TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

JEAN-BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

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Jean-Baptiste Tavernier

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BARON OF AUBONNE

Translated from the original French Edition of 1676 with a biographical sketch of the Author, Notes, Appendices, &c.

By

V. BALL, C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.

SECOND EDITION

Edited by WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E.
Late of the Indian Civil Service

IN TWO VOLUMES

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CONTENTS OF VOL. I

	PAGE
PREFACE OF DR. V. BALL	vii
INTRODUCTION—LIFE OF J.-B. TAVERNIER	x
INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION, BY W. CROOKE	xxx
SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES ON TAVERNIER'S HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY	xl
BIBLIOGRAPHY	lx
TITLE PAGE OF ORIGINAL EDITION	lxvii
DEDICATION TO THE KING	lxix
DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR	lxxi
TABLE OF THE BOOKS AND CHAPTERS	lxxxviii
'AVIS' TO THE READER	xci
TRAVELS IN INDIA—	
Book I, Chapters I to XX	1–253
Book II, Chapters I to XI	255–326
APPENDIX	327–335

ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAIT OF TAVERNIER . . . . . *Frontispiece*

PORTRAIT OF DR. VALENTINE BALL . . . *To face page* xxx

MAP OF INDIA, WITH TAVERNIER'S ROUTES . . *At end of Volume*

ILLUSTRATIONS contained in the portion of the original work included in this Volume i, but not reproduced here :—

Numerical figures—French and Indian.
Touchstones of the money-changers for testing silver.
Seals or monograms of the Kings who have reigned.

PREFACE OF DR. V. BALL

VOL. I

TAVERNIER'S name, owing to its frequent mention in histories and in works on precious stones, has long been known as that of one of the most renowned travellers of the seventeenth century. Possibly it would not be incorrect to speak of Tavernier as in some respects the most renowned traveller during that period when so much was done to bring home to the people of Europe information about countries which had previously been but little known.

Such being the case, it is not only somewhat surprising that there should be so much error in the published accounts of his life, but also that his *Travels*, although they have been frequently issued in various languages, have not, as a whole, been subjected to critical examination and elucidation with the aid of our modern knowledge of the countries which they describe.

Of Tavernier's life and work Prof. Charles Joret has given an exhaustive survey in a recently-published monograph. In the present volumes it is sought to present an approximately literal translation of the portion of the *Travels* which refer to India, accompanying it by such identifications of localities with modern sites, and such elucidation of obscure points, as have been possible.

As will be explained more particularly in the biographical sketch, the chief faults in Tavernier's encyclopaedic volumes consist in a want of systematic arrangement of the subjects, a fuller and more carefully correlated chronology, and a reconciliation of really or apparently contradictory statements; such work, in short, as should have been done by the editors whom he employed, but which they appear to have either wilfully shirked or omitted to recognize as a part of their duty.

Upwards of two hundred years have elapsed since an English translation, that by John Phillips, has appeared; but owing

to that translator's misconception of the author's meaning, through want of local knowledge, and to serious abridgement, it gives a very inadequate idea of the true merits of the work, which, except to those who have read it in the original, have therefore been practically unknown to English readers.

A word of explanation is due to the readers of these volumes as to how it has happened that the present editor came to undertake the onerous task of translation and annotation.

For a long time I have been well acquainted with the portions of Tavernier's works which deal with the economic mineral resources of India, and although I have published some accounts of these, having succeeded in identifying the sites of the diamond mines described by him, which were for a long time supposed by authors to be beyond the reach of recognition, I have felt that in order to truly represent him a new English edition, at least of the Indian travels, was much wanted, which would give his facts in their own setting and substantiate, by means of modern illustration, the strong claim which he has to be regarded as a veracious and original author.

Being fully mindful of my deficiencies as a philological and historical critic, I had, when further acquainted with the work, determined not to undertake the task myself, as I felt that such qualifications as I possessed, which were mainly derived from a long experience of travelling in India in connexion with the Geological Survey of that country, would not make up for the lack of special knowledge in the subjects just alluded to.

Acting, however, under the advice of Colonel Sir H. Yule, I commenced the translation and annotation in the year 1886 and have devoted the greater portion of my spare time since then to this work.

In speaking of the aid which Colonel Yule has ever been most ready to afford, I must guard against implying that the work has been completed in any way under his supervision; that for various reasons has not been possible, and it would be an ill return for so much assistance as I have received to lay upon him any responsibility for opinions which he has not had an opportunity of considering. At the same time the direct acknowledgements of his advice which are made in the footnotes by no means cover the extent of my indebtedness, and

I regret the impossibility of doing more now than to give expression to my gratitude to him for his labour and advice in these somewhat general terms.

To Mr. V. A. Smith of the Bengal Civil Service I am indebted for much assistance and advice while passing this first volume through the press. His departure for India has deprived me of a continuation of his valuable aid in connexion with the second volume.

INTRODUCTION[1]

LIFE OF J.-B. TAVERNIER

JEAN-BAPTISTE TAVERNIER was born in Paris in the year 1605. This has been ascertained from a statement in the volume of his *Relations*, namely that in 1679 he was seventy-four years old. But there is no direct evidence as to the exact month or day of his birth, and they cannot now be ascertained owing to the disappearance of the registers of the church at Charenton, where he was baptized.

Not very much is known of the family of his father Gabriel, of whom, however, it is recorded that he fled from Antwerp to Paris in 1575, together with his brothers Melchior and Nicolas, in order to avoid religious persecution, they being Protestants. They readily accepted French nationality, and it is suggested by M. Joret that their ancestors may have originally migrated from France to Belgium. Melchior became famous as an engraver and printer to the King; he was born in 1544, and died in 1641, at the age of ninety-seven years. Of Nicolas the record is more scanty, it being only known that he was married to Claudine le Bert, by whom he had a son named Jacques. Of Gabriel it is known that like Melchior he was a geographer, but he appears to have been rather a merchant than an artist. He married Suzanne Tonnelier, by whom he had three sons—Melchior, baptized in 1594; Jean-Baptiste, who, as already stated, was born in 1605; and Gabriel, born in 1613. As will be seen hereafter, Tavernier mentions a brother Daniel[2] who died at Batavia in the year 1648, and there also appears to have been a brother named Maurice, whose son accompanied Tavernier on his sixth voyage. The possibility of Gabriel being identical with either Daniel or Maurice has been discussed, but there would be no advantage in retailing the various opinions

[1] Largely based on the excellent life of *J.-B. Tavernier* by Prof. Charles Joret, Paris, Plon, 1886.

[2] See Book III, chap. xxvi. The name Daniel is printed on the map of Tonquin in Tavernier's account of that Kingdom.

here, as none of them are conclusive. Melchior, like his uncle, became distinguished as a cartographer; he died in 1665, during the last of Jean-Baptiste's voyages to the East.

The geographical surroundings of Jean-Baptiste, and the discussions which learned men held with his father, and to which he listened with avidity, served to inflame in his mind from his earliest years a strong desire to see foreign countries; but minute as are his descriptions of his travels, he, so far as his own autobiographical account is concerned, ignores the events of his early youth; and indeed it may be said that throughout he sinks his personality to such an extent that the actual period at which some of his adventures took place can only be arrived at by the casual mention of incidents and dates which are scattered about through his works, while with regard to others there are no indications whatever, and in reference to some periods of his life we are left in complete darkness as to where and how they were spent.

By the age of twenty-two he had, he states in his 'Design', seen the best parts of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland,[1] Hungary, and Italy, and had acquired a fair knowledge of the most useful European languages. It would appear from M. Joret's estimate that these rambles must have commenced when he was only fifteen years old. It is not necessary to follow the details of these European travels here, as they are fully set forth on following pages in 'The Design of the Author'.

First Voyage.—Contrary to those writers who have stated that Tavernier started on his first voyage to the East in 1636, M. Joret has, I think, very clearly proved, by reference to the easily ascertained dates of historical events which took place while he was in Constantinople, that his departure cannot have been later than January or February 1631; and that, in 1633, after visiting Persia, he returned to Europe by Aleppo and Alexandretta to Malta, from whence he made his way to Italy, bringing with him some Persian turquoises as articles of trade. During the next five years his occupation is unknown, the record being almost blank.

[1] Poland, as pointed out by M. Joret, does not appear to have been visited till he was twenty-five years old.

SECOND VOYAGE.—On the 13th of September 1638 we find him again starting from Paris for the East, taking ship at Marseilles for Alexandretta, with a following consisting of a young artist, a surgeon, and his brother Daniel. He was, moreover, on this occasion well equipped as a merchant. After spending six weeks at Aleppo he left it on the 27th December [1] with a caravan, and passing through Mashhad, Basra, and Shīrāz, reached Ispahān at the end of April or beginning of May 1639. Here he visited the King, Shāh Safavi, grandson of Shāh 'Abbās. Our next record of him shows him to have been in Hindustān early in 1641, but as to the route which he followed, whether by sea or by land, and at what date he traversed it, there is no direct evidence. M. Joret suggests that he left Ispahān at the end of 1639, that he paid his first visit to Dacca in 1640, and that he remained in Agra during the winter of 1640–1. In 1641 he tells us that he was at Burhānpur on the journey from Agra to Surat, and elsewhere that he was at Goa at the close of the same year. His journey up from Surat to Agra in 1640, unlike the journey back *via* Burhānpur, was probably made by the Ahmadābād route which is described on pp. 40–73. At Agra he found Shāhjahān enjoying a peaceable reign. From Goa he appears to have visited Golkonda and made full inquiries and perhaps visited the diamond mines—returning to Surat by the land journey throughout, in the spring of 1642. How he occupied himself during the remainder of this year is uncertain ; but he states that he paid a visit to Ahmadābād, probably while awaiting the season for sailing, towards the end of the year 1642 or the beginning of 1643, when he states he was in Bandar 'Abbās.

THIRD VOYAGE.—We do not know when he reached Paris nor what route he followed ; but we find him towards the close of 1643, namely on the 6th of December, starting thence on his third voyage to the East, arriving as before at Alexandretta. On the 6th of March 1644 he started from Aleppo in the company of two Capuchin monks, arriving at Ispahān on the 3rd of May, where M. Joret considers he must have remained

[1] I do not think it necessary to enter into any discussion here as to the enigmas presented by the incompatibility of some of his statements with these dates. (See Joret, p. 48.)

for some months, reaching Surat in January 1645, most probably by the Bandar 'Abbās route. On the 19th of January he started *via* Daulatābād and Nānder for Golkonda, whence he visited the diamond mines, regarding which he had ascertained particulars, if he had not actually seen them, on the occasion of his previous journey. After visiting the mine of Raolconda, *i. e.* the modern Ramalakota, eighteen miles south of Karnūl, he appears to have returned to Golkonda and afterwards proceeded to the mine which he called Gani or Coulour; this, it will be seen, stands for Kān-i-Kollūr on the Kistnā, at seven days' journey eastwards, or more correctly south-eastwards, from Golkonda. (See vol. i, 139.) How the remainder of this year and the whole of 1646 were employed we cannot say. In connexion with the descriptions of the above-named mines he also describes one at Soumelpour (see vol. ii, 65 ff.), which was situated on the Koel river, an affluent of the Son, in the District of Lohārdagā in Western Bengal, but as to when he visited it, if ever, he gives no certain indication. There are some grounds for supposing that in 1647 he visited Persia, indeed he actually states (Book I, chap. viii) that he was in Ispahān towards the end of that year. Be this as it may, we find him on the 11th of January 1648 at Mingrela, that is to say Vengurla, on the west coast of India, where he had arrived from Surat in a Dutch vessel called the *Maestricht*. After nine days spent there, during which time he enjoyed the hospitality of the Dutch, who had a factory there, he embarked on an armed vessel for Goa, where he arrived on the following day, and was much struck with its decadence since his previous visit in 1641. During the two months which he spent in Goa he was on the most friendly terms with the Viceroy—the wealthy Dom Filippe de Mascarenhas,—the Archbishop, and the Inquisitor-General, by all of whom he was treated with much kindness, the latter having first satisfied himself that he had left his Bible behind him at Vengurla. On the 11th of March he returned to Vengurla, where he remained for more than a month, or till the 14th of April, when he embarked for Batavia, for the ostensible reasons of seeing so famous a place, and of rendering a service to the Dutch by conveying to them information about a new port in Africa which had been

discovered by the Portuguese. M. Joret probably rightly concludes that he was anxious to seek for and meet with his brother Daniel, whom he had not seen for ten years.

On this voyage Tavernier narrowly escaped shipwreck off the coast of Malabar, but at length succeeded in reaching the harbour of Pointe de Galle, in Ceylon, where, as usual, he was well received by the Dutch authorities. On the 25th of June, the merchandise having been transhipped to another vessel, the voyage was continued, and on the 17th of July the coast of Sumatra was sighted, and on the 22nd Tavernier reached Batavia. On the following day he went to pay his respects to the General, Vanderling, and the Director-General, Caron, by whom he was at first well treated. Subsequently, however, he was involved in tedious investigations in reference to his relations with M. Constant, the Commander at Bandar 'Abbās, for whom he had purchased diamonds at the mines. These inquiries suddenly collapsed when Tavernier disclosed the fact that he possessed a very considerable amount of compromising information concerning the illicit transactions of the members of the Council at Batavia who proposed to try him.

His stay at Batavia was interrupted by two short visits to Bantam, where he was well received by the King, of whom his brother was a boon companion ; and he also experienced much kindness from the English Resident, who offered him a free passage to England, which he at first accepted, but subsequently declined in favour of a similar offer made by the Dutch. Thereupon followed a serious contention about certain Dutch pay-bills which he had purchased at a considerable discount, intending to sell them at par in Holland, and so employ his capital during the voyage. This traffic having been prohibited, those who had bought bills were all, with the exception of Tavernier, both compelled to give up what they had purchased, and otherwise severely mulcted and punished. Tavernier held out to the last moment, but finally handed up the bills on promise of an order for payment of his outlay in Holland. Ultimately he sailed without this promise being fulfilled, and it was only after several years and the institution of an action against the Company in Holland that he, or rather his brother for him, received part of the sum due. From all these circum-

stances he, perhaps naturally enough, became a bitter enemy of the Dutch, and availed himself of every opportunity for manifesting his hostility.[1]

After his second return to Batavia from Bantam he was about to visit certain Kings in Sumatra, when his brother Daniel arrived in a dying state from Bantam ; and shortly afterwards died, in spite of all that could be done to cure him.

Somewhere about the month of October, according to M. Joret's estimate, Tavernier sailed for Holland in a ship called the *Provinces*, which having passed the Sunda Straits, and failing to make the Cocos Islands, steered for the Cape of Good Hope, where it arrived in fifty-five days ; and the fleet, after remaining there twenty-two days for the recovery of the sick, &c., proceeded to St. Helena, which was reached in eighteen days ; and then halted for a further twenty-two days, when the crews and passengers of the several vessels in the port entertained one another. Ultimately, after some delays on account of contrary winds, the fleet reached Holland, where the Directors treated Tavernier with much politeness and hospitality ; as regards his claim against them, they denied all knowledge of it at first, but finally offered to give him a free passage back to Batavia in order that he might get it paid there : this offer he declined to accept.

There is no precise intimation in the text as to when he arrived in Holland. M. Joret concludes that the voyage must have taken six months, and that, allowing for delays in Holland, he could not have reached Paris till the spring of 1649.

Fourth Voyage.—Two years having been spent in Europe which were occupied in the sale of the precious stones brought by Tavernier from India, and in repeated efforts to recover his debt from the Dutch Company, he again started for the East, leaving Paris on the 18th June 1651. It was not till the 25th of August, however, that he sailed in the *St. Crispine* from Marseilles ; and after touching at Malta and Larnaca in Cyprus, reached Alexandretta on the 4th of October, and Aleppo on the 7th. Owing to disturbances in the country he was unable to resume his journey eastwards till the last day of the year. It is needless here to detail his adventures in Persia from this time

[1] See his *Histoire de la Conduite des Hollandois en Asie.*

forwards till the 11th of May, when he embarked at Bandar 'Abbās on a ship belonging to the King of Golkonda, which was bound for the port of Masulipatam, on the east coast of India. After narrowly escaping shipwreck he reached Masulipatam on the 2nd of July—or perhaps for 2nd we should read 12th, and on the 21st of July, together with M. du Jardin, he set out to march to Gandikot *via* Madras, which latter place he reached on the 13th of August. The description of this march will be found in Book I, chap. xviii. Here it need only be pointed out that, conformably to his custom, he made friends with the English who were residing in Fort St. George, and visited the Portuguese Governor and Catholic brotherhoods at St. Thomé. On the 22nd of the same month he started by the valley of the Penner River for Gandikot, which he might have reached from Masulipatam by a more direct and shorter route had he not desired to visit Madras. On the 1st of September he reached Gandikot, which Mīr Jumla, on behalf of the King of Golkonda, had just captured. As Mīr Jumla was not only the General of the troops but also Prime Minister, Tavernier had gone to him in order to show him—as he was bound to do, not merely as an act of courtesy but because it was the custom—the pearls and precious stones which he proposed to sell to the King. Several interviews which he had with Mīr Jumla served to impress him with a high opinion of that General's abilities. On the 15th Tavernier took leave after receiving his assurance that he had recommended him to his son at the Golkonda court. His march northwards lasted till the 2nd of October, when he reached Golkonda. After some delay negotiations were opened with reference to the sale of the precious stones, but in consequence of a remark by a eunuch that the prices asked by Tavernier were too high, he took offence, and, together with M. du Jardin, left at once for Surat, following the same route as he had come by to Golkonda in 1643.

In some of the editions the date of his showing the precious stones is given as the 25th (of October), but in the 1676 edition the 15th is mentioned ; and as he started on the following day, and the distance was twenty-one [1] days' journey, or five days

[1] In Book I, chap. ix, p. 120 of vol. i, he says, however, twenty-seven days.

less than by the Aurangābād route which was twenty-six days, he reached Surat either on the 5th or the 15th of November. Shortly afterwards his companion, M. du Jardin,[1] died, and Tavernier then set out for Ahmadābād, where he had been invited to bring his jewels by Shāista Khān, who was then Governor of Gujarāt. Thence he returned to Surat, and set out for Golkonda on the 6th of March 1653 by the Aurangābād route, arriving at Golkonda on the 1st of April. He then paid another visit to the mines, regarding which, as he gives no details, we must only conclude that any observations of importance made by him on this occasion are incorporated in the account of his previous visit in 1645, which has been above alluded to. He appears to have returned to Surat during the same year, as in Book III, chap. xiii, he refers to having, in the year 1653, when on the return journey from Golkonda to Surat, encountered a troop of pilgrims. He says M. d'Ardilière was with him, to which M. Joret objects that he had died in 1652. But had he ? We know his father, M. du Jardin, had, but of himself there is, so far as I know, no such record. Tavernier next refers to being back at Surat, where he heard that war had been declared between the English and Dutch. On the 8th of January 1654 he sailed in one of a fleet of five Dutch vessels of war which were dispatched from Surat to intercept the English fleet, which was then expected to be on its way back from Hormuz. After a naval engagement, in which the English were beaten, and various delays, the Dutch fleet proceeded to Bandar 'Abbās, arriving there on the 7th of March. Tavernier then started for Ispahān, visiting Kermān *en route*, where he purchased a large quantity of the beautiful wool of that country for transport to France. After a protracted stay in Persia, where he visited many places which he had not previously seen, he returned to Paris apparently in the autumn of the year 1655, but the information he gives on this point is very vague.

