peoples, recognition of the contributions of foreign scholars and culture heroes, or the acquisition of rare and powerful wonders from legendary or cosmologically potent distances. (Helms 13)

This source of information, in turn, was manipulated and controlled by individuals and authorities interested in the larger context of global economic activity. In sum, this paper proposes that travel literature played an important role in the production of knowledge in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and provided the public with an illustration, albeit distorted, of the "Other."

To address these issues, the entire corpus of travel literature that covers India up to 1761, the year commonly accepted as the beginning of English control, was studied.⁴ This includes the work dating from the classical period, e.g. Megasthenes and Herodotus, though the majority of accounts fall within a period when European economic activity was beginning to dominate the world, circa the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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A crucial aspect of the argument detailed in this paper is a belief that such travel accounts are really far more indicative of European mores than that of Indian society. In short, the only means by which to understand the "foreign" is through conscious and unconscious references to one's own cultural constructs, similar to the historian's understanding that the past is always interpreted in terms of the present. Likewise, the iconic Eurocentric traveler is really an extension of this: the disparaging comments, the condescending air, and the inevitable homesickness. When this understanding of the "Other" is attempted through the travelers' indigenous genres (i.e. literature, drama, visual representation) it becomes what Steven Mullaney (40-67) has termed a "rehearsal of culture." Mullaney has shown how the familiar "allows, invites, and even demands a full and potentially self-consuming review of unfamiliar things" (49). Consequently, the travel literature of the early modern period can be viewed through this interpretation as a supremely European vehicle attempting to make sense of the Indian milieu. In the end, however, such accounts really are a more successful commentary on the European context than the Indian.

This article is not an attempt to explore European accounts to India in extensive detail; instead, its goal is to broadly characterize this genre through three themes. The title of this article is in no way meant to imply that early-modern travelers were deliberate liars; the use of such a straightforward term is merely to draw attention to the slippery and relative nature of veracity. Further, this paper emphasizes questions of sexuality in exploring these "rehearsals of culture" because European sexual taboos of the period no doubt influenced the portrayal of the "Other." Lastly, this paper proposes that the literature of travel accounts was tied up with the larger production of knowledge of the period, and the rise of European hegemony. As Europe came to understand what the world looked like and what was available for economic exploitation, travel literature spurred on competing interests to stake their claim.

Travel Literature and its Relationship to the Rise of the European Domain

Although world economic systems had existed prior to the sixteenth century,⁵ the commodity relationships that arose in what Immanuel Wallerstein (66-129) has termed the "long sixteenth century" (approximately 1450-1640)⁶ are most likely the origins of our present world context, in other words, European or western dominance. Wallerstein argues that the social and economic changes during this period in Europe were profound: rise in population density, changes in agricultural intensification, changes in labor organization and, most importantly, a geographic division of labor whereby the core areas (Europe) lived off the profits from the peripheral regions. Further, in Wallerstein's world the power of the state is essential to the development and maintenance of such a system. The conservative economist's understanding of the *laissez-faire* state is a misnomer given the importance of the relationship between the rise of the state and the growth of capitalism.

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The writers of the travel accounts to India at this period were men of their time; that is, they reflect the rising interests of the state and the encroaching bonds of commerce that continued to bind the world. As support for this, one can point to what this paper interprets as a difference of attitude in travelers arriving in India prior to the “discovery” of the sea route by Vasco da Gama in 1497 as distinct from those who followed. Prior to da Gama’s efforts, only those individuals who had access to the routes through Istanbul (the land route) could travel on to India. The majority of those taking this route to India were pilgrims, diplomats, adventurers, sightseers, or businessmen with the necessary Muslim connections. In sum, they were interested *individuals* who lacked what later became royal or official patronage.

Nicolò de Conti, a Venetian merchant, traveled widely throughout the east. Returning to Venice in 1441 after 25 years of travel, he was of such interest to Pope Eugene IV, that he was extensively interviewed by the Pope’s personal secretary, Poggio Bracciolini.⁸ De Conti’s account is unique because of the level of detail demanded by Poggio. Additionally, de Conti’s leisurely peregrinations allowed him to carefully observe many facets of eastern life. Traveling “without portfolio,” Poggio brought out of de Conti comments on a wide range of social customs, geographic details and religious rites. Noticeably lacking are comments on spices—the ultimate Indian export of the period. The point here is not that de Conti was an incompetent businessman, but that his purpose lay more in an individual rather than official agenda. This is in contrast to the travel literature that followed, where commentary on the trade situation was *de rigueur*.