Fifth Voyage.—In February 1657 Tavernier started from Paris on his fifth voyage. Shortly after leaving Marseilles, the vessel in which he had embarked was chased by pirates, and was compelled to take refuge in a port near Toulon, from

[1] As will be seen there is some uncertainty about the identification of this M. du Jardin. (See Index for references.)

whence he returned by land, carrying on his person the jewels which he was taking with him to sell in the East, but allowing his heavier merchandise to proceed in the same vessel. At Marseilles he again took ship in an English vessel for Italy. In Italy he spent a short time, and visited Ferdinand II of Tuscany, who treated him with kindness and distinction. He then sailed for Smyrna in a Dutch ship, and, while awaiting the departure of the caravan, sent one of his servants to buy in Constantinople some pearls which he heard that a Jew residing there had for sale, because, he remarks, pearls were the best articles of trade which could be taken to India. At this time, according to him, Smyrna was the principal entrepôt for all kinds of goods which passed from Europe to Asia and from Asia to Europe. From the vague indications given by Tavernier Prof. Joret concludes that he started with the caravan from Smyrna in June 1657. The journey was made by Erivān and Tabrīz to Ispahān, without any event happening worthy of particular record. Owing to the accounts which reached him of the disturbed condition of India, in connexion with the usurpation by Aurangzeb of his father's throne, Tavernier appears to have prolonged his stay in Ispahān till the beginning of 1659; but before starting for Surat, which his letter addressed to Shāista Khān proves him to have reached in May of that year, he dispatched to Masulipatam, in charge of one of his servants for safety, and perhaps to evade dues, the bulk of the beautiful objects and rare curiosities which he had collected for Shāista Khān in Europe. Shāista Khān's reply to his letter was an invitation to visit him at Jahānābād, sending him a passport to enable him to do so with ease and safety. Delayed by the rains, Tavernier had not started before he received other letters, first asking him to come to Burhānpur, and then to Aurangābād. When he went to take leave of the Governor of Surat, named Mīrzā Arab, he was informed by him that until instructions came from Aurangzeb, who had been informed of his arrival, he would not be allowed to depart. He then wrote to Shāista Khān, asking him to send an order to the Governor to let him go; this was done, and at length, after six months' delay at Surat, he set out and found Shāista Khān laying siege to Chākan (Choupar) in the Deccan. As has

been seen on pp. 27 and 325, vol. i, there are some discrepancies in Tavernier's two accounts of the sale of and payment for his goods. It is inferred from a casual statement that, having concluded this transaction, he pursued his course farther southwards in order to visit the diamond mines at Golkonda again, from whence probably he returned to Surat about the end of 1660 or beginning of 1661.[1] In his *Persian Travels* he says (Book V, chap. ii) that he was in Persia in 1662, and during the same year he returned to Paris, his age being then fifty-six years. It was thought that, as he had by this time amassed a considerable fortune, and was married in the same year for the first time in his life, he would settle down and rest from his travels, which, as we have seen, commenced when he was only fifteen years of age. His wife was named Madeleine Goisse, a daughter of Jean Goisse, a jeweller, with whom he had had some business transactions, and who was a connexion by marriage of his brother Melchior.

Sixth Voyage.—Tavernier's original intention, expressed shortly after his marriage in 1662, was, however, to make a short journey to the East in order to close his affairs there. As months passed in preparation, this intention expanded, and on the 27th of November 1663 he started from Paris, and did not return again for five years. On this occasion he took with him a young nephew, son of Maurice Tavernier, and four attendants of different professions, including a surgeon. His stock of precious stones, goldsmith's work, &c., was valued at 400,000 livres, which at 1*s.* 6*d.* would be equal to £30,000. On the 10th of January 1664 he embarked at Marseilles for Leghorn, and after passing through many misadventures, including a narrow escape of being drowned, he ultimately reached Smyrna on the 25th of April, where he remained till the 9th of June, when he left with the caravan for Tabrīz. After three months' marching the caravan reached Erivān on the 14th of September, and Tabrīz on the 9th of November, where two of his followers, one a watchmaker and the other a goldsmith, died of sickness brought on by the fatigues of the journey. Here also Tavernier

[1] 'He then left Surat for Persia, in a Dutch vessel, which reached Gombroon on 5 July, N.S. (see *Dagh. Register*, Batavia, 1661, p. 442)': Foster, *Eng. Factories in India, 1655–60*, p. 235 *n.*

left his nephew Pierre in the charge of the Superior of the Capuchin Convent. On the 22nd of November, having beforehand dispatched his principal goods, he left with a small party for Ispahān, and arrived there on the 14th of December. Three days afterwards the King, Shāh 'Abbās II, who in 1657 had bought a quantity of jewels from him, summoned him to his palace, where he went in state accompanied by all the Franks, and bearing with him his most precious treasures, Father Raphael acting as interpreter. The Shāh first inquired to whom he had sold the jewels which he had with him on the occasion of his last voyage, and he informed him that it was to Shāista Khān, and that the price he received was 120,000 rupees, though he mentions no sum in the account of the transaction itself.

His present to the Shāh consisted of a large metallic mirror, which distorted the face of any one looking into it. All the jewels, with the exception of the pearls, were bought, after prolonged negotiation, at the high prices which Tavernier demanded. The Shāh being, however, well pleased, Tavernier besought his protection for his nephew, and requested that he himself should be allowed to sell his goods in Persia, free of duty, both of which requests were granted, and he was further complimented by the bestowal of a robe of honour, and by being appointed jeweller in ordinary. Further, out of regard for him a good reception was promised to all Franks arriving in Persia. A portrait of Tavernier prefixed to the *Recüeil*, published in 1679, and reproduced as a frontispiece to this volume, represents him clothed in this robe, with the addition of the mantle which was further conferred upon him by the express order of the Shāh. The total value of the sales made on this occasion was 3,900 tomāns, or £13,455, allowing £3 9*s*. for the tomān. The Shāh gave him several designs for ornaments, made by himself, which he desired to have executed in gold, enamel, and precious stones. Curiously enough, Chardin relates that a similar order was given to himself in 1666.

At length Tavernier left Ispahān for India on the 24th of February 1665, and reached Bandar 'Abbās about the end of the first week of April, having made several halts on the road. On the 5th of May we find him once more at Surat. On the

occasion of this voyage an injury happened to him at the hands of the Dutch, which, added to what had previously been done to him in Batavia, served to perpetuate his enmity and contempt. Having been entrusted by the English Resident with an important packet of letters for Surat, which it was believed contained information of the outbreak of war in Europe, it was stolen by the Dutch, a parcel of blanks being put in its place. The English in Surat were naturally indignant when, instead of their letters, they received these blanks, and it is said that Tavernier was threatened with assassination, in consequence of which all the plans he had made for his Indian tour were thrown into confusion. He sent a strong protest against this scandalous treachery to the General at Batavia, and stated that if satisfaction were not rendered, he would, on his return to France, carry the matter further, and would also inform the Shāh of Persia. He does not appear to have received any direct satisfaction, and this probably led him to write his exposures contained in *The History of the Conduct of the Dutch in Asia.*[1]

On arrival at Surat the Governor told him that Aurangzeb wished to be the first to see his jewels ; and he further learnt that Shāista Khān was in Bengal, so that although, in pursuance of his promise given on the last occasion, he desired to visit him first, he was compelled to go to Jahānābād, travelling probably by Burhānpur, Sironj, Gwalior, and Agra, and arriving at Jahānābād in September. On the 12th of the same month he went to salute the Great Mogul, to whom, as well as to the nobles of the Court and others, he made presents amounting in all to the value of 23,187 livres. He then sold to the Great Mogul, Aurangzeb, a number of his most precious stones ; and Ja'far Khān, the Mogul's uncle, bought several, but disputed the price of a large pearl, which he sought to buy at 10,000 rupees less than Tavernier demanded. Subsequently, it was bought by Shāista Khān, who was then in Dacca, but with him too it became the subject of a serious dispute.

[1] Described by Chardin, Amsterdam ed., 1711, vol. iii, p. 154, as 'a collection of the adventures of insignificant people, mostly Dutch ; published out of a spirit of flattery, or on account of French animosity at the time.'

Tavernier remained two months at Jahānābād, and on the 1st of November, when he went to take leave, Aurangzeb pressed him to remain in order to witness his annual festival which was then close at hand, promising him, if he would do so, that he would allow him to see all his jewels after it was over. So tempting an offer was at once accepted by Tavernier, and to this we owe some of the most interesting chapters in the whole of his travels.

The fête having concluded on the 9th of November, he was on the following day shown the jewels, including the great Mogul diamond. Shortly afterwards he left for Agra, and on the 25th (not the 15th, as an obvious though frequently repeated misprint has it in various editions) he started for Bengal, being accompanied by the celebrated French physician named Bernier and another friend named Rachepot. They reached Allāhābād on the 7th of December, where they found Claude Maillé of Bourges installed as physician and surgeon to the Governor, but no hint is given as to whether he was the same person or not whom Tavernier mentions under the same name in the capacity of gun-founder at Gandikot for Mīr Jumla. Having obtained permission to cross the Ganges, they followed its left bank and arrived at Benares on the 11th, where they remained for two days, and then proceeded along the right bank to Patna, which they reached on the 20th. It is clear that on this occasion Tavernier did not turn down the valley of the Son to Rohtās and the diamond mine at Soumelpur, and it is uncertain whether he ever went there ; but he may have done so on his return and prolonged visit to Patna and its neighbourhood, which is mentioned below, or during his first journey to Dacca in 1640. After eight days spent at Patna he embarked on the 29th December (not January, as by an obvious misprint it is given in several of the editions), and passed down the Ganges, reaching Rājmahāl on the 4th of January 1666. On the 6th M. Bernier left him to go to Kāsimbāzār, while he proceeded to Dacca, which he reached on the 13th, and on the following day went to visit the Nawāb, Shāista Khān, to whom he made a valuable present. After selling him the goods which he had brought for him, and having received an order for payment on Kāsimbāzār, he

started for that place on the 29th, and reached it on the 12th of February, being well received by Van Wachtendonk, the Director of all the Dutch factories in Bengal. On presenting his order for payment to the Mogul's Treasurer, he was informed by him that three days previously he had received an order not to pay it. Subsequently this Treasurer, acting under Shāista Khān's instructions, offered to pay him the debt, less by 20,000 rupees. Tavernier enlarges on the causes which led to this treatment, attributing it to the machinations of Aurangzeb's officers to spite him for not having sold the jewels to them, in order that they might resell them to their master at an enhanced rate. There is no direct record of his subsequent movements, but he appears to have spent June and July in Patna, where, on the second day of the last-named month, he witnessed an eclipse of the sun. In August he probably reached Agra, where he seems to have met the representatives of the French company 'for establishing commerce in Persia and India'. He ultimately reached Surat on the 1st of November, and met there M. Thévenot, who was returning from Madras and Golkonda, and of whose travels the published account serves to elucidate some points in Tavernier's narratives. Early in the year 1667 Tavernier left Surat—probably, as ingeniously calculated by M. Joret, in the month of February—for Bandar 'Abbās, where he met, among other Europeans, the famous traveller Chardin. At Ispahān he remained for some months, probably till the end of 1667. In the early part of the year 1668 he reached Constantinople, and made a prolonged stay there, finally reaching Paris on the 6th of December ; and being then sixty-three years old, he resolved to enjoy the riches he had acquired and rest from his labours. His first care, he tells us, was to render thanks to God, who had protected him through all perils by sea and land during the space of forty years. His life after this period for sixteen years cannot be followed out in detail here from want of space. Those who desire details are referred to M. Joret's excellent volume. It is only possible to mention here a few of the principal events.

Soon after his arrival in France he had an interview with Louis XIV, who was anxious to see so famous a traveller ; and the distinguished traveller did not forget his business as a

merchant, for he sold the King a large number of diamonds and other precious stones, and in February 1669, in consideration of his eminent services to France, he was granted letters which conferred upon him a title of nobility; this was the full complement of his success. In April 1670 he purchased the barony of Aubonne, near Geneva, and in the following month he took the oaths, and was received by their Excellencies of Berne as 'Seigneur Baron d'Aubonne'. He restored the Castle and orientalized its decorations, and it was here he prepared his notes for publication. It is commonly said that the *Voyages* were written from Tavernier's dictation by a French Protestant named Samuel Chappuzeau; but it is evident from many remarks scattered through the volumes, and, indeed, is sufficiently proved from the nature of the facts recorded, that many pages must have been written at or shortly after the time when the events took place, and by Tavernier himself. Chappuzeau, who had obtained considerable reputation as an historian and writer of theatrical plays, was prevailed on to edit Tavernier's notes, or, as he afterwards described it, to give form to the chaos, as the confused memoirs of the six voyages might be called.[1] The statement made by Chappuzeau and quoted by Bayle, that the only written portions were by Father Gabriel de Chinon, Capuchin, seems to be somewhat inconsistent with this. Chappuzeau states that it was with the greatest repugnance he undertook the work, and then only in consequence of Tavernier's having used his interest to get the King to prevail upon him to do so. His friendship for Tavernier was completely broken under the 'mortification if not martyrdom' which he suffered, as he says, for the space of a year, while exposed to the rough humour of Tavernier and the ridicule of his wife. I agree completely with M. Joret in the opinion that the internal evidence is too strong to admit of the supposition that Tavernier was not personally the author of the larger part of the memoirs, and that from their very nature they could not

[1] According to a note in the MS. Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Impériale the *Voyages* of Tavernier were compiled from his own notes, in part by his friend Chappuzeau, and in part by Danlier des Landes, author of *Les Beautés de la Perse*, Paris, 1673, who accompanied him on one of his voyages.

have been written from mere verbal dictation. Chappuzeau doubtless edited them, and did his work very badly, as the numerous omissions and contradictions prove.

In the year 1675 Tavernier's first publication appeared under the title, *Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signior*. His *magnum opus*, the *Six Voyages*, appeared in the following year;[1] and the 'Design of the Author' which is prefixed conveys the idea that the whole was his own handiwork. The interest aroused in these works was considerable, and the number of editions which appeared in rapid succession (see Bibliography) amply attest the popularity of the work. In 1679 he published another volume, the *Recueil de plusieurs Relations*. In the preparation of this work he received the assistance of M. de la Chapelle, Secretary to M. de Lamoignon, M. Chappuzeau having refused to aid him further; but to what extent this assistance went it is impossible to say. This latter volume contains two portraits of Tavernier, one a bust, which is a work of high art (frontispiece to vol. ii), as also are the dedicatory verses by Boileau printed underneath it. The other is a full figure representing Tavernier in the robe of honour given him by the Shāh of Persia, to which reference has already been made on a previous page. Translations of these works soon appeared in English, German, and Italian, as will be seen in the Bibliography.

Some who were jealous of Tavernier's success did not hesitate to contrast his works with those of Thévenot, Bernier, and Chardin—who were perhaps better educated men and of a more philosophical turn of mind than he was, but it cannot be maintained that their works met with equal success; and it is apparent that the reading public preferred his facts and personal observations to the philosophic speculations which were added to the facts recorded by his rivals. Voltaire and others, though they wrote somewhat contemptuously of the value of Tavernier's work, did not influence the tide of opinion which had set strongly in his favour.

It is noteworthy, however, that Tavernier, in his references to the above-named travellers, speaks of them all with the utmost courtesy, when referring to his having met them, while

[1] Paris, Gervais Clouzier, 1676, 2 vols. 4to.

they are either silent about him, or, like Chardin, mention him only to abuse him.[1]

In the footnotes to the present work it will be seen that while obscurity and contradiction are not absent from the text, and the effects of careless editing of the original are much to be deplored, the general accuracy of the recorded facts, when submitted to critical examination in the light of our modern knowledge of India, is much greater than it was ever believed to be, even by his greatest admirers, who supposed them to be beyond the reach of elucidation or confirmation. Gemelli Careri [2] speaks of Tavernier as a dupe rather than a liar ; but as I have met with no indications of either of these characteristics, I have not troubled to follow up his charges of error, as they refer chiefly to Persia, and M. Joret affirms that they have for the most part no foundation.

In a certain sense, to a limited degree, Tavernier may have been a plagiarist, but he openly avowed his endeavours to obtain information wherever he could. His historical chapters for instance, may have been derived from Bernier's writings, or, what is more probable, from conversations with him when they travelled together down the Ganges ; while the chapters on places he had not himself visited were, of course, founded on information collected from various sources, but principally from persons who gave him their own personal experiences. Thus, probably, is to be explained the resemblance noted by Dr. Hyde [3] between a passage by Tavernier and one by Louis Morera in a work published at Lyons in 1671, which was founded on papers by Father Gabriel de Chinon. We know that Tavernier saw much of Father Gabriel in Persia, and he may have learned the facts from him if he did not himself observe them.

M. Joret gives an interesting account of the controversies and polemical literature which were roused in the seventeenth century by the publication of Tavernier's volumes ;

[1] Sir W. Ouseley, in his *Travels in various Countries of the East* (ii. 497), devotes some pages to a criticism of Tavernier's errors regarding Persia ; for the opinion of Lord Curzon, see p. xxxii, below.

[2] *Voyage autour du Monde*, translated from the Italian. Paris, 1727. 12mo.

[3] See Rose's *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. 'Tavernier'.

and in discussing the published biographies of Tavernier he points out that they are all founded on the erroneous and amplified statements of Henrick van Quellenburgh,[1] Jurieu,[2] Chappuzeau,[3] Bayle, and others. M. Joret asserts that the article on Tavernier in the *English Cyclopaedia* alone, of all the biographies, does full justice to his character.

During the period which elapsed from the publication in 1679 of his last volume up to 1684 there is reason for believing that Tavernier lived an active, commercial, though somewhat retired life. In 1684 he started from Paris for Berlin, being called thither by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, to advise with him on his projects of colonization and commercial enterprise in the East, and to undertake to open up negotiations on his behalf with the Great Mogul. M. Joret maintains that there is no foundation for the view that Tavernier had been ruined at this time by the misconduct of his nephew, to whom he entrusted a valuable cargo for the East. On the contrary, he went to Berlin, *en véritable grand seigneur*, at the age of seventy-nine years, attracted by the offer of becoming the Elector's ambassador to India, being still full of bodily energy and possessing an enterprising spirit. M. Joret, by means of an unpublished manuscript, has been enabled to trace his circuitous journey through the principal countries of Europe. Many interviews took place with the Elector, at which the arrangements for the Embassy and the formation of the trading company were discussed. Three armed vessels were to convey it, and Tavernier, besides being nominated Ambassador, was appointed to the honorary offices of Chamberlain to the Elector and Counsellor of Marine. Soon afterwards he resolved to sell his estate at Aubonne, probably to obtain capital for his own speculations.

After six weeks spent in Berlin, he left on the 15th of August for Hamburg, and then paid a number of visits to different

[1] *Vindicia Batavica ofte Refutatie van het Tractaat van J.-B. Tavernier*, &c. Amsterdam, 1684. 4to.

[2] *L'Esprit de M. Arnaud tiré de sa conduite et des écrits de lui et de ses disciples*, &c. Deventer, 1684. 12mo.

[3] *Défense du Sr. Samuel Chappuzeau contre une satire intitulée l'Esprit de M. Arnaud.*

towns in Germany, Holland, &c., finally returning to Aubonne in November. In January 1685 he was again in Paris, when he sold the land and barony of Aubonne to the Marquis Henri du Quesne for 138,000 livres of French money, with 3,000 livres more for the horses and carriages, the actual transfer being made by his wife Madeline Goisse, as he himself was at the time still in Paris. This sale completed, he would have been free to go to Brandenburg, but was delayed, as M. Joret suggests, in order to realize the 46,000 écus provided for in the letters patent constituting the Company, and which were to cover the costs of equipment of the vessels required for the first voyage. The prejudice which existed against Protestants before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes accounts for some of the difficulties he experienced in settling his affairs. M. Joret is disposed to treat as unfounded the story that Tavernier was at this time imprisoned in the Bastille as one of those who suffered from the oppression practised on the Protestants. It is proved, however, by the manuscript archives of the Bastille, which M. Joret quotes, that some one of the name of Tavernier was incarcerated there on the 13th of January 1686. If he was not there he was probably somewhere in Paris, for by that time the projected company of the Elector had come to naught, and Tavernier's home at Aubonne in Switzerland had been sold. At upwards of eighty years of age his commercial instincts had led him to entrust a valuable cargo for India, worth 222,000 francs, to his nephew, Pierre Tavernier, son of the goldsmith of Uzès,[1] who, as we have seen, was left by him at Tabrīz in the year 1664 in charge of the Superior of the Capuchin Convent in order to learn the Persian language. It is commonly said that this nephew settled in Persia and defrauded him of his profits, which should have amounted to a million of livres. On the 9th of July 1687 we hear of Tavernier again as obtaining a passport to Switzerland for three or four months, subject to a bail of 30,000 livres. At this time he set out on his seventh journey

[1] The goldsmith of Uzès is supposed to have been Tavernier's fourth brother, but the archives of that town only mention a Maurice and a Jean Tavernier, whereas those at Charenton give only Melchior, Jean-Baptiste, and Gabriel. The younger brother who died in Batavia was almost certainly Daniel: Joret, *J.-B. Tavernier*, pp. 3–4 and 378–80.

to the East in order to recover his losses, as it is believed by some ; but be this as it may, to M. Joret belongs the honour of having effectively followed up the question as to where the famous traveller ended his days. Traces of his having been in Copenhagen in 1689 (or more probably in 1688) were discovered by Prof. Steenstrup, to whom inquiries were addressed by M. Joret. In the Russian review, *La Bibliographie*, for the month of February 1885, M. T. Tokmakof has described how, in the year 1876, when visiting an old Protestant cemetery near Moscow, he discovered the tomb of Tavernier, as M. Guerrier described it in a letter to M. Joret, with the name still preserved in full, and a fragment of the obliterated date, 16—. Moreover, M. Tokmakof discovered documents proving that Tavernier, carrying with him the passport of the King of Sweden, arrived in Russia early in February 1689, and that instructions were sent to the frontier to facilitate the journey of the illustrious visitor to Moscow.

M. Joret concludes his sketch with a well merited panegyric on the subject of his biography—the merchant-traveller whose reputation no French writer has previously attempted to protect from hostile critics, although the anonymous writer of the article in the *English Cyclopaedia* has written in strong terms of his peculiar and unrivalled merits.

To the testimony thus given, and to that which is afforded by the popularity of Tavernier's works in the last century, the present writer confidently expects that readers of the following pages will accord a liberal and hearty confirmation.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

THIS edition of the *Travels in India* by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, is republished from the English translation, with notes and appendixes, by the late Dr. Valentine Ball, issued in 1889. Messrs. Macmillan, and Mrs. Ball, widow of the editor, the owners of the copyright, have kindly consented to this reprint. After the publication of the first edition Dr. Ball revised the entire work, and added some notes and references, with the object of preparing a second edition, which he did not live to complete. These volumes, by the generosity of Mrs. Ball, have been placed at my disposal. The emendations in the original text largely consists of improvements in the style of the translation, and I have ventured to add some further corrections of the same kind, which will, I hope, make the book more readable. Dr. Ball's additional notes and references were not of great importance, but I have used many of them in this revision.

The chief value of Dr. Ball's work lies in his excellent version of the French original text ; in his careful investigation of the Indian diamond mines, and, in particular, his identification of the hitherto unknown site of the famous Soumelpour mine ; in his elaborate description of the Koh-i-Nūr[1] and other famous diamonds, their characteristics and history, which led to conclusions, based on patient scientific inquiries, now generally accepted by later writers who have discussed these difficult problems ; in his elaborate investigation of the currency,

[1] The latest contribution to the history of the Koh-i-Nūr is that by Mr. Henry Beveridge in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1921, p. 178 f.). He writes : 'The Koh-i-nūr is probably the diamond brought from the Deccan by that arch-robber Alāu-d-dīn Khiljī, and which afterwards passed into the hands of the Rajah of Gwalior, and was given by the family of the last Rajah to Humāyūn. Humāyūn dutifully surrendered the diamond to his father, who returned it to him. Humāyūn took it with him to Persia, and gave it, when hard pressed and a fugitive

Dr. Valentine Ball

weights and measures of India at the time of Tavernier's travels ; and, lastly in his complete bibliography of the various editions and translations of the *Travels*. On all these questions Dr. Ball's scientific knowledge, acumen, and patient inquiries provided a mass of novel information, the value of which it is difficult to overrate.

Dr. Ball's duties on the staff of the Geological Survey of India allowed him wider opportunities for leisurely travel through the country than generally fall to the lot of the military or civil official of the present day, who marches along well-metalled roads or uses the railway. He explored many wild districts seldom visited by Europeans, and he thus enjoyed ample opportunities for pursuing his favourite studies in the fields of geology, zoology, botany, and ethnology. The results of his wanderings are embodied in many of the notes added to this work.

Not only was the translator and editor of Tavernier's work an eminent worker in the Indian scientific field. His father, Robert Ball, LL.D., who held a post in the office of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was also a man of wide culture and one of the leaders of literary and scientific life in Dublin up to the time of his death in 1857. Three of his sons were distinguished in various branches of science: Sir C. B. Ball, Bart., a leading surgeon in Dublin ; Sir R. S. Ball, the distinguished astronomer and lecturer. The third brother, Valentine Ball, was born in 1843, graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1864, and in the same year was appointed a member of the staff of the Geological Survey of India. He held this post till 1881, and during seventeen years' service visited many parts of the Indian Empire. He recorded some of these experiences in a charming book, *Jungle Life in India, or the Journeys and Journals of an Indian Geologist*, published in 1880. During his Indian service he contributed numerous

to Tahmāsp Shāh. The latter was too much of a bigot to care about a stone, and sent it as a present to a co-religionist in the Deccan. Possibly Mīr Jumla obtained it afterwards and presented it to Shāh Jahān. Professor Ball did not know, as pointed out by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole at p. 167 of his monograph on Bābar, that Bābar's diamond had been sent back to the Deccan.'

papers to scientific journals. In an appendix of his *Jungle Life* (pp. 702 ff.) he gives a list of 62 papers on various subjects contributed up to that time. After his work on the Geological Survey ended he continued his literary activity in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy and other European learned societies. The results of his geological work in India were summed up in his *Economic Geology of India*, and in some annotations to the present work, which was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir Henry Yule.

On his retirement he was appointed to succeed Dr. S. Haughton as Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Dublin. He held this office for two years until his appointment as Director of the Science and Arts Museum in Dublin. The fine new buildings, opened in 1890, were completed under his supervision, and the rearrangement of the collections occupied the last years of his life, which ended in 1895. In 1889 the University of Dublin conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D., and he was invested with the Companionship of the Order of the Bath in 1891. During his tenure of office as Director of the great Dublin Museum he did much to advance the interests of science, and by his kindliness and readiness to assist scientific workers he gained the affection of many friends. He married in 1897 Mary, daughter of John Stewart Moore, who, with two daughters, survives him. His only son, Robert Gordon, on the staff of the West African Medical Service, was invalided in the expedition to Togoland and the Cameroons, served in Europe in the later period of the War, and died in 1920. For these details of her father's life and services I am indebted to Miss Maude Ball.

The most important question connected with Tavernier's work is the credibility of the narrative. Lord Curzon,[1] dealing with his Persian travels, writes:—'I am aware that grave charges have been brought, with some truth, against Tavernier. Chardin said he never understood a word of Persian. One critic declares that he could neither read nor write. His descriptions of some places are manifestly incorrect. There is no doubt that his editors experienced some difficulty in arranging his papers, which were in a state of chaos. Never-

[1] *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. 24.

theless his work retains its value, both for its independence and general freedom from exaggeration.' Gibbon [1] describes him as 'that wandering jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well'. Whatever may have been his knowledge of Persian, it is certain that he had little or no acquaintance with any of the languages of India, and he was always obliged to do his business through an interpreter. It is now impossible to say what record, in the shape of notes or diaries, he kept up during his wanderings; his book gives no information on this point. But it seems unlikely that he could have carried on his extensive business of the sale and purchase of precious stones, the weights and prices of which he carefully describes, or that he could have investigated the various products of the country, without systematic notes; still less that he could have trusted to his memory for the names of his many halting places. My personal impression coincides on the whole with that expressed by Dr. Ball, that his narrative, when tested by modern authorities, is much more accurate than it has often been supposed to be. The places which he visited, and the events which occurred under his own observation, appear to be described with honesty and candour, and occasionally with some caustic humour. For matters of which he was not an eye-witness he depended on the merchants' tales current in the ports and cities which he visited. A somewhat parallel case is that of Dr. John Fryer, who visited India about the same time. He includes hearsay information with the record of his personal experiences. Unfortunately neither of these writers thought it necessary to distinguish clearly between information based on his own experience and that acquired, in the case of Tavernier, from shipmasters or other travellers, particularly the priests and friars of the Roman Catholic Church, whose friendship he enjoyed.

By a study of the routes which he carefully records we are in a position to estimate the credibility of his narrative. On the whole they stand the test fairly well. The distances seem generally to be stated with substantial accuracy; but the place-names are occasionally so distorted that it is now almost impossible to identify them on modern maps, or by the aid of

[1] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. Smith, vi, 59 note.

gazetteers or other official publications. We can only speculate on the causes of inaccuracies such as these. They may be due to want of care in keeping up his notes or diaries ; to difficulties in understanding the statements of his interpreter or other persons from whom he derived his information ; to the carelessness or ignorance of those who edited his work from scattered or ill-written notes. At the same time, while we may admit the occasional inaccuracy of his geographical knowledge, it is certain that he did traverse the routes which he describes, and that he recorded them to the best of his ability. We must remember that many of his halts were made at Sarāīs or hostelries provided by the Mughal Government along the main roads, and these were often known by the names of their lessees or caretakers, of whom no recollection survives. Other journeys, again, were made through districts which were imperfectly opened up in the days of Tavernier, and now owing to the increase of cultivation and population, or from other causes, their condition has greatly changed. Dr. Ball, by his long experience of marches along frequented or unfrequented routes, was able to identify many of the places at which Tavernier halted. But there is no hope of finality in this kind of investigation. My personal knowledge of parts of northern India, and a comparison of the journeys of other travellers, such as Sir Thomas Roe and Peter Mundy, have enabled me to make some corrections. The routes through the territories of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Madras Presidency are more perplexing. By the kind assistance of the British Resident at the Court of H.H. the Nizam, Mr. Yazdani, on the staff of the Archaeological Survey of the State, has been able to clear up several doubtful points. I am indebted to Mr. F. J. Richards, of the Madras Civil Service, for similar assistance, with the co-operation of several district officers ; Mr. P. L. Moore for the Kistna District ; Mr. F. W. Robertson for Guntūr ; Mr. H. J. Gharpuray for Cuddapah ; Mr. J. C. Molony for Karnūl ; Mr. F. W. Bateman, of the Revenue Survey, in other places. But even now the work of identification is not quite complete, and it must be left to other officers possessed of local information to settle some doubtful points. It may be objected that little is to be gained by an attempt to

identify obscure villages and inns. But the work of Tavernier is a classic, and I venture to think that the task of tracing his routes is not altogether labour misspent.

In questions of science and topography Dr. Ball's annotations are excellent. But a careful examination of the book showed that in order to make the work more valuable to the reader, and to conform it with the system pursued in other volumes of this series of reprints of classical works on India, it was necessary to add further information on questions of archaeology, historical events and personages, the social and religious life of the people. This I have, to the best of my ability, endeavoured to supply.

Since the publication of the first edition in 1889 many important works have increased our knowledge. It is necessary only to mention the new edition of *The Imperial Gazetteer*; Dr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, and *The Oxford History of India*; Professor Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* and other works on the later Mughal period; Mr. W. Irvine's edition of Niccolao Manucci's *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India*, and his *Army of the Indian Moguls*; the editions of Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*; Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*; Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*; and Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*—all published in this series. To these may be added the editions published by the Hakluyt Society of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, the *Travels* of Sir Thomas Roe, Peter Mundy, and John Fryer. The use I was able to make of these and other authorities was limited by considerations of space, but it may be estimated by the references in the commentary.

With all its obvious limitations, the work of Tavernier is an important contribution to our knowledge of Mughal India. We must remember that he was not a scientifically trained observer who visited India with the intention of describing the country and its people. He observed it from the point of view of a merchant, and nothing engages his attention so much as a successful bargain. This devotion to trade interests enabled him to collect much valuable information on the conditions of commerce, the methods and tricks of the native banker, of the Shroff or money-changer. He gives precise

accounts of the production and sale of the standard commodities—spices, snake-stones, bezoar, musk, indigo, ivory, and the like—which are an important contribution to the history of oriental commerce. Even more useful, because it was based on the knowledge of an expert, are his lucid descriptions of the varieties of precious stones and pearls.

He looks on Orientals as a foreign gentleman, new to the country, naturally would do. Many of his anecdotes illustrate his cleverness in bargaining and his acumen and presence of mind in dealing with Orientals. He shows no hesitation in describing his bravery during a naval action with a British fleet when he was a passenger on a Dutch vessel, and when he more than once endured grave perils of the sea. Some of his personal remarks are characteristic; as when the Dutch officials, by offering wine, tried to induce him to disclose trade secrets, he remarks that 'they need not have brought wine for that purpose to make me drink, because I differed from most men, who speak much and say more than they know when they have drunk, but, as for myself, it is then I talk least'. He thus sums up his philosophy of life: 'I praise God that notwithstanding the troubles I had experienced in Batavia, and of which I have as yet told only a part, and the small dissipations which one cannot altogether avoid in this country, I have taken such good care of myself that I have never been inconvenienced by the least headache, or by a bloody flux, which is the ailment that carries away many people. That which in my opinion has contributed most to my health is, that I do not think I have ever grieved on account of any misfortune which has happened to me. I have sometimes made great profits, and I have sometimes experienced severe losses; but when in unpleasant circumstances I have never been more than half an hour in deciding what course I should adopt, without thinking more of the past, having always in my mind the thought of Job, that God gives and takes away as it pleases Him, and that one should render thanks for all that happens, whether it be good or evil.'

He certainly showed great courage and self-reliance in his journeys by sea and land, along routes in the jungles and uninhabited tracts, where, unprotected by guards, he was

constantly exposed to the attacks of wild beasts and snakes, or of the more dangerous robber bands, which the inefficient Mughal police were unable or unwilling to repress. His marches were not interrupted even in the hot and rainy seasons, when a traveller not provided with a full supply of tents, and forced to depend on the chance accommodation in Sarāīs along the main roads and peasants' huts in the less frequented districts, must suffer much hardship. An epicure like Tavernier, who loved good food and a good glass of wine, must have found it difficult to put up with the coarse, badly cooked food on which he was obliged to subsist. But he seldom complains of the many inconveniences to which he was exposed.

He always took care to pose, not as a common merchant, but as a gentleman trader, who brought novelties in art work from Parisian studios, and invested the proceeds in precious stones and pearls. He constantly boasted that he travelled under the patronage of the Kings of France and Persia, whose protection he was accustomed to claim when he was subjected to any special loss or indignity. By this means he gained the unique distinction of being admitted to familiar intercourse with the nobles of the Imperial Court, and was allowed to handle and weigh the jewels in the royal collection.

His account of the Koh-i-Nūr and other famous stones suggested the essays in which Dr. Ball discussed their characteristics and later history. To his intimacy with the Mughal nobility we owe his life-sketches of the leading personages of the time—of Shāista Khān and his dealings in precious stones; of Mīr Jumla at the siege of Gandikota and his remarkable method of administering justice and conducting business; of Ja'far Khān, the Wazīr, and his clever wife. From his pages we can draw a realistic picture of Mughal India: of the Court and army; of the splendid presents which the profits of his business allowed him to offer to the Emperor and his officials; of the Kāzī and the administration of justice; of the police and the custom-house officials. He displays no desire to make a case for or against the administration as he studied it, and in this respect his narrative is a document of great importance when contrasted with the more detailed statements of Bernier or Manucci.

He also gives us vivid sketches of the foreign powers and their servants who competed for the Eastern trade. He certainly brings some ugly charges against the Dutch. One of their officers, he says, stole his mail bag and some jewels ; others cheated him over some pay warrants in which he speculated. In the former case he consoles himself by the fact that his enemies met with sudden death, in the second case we cannot say what the Dutch had to urge in their defence ; but it would clearly seem that the Dutch were right in preventing these warrants from being sold at much below their value. At any rate, if the result was that Tavernier, a foreigner, lost his money, they punished their own officials more severely for similar offences.

To the archaeologist the evidence of Tavernier is of importance. He traversed northern India before Aurangzeb was led by his craze for iconoclasm to destroy Hindu temples, a policy which did much to alienate the loyalty of the Rājputs, the bulwark of the Mughal Empire. For those who know the ground covered in his wanderings it is interesting to visit Mathura in his company while the great temple of Kesava Deva was still standing, and before the shrine of Visvesvara had been demolished and replaced by the stately minarets which dominate the Benares of our time.

But his search for information was generally limited to objects like these. It is disappointing to find that he tells us little of the condition of the peasantry, of the revenue system, of the social economy of the jungle tribes which he encountered in his wanderings. He was lacking in the preliminary knowledge which would have helped him to understand the religions of the people—Islām, the dominant faith of the governing classes, and Hinduism, the faith of the masses tolerated, but kept in subjection, as yet not actively persecuted. What he noticed were only the externals of both religions : the temples and mosques, the wandering troops of Fakīrs and their austerities, parties of Hindus carrying their idols in procession to some place of pilgrimage. Sati, or the immolation of widows with their husbands, the various methods of which he carefully describes, naturally attracted his special attention. But his descriptions of religion and custom lack that clearness which

can be gained only by minute observation, the study of the sacred books, and a knowledge of the vernacular dialects.

With the help of the *Travels* of Tavernier, the *Travels in the Mogul Empire* of Bernier, the *Storia do Mogor* of Manucci, John Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*, with the narratives which we owe to the Hakluyt Society, combined with the evidence from Indian sources which has been skilfully collected by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, and the *History of the Mahrattas* of Grant Duff, we can understand in some degree the early period of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire.