The establishment of a sea-route around Africa to India occurred 50 years after de Conti returned. Though the sixteenth century marked the rise of Portuguese influence in India, it was a phenomena not reflected in the contemporary travel accounts where Italy and Northern Europe were the principal sources of authors (Lach 2: 181). The reasons for this lie in Portugal’s past. Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) had been a leader in world exploration with his expeditions along the west coast of Africa where he developed a trade in gold and slaves. Publication of Portuguese exploits in Africa resulted in competition with other European powers and a lessening of profit. The Portuguese took from this experience an understanding that widespread dissemination of information about their exploits had to be controlled. Consequently, “[n]othing came off the presses of Portugal before mid-century to elucidate systematically the great discoveries which had been made since the first voyage of Vasco da Gama” (Lach 2: 181).

Portuguese accounts that were published were carefully controlled for circulation. Duarte Barbosa, who lived primarily in India on the Malabar Coast between 1501-18 penned a manuscript of his adventures, circa 1518, but it was circulated only among a select group of Portuguese officials. In 1524, parts of the manuscript were translated into Italian and it was printed in Ramusio’s collection of travels in 1550.⁹ Ramusio’s was the only version of the account known until the discovery, in 1812, of the Portuguese version.¹⁰

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By the end of the sixteenth-century the Portuguese domestic problems (and their effect on the Portuguese navy) were significant enough to encourage other European interests to compete for these eastern markets. The "first" Englishman in India is dated to 1584;¹¹ other European interests are equally represented during this transition period. One of the crucial narratives of the period was penned by Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611), whose book was seen as a "revelation" (Barnell xl) for its portrayal of the Portuguese as a weak player in India. Along with this description of the Portuguese, Linschoten addressed a variety of potential trade issues and made clear his motive: India was fair game.¹²

With the rise of the seventeenth century, travel accounts became not only more common but also carried official *imprimatur*. This corresponds to the establishment of the English and Dutch East India companies and, significantly later, the French Company. Official patronage had several effects. First, the formation of English and Dutch companies allowed direct investment by individuals into the development of trade with the East. Further, business became intertwined with diplomacy. The goal became more than the simple maximization of profit as representatives were usually under order to set up a factory, which can be seen as an early predecessor of the embassy.¹³ For example, for the sixth voyage of the English East India Company the goals of an English factory were written out. Instructions included the order to found a factory, obtain information regarding the manner and condition of the natives, inquire about other Englishmen known to be in India, attempt to procure relief from custom duties and to keep an official journal of all activities. This last directive is in direct contrast to the Portuguese attitude to the dissemination of information.¹⁴

As the seventeenth century proceeded, travel accounts came to reflect these negotiations of political and merchant issues and this, in turn, was reflected in portrayals of the "Other." While early travelers, such as de Conti, had been primarily taken by the foreignness of Indian life, the seventeenth century writers were primarily focused on issues of trade. As economic control repeatedly became a victim to political machinations, their increasing frustration became apparent. The English continued to attempt, through the early 1600s, to gain trade agreements from the Moghul court. One 1612 agreement stipulated for a representative of England to live at court and negotiate further issues of trade; that representative was Sir Thomas Roe, whose 1625 account details his increasing disbelief that a negotiated economic relationship with the natives was possible.¹⁵

This section has argued that the nature of travel literature to India is shaped by and reflected in the political milieu of the day. First, it has been demonstrated that prior to the "discovery" of the sea route to India only interested individuals found their way to India via the land route. Lacking governmental investment or interest they traveled without agenda, commenting on the rich possibilities they noted. Second, these accounts were part of the production of knowledge not only because they helped to elucidate the globe at a time when it was incompletely understood but also in that the accounts were carefully controlled by the Portuguese, who had learned their lesson from the

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African experience. When other European states began to trade in India once Portuguese influence was on the wane, the travel accounts reflect this new influx of interest. The narratives that resulted were primarily dominated by issues of business and diplomacy (which were intertwined). The competing interests of various nation-states became the issue and were represented in the accounts of the individuals involved.