Besides my obligations to the officers of the Madras service and that of Hyderabad, I am indebted to many other authorities for assistance in elucidating some of the difficulties in the narrative of Tavernier. Among these I may mention the following : Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum ; his pupil, Mr. S. K. Chatterji ; the late Mr. M. Longworth Dames, the learned editor of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* ; Sir G. Grierson ; Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E.,[1] late Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office ; Dr. E. Sidney Hartland ; Mr. E. Heawood, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society ; Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. ; Mr. L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, Superintendent of the Ethnographical Survey, Cochin State ; Sir H. H. Johnston ; Sir A. Keith, Curator of the Museum, Royal College of Surgeons ; Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., late of the Ceylon Civil Service ; Sir G. Watt, K.C.I.E. ; Mr. Ghulam Yazdāni, Archaeological Surveyor in the Dominions of H.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.

W. CROOKE.

[1] Now Sir William Foster, K.C.I.E.

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES ON TAVERNIER'S HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

As a historian Tavernier is not always to be trusted. Thus in his chapters xxi–xxvi of Bk. III (p. 286 ff. of vol. ii) he describes the King of Japāra as 'otherwise called the Emperor of Java', and formerly 'King of all the island, before the King of Bantam, who was only governor of a province, rebelled against him'. But according to Mandelslo Matāram was 'a great city and the residence of a powerful king who once pretended to the sovereignty over the rest of the island, and still styles himself Emperor of Java'.[1] Now Mandelslo had described the island in 1639 or 1640, not long before Tavernier, and the question is which was right in his relation. It seems certain that Mandelslo was the more accurate in his facts. Matāram had been an ancient empire of Hindu or Buddhist [2] origin, but it had decayed and ceased to exist about A. D. 1002. From its ruins rose in succession two empires, Pajajāran and Majapahit, but both had been destroyed by the Muhammadans before the end of the sixteenth century A. D. A period of disruption ensued, Java being split up into several states. By A. D. 1600, however, a Muhammadan family had raised itself from the position of *adipati* of a district to that of *senapati* of a province—the survival of these two Hindu titles is curious—and finally to that of Sultān of the resuscitated empire of Matāram, and it was the paramount power in Java when Tavernier visited it. Tavernier had, however, some excuse for his error. The kingdom of Majapahit was represented by Japāra; but the old regalia of the kings or emperors, both of Majapahit and Pajajāran, had come down to the Sultān of Pajang. From him the *senapati* wrested it, and its possession gave its holder a title to the suzerainty of the whole of Java.[3] Nevertheless Japāra had clearly not abandoned all its claims

[1] As quoted in *Java: Past and Present*, by Donald Maclaine Campbell, London, 1915, vol. ii, p. 814. But, as Sir William Foster justly points out, Mandelslo did not actually 'visit' Java.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 718.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 97–108.

to be considered the imperial power *de jure*.[1] In the eyes of the ancient Javanese the king was often an incarnation of a god, and the emperors of Majapahit had assumed the style of Bitāra (Sanskr. *avatāra*, 'incarnation') which in itself gave them titular authority over all the subordinate kings of Java and the surrounding islands.[2] Moreover, Majapahit had taken over from Pajajāran the art of making damascened *krīses*, bringing it to its highest perfection, and the carrying of a *krīs* is said to characterize the people of all the countries which once acknowledged the sway of the first empire of Matāram.[3] Tavernier had probably been told stories of the ancient glories of Majapahit. He may possibly have been made use of for propaganda purposes. But Mandelslo was better informed as to the real power of Matāram.

Other travellers were similarly misled. Thus Captain Edmund Scott describes the Sultān of Bantam, where he resided from 1602 to 1605, as the most powerful ruler in the island; and no doubt it was a strong kingdom, as was Balambuan in Mandelslo's time. But others, e. g. Tugal, were independent if not equally powerful, and Matāram undoubtedly was the dominant state.

On p. 289 of vol. ii Tavernier alludes to a 'siege' of Batavia by the King of Bantam in 1659, but it is doubtful if such a siege actually occurred. In 1652 the Sultān of Bantam attacked the settlement with 60,000 men, but he seems to have achieved

[1] Tavernier's failure to get permission to visit Japāra is to me a complete puzzle. In 1646 the Dutch had made a treaty with Matāram, whereby they agreed to set all their Javanese prisoners, subjects of the Emperor, at liberty. The Dutch envoys went to Matāram *via* Japāra in April of that year. Now the Emperor Sūsūhūnan Ingalaga, who succeeded his father in 1645, had made himself master of Demak, Pajang, 'Japan', and other states, i. e. of virtually the whole of Java. Here 'Japan' appears to be an error for Japāra in Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oostindien*, iv, p. 97: and the error is repeated in Du Bois, *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, p. 135. Matāram may indeed have only reduced Japāra to a nominal dependence.

With Japāra no differences seem to have occurred, but in 1633 the Dutch had been invited by the King of Bali to join him in an attack against 'the Matāram'. These negotiations failed on that point: Du Bois, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 112.

[2] Campbell, *op. cit.*, i, p. 63.

[3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 51 and 64.

little beyond ravaging the country. In 1659 the Dutch effected a treaty with him whereby Bantam agreed to exchange all prisoners.[1]

Sir W. Foster justly takes exception to the statement on p. 268 *n.* of vol. ii that the Dutch took possession of Bantam as early as 1643. Crawford on this point is misleading, as Bantam did not even become a permanent Dutch station till much later. The allusions to its King in English writers are due to its cardinal value as a commercial and strategical port in the seventeenth century. Its story merits fuller mention, but a sketch of it may be useful.

The maritime kingdom of Bantam, as Mr. W. H. Moreland justly calls it, was the rival of its neighbour Jakatra, also a sea-power in the Spice Islands, and its importance to Western commerce lay in the fact that it could be reached by sea by way of the Strait of Sunda even when the Portuguese naval station at Malacca closed the Straits of Malacca to other powers. By 1602 the Dutch merchants were trading at Bantam, and had indeed been known there in 1596. In 1603 the Sultan allowed them to erect a stone building for the storing of merchandise, but after 1618 the Dutch Company complained of oppression by the rulers of Bantam and it was not until 1659 that a permanent peace was negotiated and a permanent factory established. The English had, especially in 1618–20, proved formidable rivals of the Dutch. The latter accused them of intrigues with the King of Bantam and other indigenous powers, but they seem to have contended solely for the policy of the open door against the Dutch claims to a monopoly of the trade in spices. By the peace of 1619 the Dutch and English Companies were to work in accord and conduct their business in the common interest. But the Dutch, who justly maintained that they had opened up their establishments in the Indies by their own sacrifices, complained that the English Company failed to contribute money, munitions or even instructions to advance the common cause. The Treaty had provided for the setting up of a joint Council of Defence at

[1] Campbell, *op. cit.* i, p. 234; cf. Du Bois, *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, p. 182.

Batavia, and it is not clear that the English Company failed to provide the agreed naval support for its duties ; but its representatives on the Council refused to participate in the reduction of the Banda Islands, which was certainly not a defensive operation. Nevertheless the Companies continued outwardly at peace, despite the judicial aberration at Amboina in 1623, until the outbreak of war in 1652. Bantam, the eastern head-quarters of the English Company, was then abandoned by its factors, but after the war it was restored, and the factory was not closed until 1683, when the Dutch became masters of the town. And even then the English Company was able to establish a fortified post at Bencoolen in Sumatra. The events at Bantam in 1683 made a great impression in Europe and especially in England, according to Du Bois.

What, in view of these facts, did Tavernier mean when he wrote that, 'according to custom', permission to visit Bantam had to be obtained from the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia ? All that he can have meant is that he asked for a safe-conduct or recommendation to the King of Bantam, and was refused it ; but was told by the Director-General, the Governor-General's subordinate, that he could go without any risk, as he could obviously do and actually did. In 1648 the Dutch seem to have had no open dispute with Bantam.

Still graver errors are to be found in Tavernier's account of 'the Raja of Narsingue' (in Bk. I, ch. x, pp. 128–9). As the late Dr. Vincent Smith pointed out, the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was often called by Europeans the 'kingdom of Narsingh', after its usurper Narasinga Sāluva, who was constantly at war with the Muhammadans.[1] Under Rāma Rāja this empire was overthrown by a combination of the Muhammadan Sultāns of Bījāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bīdar at the great battle of Tālikota in 1565. These Sultanates had been founded earlier in the sixteenth century by provincial governors of the Bahmanī dynasty, the great Moslem power in

[1] *Oxford Hist. of India*, p. 303. The Bahmanī kingdom broke up into five Sultanates, of which Tavernier only mentions three, omitting Berār and Bīdar, but including Burhānpur, which did not form a province of Vijayanagar or of the Bahmanī kingdom. His Daulatābād represents the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar.

the Deccan. Burhānpur, capital of the small Muhammadan kingdom of Khāndesh, formed no part of the Bahmanī domains. Akbar's conquest of it had been preceded by the annexation of Berār, then a province of Ahmadnagar, but that Sultanate was not finally overthrown till the reign of Shāh-jahān in 1632. Bījāpur became virtually tributary in 1636 [1] and surrendered much of its territory in 1657.[2] Golkonda had submitted to the Mughal claim to suzerainty in 1635–6. What event Tavernier alludes to when he speaks of the *fameuse victoire sur le Mogol* achieved by them (the four generals who set up the four Sultanates) a few days after the death of the Rāja of Narsingue, it is difficult to conjecture. The Sultāns never combined against the Mughals. Individually no doubt each Sultanate inflicted reverses on Mughal armies, but collectively they fought no famous fight. Tavernier clearly confused the disruption of the Muhammadan Bahmanī power with the later overthrow of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, a mistake the less excusable in that the former monarchy lay to the north of the Krishnā River, and the latter to its south.[3]

Tavernier was certainly not always an eye-witness to events which he claims to have seen. Thus he could not have been present, as he says he was (vol. i, p. 144), when the English captives returned to Surat after their ransom from the Malabar pirates. Sir W. Foster has demonstrated this on p. xv of his Introduction to *The English Factories in India 1637–41* (wherein Clark's own account of their capture is given).

Tavernier's account of Bījāpur has raised a surmise that he never visited that city, by his time adorned by some of the finest buildings in India and by no means merely *une grande villace qui n'a rien de remarquable . . . pour les édifices publiques.* Yet he states expressly that he was there in 1641. The kingdom was then flourishing under Muhammad Shāh 'Ādil-Shāhī (1526–56). On his death he was succeeded by his only son, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II, aged eighteen or nineteen, but his claim to the throne was disputed by the Mughals without any valid ground. Tavernier appears to give the Mughal side of the dispute, but he

[1] *Oxford Hist. of India*, p. 399.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 407.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

may have misunderstood it. The Queen could hardly, under strict Muhammadan law, have adopted an heir to the Crown even after her husband's death, and certainly not in his lifetime. Did Tavernier mean that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was declared to be a supposititious son by Aurangzeb, not an adopted son? Such a charge would be quite in harmony with Indian methods. The problem has been discussed by Professor Jadunath Sarkar at p. 285 of his *History of Aurangzib*, i. He suggests that the boy was really the son of a slave-girl.[1] It may be further suggested that: (1) he was 'adopted' by the Queen, Indian usage apparently recognizing the adoption of a stepson born to a co-wife or concubine by a Queen (an instance of a similar adoption by a noble's wife is recorded in the same writer's *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 116); and (2) the precisian Aurangzeb took exception to the unorthodox usage and seized upon it as a pretext for intervention. However this may be, Bījāpur was not left without a sovereign on its throne, and the first attack on it came from Aurangzeb, with Mīr Jumla's aid, not from Sivajī.

But despite his propensity to omit important facts in his history, Tavernier in his record of contemporary events is valuable to the English reader. He was in India much during the early period of the golden age of Dutch enterprise in the East, 1640–1750. *The Oxford History of India* states that in Aurangzeb's day the Portuguese were of little account, that the struggle for the Eastern maritime trade then lay between the English and the Dutch, and that the latter devoted their attention chiefly to the commerce with the Indian Archipelago and Spice Islands. But the Dutch had already, by Tavernier's time, learnt the value of Asiatic troops under good leadership, as he points out (vol. i, p. 188). No doubt they directed their energies largely to the Far East. In or about 1634 they had sent from Batavia an embassy to China—the one mentioned by Tavernier (ii, p. 235) thus being by no means their earliest

[1] 'A slave girl's son comes to no good,
Even though he may have been begotten by a King'.
sang Aurangzeb in one of his despatches: Sarkar, *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, p. 78. Aurangzeb, in thus addressing his youngest son, Kām Bakhsh, was at least consistent if 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was a slave-girl's son.

attempt to open up trade with that country. They ousted the Portuguese from Japan and wrested Malacca from them in 1641. In 1624 they had expelled the Spaniards from Formosa.[1] Tavernier fully realized the decay of Portugal's power in the Far East. At first his sympathies clearly lay with the Dutch, and though they incurred his resentment in the event, he does not minimize their successes in India. There they had governors with councils at Cochin, the siege of which Tavernier describes, as well as the surrender of Cannanore (i, pp. 187–93); at Pulicat, whence all the Dutch factories on the coast of Pegu —as well as Coromandel—were controlled; Hughli; and Surat. The Dutch as a military power were in brief well on the way to establishing a dominant position, not only in Ceylon, but also in southern India. On the sea they were superior to the English and the French, severally, and yet able to maintain blockades of Goa, supplying their squadron from their depot at Vengurla, as Tavernier relates (i, p. 148).

The Dutch blockaded Goa from 1639 to 1642, and in spite of a ten-year cessation of arms agreed upon in the latter year the war was resumed in 1649. Again in 1680 they blockaded the harbour of Goa but failed to take the city. They had built a fortified factory at Vengurla previous to 1641 (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. ii, p. 63).

On p. 288 of vol. i we read: 'M. Chevres (Cheveres in the edition of 1678), a Councillor of India, and the Major.' Le sieur Cheveres is not traceable with certainty, but a Salomon Zweris, Councillor in 1644–5, appears to be meant. His name is also spelt Zweers. The Major was possibly the Sergeant-Major (an office of importance) Willem Verbeek or van der Beek, who held that post in 1620–, 1640–51, and 1661–3. From 1651–4 he was Councillor Extraordinary and from 1654–6 an Ordinary Councillor of India.

The 'Sieur' Cheteur of vol. i, pp. 231 and 241, can only be

[1] In vol. ii, p. 172, Tavernier has a circumstantial account of the loss of the English fort in Formosa to the Dutch, who treacherously massacred the principal officers in it. This charge is flatly denied by Du Bois, *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux* (1763), p. 150. He asserts that the Dutch Council at Formosa purchased the site required for their post from the Islanders, a fact obviously not inconsistent with Tavernier's story. But I have failed to trace anything to support the accusation.

Dirk Steur, whose earlier career cannot be traced, but he was Accountant (Boekhouder) General at Batavia from 1645–51, Councillor Extraordinary 1642–5, and Ordinary 1655–63.

The General Vandime of vol. ii, pp. 68, 268, and 307, was Antoni van Diemen, Governor-General of Batavia from December 31st, 1635, to April 19th, 1645, when he died at Batavia. His widow is said to have married again, Constant becoming her second husband (as Tavernier relates on p. 254), though Valentyn describes him as Directeur in Persia, not as Commander at Gombroon : *op. cit.*, 4, p. 295.

The fourth volume of François Valentyn's exhaustive work, *Oud en Nieuw Oostindien*, contains biographies and portraits of the Dutch Governors-General of Batavia down to 1725. Referring to it, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Professor of Sanskrit at Amsterdam, points out that the General Vanderlin of vol. ii, p. 251, must have been Cornelius van der Lyn, who rose to be Governor-General from April 19th, 1645, to December 11th, 1650. On p. 262 Tavernier styles him Commander Vanderlin. If this is right, it shows that in Van der Lyn's earliest days the Dutch had a fortified 'Commandery' at Gombroon or near it—probably at Basra, though in 1650 Basra was only a Hoofd-Comptoir or 'chief-factory' and in 1725 a Directory : *v. The Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 3–4. Incidentally too Tavernier shows that a golden bridle was regarded as too ostentatious in a Commandeur. It was presumably part of a Governor's insignia.

The following data are also culled from Valentyn's tome 4. As a preliminary it may be noted that in the Dutch bureaucracy the Gouverneur-Generaal was also styled Opperlandvoogd. This office was apparently created in 1610. An official could attain to it and the process is illustrated by the career of Joan Maatsuiker (*sic*). After holding one or two minor posts, he was from 1637–8 'President of Voorzitter van Schepenen' : then Baillu (of Batavia) from 1638–40 : from 1641–4 he was a Councillor Extraordinary : from 1640–50 his name becomes Johan Maatsuiker and is in the list of Ordinaris Raaden or Councillors. As Joan again he figures in that of the Directeurs-Generaal from 1650–3 ; and from May 18th, 1653, to January 4th, 1678, he was Gouverneur-Generaal.

So he seems to have been Gouverneur, as Tavernier correctly renders Landvoogd, at Pointe de Galle while also holding his seat on the Council.

But Tavernier is not so accurate in his use of the term 'General'. He uses it loosely; sometimes in anticipation of its holder's future appointment as Governor-General. For example, at the siege of Cochin Rijklof van Goens was in supreme command as Admiral, and it was not till 1678 that he became Gouverneur-Generaal. Under the Dutch system an official might begin as a commercial employé, rise to be Directeur[1] of an unfortified factory, Commandeur of a fortified factory, Gouverneur of a more important settlement with a strong garrison, exercising some sort of sovereign powers, and eventually become Gouverneur-Generaal. And from such appointments he might be seconded for important military duties and equally responsible diplomatic missions. The career of van Goens is typical of this *cursus honorum*. It is outlined by Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 8.

Van Goens, that very able servant of the Dutch Company, cannot have been the 'General' of vol. i, p. 193, whom Tavernier pleasantly describes as once a ship's cook out of Holland.[2] That personality must have been Jacob Hustaart or Hustaert, whose early career I have failed to trace until he suddenly appears as a Councillor Extraordinary (1662–5), and then as a Councillor till 1665. But he never became Governor-General, and when he acted for van Goens in the operations against Cochin from March to November, 1662, and under him till the fall of that place, he was 'on deputation' from his seat on the Council, it would seem, but held no title of General.

In the edition of 1678 Tavernier does not say that the Gouverneur-Generaal of Ceylon sent out pilots, but that the Gouverneur did so, which is correct. On p. 246 of vol. ii Governor-General is an error. Later, on the same page, he is, however, himself misleading in speaking of the Gouverneur Maatsuiker (the name is correctly given in the edition of

[1] Or Opperbestierder, according to Valentyn.

[2] This incident was certainly true of Caron, who shipped as cook on a vessel bound for Japan, cut his ship on arrival, and remained in the Dutch factory.

1678) as 'at present General at Batavia', since he means Gouverneur-Generaal. As Mr. A. Galletti points out, Major seems to have been at this period the highest military title conferred in the Dutch colonial service: *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 8. But the highest rank seems to have been that of Opperbevelhebber, or chief commander, and it carried with it authority over all the forces, naval and military, engaged.

Signor (i. q. Sieur) David Bazeu, the Dutchman styled Bazu in ii, 99, followed Tavernier to India in the next ship from Gombroon in 1665. He too had done good business with the King of Persia and proceeded to the Mughal Court: Thévenot, *Suite de Voyage*, v, 216, 389, 322: and Foster, *Report on the Finch MSS.*, i, 493.

Jacob Casembrood was Baillu from 1664 to 1686: ib., p. 379. Reinier Casembrood rose to be an Extraordinary Councillor of Dutch India in 1684–5, that is a good many years later.

The M. Cant, one of the Councillors of India, also mentioned in vol. ii, p. 278, as having died at Batavia while Tavernier was there (in 1648), is not traceable in the lists of Councillors, Ordinary or Extraordinary, nor can the death of any Councillor be traced as having occurred in that year. But Tavernier is so positive in his statements about M. Cant that one is tempted to think that he meant by him Antoni Caan, who in Valentyn's tome appears as Councillor from 1639–43, and that the latter date is a mistake for 1648. The M. Cam of p. 266 may be the same. Antoni Caan or Kaan had taken Trincomalee in 1639 and merited the military funeral given to M. Cant, whose origin and horsemanship Tavernier so scathingly disparages.[1]

The Advocaat Fiscaal at Batavia in 1646–9 was Gerard Herberts.

M. ('le sieur') Faure cannot be traced. A Kornelis Faber was one of the Commissaries of Huwelykze en Kleine Zaken in 1648: Valentyn, 4, p. 404.

The M. Croc of vol. ii, pp. 249–50, and the Croke of p. 234 seem to be one and the same person, to wit Arnold Krook,

[1] Valentyn, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 369, 370 and 294. The Admiral Caan, whose ruthless proceedings at Amboina in 1743 even Du Bois censures, may have been a descendant: *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, p. 130.

possibly, who had been Chief Merchant of the Castle at Batavia till 1622. But Paulus Krook whose last appearance was as President of the Law Council (van Justitie) in 1644, is nearer Tavernier's time: Valentyn, *op. cit.*, iv, pp. 375 and 384. But Tavernier's somewhat scandalous allusions to Krook convey quite an inadequate idea of the importance of his employment as envoy to Achīn. That kingdom does not seem to have embraced the whole of Sumatra, but it was certainly a naval power of respectable weight. In 1615 it could put 60,000 men on its fleet of 500 sail; and in 1641 it aided the Dutch to destroy the Portuguese position at Malacca. Tavernier does not controvert the arguments of the Jesuit diplomatists at the court of China (ii, 236) that the Dutch had not kept faith with the King of Kandy; but Du Bois asserts that the Dutch did in fact make over 'Baticalo, Trinquemale and Punto-Gale'[1] to the King, though their treaty with him did not oblige them to do so. If the Dutch had broken faith with Kandy it is not very probable that the Achinese would have lent them powerful aid against Malacca. When Tavernier says that the King of Achīn agreed to hold the coast [of Ceylon] with a sufficient number of small armed frigates, of which he always maintained several (ii, 247), he seems to have entirely underrated the Achinese naval resources. He does not say what the King of Achīn was to receive in return for his support against the Portuguese in Ceylon, but it is clear that he had no serious grievance against them; and the broken promise alluded to on p. 248 must have related to the price of his subsequent co-operation against Malacca (p. 236). Tavernier hints that the Achinese king could have had the aid of Kandy[2] against the Dutch, but preferred to decree an embargo on their export of pepper from his dominions and even declared war on them (ii, 248–9). Du Bois says no word about Achinese aid against Malacca or an Achinese declaration of war either after the operations in

[1] Yet, he says, Coster became the first Governor of Pointe de Galle, already ceded to Kandy: *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, p. 126.

[2] Du Bois alleges that its perfidious prince, incensed by Coster's insults, caused him to be murdered and then secretly favoured his old enemies the Portuguese: *ibid.*

Ceylon or those against Malacca. It is clear that in 1641 Achīn was not in a position to wage such a war because in that very year Iskandar Muda died and was succeeded by his widow, and she by three more queens. Incidentally, Krook cannot have been envoy to Achīn after 1641. And in 1643 it was André Soury who was sent as the Company's ambassador to congratulate the widow on her accession to the throne.[1]

Daniel Tavernier doubtless supplied much of the information about Macassar, but the account of the operations there in 1660 (ii, 236–8) is rather loosely written. The Dutch attack on the forts of Panakoke and Samboupo (in this latter was the palace of the kings) was not begun until the Portuguese squadron from Macao had been defeated.[2] The Dutch did not take any booty from the five vessels burnt or sunk. But they captured a sixth, which Schouten says was called Notre-Dame des Remèdes, and found her richly laden. Schouten implies that the six Portuguese vessels were attacked by only two Dutch, the two Dutch Admirals, and his account as a whole suggests that there was an element of surprise in their action as they had originally been detached from the main fleet to make proposals of peace to the King.

Another instance of the looseness of Tavernier's style is in vol. i, p. 165, where his meaning is that de Mascarenhas had been Governor of Ceylon, that is of all the Portuguese settlements on that island, with Colombo as his residence. As he became Viceroy at Goa in 1646 (till 1651) the incident of his rescue by the French adventurers must have occurred in that year. Tavernier's estimate of these Frenchmen's aid in the siege of Negombo is indirectly supported by Manucci (III, 240) who says that the final expulsion of the Portuguese from Ceylon was due to the King of Kandy's calling in Dutch assistance. 'They came against Colombo with a fleet of twelve vessels, under a Dutch captain of sea and war called Riclof, manned by

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[2] Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 166. The King bore the non-Moslem name of Sombanco, Tavernier's Sumbaco. But that may have been a title added to his Muhammadan name. He was followed by a Hasan-ud-Dīn, one of whose nobles, a Būgī, bore the Hindu title of 'Rājā' Palaka: p. 167.

6,000 Europeans, mostly of French nationality, commanded by a general named Tuf de Barbon (Geeraart Hulft, ? of Brabant) and other valiant leaders, such as Arriam Vandermuis Coquinto and others like him.' Adriaan vander Meiden, who had succeeded Kittenstein as Governor of Ceylon, took over command of the troops on the 10th of April, 1656, when Hulft was killed by a shot, and on May 12 Colombo fell, after 150 years of Portuguese dominion. It became the principal Dutch factory (*comptoir*) in Ceylon. In 1658 Major van der Laan took Tuticorin and Nagapatam, while the Admiral Ryklof van Goens seized Manar, Fort Caïs and Jaffanapatam ; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

I can trace no corroboration of the statement in the *Ency. Brit.* (xxiv, 8) that in 1651 the Dutch abandoned St. Helena. 'The Dutch', observes Sir W. Foster, 'had not settled at St. Helena (see *Court Minutes of the E. I. Co., 1655–9*, p. xxx *n.*) The English established themselves there in 1659' (not in 1658) ; and on p. 27 of vol. ii Tavernier makes no mention of any earlier Dutch settlement on the island, merely complaining that heretofore it had been free to all the world as a place for revictualling.

Tavernier's version of the abstraction of the postal packet entrusted to him (ii, 129) must be accepted as correct. It was made over to him by Mr. Flower. Hendrik van Wyk, Directeur in Persia[1], believing that its contents would yield later information than he had received concerning the critical situation in Europe, managed to get it into his possession. The English Council at Surat stigmatized Tavernier as a 'Dutchified Frenchman' and suspected him of complicity, but van Wyk's own letter to Batavia negatives that theory. The private letters in the packet were never recovered.

In vol. ii, p. 196, Tavernier has a circumstantial account of the Indian Governor's assassination at Surat in 1653, while he was in that city. Sir W. Foster finds no support for this story in the contemporary English records. The Governor from 1652 to 1656 was Hāfiz Nasr, and he was dismissed in the latter year. It might be added that it could hardly be one of the Governor's functions to collect the octroi on a few

[1] From 1663–65 : Valentyn, 5 i, p. 205.

rupees' worth of cloth. Tavernier's tale may be founded on fact, but he has substituted the Governor for some official underling or misplaced the incident at Surat.

One of the most interesting figures which flit across Tavernier's stage is that of François Caron, whom Valentyn first mentions as 'oud Japans Voorzitter' and as President of the Heeren Schepenen in 1641. In that year too he was a Councillor Extraordinary, and Ordinary from 1642–7, in which last year he became Directeur-Generaal,[1] holding that post till 1650. So Tavernier describes him correctly on p. 251 of vol. ii. In n. 5 on that page he is said to have founded the first French factory in India in 1668, fully twenty years after, apparently, he had left the Dutch service. But he was no 'renegade' as the *Imperial Gazetteer* calls him. At the gravest perils of his life he had served the Dutch in Japan and elsewhere. For some reason he was dismissed by their Company, but Kornelis van der Lyn stood by his friend, whose conspicuous services he rated far above his own, and insisted on resigning his office as Governor-General as a protest. Together he and Caron sailed for Holland, where van der Lyn became Burghermaster of Alkmaar.[2] If Caron entered the French service he was amply justified in so doing. The Dutch, to judge by their officers' names, employed many foreigners, and Caron was in fact born in Holland, of a refugee French Protestant family, and probably by nationality a Frenchman (cf. Joret, *op. cit.*, p. 95 n.). For some reason Tavernier does not mention that the capture of Negombo in 1644 was effected by Caron, then Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch Company's forces in those parts, though he mentions the French adventurers who were there engaged: i, p. 164. Now Negombo had been taken from the Portuguese in 1640, retaken by them as Tavernier relates (i, 155) and finally fell to the Dutch in 1644—all during van Diemen's rule as Governor-General. But his relative, the young man recently arrived from Holland, whose nomination as its governor caused St. Amant to desert, was not, I think, Caron.

[1] Or Algemeene Bestierder van den Handel, i. e. 'Controller-General of Commerce.'

[2] Valentyn, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 296.

Tavernier's accuracy in topography has also been impugned, but caution is required. In any attempt to trace the route of an early traveller in India it must be borne in mind that names of places are often changed, new towns built near older ones, ruined or decayed, and stages reorganized. Occasionally, too, a halting-place bore a name conferred on it by the builder of its inn, to commemorate his beneficence and puzzle latter-day topographers. As an instance we may take Sera-dakan. Tavernier mentions this as a stage on p. 77, vol. i. This must have been the Sarāī of that name at the well-known town of Jullundur. The building still exists, or did exist a few years ago. Many of these Sarāīs were strongly built enclosures, capable of holding a strong force and indeed hardly defensible without one, in spite of their lofty walls with loop-holed parapets. A few still survive, but many have disappeared, a fate little to be regretted as there was a monotonous sameness in their architectural design. Hence intimate local knowledge or close investigation on the route is essential in such attempts. Regarding the identification of Tavernier's *Bergam* or *Bergant* with Bāglānā, Sir W. Foster observes that Bāglānā is nowhere near the Āgra-Ahmadābād route, and points out that John Jourdain (*Journal*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 168) gives 'Berghee' near Merta as one of the stages on this route. Berghee has not been traced, but it may have been one of those Mughal refuges for travellers, imposing in its day, but now a ruin or at best concealed in a hamlet which has been built into its frame-work. It is, however, equally probable that Tavernier mixed up the two routes and really had Bāglānā in mind.

Sir W. Foster more closely identifies the Belli-porto of vol. i, p. 187, with Palliport at the northern end of Vapīn Island, some fifteen miles north of Cochin (*v. Eng. Factories, 1661–4*, p. 247, where the Dutch version of the attack is given; also Galletti's *Dutch in Malabar*, p. 9). Sir William further points out that the *Touan* of p. 191 in the same volume is not Tuban in Java at all, but that it can only be Taiwan, the castle on the Island of Formosa whence the Chinese expelled the Dutch in 1661, capturing £300,000 in treasure and sending the shares in the Dutch Company down 30 per cent. Taiwan is mentioned

in vol. ii, p. 270 n. In August of that year the Dutch Council at Batavia decided that it was too late in the season to send a fleet against Macao, and that all their forces should be concentrated against the Malabar Coast. In 1662 they seemingly made an attempt to recover Formosa, but the expedition was a failure.[1] Owing perhaps to this diversion it was not till January 1663 that they took Cochin. In that city the English had no factors in residence, as stated in vol. i, p. 192, n. 1.[2] Cochin was, next to Goa, the greatest Portuguese colony in the East, and a centre of Portuguese civilization.[3] The Dutch were intent on making themselves masters on the Coast of Malabar before the peace with Portugal could be ratified. The English Factories on the Coast of Malabar at this time were Kāyal, near Tuticorin : Porakād, between Quilon and Cochin : and Kārwār, a little south of Goa. In 1663 the Dutch were boasting that they would expel the English from both Porakād and Kārwār, and they stopped all the East India Company's trade at the former Factory, though its factors, Harrington and Grigsby, stubbornly maintained their footing there and refused to leave without orders from their superiors at Surat.[4] Tavernier mentions Dutch deserters as aiding the Portuguese in the defence of Cochin, and this is confirmed by Du Bois, *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, p. 197.

Ball, in vol. ii, p. 7, described Raout as unidentified, but Sir W. Foster cites Roe (*Embassy*, i, 89) who calls it Arawd, and *English Factories*, 1630–33, 138, where it is called Roude. Roe places it about 51 miles from Burhānpur. This would indicate that it was Arāvad, in Chopra subdivision, East Khāndesh District. Dr. Crooke restored the name as 'Rāwat', which is tempting. But that is, at least in northern India, a tribal

[1] Du Bois is very brief in his mention of this expedition. The Dutch fleet returned to Batavia in March, 1663, after losing one of its twelve ships : *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux*, p. 214.

[2] Ponnānī is not mentioned in *Eng. Factories 1661–4*. Possibly the *Imperial Gazetteer*, x, p. 355, is based on a local record. But the place seems to have been held by the Dutch as an unfortified factory : Galletti, *op. cit.*, p. 4 n. 2.

[3] Galletti, *op. cit.*, p. 10 : cf. *Eng. Factories, 1661–4*, p. 125.

[4] *Eng. Factories 1661–4*, pp. 250, 251, and 341.

name or title. Whatever Arāvad may signify there can be no real doubt as to its identity with Raout, Roude, and Arawd.

On p. 14 of vol. ii, Tavernier was unquestionably in error in imagining that his Damne was Van Diemen's Land. Sir W. Foster suggests that it is Damm, an island or group of islands south of the Bandas and NE. of Timor.

By Bhutān, Sir W. Foster suspects, Tavernier means Tibet throughout; and it is self-evident that he confused the King of Bhutān with the Grand Lāma on p. 211 of vol. ii, though camels would be as impossible in Tibet as in Bhutān. The only possible explanation is that Tavernier mixed up his information about Bhotant (Tibet) with what he learnt about Bhutān; and that his informant had a lively imagination.

Tavernier's account of his voyage to Batavia (ii, p. 251) raises a slight difficulty. Having crossed the Line from the North on June 2nd, he reaches 'the island called Nazacos' on the 6th, but does not sight the coast of Sumatra till the 17th. Now the island of Nacous in the tale of Sindbad the Sailor seems to be identifiable with the Nicobar Islands.[1] Was Tavernier's ship driven back to the North and East by the monsoon? He does not say so, but it is not unlikely. The alternative would be to identify Nazacos Island with Nias, off the west coast of Sumatra, but so close to it that the ship could hardly have taken eleven days more to sight that coast. Nias was a well-known island, famous for the loveliness of its women, who were kidnapped wholesale for slaves.[2] It too lies to the north of the Equator, but not far from it. The balance inclines to the Nicobars.

The Bishop of Heliopolis (ii, 225) is not named by Tavernier, but if he was François Fallu, the bishop sent from France in 1662 to supervise the missions in Siam, &c. (*Eng. Factories, 1661–64*, p. 270), the fact would lend some support to Tavernier's statement that in 1662 he was at the capital of Persia. The Bishop must, however, have been at Alexandretta late in that year as he only reached Masulipatam in April, 1663. And Tavernier appears to have sailed home from Smyrna, not Alexandretta, arriving in France some time in 1662; *v.* Joret, *J.-B. Tavernier*, pp. 159–62.

[1] Campbell, *op. cit.*, i, p. 90, and ii, p. 1094.
[2] Campbell, *op. cit.*, i, p. 221.

Tavernier is a little confused in his account of the Orders at Goa (vol. i, p. 159). He does not mention the Theatines (cf. Manucci, iii, pp. 117 and 135 *nn.*), and he writes as if the Cordeliers and Recollects were not both Franciscans, if not indeed absolutely identical (*ib.* p. 165 *n.*). The Augustinians' church and convent at Goa seem also to be misdescribed (cf. *ib.*, p. 165 *n.*)

When a writer is found to be incautious about facts, the reader's mind, though not by nature sceptical, tends to become suspicious not merely of the writer himself but of his informants' statements as well. On p. 169 of vol. i we have M. des Marests' story, as presumably he told it to Tavernier, of the Polish Princes in Constantinople. Seeking confirmation of this story one finds that a very similar event did in fact occur, but that, unless history repeated itself, M. des Marests' tale inspires little conviction. It is a historical fact that in 1617 a Polish nobleman effected his escape from the Seven Towers in disguise. He was aided by M. Achille de Harlay, First Secretary of the French Embassy. The result was that the whole Embassy was arrested, including the Ambassador, M. de Savary de Brèves: R. Davey, *The Sultan and his Subjects*, p. 145. This *affaire* occurred rather too early to fit in with that in which des Marests was concerned, and I have not been able to trace any corroboration of his alleged enterprise. *Prima facie* this raises a suspicion that des Marests annexed a real event to his own experiences, though he had taken no part in it; and only further research can settle the doubt.

Writing in the middle of the seventeenth century the Turkish traveller Evliya confirms Tavernier's account of the Kūmūks of Dāghistān, the 'mountain country' south-east of Darband. Evliya styles them worst of all enemies: *Travels*. Trans. into English from the German Trans. of von Hammer, pp. 157, 165, and 167, vol. i.

Tavernier allows that he was not skilled in oriental languages, though he had acquired several European tongues in his earlier travels. All that he seems to have learnt in the East was a stray word or two. Incidentally, he uses the Turki term *sū* for 'river' and applies it to purely Indian names. It

is unknown to modern Urdu, but not impossible that it was used by the Mughals, Persianised though they were. Or Tavernier may have learnt it on his travels before he reached India. No one at all versed in the Hindi of northern India would have written of Rājā Naktī Rānī, 'King Noseless Queen.'

It may be suggested that the explanation given on p. 204 n. of vol. i of the term *shāhmīyāna*, which is taken from *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 821, is incorrect. The word appears to be derived from *shāh*, 'king', and *mīyān*, 'prince', and to signify a canopy or tent for the use of royal and princely personages. If this is right, the *shāhmīyāna* of a ship may well have been the mainsail: cf. our term 'royal' sail. The tent was not always without walls or sides—such a tent would have been too exposed for use in bad weather in the cold season—but its distinctive feature seems to have been that it resembled a canopy and was in fact a huge square umbrella, one of the ensigns of royalty, with or without the addition of side-pieces: vide *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 952.