Travel Literature and Issues of Veracity

Having created a background or context by which to view this corpus of literature, it is now necessary to focus on exactly what writers were saying about India. It is important to first make clear that travel literature is fiction, not in the sense of being false, but in the way that it is both fashioned and determined by an author. This is similar to James Clifford's understanding of the fictive nature of ethnography:

To call ethnographies fictions may raise empiricist hackles. But the word as commonly used in recent textual theory has lost its connotation of falsehood, of something merely opposed to truth. It suggests the partiality of cultural and historical truths, the ways they are systematic and exclusive. (6)

Veracity becomes an important issue when analyzing travel literature especially when the documents are being utilized as historiographic tools. One of the authors of this (Bailey-Goldschmidt) has been interpreting accounts of Europeans who visited the medieval capital city of Vijayanagara in peninsular India. Such accounts serve as one of the primary sources of information for the modern understanding of Vijayanagara's past; these sources have been used, however, without an understanding of either how such accounts fit into the larger corpus of literature or what the intentionality of the author was.

The goal of this section is not to document the "lies" of the travelers researched for this paper. Instead, it will illustrate the highly formulaic nature of these accounts, similar to the nature of the best-selling novel of today. This paper has argued for travel literature as a "rehearsal of culture" for the writer: he makes sense of the foreign in terms of what is familiar to him. It is not surprising then that the "Other" often becomes reduced to a series of iconographic or stereotypical images. For example, a variety of themes continually reappear in such accounts, including *sati* (the Hindu ritual of widow burning), child-brides, and a variety of culinary and customs of etiquette.

One common hazard of veracity in documentation was geographic uncertainty; there was often no distinction between northern and southern India. Social characteristics noted in one village were identified as a universal custom in the India sub-continent. Marco Polo's 1299 AD account was the preeminent source of eastern cartographic information until the end of the fifteenth century, after which the manuscript of the ancient geographer Claudius Ptolemy came into fashion. His manuscript was first printed in 1477, despite the fact that the outline of India was unrecognizable (Gole 28), and continued to be published up to 1730 (43).

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It is also not surprising that the complexity of the Hindu faith did not translate well into European constructs of religiosity. Obviously overwhelmed by the sheer number in the pantheon, Europeans reduced Hinduism to what they perceived as its significant building-blocks:

Though they all profess one religion, yet they are divided into 84 sects, or tribes; each of which has its particular rites and ceremonies; and some peculiar profession or trade, which their children never leave, without they would be for ever reputed infamous; as I was told by a Bramen, I sent for on purpose to be informed in what relates to them. (In Guha 2: 308)¹⁶

Other common descriptions included the sacred cow, ceremonies of worship, and caste. But, as the seventeenth century proceeded, description and commentary gave way to detail more and more related to business and trade. Jean Baptiste Tavernier bears witness as the supreme businessman visiting India in the seventeenth century. A jeweler, Tavernier was tireless in his description of trade details in India and the jewel market there; four chapters alone are devoted to diamonds. Though Tavernier also described various social rituals, it is clear his primary interest was trade.¹⁷

Evidence suggests another hazard to veracity was the fact that many of the writers did not pen their work until their safe arrival home, relying on the limitations of their memory and experience. Marco Polo serves as the famous example of "memoir" travel account, for his was recalled to a fellow jail-mate during his captivity and only via a second person put to paper. Nicolo de Conti also drew from his memory when asked to recount his adventures by Pope Eugene IV. It is not surprising, given this fact, that authors often "borrowed" ideas, incidents and words from other travelers. Ralph Fitch, one of the earliest Englishmen to travel to India (c. 1583), was primarily a merchant. When he returned to London and began to write his account, his memory obviously failed him and he relied heavily on the account written by Cesare de Federici who had traveled at nearly the same time and visited the same places. For example:

Federici: Goa, is the principallest Citey that the Portingales have in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his court and ministers of the king of Portingale....(4)

Fitch: Goa is the most principal cities which the Portugals have in India, wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his court. (61)

Federici: The Rubyes, Saphyres, and the Spynelly, they be gotten in the Kingdome of Pegu. The Diamandes they come from divers places; and I know but thress of these. That sort of Diamands, that is called Chiappe, they come from Bezeneger. Those that bee pointed naturally come from the land of Dely, and from Iaua...(4)

Fitch: The rubies, sapphires, and spinelles are found in Pegu. The diamants are found in divers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and the llands of the Iauas. (190)

This is not an argument for widespread plagiarism. Instead, read the contemporary coincidence in plot-line in a variety of modern popular novels. Essentially the formulaic nature of the genre encouraged borrowing.