As regards the theory propounded by Dr. Ball and others that Mīr Jumla's diamond was the original of the Koh-i-Nūr, Sir W. Foster has pointed out the hopeless discrepancies in Manucci's weight, 411 *ratis* = 360 carats (if the Florentine carat be meant), and Tavernier's 319½ *ratis*, when cut down from the 900 *ratis* which it scaled when received from Mīr Jumla: *Eng. Factories, 1655–60*, p. 70. The problem cannot be taken as yet solved.

It would be a great 'find' if Tavernier's original MS. were to be discovered. His handwriting must have puzzled his transcribers or compositors. Thus in vol. ii, p. 246, Masudere or Madsuere must be Joan Matsuyker,[1] Governor in Ceylon from 1646 to 1650. Then again his memory occasionally failed him, for, though the English President at Bantam gave him and his brother a *grand accüeil* (ii, p. 269), he failed to recall or record that worthy's name. It must have been Aaron Baker, President from 1639 to 1641 and from 1646 to 1649.[2] This last

[1] Indeed in the ed. of 1678 we have 'Maatsuiker', showing that attempts were made to correct errors in earlier editions.

[2] Campbell, *op. cit.*, i, p. 595, where the name is spelt Backer; but, as Sir William Foster notes, that must be the Dutch version of the name.

year fits in with Tavernier's statement that his term of office at Bantam had expired when he offered his guest a passage to Europe. Baker was a friendly person who managed to keep on good terms with the difficult Dutch. In 1652 he transferred himself to Madras (under orders from home) and was there too President.

Sir William Foster in conclusion points out that Tavernier used New Style dates while Dr. Ball in his notes generally used Old Style. The reader is indebted to him and also to Miss Z. M. Anstey for an exhaustive scrutiny of the proofs and many valuable corrections and additions.

H. A. ROSE.

JERSEY, *August* 1924.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY DR. BALL

As I cannot find in any of the Bibliographical Dictionaries an exhaustive treatment of the numerous editions of Tavernier's works, I have felt it necessary to go into fuller detail here than would have otherwise been advisable, owing to the amount of space required for proving the distinction between various issues, which can only be done by quoting titles. Such an analysis as that given below should prove of use, as I have had occasion to observe that copies have sometimes been incorrectly bound up, Tavernier's works being in consequence not readily distinguishable from those of other authors with which they have been mingled.

Primarily this list is based upon one by Professor Joret,[1] but, as will be seen on comparison, his catalogue has been much modified and amplified, the number of editions and translations being raised from twenty-six to thirty-eight.

My work having been done in Dublin, I have been interested to find what a number of the editions of Tavernier's volumes there are in the libraries of that city. In one which is seldom resorted to, namely that of Archbishop Marsh, there are six, though the library has been generally supposed to contain only ecclesiastical literature.

My thanks are due to the Bishop of Down and Connor for information regarding the copies in Armagh Library, and to the Librarians of the Bodleian and University College libraries for information about editions mentioned in their catalogues regarding which there were some statements which did not agree with other information available to me.

I

The French Editions of the 'Voyages' and 'Relations' of Tavernier

French

1. **1675**.—*Nouvelle* | *Relation* | *De l'intérieur* | *Du Serrail* | *du* | *Grand Seigneur* | *contenant plusieurs singularitez* | *qui jusqu'ici n'ont pas esté mises en lumière* | *Par J. B. Tavernier escuyer Baron* | *d'Aubonne.* *A Paris* | *chez Olivier de Varennes* | MDCLXXV | 4to.

   There is a copy of this in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

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[1] *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, Paris, Plon, 1886.

1676.—*Les Six | Voyages | de Jean-Baptiste | Tavernier, | Escuyer Baron D'Aubonne, | Qu'il A Fait | en Turquie, en Perse, | Et Aux Indes, | Pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les | routes que l'on peut tenir : accompagnez d'obser- | vations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, | le gouvernment, les coûtumes & le commerce | de chaque pais ; avec les figures, le poids, & la | valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours | Premier Partie | Où il n'est parlé que de la Turquie, & de la Perse.* | Volume II has the same general title, save for the last two lines, which run *Seconde Partie | Où il est parlé des Indes, & des Isles voisines | —A Paris, | Chez Gervais Clouzier &c. | et | Claude Barbin, &c. | au Palais* MDCLXXVI. 2 vols. 4to.

It is from this, the best edition, that the present translation has been made. For the most part the misprints which it contains are repeated in the subsequent editions.

3. **1677.**—A reprint of the above, but the pages are, I think, smaller. I have seen two copies.

4. **1678.**—*Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur,* etc. (as in No. 1, above). Amsterdam. J. Van Someren. 12mo. (Brunét and M. Joret.)

5. **1678.**—*Les Six | Voyages | de | Jean-Baptiste Tavernier | Écuyer Baron d'Aubonne | Qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse | et aux Indes,* etc. [*Suivant la copie | Imprimée | à Paris.* | *Amsterdam* [on the engraved title] *chez Johannes Van Someren l'an 1678.* 2 vols. 12mo.

I have seen two copies of Vol. I and one of Vol. II of this edition. The page and type are smaller than in No. 9 below. There are copies in Marsh's and University College (London) Libraries, and I am informed by the Librarian of the latter that it is incorrectly described in the catalogue as 18mo. Brunét says the edition is rare, but neither fine nor complete.

6. **1679.**—Reprint of No. 2 (according to Brunét).

7. **1679.**—*Recüeil | de Plusieurs | Relations | et | Traitez singuliers et curieux | De | J. B. Tavernier | Escuyer Baron d'Aubonne | Qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers Voyages | Divisé en cinq Parties,* etc. *A Paris chez Gervais Clouzier* MDCLXXIX, 4to.

Contains two fine portraits of Tavernier. It makes a uniform third volume to No. 2. Facsimiles of these portraits are given in the present edition.

8. **1681.**—A reprint of No. 7 (according to Brunét).

9. **1679** (I and II), **1681** (III).—*Les Six Voyages,* etc. (Same title as No. 5.) *Suivant la copie imprimée à Paris.* Engraved title in some copies as in No. 5, therefore probably by Van Someren of Amsterdam. 3 vols. in 12mo. Vols. I and II are in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and I have Vols. II and III, but they contain no indication of printer, publisher, nor place of publication.

Brunét says there were two issues of Vols. I and II, and I find that the two above-mentioned copies of Vol. II vary slightly in the ornament on the title. Vol. I contains the Persian Travels, Vol. II the Indian Travels, and Vol. III the Recüeil and Seraglio.

10. **1692.**—Reprint of No. 9. 3 vols. 12mo.

11. **1702** and **1703.**—This edition is mentioned in the references below. I know no more about it. Probably it was a small 8vo.

12. **1712.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Utrecht. 2 vols. 12mo.
Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitez, etc. Utrecht 1702 (should be 1712 ?). 1 vol. 12mo.
There is possibly a mistake in describing these two last as being 12mo, for I am informed that the Bodleian contains an edition as follows: *Les Six Voyages*, etc. Part I. Utrecht, 1712. Small 8vo.—leaves only 6⅛ in. high, with engraved title 1702. Do. do. Part II, *Suivant la copie imp. à Paris*, 1703. Small 8vo, as Part I. Part (Vol.) III, *Recueil de plusieurs . . . avec la relation de l'intérieur du serail suivant la copie imp. à Paris*, 1702. Small 8vo.

13. **1713.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Nouvelle éd., Paris. Ribou. 5 vols. 12mo.
Brunét says it is badly printed.

14. **1713.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Rouen, Machuel (according to Joret). 6 vols. 12mo.

15. **1713.**—An edition similar to the last, but differs in having the name Eustache Herault on the title-page. There is a copy in the India Office Library.

16. **1715.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. La Haye. 3 vols. 12mo.
This is on the authority of M. Joret. Perhaps identical with next.

17. **1718.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. La Haye, H. Schwendler. 3 vols. (in 6 parts). Small 8vo, pages barely exceeding 6 inches. Utrecht 1702 on engraved title. There is a copy in the Bodleian.

18. **1718.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. Amsterdam (Rouen). 3 vols. (in 6 parts). 12mo (according to M. Joret).

19. **1724.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. Rouen, Machuel le Père. 6 vols. 12mo (according to M. Joret).

20. **1724.**—*Les Six Voyages*, etc. Rouen, Machuel le Jeune. 6 vols. 12mo (according to M. Joret).
The Bodleian contains two vols. of one of the two last editions or separate issues. They are described as follows: *Les Six Voyages*, etc., Nouv. Ed. Tome I. Rouen, 1724. 12mo (leaves 6¼ in. long) . . . . . *Suite des Voyages*, etc., Nouv. Ed. Tome II. Rouen, 1724. Tome I has the engraved title, dated 1712.

21. **1755.**—Considerable extracts from Tavernier's travels are given

in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, by M. l'Abbé Prévost, which was republished with additional notes in Holland (La Haye) in 1755. Most of these extracts are included in Vol. XIII of the latter edition.

22. **1810.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier, &c. Edition entièrement refondue et corrigée, accompagnée d'éclaircissements historiques et critiques etc. par J. B. J. Breton. Paris, Veuve Lepetit.* 7 vols. 18mo.

I regret not having had an opportunity of seeing a copy of this edition, which may contain some useful critical information.

23. **1882.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier en Perse et dans les Indes pendant quarante années. Et par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir, Racontés par lui-meme, Réduits et annotés par Maxime Petit.* Dreyfus, Paris. 12mo.

This edition is in a popular and abridged form; it contains no critical information of importance.

II

Translations of Tavernier's Travels into Different Languages

A.—English [1]

1. **1677.**—*A New | Relation | of | the Inner Part | of the | Grand Seignors | Seraglio | containing | Several Remarkable Particulars never before ex | pos'd to publick View | by J. B. Tavernier Baron of Aubonne | London | Printed and Sold by R(obert) L(ittlebury) and Moses Pitt |* 1677 |

2. **1677.**—*The Six | Voyages | of | John Baptiste Tavernier Baron of Aubonne | through | Turky into Persia | and the | East Indies | for the Space of Forty Years | giving an | Account of the Present State of those countries, viz. of the Religion, Government | Customs and Commerce of every country; and | the figures weight and value of the money | currant all over Asia | To which is added | The Description of the Seraglio | made English by* [2] *J(ohn) P(hillips) | Added likewise | A voyage into the Indies &c. By an English Traveller never before printed | London | Published by Dr. Daniel Cox | London | Printed by William Goodbid for Robert Littlebury at the King's Arms in Little Britain & Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard 1677.* 1 vol. fol.

There is a copy of this in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

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[1] Abstract in *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 129, 30 November, 1676, p. 711; No. 30, 14 December, 1676, p. 751.

[2] The J is printed like an F, and is sometimes erroneously quoted as such (see Professor Joret's list). I can find no confirmation of the existence of an edition by Phillips dated 1676, which is given by Professor Joret.

3. **1678.**—This edition differs from the preceding in the title and date, having after the word London—*Printed and sold by Robert Littlebury at the King's Arms in Little Britain and Moses Pit* [1] *at the Angel in St. Paul's Church Yard 1678.* 1 vol. fol.

There is a copy of this edition in the India Office Library.

Both titles contain a blunder about the 'Voyage into the Indies by an English Traveller', as the paper referred to itself bears the title 'A Description of all the Kingdoms which encompass the Euxine and Caspian seas', and contains no mention of India; it is signed 'Astrachan', and the writer says he was an Irishman. It is dated 1677 on its own title.

4. **1678.**—*The Six | Voyages | of | John Baptista | Tavernier | A noble man of France now living | through | Turky into Persia | and the | East-Indies | Finished in the year 1670 | Giving* etc. etc. 1 vol. Fol.

The blunder just referred to is corrected in this title, and there is some variation in the names of the printers, etc.

Both the last editions contain a letter to Sir Thomas Davies, Lord Mayor of London, and in the last there is also a dedication by J. Phillips to Dr. Daniel Cox. There are two copies of this edition in Trinity College Library, Dublin.

5. **1680.**—*A | Collection | of Several | Relations and Treatises | singular and curious | of | John Baptista Tavernier | Baron of Aubonne | not printed among his first six voyages,* | etc. etc. *Published by Edmund Everard Esq. | Imp.* etc. | *London | Printed by A. Goodbid, and J. Playford for Moses Pitt at the | Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard.* 1680. Folio.

This contains a dedication to Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor elect, and it consists of five parts.

There are copies in Trinity College, Dublin (2), the Bodleian, Marsh's, and the Armagh Libraries.

6. **1684.**—*Collections | of | Travels | Through | Turkey into Persia & the East Indies | Giving an account of the | Present State of these countries | as also | A full relation of the Five years wars between | Aurengzebe & his Brothers,* etc . . . | *Being | the Travels of Monsieur Tavernier, Berniez | and other great men, Adorned with many copper Plates | The First Volume | London | Printed for Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard* | MDCLXXXIV. Folio. 2 vols. in 1.

This contains a preface by Edmund Everard, who says that '*In this work was employed the Help of another Worthy Gentleman,*[2] *who labour'd in the first Volum of Tavernier's Translation;*

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[1] M. P., or Moses Pitt, was not particular as to the spelling of his name, as we have Pitt, Pit, and Pytt.

[2] The worthy gentleman was presumably John Phillips, the translator of the previous editions. Whether his character justified this description is doubtful. He was a nephew of John Milton, his mother having been Milton's sister.

but it was brought to an end & perfection by me, who had the occasion to be more particularly acquainted with Monsieur Tavernier himself, his Native Tongue, and other Particularities abroad.'

Vol. II contains the same general title; it includes, together with Tavernier's *Relation* etc., the paper on the Euxine etc., referred to above, which is prefixed by a special 'Publisher unto the Reader', pp. 95–100, but the writer's name is not given: perhaps he was John Phillips or Dr. Cox. The latter part of the Volume consists principally of translations of Bernier's books and letters.

There are copies of this edition in the India Office and Marsh's Libraries, and I possess one which was obtained a few years ago from Mr. Quaritch.

7. **1688.**—An issue of this year has the same general title-page as the preceding, and the pagination is identical throughout, but the following is different:—*The first Part | London Printed for M(oses) P(itt) and are to be sold by George Monke at the White Horse | without Temple Bar and William Elevey at the Golden Lyon and Lamb | over against the Middle Temple Gate* MDCLXXXVIII.

   There is a copy of this in the King's Inns Library, Dublin. It contains no dedication.

8. **1764.**—Harris, in his *Voyages and Travels*, gives large extracts from Tavernier.

9. **1811.**—Pinkerton (*Travels*, Vol. VIII, pp. 235–57) gives Tavernier's Book II, chaps. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, and Baron's animadversion on Tavernier's account of Tonquin is in Vol. IX, pp. 656 and 692.

B.—German

1. *Tavernier, J.-B.: Beschreibung der sechs Reisen in Türkey, Persien und Indien nebenst der Beschreibung des Türkischen serails und der Krönung des Kœnigs Soliman in Persien, herausgegeben von J. H. Widerhold,* 3 Theile mit Portraits, Karten, und Abbildungen. Genf. 1681. Folio.

2. *Kurtzer Begriff,* etc. Genf, J. H. Widerhold. 1681. Folio.

3. The *Nouv. Biog. Générale* mentions a German edition of 1684, perhaps a mistake for the English ed. of that year.

4. *John-B. Tavernier weyl. Ritters und Freyherrn von Aubonne in der Schweiz, Beobachtungen über das Serrail des Grossherrn.* Auf seiner sechsmaligen Reise nach der Türkey gesammelt. Nebst vielen eingestreuten Bemerkungen über die Sitten und Gewohnheiten der Türken. Memmingen, 1789, bei Andreas Seiler In 12mo, 179 pages. (According to Joret.)

C.—Dutch

1. An edition in Dutch in 1682. 4to. According to *Nouv. Biog. Générale.* (But Joret cites the *Nouvelle Bibliographie universelle*, art. *Tavernier*; and doubts its existence.)

D.—Italian

1. *Tavernier J. B.: Viaggi nella Turchia, nella Persia e nell' India stampati in lingua francese ed ora tradotti da Giovanni Luetti, Roma* 1682. 2 vols. in 4to.
   Same title, Bologna, 1690. 3 vols. 12mo.

[*Original title page.*]

LES SIX VOYAGES DE JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, ECUYER BARON D'AUBONNE, QU'IL A FAIT EN TURQUIE, EN PERSE, ET AUX INDES,

Pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir : accompagnez d'observations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coûtumes & le commerce de chaque pais ; avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours.

SECONDE PARTIE,

Où il est parlé des Indes, & des Isles voisines.

A PARIS,

Chez GERVAIS CLOUZIER, sur les degrez en montant pour aller à la Ste Chapelle, à l'Enseigne du Voyageur. ET CLAUDE BARBIN, sur le second Perron de la sainte Chapelle. au Palais

M. D. C. LXXVI.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

DEDICATION

TO THE KING

SIRE—

The zeal which I have for the service of your Majesty, and for the honour of France, does not permit me to enjoy the repose which I believed had come to me after such prolonged labours. My age not permitting me to undertake new voyages, I have experienced a kind of shame at finding myself of no use to my country, and at not acquitting myself of all which it expects from me. I have thought it to be my duty to it to render an account of my observations upon that which I have seen, and have not been able to excuse myself from making public. I hope, Sire, that these exact and faithful accounts which I have written, since my return, from the notes which I have collected, will not be less useful to my country than the valuable articles of merchandise which I have brought back from my travels. For my object in this work is not merely to assuage public curiosity. I have proposed for myself a more noble and more elevated aim in all my deeds. As the hope of legitimate gain alone has not made me traverse these regions, so the sole desire of placing my name in this book has not caused me to-day to have it printed. In all the countries which I have traversed, my strongest desire has always been to make known the heroic qualities of Your Majesty, and the wonders of your reign, and to show how your subjects excel by their industry and by their courage all other nations of the earth. I venture to say to Your Majesty that I have done so with more boldness, and even more success, than those who had a title and an authority to speak. My method of action, hostile to deception, and possibly somewhat too free, has exposed me to many risks among the nations jealous of our prosperity, who defame us as far as they can in order to exclude us from trade. I have often risked both my fortune and my life by exalting Your Majesty

by my words above all the monarchs of Europe and these Kings of the East—even in their very presence. I have emerged with honour from all these dangers by impressing a respect for your name in the hearts of these barbarians. Under the shadow of this august name, respected throughout the world, I have travelled more than 60,000 leagues by land in perfect safety. I have six times traversed Turkey, Persia, and the better part of India, and was the first to attempt to go to the famous diamond mines. Too happy to have brought precious stones which Your Majesty has condescended to join to the jewels of your throne, but still more happy to have made observations in all these places, to which Your Majesty will possibly not deem it unworthy to devote some moments, as you will find there many details of three of the most powerful Empires of Asia. You will see the manners and customs of the people dwelling there at present. I have interposed in certain places stories, which may relieve the mind after a tedious march of caravans, imitating in that the Orientals, who establish caravansarāīs at intervals in their deserts for the relief of travellers. I am principally devoted to the description of the territories of Turkey, Persia, and the Mogul, in order to point out on the five different routes which one may take to go to them certain common errors with reference to the positions of the places. Although these accounts may be wanting in grace and in politeness of language, I hope that the diversity of the curious and important matters which they contain, and more particularly the veracity which I have scrupulously observed, will nevertheless cause them to be read, and possibly to be esteemed. I shall consider myself well repaid for my work if it has the good fortune to please Your Majesty, and if you accept this evidence of profound respect.

With which I am,
SIRE,
YOUR MAJESTY'S
Very humble, very obedient, and very faithful
Servant and Subject,

J. B. TAVERNIER.

DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR[1]

Wherein he gives a brief account of his first travels in the fairest parts of Europe up to Constantinople

If the first education is, as it were, a second birth, I am able to say that I came into the world with a desire to travel. The interviews which many learned men had daily with my father upon geographical matters, which he had the reputation of understanding well, and to which, young as I was, I listened with pleasure, inspired me at an early age with the desire to go to see some of the countries shown to me in the maps, which I could not then tire of gazing at.

At the age of twenty-two years I had seen the best parts of Europe, France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy, and I spoke fairly the languages which are the most necessary, and which have the greatest currency.

My first sortie from the Kingdom was to go to England, where the reigning monarch was James I, Sixth King of Scotland, who caused himself to be called King of Great Britain, to satisfy both the English and Scotch by a name common to these two nations. From England I passed into Flanders, to see Antwerp, my father's native land. From Flanders I continued my journey to the United Provinces, where my inclination to travel increased on account of the concourse of so many strangers, who came to Amsterdam from all parts of the world.

After having seen all that was most important throughout the Seventeen Provinces, I entered Germany, and having arrived at Nuremburg, by Frankfort and Augsburg, the noise of the armies which were marching to Bohemia to retake Prague made me desire to go to the seat of war, and acquire something of the art, which would be of service to me in the course of my travels. I was but one day's distance from Nuremburg when I met a colonel

[1] From Vol. I, *Persian Travels.* Paris, 1676.

of cavalry, named Hans Brener, son of Philip Brener, Governor of Vienna, who engaged me to follow him into Bohemia, being glad to have a young Frenchman with him. My intention is not to speak here of what happened at the battle of Prague; the discourse would be long, and the history of this century speaks sufficiently of it. Some years afterwards I followed this colonel to Vienna. He presented me to the Governor of Raab, his uncle, to whom belonged the title of Viceroy of Hungary. This Governor received me into his house to be one of his pages. It is usual to serve in this position in Germany up to the age of twenty-five years, and one never quits the service without being prepared to carry arms, and without obtaining a Cornetcy or an Ensign's Commission. I had been four and a half years with the Viceroy when the Prince of Mantua arrived at Vienna to urge the Emperor to the designs which the Duke his father desired, but he was unable to accomplish anything; and even the negotiation of M. de Sabran, Ambassador of the King to his Imperial Majesty, for the arrangement of the investiture which was the subject of his mission, was also fruitless. During the years I spent in Hungary I had time to learn something of war, having been with the master whom I served on many noteworthy occasions. But I shall say nothing of the affairs which we had with the Turks, because so many have treated of the subject, and because they have nothing to do with the subject of my travels. The Viceroy had espoused, on his second marriage, a sister of Count d'Arc, Prime Minister of State of the Duke of Mantua, and Envoy at Vienna with the Prince his son, and this Count was a relative of the Empress, who was of the House of Gonzague. The Count having come to see the Viceroy, I was ordered to attend on him during his sojourn at Javarin, and when about to depart he told the Viceroy that the Prince of Mantua, having no one with him who knew the language, he would please him by permitting me to attend on him while he remained at the Emperor's court. The thing was readily granted to the Count d'Arc, who took me to Vienna, and as I had the good fortune to be not unpleasing to the Prince, he assured me on his departure that he would be much pleased to see me at Mantua, where,

as he believed the war would end satisfactorily, he would remember the service which I had done him. This was sufficient to arouse in me straightway a desire to pass into Italy, and continue the travels which I meditated.

I sought to obtain the Viceroy's approval of my design, who at first consented with reluctance, but at length, pleased with my service, granted me permission with a good grace, and presented me, according to custom, with a sword, a horse, and a pair of pistols, adding to them a very handsome gift of a purse full of ducats. M. de Sabran then left for Venice, and as he wished to have in his company a Frenchman who knew how to speak German, I availed myself of the opportunity, and we reached Venice in eight days. M. le Comte d'Avaux was then Ambassador of France to the Most Serene Republic, and he gave a grand reception to M. de Sabran, who visited him by order of the King. As the Venetians had no less an interest in the war of Mantua than the House of Gonzague, the Republic received M. de Sabran very well, and presented him with eight great basins of confections, upon one of which there was a heavy golden chain, which he placed on his neck for a moment, and then in his pocket. M. le Duc de Rohan was then in Venice with his family, and two of these basins having been distributed to those present in the hall, M. de Sabran directed me to convey the six others, on his account, to Mademoiselle de Rohan, who received them with a very good grace. During some days which we remained at Venice I studied with pleasure this town, so celebrated and so unique among all others in the universe; and as it has many things in common with Amsterdam—the site, the size, the splendour, the commerce, and the concourse of strangers—it contributed no less to increase the desire which I had of becoming thoroughly acquainted with Europe and Asia.

From Venice I went to Mantua with M. de Sabran, and the Prince, who testified his joy at beholding me again, gave me at first the choice of an Ensigncy or a commission in the Artillery Regiment of the Duke his father. I accepted the latter offer, and was well pleased to be under the command of M. le Comte de Guiske, who was its Captain, and is at present Mareschal de Grammont. A long sojourn at Mantua

did not agree with the desire which I had for travelling, but the Imperial army having laid siege to the town, before thinking of my departure I wished to see what would be the issue of the war. We at length compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege. This they did one Christmas Eve, and on the following day some troops were sent out to see if it was not a feint, and whether they had entirely withdrawn.

The siege did not last long, and no considerable action took place—nothing which could instruct young soldiers. I shall only say that one day eighteen men having been commanded to go to reconnoitre the width and depth of the ditch which the enemy had made by cutting a dyke for the defence of a small fort from whence he had driven us, and eight troopers of our company being of this number, I obtained from the Prince, with great trouble, permission to be one of these eight, he having had the goodness to say to me privately that a heavy fire would have to be faced. In short, of the eighteen of us who went out but four returned, and we having gone the length of the dyke among the reeds, as soon as we appeared on the border of the ditch the enemy fired so furious a discharge that they did not give us time to make observations. I selected in the magazine a very light cuirass, but of good material. This saved my life, having been struck by two bullets, one of which struck the left breast and the other below, the iron being indented in both places. I suffered some pain from the blow which had struck the breast, and when we went to make our report, M. le Comte de Guiske, who perceived the good quality of my cuirass, had it decorated, and retained it, so that I have not seen it since.

Some time after I obtained my discharge from the Prince, who had promised to give it to me whenever I desired, and he accompanied it with an honourable passport, by reason of which six troopers came with me to Venice, where I left them. From Venice I went to Loretto, from thence to Rome, and from Rome to Naples, from whence, retracing my steps, I spent ten or twelve days more at Rome. Afterwards I went to see Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, and Genoa, where I embarked for Marseilles. As for the remainder of Italy, I have had opportunities of seeing it on other journeys which I have

made; and I say nothing of this beautiful country, nor of its fine towns, because there are plenty of people who have written about them.

From Marseilles I came to Paris, where I did not remain long, and wishing to see Poland, I entered Germany by Switzerland. After having traversed the principal cantons, I descended the Rhine in order to reach Brisac and Strassburg, then ascending by the Swabe I passed to Ulm and Augsburg to go to Munich. I saw the magnificent palace of the Dukes of Bavaria, which William V had commenced and Maximilian his son accomplished during the heat of the wars which troubled the Empire. From thence I went, for the second time, to Nuremburg and to Prague, and going from Bohemia I entered Silesia and crossed the Oder to Breslau. From Breslau I went to Cracow, one of the largest towns of Europe, or rather one composed of three towns, and the ancient abode of the Kings of Poland. I then went to Warsaw, on the left bank of the Vistula, and saw the tomb of King Sigismund, which was beautiful and magnificent.

From Warsaw I returned to Breslau, and took the route to Lower Silesia, to visit one of the principal officers of the Emperor's household whom I knew very well. But at two leagues from Glogau I was turned from my intention by meeting, and the pressing invitation of, Colonel Butler, a Scotchman, who commanded a regiment of cavalry for the Emperor, and who since killed Wallenstein on account of the order which he received. His wife, who was with him, was fond of the French, and both of them having treated me with much kindness, accompanied by some presents, to induce me to remain with them, I was unable to resist such evidences of kindness. The King of Sweden at that time was invading Pomerania, and the army of the Emperor marched towards Stettin to prevent his entry. We were not more than four leagues off when we heard that the Swedes were in it. This news caused great disorders in the Imperial army, of which Tureste-Conte was the General, and out of 40,000 men, of which it was composed, he disbanded 9,000 or 10,000, which compelled the remainder to withdraw themselves to Frankfort-on-the-Oder and its environs.

It was then that I heard that the Emperor was going to Ratisbon with his son, Ferdinand III, in order to have him crowned King of the Romans. I had witnessed the crowning of the Kings of Hungary and of Bohemia, and being desirous to witness this third ceremony, which should be finer than the others, I took leave of my Colonel and came quickly to Ratisbon. All took place with much magnificence, and many young gentlemen showed their skill in the tournaments. In front of the course where they tilted the ring there were two platforms. The grandest was for the Emperor and the Empress, and all the ladies of the Court; the other resembled a large shop, where were suspended many jewels of great price. They made parties of seven or eight cavaliers, who with a lance touched the object for which they wished to run; and there were some of the jewels worth 10,000 écus and more. He who had the good fortune to win had nothing to pay; it was the others who had competed with him who had to pay the merchant for it. The conqueror received it from the hands of the Prince of Ekemberg, First Minister of State of the Emperor, and having placed it at the end of his lance went to present it to the Empress, who would not receive it; this allowed him to offer it to that one of the ladies of the Court for whom he had the most esteem.

There came then to Ratisbon jewellers from different places, and one of them perished unfortunately on his arrival by an adventure so tragic that all the Court was moved to compassion. He was the only son of the richest merchant in Europe, who dwelt at Frankfort, and his father had sent him to the coronation to sell precious stones. Through fear of his being robbed on the way his father sent them by a safe means to a Jew at Ratisbon, who was his correspondent, with an order to place them in the hands of his son. This young man on his arrival at Ratisbon went to find the Jew, who told him that he had received a small box full of precious stones, and that he might take possession of them whenever he wished. At the same time he invited him to drink, and took him to the house of the Dauphin on the quay at Ratisbon, where they enjoyed themselves till one o'clock at night, when the Jew, taking the young man by a street where there were

no shops, and where there were no passers, stabbed him in the stomach eight or ten times with a knife, and left him lying on the pavement. The miserable Jew thought that he would escape by writing to the jeweller in Frankfort that he had handed over the small box to his son, and that no one would suspect him of the murder. But by God's will, on the very same evening the crime was discovered and the guilty one was in the hands of justice.

The matter was discovered thus. Immediately after this cruel murder a herald of the Emperor, named Jean-Marie, passing through this obscure street, struck his feet against the body of this young man, who still breathed, and fell on top of him. Feeling some moisture on his hand, he at first thought that he was a drunken man who had been ill and was unable to stand. But on second thoughts it occurred to him that it might be a wounded man. He ran for a light to an office of the Marshal at the corner of the street. The Marshal and his companions took a lantern, and on arriving at the place with the herald saw the melancholy spectacle of a young man bathed in his own blood, who had but few moments to live. The Marshal would not allow them to carry him to his office, in order not to embarrass justice, and they found nowhere more suitable for prompt aid than the house of the Dauphin, which was not far off. He was at once taken there, and as soon as they had washed his face, which was covered with blood and dust, the mother and daughter of the house at once recognised him as the person who came to drink there with the Jew. He expired a moment afterwards, without having been able to speak or to give any sign of consciousness, and it was in this way that they discovered the murderer, who was taken in his own house the same evening, and straightway confessed his crime. The enormity of the deed justified that the guilty one should be condemned to a very severe sentence, and the judgement provided that he should be hung to a gallows, head downwards, between two large dogs, suspended close to him, so that in their rage they should eat out his vitals, and so make him suffer more than one death by the protraction of the torment. It is the sentence provided by the Imperial law for a Jew who has killed a

Christian, and the method of this assassination had about it something more horrible than ordinary murders. However, the Jews of Ratisbon made such large presents to the Empress and to the two Princesses that they obtained an alteration in the sentence, and the culprit was condemned to a shorter execution, but which was not less rigorous. He was torn with hot irons in various parts of the body and in different quarters of the town, and as the pincers tore out the flesh molten lead was poured into the openings, after which he was taken outside Ratisbon and broken on the wheel at the place destined for the execution.

The coronation ceremony having been accomplished, I heard that the Empress was sending the Sieur Smit as Resident to the Porte of the Grand Seigneur. From the information which my friends gave me I hoped that he would be gracious enough to allow me to accompany him. I was unwilling to be a cause of expense to him, and I had, in order to make the voyage, a sufficient number of ducats, which I had saved while I served under Colonel Butler, who showed me much affection. I was about to leave Ratisbon when Father Joseph, who was in the service of the King, and who had known me at Paris, proposed to me to accompany M. Bachelier, whom his Majesty was sending to the Duke of Mantua, or to accompany M. l'Abbé de Chapes, brother of the late M. le Mareschal d'Aumont, and M. de Saint Liebau in the voyage which they had designed to make to Constantinople and even to Palestine. I liked this latter proposition, having no intention to return to Italy, and wishing to see new countries. Without hesitating about the selection, I told Father Joseph how indebted I was to him for the offer which he made me, and I joined these two latter gentlemen, from whom I did not part till they were about to leave Constantinople for Syria. Before quitting Germany these gentlemen desired to see the court of Saxony, where we arrived in a short time. You pass through Freiburg on this route, a small town, but well worthy of being seen, because it contains the tombs of the Electors, which, whether as regards material or form, are the finest in Europe. From thence we went to see the splendid Castle of Augustburg, which is on a high mountain, wherein there are many remarkable

things. There is a hall which, for sole decoration from top to bottom, has a multitude of horns of all kinds of animals hung on the walls, and you see the head of a hare with two small horns, which was sent to the Elector as a great curiosity by the King of Denmark. There is in one of the courts of this castle a tree of such enormous size, and the branches of which are so extended, that one can place underneath it a great number of tables. I did not count them, but the concierge told us that there were as many as there are days in the year. That which makes this tree more wonderful is that it is a birch, which it is rare to see attain to such a size. There is also in this castle a well so deep that one cannot draw water from it in less than half an hour, and considering the altitude of the place, one cannot sufficiently admire the boldness of the designer.

All Germany is so well known that I shall not delay to describe Dresden, which is the residence of the Elector. I shall merely say that the town is not large, but that it is very beautiful and well fortified, and that the Elbe, over which there is a fine stone bridge, separates the old and the new towns. The palace of the Elector is one of the largest and most beautiful in Germany, but it lacks an open space in front, and its principal gate is at the bottom of a cul de sac. The treasure-rooms,[1] to the number of sixteen, are open to all strangers of distinction; and there are catalogues, both in German and in other languages, of all that is beautiful and rare in each. MM. l'Abbé de Chapes and de Saint Liebau were very well received by the Elector—father of him who reigns to-day; he kept them to supper, and treated them with much kindness. A grand buffet had been arranged this evening, upon which all the pieces were of a perfectly beautiful and shining stone, which was obtained in the silver mines of Saxony, and on a lower shelf there were several goblets of silver gilt of different sizes. The Elector, wishing to give the health of the King to these gentlemen, allowed them to select of these goblets the one from which they wished to drink, on condition of drinking it full, according to the custom of the country. M. l'Abbé de Chapes caused one to be brought

[1] The famous green vaults.

which did not appear to be large, and M. de Saint Liebau asked for another which held a little more. But l'Abbé de Chapes was much surprised when, having taken the goblet which he had chosen, it expanded in his hands when he touched a spring, like a tulip which opens to the sun, and it became forthwith a large cup capable of containing nearly a pint. He was not forced to drink it full, and the Elector forgave him, contenting himself with a laugh at his surprise.

From Dresden we went to Prague, and it was for the third time that I saw this grand and beautiful town, or, if you wish it, these three towns, separated by the Molde, which falls into the Elbe 5 or 6 leagues below. Having traversed Bohemia through the middle, and touched an angle of Moravia, we entered Austria and came to Vienna, intending to embark at once, the cold beginning to make itself already felt. These gentlemen confiding on me the arrangements of the journey, I went to ask the Governor of Vienna to write in their favour to the Viceroy of Hungary, his brother, to give us necessary passports ; this he granted with a good grace, and he also gave two boats to these gentlemen, one for themselves, which had a good room, and the other for the kitchen. We remained one day at Presburg, to see the great church and a quantity of relics which they had to show there, and from thence we descended to Altemburg.

Altemburg is a town and county which belong to Comte d'Arach. It was the property of a Queen of Hungary, who presented it when dying to a noble of her court, on condition that he and his successors should always keep in this castle a certain number of peacocks, which this Queen was very fond of ; and that if any one omitted to do so the county should revert to the throne.

We arrived at Sighet after midday, and immediately I took a small boat and went quickly to Raab, formerly called Javarin, which is only two hours distant. I gave the Viceroy the letter which his brother had given me, and I informed him of the arrival of MM. de Chapes and de Saint Liebau. As I had had the honour of being some years in his service, he told me he was glad to see me again, and that he would do everything to satisfy those whom his brother recommended.

On the following day he ordered 300 cavalry and two carriages to go and bring them to Javarin. He received them very politely, and during the sojourn which they made the principal officers sought to make them pass the time agreeably. It was necessary to wait eight or ten days to receive the reply of the Bacha of Buda, a message having been sent to the Governor of Comorre to ascertain if he would grant a passage to two French gentlemen and their suite. In order to facilitate the matter they were represented to be relatives of M. de Cessy,[1] Ambassador of France at the Porte, and the reply of the Bacha having come in the affirmative, we descended to Comorre, where the Governor gave us other boats. They conveyed us half way to Buda, where we found others, which, on the receipt of the notice of our departure, came from Buda to meet us. These boats are a kind of brigantines well armed and very convenient, and they make, by force of oars, much way in little time, because they are very light. It is between Comorre and Buda on the frontiers of the two Empires, where the Ambassadors relieve one another, which happens on both sides every six years, and in the same time the alliance is renewed, and it is necessary that the number of persons on each side shall be equal.

From Vienna to Javarin we were three days on the water, because the Danube makes a great circuit, though one can make the land journey in two hours. From Javarin one goes to Comorre, and from Comorre we descended to Buda in less than two days. The journey from Raab to Buda is seldom taken by land, because the country being on the frontier there are brigands on both sides whom it is dangerous to meet. In the fine season one can go from Buda to Belgrade in less than eight days ; but we took eight, the cold and snow delaying our progress. We took an equal time up to Constantinople, where we did not arrive till the 29th day after our departure from Belgrade, because the days were short and the way bad.

It is the custom in Hungary, especially on routes little frequented by strangers, to take no money from travellers ; a householder lodges them and treats them well, and the

[1] Spelt 'de Cesi' in vol. i, p. 170, and below, p. lxxxvi.

mayor of the place repays him at the end of the year out of the public revenue for the expense which he has incurred. But it should be remembered that they are not charged with a great number of travellers, and that in Hungary, which is one of the best countries in Europe, food is so cheap that we did not expend at Belgrade for fourteen months as much as two crowns a day.