This borrowing inevitably leads to a multiplication of errors which created a chain of fibs stretching through the centuries. One such myth was that of the gold-digging ants who lived underground near the Indus river, heaping up sand mixed with gold in the process of carrying out their lives. If one attempted to retrieve this gold, so the story went, they were chased by these ants (the size of dogs) and killed. This legend can be traced as far back as Herodotus in the fifth century B.C., through Megasthenes and into the fictive Mandeville's narrative in the fourteenth century.

This argument has attempted to show that accounts of India in the premodern era were not mere passive *reportage*, but reflected a variety of active constructs and presuppositions about the "Other." Further, as the seventeenth century wore on, they were constrained by the genre itself. That is, such accounts were cumulative in that they contributed to and followed from one another. This recursive nature ensures that the authors tended to follow a formula by which to carry out this "rehearsal of culture" but simultaneously worked as the maintainers of myths and fables.

Still, such accounts can be useful historiographic tools if understood in the larger context; here it is useful to look at the larger pattern of European sexuality as viewed through the lens of the smaller context of European travel literature to the East.

Sexuality as Represented in European "rehearsals of culture"

It is tempting to view early European accounts of Indian sexuality as precursors of the tabloid heading: sensational and dubious. Such sexual vignettes are extreme enough to cause doubt as to their truthfulness, yet so pervasive as to raise questions of intentionality. Is this just another example of Europeans fashioning India in a manner understandable to European audiences? Partly, no doubt, but also an attempt to elicit enthusiasm and interest in the "Other." As the seventeenth century wore on, it is unlikely that *Eros* had much of a role in the life of the English or Dutch living in India.¹⁹ By this point, more likely, the formulaic style of the travel literature demanded the "passive," "willing" native maiden that was beyond the reach of the European.

More importantly, however, this portrayal of the "Other" in sexual terms changes through time, suggesting that sexuality became another tool in the "rehearsal of culture." Early accounts, while titillating, are of a fantastical or imaginary nature. Lodovico De Varthema²⁰ tells of one incident during his stay in Tamassari (thought to be Masulipatam) when his host, the King, insisted Varthema's colleague deflower his wife as it was the custom to have white, Christian males do the honor on the wedding night. His friend reluctantly agreed (203).²¹ This occurs during a period before India was involved in a dependant relationship with the West, a period when European interests were attempting to negotiate economic relationships rather than enforce them. In sum, the "Other" was not in a subordinate position and the portrait that the

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travelers paint of the "Other" expresses this. This is a complex argument whose explication is beyond the scope of this article. But can be seen clearly by viewing the sexual portrayal of the "Other," 150 years after Varthema penned his naive and fantastical narrative, in a time when the Dutch, French and English were carrying out a pitched war for greater economic control and access. When Richard Edwards, a subordinate official in the English Company, found himself in trouble in October of 1674 due to his relationship with a native woman, a colleague wrote to cheer him up and tell him the problem would be cleared up through interference with the local authorities:

With him [Governor of Murshidabad] you may end it cheaper if y[ou] have the Luck [to] wheadle the mother as well as you have fucked the Daughter. (80)²²

The allusion is not the fantasy played out by Varthema; indeed, the bluntness of the remarks emphasizes the change in the nature of the sexual perception of the "Other." Obviously, the attitude was more hands on in Edwards' time than in Varthema's, when India was essentially co-equal to Europe.

Conclusion

The goal of this paper was not to completely detail travel literature of India up to the advent of the English. The documentary sources are too rich and this setting too limited. The paper does, however, illustrate three themes in early modern travel literature to India which help to document the very important concept of the "Other" as it is portrayed in such accounts.

It has been argued, first, that the "Other" changes in relation to the narrator/author's economic relationship to it. As the eighteenth century proceeded, images of the "Other" show an increasing amount of frustration with Indian political autonomy, and a recurring theme stresses the importance of governance. Only when this finally occurs in the 1760s (and the historic and cultural heritage of the "Other" is no longer a threat to European economic dominance) does England begin to show an interest in the Indian milieu.

Second, it has been demonstrated that by attempting to utilize a selected example of travel literature as a tool for history, a distorted view is perpetuated. Travel literature is cumulative and must be understood in terms of the history of the genre. Each writer follows a predecessor from whom he borrows or by whom he is influenced. "Truth" often is sacrificed in the name of competing national interests, i.e. trade, politics and the dictates of the genre.

Last, this paper argues that although these accounts tell us something of pre-modern India, they are more instructive in explaining and illustrating European attitudes and mores. By using the examples of sexuality and the "Other" to examine this point, one can illustrate a "rehearsal of culture" whereby one society makes sense of another only in terms of its own. It is not then surprising to see such European sexual taboos reflected in the portrayal of the "Other."

In conclusion, the competing interests of a variety of European nations for economic dominance and control are played out in travel literature. Thus they

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are disseminated to a wide audience, influencing popular perceptions of the eastern "Other." Though England has been proclaimed the nominal victor in India, the true winner in the rise of world capitalism was Europe. European hegemony was both parent and child to a variety of social changes, including the rise of nation-states, changes in land-tenure, work contract and monetary policy. In sum, the victor was European hegemony, and this paper argues that this is clearly portrayed in the travel accounts of the period.

Notes

¹Boies Penrose comments: "That there was interest among the reading public in travel as well as in the more theoretical aspects of geography is evident from the popularity of collections of voyages" (310).

²Mary Campbell notes "...the vast increase in the numbers of exotic travel accounts that accompanied the Age of Discovery..." (256).

³In support of this premise, the travelers cited in this article have been traced through the many editions and translations of their works. The authors used in this article to illustrate a variety of themes were not chosen based on their fame, but their popularity as evidenced by the number of editions they went through. The following is an abbreviated list:

Roe: 10 editions, 4 languages

Barbosa: 1 edition, 1 language

Tavernier: 23 editions, 5 languages

Federici: 6 editions, 3 languages

Linschoten: 17 editions, 6 languages

Ramusio: 6 editions, 1 language

Varthema: 18 editions, 5 languages

Some travelers (i.e. Conti) were circulated as manuscripts prior to the printing press and are therefore unable to be quantified.

"The authors' understanding of the "Other" makes this a convenient and necessary cut-off point. It was in the year 1761 that the English finally defeated the French in India and laid claim to the entire subcontinent. This is also the year used by *Library of Congress Subject Headings* to divide Indian history. Although the authors of this article believe there is a change in tone, this cut-off is arbitrary and primarily a convention.

⁴For more on this point see Janet Abu-Lughod. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

⁵For a detailed account of this, see the chapter entitled "The New European Division of Labor c. 1450-1640" in Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

⁷Though in the western tradition Vasco da Gama is credited with the founding of the sea-route to India, documentary evidence suggests that Arabic traders were long familiar with the sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope, albeit from the reverse direction (Abu-Lughod 255-58).

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⁸Between 1431 and 1447, Poggio gathered material for a work summarizing all that was known of the outside world. The work, *Historia de varietate fortunæ*, circulated in Latin manuscripts from about 1448. An abbreviated version of Conti's account first appeared in print in 1485/86 as part of Jacopo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo's *Supplementum chronicarum* (Lach 2: 62-63). In 1492, Conti's account appeared in print as *India Recognita. Christoforum bullatus ducis Isubrium senator Petro Caræ ducis alobrogum Senatori .s. Poggii Florentini de varietate Fortunæ*. Uldericus Scinzenzler: Milan, 1492 [the fourth book of Poggio's *De Varietate fortunæ* edited by C. Bullatus].

⁹Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557) compiled one of the earliest published anthologies of travel literature; his work, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell'Africa: et del paese del Prete Ianni, con uarii uiaggi, dal mar Rosso 'a Calicut, & insin all'isole Molucche, doue nascono le spetierie, et la navigationi attorno il mondo; li nomi de gli avttori, et le navigationi, et i viaggi piv particolarmente si mostrano nel foglio segvente* (Venetia: Appresso gli heredi di Lvcanonio Givnti, 1550), included Barbosa's account.

¹⁰The First Portuguese edition of Barbosa's work was the Academia dos Sciencias de Lisboa, *Collecção de noticias para a historó e geografi das nações ultramarinas* (Lisbon, 1812). The first complete English edition was *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese*. Translated from an early Spanish manuscript in the Barcelona library; with notes and a preface by Henry E.J. Stanley (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1866. Series I, v. 35.). Further accounts of Barbosa were published in *The book of Duarte Barbosa; an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa and completed about the year 1518 A.D.*. Translated from the Portuguese text and edited and annotated by Mansel Longworth Dames (London: Hakluyt Society, 1918-21. Series II, v. 44, 49). For further details on this, see Lach (2: 186).

¹¹This account comes in the form of a letter from John Newbery to Master Leonard Poore from Goa and is dated to January of that year. Newbery states prophetically: "And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations" (In Locke 79).

¹²Linschoten's account, *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert, van Ian Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selver landen ende zee-custen...Alles beschreven ende by een vergadert, door den selfden...voor alle curiese ende liefhebbers van vreemdigheden* (t'Amstelredam: By Cornelis Claesz..., 1596), was translated into English in 1598 by W. Phillip (*John Huighen van Linschoten, his discours of voyages into ye East & West Indies. Devided into foure bookes*. Translated from the Dutch by W. Phillip, London: Printed at London by John Wolfe), as well as appearing in Hakluyt and Purchas, collections published in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

¹³Though factories fulfilled different functions over time for the Dutch, French and English, in general they "created integrated networks of commercial houses...to which goods could be privately consigned" (Chaudhuri 90).

¹⁴This account was written in the form of a letter of instruction to Lawrence Femmel, the principal factor of the Sixth Voyage of the East India Company. "The Sixth Voyage set forth by the East India company: Instructions to the Factors" in Markham

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(131-36). In Sir Clements Robert Markham, editor, *The voyages of Sir James Lancaster, knight, to the East Indies, during the seventeenth century, preserved in the India office* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1877, Series I, vol. 56): 131-36.

¹⁵Roe's account first appeared in print, in a very corrupt form, in Samuel Purchas' collection of travel literature in 1625 (*Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, London). Thereafter, it was published in a variety of editions of varying reliability through the nineteenth century. The Hakluyt Society published the full corrected text in 1899 in two volumes: *The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-19*. Edited from contemporary records by William Foster. London: Hakluyt Society, 1899, Series II, Vol. 1-2.

¹⁶Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri was an Italian who visited India in 1695. According to his account, he met with the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb during his travels and went on to China and Mexico; there have been some questions raised about the truthfulness of his account and the most extreme (and unlikely) have argued he never left Italy. His six volume *Giro del Mondo first appeared in 1699-1700*.

¹⁷Tavernier's account has been criticized for its excessive plagiarism on historical sections; his personal accounts seem on the whole accurate. His book, *Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitéz singuliers et curieux qui n'ont point été mis dans les six premiers voyages...*, Paris, 1679), was quickly translated into a variety of European languages within a few years of its publication in French.

¹⁸Federici's account was first published in Italian in 1587 as *Viaggio nell'India Orientale*, (Venice); in 1588 an English translation by T. Hickok, *The Voyage and Travaile of M.C. Federici* (sic), Merchant of Venys into the Easte India and Indyas and beyond the Indyas..., (London) appeared. Additionally, summaries of his account appeared in Purchas (1625) and Hakluyt's *The principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or ouer land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compase of these 1500 yeeres; deuided into three seuerall parts, according to the positions of the regions whereunto they were directed...Whereunto is added the last most renowned English nauigation, round about the whole globe of the earth*, (London: Imprinted by G. Bishop and R. Newberie, deputies to C. Barker, printer to the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie, 1589).

¹⁹Unlike the Dutch and English a century later, individual Portuguese usually came to India to stay in the sixteenth century, leaving an ethnic and cultural legacy for generations. In doing so, they married the locals and raised their children in this new Indo-Portuguese society. In a time when nationalism was not completely understood, they divided themselves by purity of blood, rank and marital status. For more on this see Pearson's *The New Cambridge History of India: The Portuguese in India*.

²⁰Varthema's work first appeared in Italian in 1510. *Itinerario di Luvovico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egipto, nella surria, nell Arabia deserta & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nella Ethiopia. La fede, el vivere, & costumi de tutte le prefate Provincie*, (Roma: S. guillireti de Loreno & H. de Nani, ad istatia de maestro L. de Henricis da Corneto, 1510).

²¹Varthema continues; "But after the first night, it would have been at the peril of his life if he had returned again, although truly the lady would have desired that the first night had lasted a month" (203).

²²Edwards's account was never published in his lifetime, appearing only as a summary of his correspondence in the periodical *Bengal Past and Present*.

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