Buda is on the right of the Danube, distant from the river about half an hour. As soon as the Bacha had news of our arrival he sent his equerry with horses led by well-dressed slaves for our conduct to the town. Among these slaves were two Parisians, and our gentlemen, knowing their families, offered unavailingly up to 800 crowns for their ransom.

We remained twelve days at Buda before we could have audience of the Bacha, who was unwell. He sent us our food daily—a sheep, fowl, butter, rice, and bread, with two sequins for other fresh supplies ; and on the day upon which he granted an audience to MM. de Chapes and de Saint Liebau, they presented him with a watch, the case of which was covered with diamonds. The Bacha is a man of good figure and pleasing countenance ; he received them with much civility, and on their departure for Belgrade, which was on the fourteenth day of their arrival at Buda, he sent them six chariots with two soldiers to conduct them, and an order to defray their expenditure for food throughout, of which they did not wish to avail themselves.

On our arrival at Belgrade we entered an old caravansarāī, but four of the principal merchants of Ragusa, who do a large trade in this place, took us from this poor inn to convey us to the house of a good citizen. The Ragusans carry cloth to Belgrade, and take wax in exchange, and quicksilver, which they obtain from Upper Hungary and from Transylvania.

If we had reason to congratulate ourselves on the good reception of the Bacha of Buda, we had also reason to complain of the rude manner which the Sangiac [1] of Belgrade displayed towards us, as he compelled us to contest for fifteen or sixteen days the ridiculous demand that he at first made of 200 ducats

[1] Misused for Sanjakbeg, governor of a Sanjak or district of the Turkish Empire : Turkish *sanjāq*, 'banner'—*New English Dict.*, *s.v.*

per head. The merchants of Ragusa went to speak to him, and all they could obtain was that we should each give him fifty ducats. The Sangiac continuing to act badly, I went to see him with our interpreter, and at first spoke to him with civility. But seeing that he paid no attention to me, and that it was necessary to address him otherwise, I intimated so well by threats that I would send an express to the Porte to complain of his rude conduct towards two gentlemen, relatives of the French Ambassador, that notwithstanding the 200 ducats which he demanded per head, he contented himself with fifty for all, which were forthwith given to him. During this fifteen days' detention we had the small consolation of enjoying good fare. The bread, the wine, and the meat are all excellent and cheap in this place; and Belgrade being built on a point of land where two great rivers—the Danube and Save—join, so large a quantity of large pike and fine carp were caught that we only used the livers and milts, giving the fish to the poor. Two Jesuit Fathers, chaplains of the merchants of Ragusa, contributed much to dissipate the annoyance which these gentlemen experienced from the delay of their journey, caused by the injustice of the Sangiac. The merchants too, did not limit themselves to the good services which they rendered on several occasions; they added a magnificent banquet to which they invited them on Christmas Eve, after which they went to the midnight mass, accompanied by music and instruments, with which they were pleased.

We took saddle horses and chariots at Belgrade for Adrianople, each selecting the mode of conveyance he considered most comfortable. As for me, I preferred a chariot, wherein, covering myself with straw, my body being clad in a good sheep skin, I did not feel the cold. We came to Sophia, a large and populous town, the capital of the old Bulgarians, and the residence of the Bacha de Romeli.[1] You see there a beautiful mosque, which was once a Christian church, with a tower so artfully made that three persons can ascend it at the same time without seeing one another.

From Sophia we came to Philippopolis, and between this last

[1] Pāsha of Roumelia.

town and Adrianople we met two well-mounted companies of Tartars. They come to make raids on this side of the Danube, and indeed farther into the portion of Hungary which belongs to the house of Austria. As soon as they saw us they hastily ranged themselves in two lines on either side, to allow us to pass through them, designing, doubtless, to attack us, being without hope of vanquishing us except by numbers and surprise. They had for their only arms a poor sort of sabre, and we on our side had wherewithal to prevent their approach, each having a musket and a pair of pistols, and the majority good sporting guns also. For fear they should come to attack us if we neglected to defend ourselves, we stood our ground and made a barricade of our chariots. However, our two guards with our interpreter were sent to the chief of these Tartars to tell him that we should not move till they decamped, and that being soldiers like them they would obtain nothing from us. The chief replied that he had only drawn up his men in order to honour us, and that, as we wished it, they would pass on if we gave them something to buy tobacco. We speedily satisfied them ; and our interpreter having taken them four sequins, they drew off and left our passage open.

We reached Adrianople on the twenty-third day after our departure from Belgrade, and we hired other horses and chariots for Constantinople. Adrianople derives its name from the Emperor Adrian, who enlarged and embellished it ; it was previously called Oreste.[1] It is pleasantly situated at the mouths of three rivers, which debouch together in the Archipelago. The old town is not very large, but the Turks have added splendid suburbs, and it is one of the residences of the Ottoman Emperors, who often come there, whether called by business or for the pleasure of the chase, especially of ducks and herons. When these three rivers overflow the marshes and neighbouring fields they make, as it were, a sea, which is covered by a multitude of these birds, as also cranes and wild geese, and the Grand Seigneur takes them with the eagle and the falcon, which are very well trained to this kind of sport.

On the fifth day after our departure from Adrianople, and

[1] Orestis, land of the Orestae tribe.

the fifty-second after we left Vienna, we arrived happily at Constantinople, at eight o'clock in the morning. Having traversed the town and passed to Galata, they led us to the house of the French Ambassador, which we did not leave till after dinner, and in the evening we went to take possession of a house belonging to a Greek close to that of the Ambassador. MM. de Chapes and de Saint Liebau remained two months at Constantinople, where they expended a large sum, always keeping open house. We made during the winter a small trip to the Dardanelles and the ruins of Troy, where we only saw stones, which were assuredly not worth the trouble of going there.

Curiosity to see a room furnished in the French fashion, of which they gave us a great account, led us to go to the serrail [1] at Scutari. Two eunuchs who guarded it made much fuss about permitting us to enter, for which we had to pay well, and we saw nothing but a bed after our pattern, of rich material, with the chairs and carpets, which constituted the whole lot. On another day we took boats with our friends to go to Chalcedonia, which is on the margin of the sea. There is a very ancient church there, in which one sees the council hall, with the original chairs still preserved. It is to-day a monastery, and two bishops who were there, after having conducted us all through, civilly presented us with a collation.

We then went to see Pompey's Pillar, at the mouth of the Black Sea, and going from serrail to serrail, which are the royal houses of the Grand Seigneur, we occupied eight days upon this pleasant outing. But one might do it in two, if content to see the pillar without stopping anywhere. We met in one of these serrails an old French eunuch, who was delighted to see us, and gave us all possible good cheer.

I shall make here a remark about the Black Sea canal. There is no strait of the sea without a current, and this has two opposite ones. That from the European side carries vessels towards the Black Sea, and that which is from the Asiatic side brings them back towards the Mediterranean. Thus in the trip which one often makes from Constantinople to the mouth of

[1] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v Serai.

the canal, both in going and returning you find the stream favourable, and you have but to cross from one bank to the other.

The rigour of winter being over, MM. de Chapes and de Saint Liebau continued their journey, and accompanied by two guards, engaged two brigantines for the journey to Alexandretta. I have since heard that they saw all that is most remarkable in the Archipelago and along the coasts of Natalie; that from Alexandretta they went to Aleppo, from thence to the Euphrates, and that, retracing their steps to Aleppo, they went to Damascus, and from thence to Jerusalem.

As for me, having another journey in view, and wishing to see Persia, I remained at Constantinople, awaiting a caravan which I was encouraged to hope for from one month to another. But without that it often happened that eight or ten merchants, joining together, made the journey in safety to Ispahān. My ignorance was the reason for my making a much longer stay at Constantinople than I had contemplated. I remained eleven months, during which time I saw M. de Marcheville arrive, who came to relieve M. de Cesi. He had an audience of the Grand Seigneur as Ambassador of France, but M. de Cesi, who did not wish to retire, intrigued so well with the Grand Vizir that he remained Ambassador at the Porte, while M. de Marcheville was compelled to return to France. I was in his cortège on the day when he had audience with his Highness, as I have stated in my account of the Serraglio.

At length, after eleven months' delay, a well-equipped and numerous caravan left Constantinople for Ispahān, and I joined it on the road, for my first journey to Asia.[1] It has been followed by five others, and I have thus had time to observe the nature of the country well, and the genius of the populations. I have pushed the three last beyond the Ganges and to the island of Java; and during the space of forty years I have traversed more than 60,000 leagues by land, only having once returned from Asia to Europe by sea. Thus I have seen at my leisure in my six journeys, and by different routes, the whole

[1] M. Joret, by means of the incident about the Ambassadors just referred to, has fixed this date as January or February 1631. Those who give it as 1636 are therefore clearly in the wrong.

of Turkey, all Persia, and all India, and especially the famous mines of diamonds, where no European had been before me.[1] It is of these three grand Empires that I propose to give a full and exact account, and I shall commence with the different routes which one may take to go from Paris to Persia.

[1] As elsewhere pointed out in the following pages, there were European visitors before Tavernier's time, as Caesar Frederick before 1570, Methold before 1622, and also some others.

TABLE OF THE BOOKS AND CHAPTERS

BOOK I

CONCERNING routes which one may take to go from Ispahān to Agra, and from Agra to Delhi and Jahānābād, where the court of the Great Mogul is at present; as also to the court of the King of Golkonda and to that of the King of Bījāpur, and to several other places in India . . . . . Page 1

CHAPTER I.—Route from Ispahān to Agra by way of Gombroon (Bandar 'Abbās), where particular mention is made of the navigation from Hormuz to Surat 3

CHAPTER II.—Concerning the customs, the money, the exchange, the weights, and the measures of India 7

CHAPTER III.—Concerning conveyances and the manner of travelling in India 32

CHAPTER IV.—Route from Surat to Agra by Burhānpur and Sironj . 40

CHAPTER V.—Route from Surat to Agra by Ahmadābād . . 54

CHAPTER VI.—Route from Ispahān to Agra by Kandahār . . 73

CHAPTER VII.—Sequence of the same route from Delhi up to Agra . 85

CHAPTER VIII.—Route from Agra to Patna and Dacca, towns of the Province of Bengal; and the quarrel which the Author had with Shāista Khān, uncle of the Emperor 92

CHAPTER IX.—Route from Surat to Golkonda 115

CHAPTER X.—Of the Kingdom of Golkonda, and the wars which it has carried on during the last few years 121

CHAPTER XI.—Route from Golkonda to Masulipatam . . . 139

CHAPTER XII.—Route from Surat to Goa, and from Goa to Golkonda by Bījāpur 142

CHAPTER XIII.—Remarks upon the present condition of the town of Goa 150

CHAPTER XIV.—Concerning what the Author did during his sojourn at Goa on his last journey in 1648 161

CHAPTER XV.—History of Father Ephraim, Capuchin, and how he was cast into the Inquisition at Goa . . . . . Page 176

CHAPTER XVI.—Route from Goa to Masulipatam by Cochin, described in the history of the capture of that town by the Dutch . . 187

CHAPTER XVII.—The sea route from Hormuz to Masulipatam . 203

CHAPTER XVIII.—Route from Masulipatam to Gandikota, a town and fortress in the Province of Carnatic, and the Author's transactions with Mīr Jumla, who commanded the army of the King of Golkonda; in which also there is a full description of Elephants 207

CHAPTER XIX.—Route from Gandikota to Golkonda . . . 235

CHAPTER XX.— Return from Surat to Hormuz, and how the Author found himself engaged in a very severe and dangerous naval combat, from which he escaped without accident 247

BOOK II

Historical and political description of the Empire of the Great Mogul 255

CHAPTER I.—Account of the last wars in Hindostān, in which the present condition of the Empire and of the Great Mogul's Court is set forth 257

CHAPTER II.—Concerning the sickness and supposed death of Shāhjahān, Emperor of India, and the rebellion of the Princes, his sons . 260

CHAPTER III.—Concerning Shāhjahān's prison, and how he was punished by Aurangzeb, his third son, for the injustice he had done to Prince Bulākī his nephew, grandson of Jahāngīr, to whom, since he was the son of the firstborn, the Empire of the Moguls belonged . 267

CHAPTER IV.—Concerning the flight of Dārā Shikoh to the Kingdoms of Sind and Gujarāt; his second battle with Aurangzeb; his capture and death 276

CHAPTER V.—How Aurangzeb seated himself upon the throne and had himself declared Emperor; and concerning the flight of Sultān Shujā' 284

CHAPTER VI.—Concerning the prison of Sultān Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb, and of Sultān Sulaimān Shikoh, eldest son of Dārā Shikoh 287

CHAPTER VII.—Concerning the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, and the death of his father Shāhjahān 295

CHAPTER VIII.—Concerning the preparations which are made for the festival of the Great Mogul, when he is solemnly weighed every year; of the splendour of his thrones and the magnificence of his Court . . . . . Page 301

CHAPTER IX.—Concerning other details of the Great Mogul's Court 309

CHAPTER X.—The Great Mogul orders all his jewels to be shown to the Author 314

CHAPTER XI.—Terms of the passport which the Nawāb Shāista Khān sent to the Author, with some letters which he wrote to him and the replies to them, in which the style of these countries manifests itself 319

APPENDIX.—On the values of Coins, Weights, and Measures referred to by Tavernier 327

AVIS

TO THE READER

It is almost impossible in a work of this sort, containing so many proper names of officers, Princes, towns, mountains, and rivers, that many faults should not occur; because these names being entirely unknown to us, and little conformable to our pronunciation and manner of writing, it need not be wondered at if the printer has often erred. But among other faults one important one has been detected, which it is desirable to remove and to notify, that in place of coste, which means nothing, cosse should be read throughout, which in the language of the country means league (*lieue*) in India.

BOOK I

Concerning routes which one may take to go from Ispahān to Agra, and from Agra to Delhi and Jahānābād,[1] where the Court of the Great Mogul is at present; as also to the Court of the King of Golkonda and to that of the King of Bījāpur,[2] and to several other places in India.

[1] Dehly and Gehanabat in the original. Shāhjahān rebuilt Delhi (A. D. 1638–48), and called the new city Shāhjahānābād, which retains its form and fortifications to the present time, and is the Delhi of to-day.

[2] Visapour, in the original, was an early corruption of the name Bījāpur (Vijayapura). It is the principal town of what is now the Bījāpur District of the Bombay Presidency. An account of its buildings is given in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*; but this has recently been superseded by the monograph by H. Cousens, *Bījāpur and its Architectural Remains, with an Historical Outline of the 'Adil Shāhī Dynasty*, Bombay, 1916.

TRAVELS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

Route from Ispahān to Agra by way of Gombroon,[1] *where particular mention is made of the navigation from Hormuz*[2] *to Surat.*[3]

I SHALL follow in this account of my Indian travels the same order as I observed in that of my Persian travels, commencing with a description of the routes by which one can go from Ispahān, to Delhi and Jahānābād, where the Great Mogul at present resides.

Although India presents a frontier towards Persia of more than 400 leagues, extending from the ocean to that long chain of mountains which traverses the centre of Asia from west to east—and has been known to antiquity under the name of Mount Taurus or Mount Caucasus[4]—there are, notwithstanding, not so many ways for passing from Persia into India as there are from Turkey into Persia, because between Persia and India there are only sands and vast deserts where

[1] Gomron in the original, for Gombroon, the modern Bandar 'Abbās, in the Persian Gulf; see Barbosa, ed. M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, 1918, vol. i. 77; Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 418 f.

[2] Ormus in the original, the modern Hormuz, more properly Hurmūz, formerly a city and kingdom near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. See Barbosa, ed. Dames, i, p. 68 ff., 90 ff.

[3] Surate in the original, the modern Surat, spelt Suratte in the French edition of 1713.

[4] Mount Taurus or Mount Caucasus. The former name was used by some of the ancient geographers for a supposed continuous range from west to east, through the whole of Asia, and embracing the real Taurus of Asia Minor, the Persian Elburz, the Hindu Kush, and the Himalayas. 'India is bounded on the north from Ariana to the eastern sea by the extremities of the Tauros which the Macedonians call the Kaukasos, while the natives give distinctive names to the several parts, such as Paropamisos [Paropanisos], Emodus, and Imaos,' &c. (Strabo, bk. xv, c. i, § 11; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 15 f.).

there is no water to be found. Thus, in order to go from Ispahān to Agra there are but two routes to select from—one partly by land and partly by sea, by taking ship at Hormuz; and the other altogether by land, passing through Kandahār. The first of these routes has been fully described up to Hormuz towards the end of the last book of my travels in Persia,[1] and I have now to speak of the navigation from Hormuz to Surat.

Navigation in the Indian seas is not carried on at all seasons, as it is in our European seas, it being necessary to take the proper season, outside which no one ventures to put to sea. The months of November, December, January, February, and March, are the only months in the year in which you embark at Hormuz for Surat, and at Surat for Hormuz: with this difference, however, that you can rarely leave Surat later than the end of February,[2] but for leaving Hormuz you may wait till the end of March, and even till the 15th of April, because the western wind, which brings the rains to India, begins to blow then. During the first four months a wind from the north-east prevails with which you may sail from Surat to Hormuz in fifteen or twenty days; afterwards, veering by degrees to the north, it serves equally the vessels going to Surat and those coming from it; during this period the merchants generally reckon on spending thirty or thirty-five days at sea; but if you desire to make the passage from Hormuz to Surat in fourteen or fifteen days, you must embark in the month of March or at the beginning of April, because you then have the western wind astern all the way.[3]

Vessels leaving Hormuz steer for Muscat,[4] on the coast of Arabia, so as not to approach too near that of Persia, and to

[1] Bk. v, ch. xx, xxi, xxii, p. 653 et seq. The second route up to Kandahār is described in bk. v, ch. xxiv, p. 693, *Persian Travels*, Paris edition of 1676.

[2] This indication of the periods of the monsoons is of interest. It is utilized by M. C. Joret, in his *J.-B. Tavernier*, Paris 1886, p. 64, as a factor in determining the dates of Tavernier's journeys, regarding which his direct statements are so few, vague, or even contradictory.

[3] For the monsoons see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, i. 109 ff.

[4] Mascaté in the original, the modern Muscat, or more properly Maskat, the capital of Oman, in North-East Arabia (Barbosa, i. 71; Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 439).

give it a wide berth. Those coming from Surat do the same, in order to find the entrance to the gulf, but in neither case do they ever touch at Muscat, because custom dues have to be paid to the Arabian Prince who captured it from the Portuguese.

Muscat is a town on the sea-coast, facing three rocks, which render the approach to it very difficult, and it lies at the foot of a mountain upon which the Portuguese had three or four forts. It may be remarked that Muscat, Hormuz, and Bassora [1] are the three places in the East where the heat is most unbearable. Formerly the English and Dutch monopolized this navigation; but for some years past the Armenians, Musalmāns of India and Banians [2] had their own vessels also, on which, however, you do not feel so safe as on those of the Franks,[3] because necessarily the Indians do not understand navigation so well, and do not employ such good Pilots.

Vessels sailing for Surat, which is the sole port in the whole empire of the Great Mogul, steer for Diu and Point St. Jean,[4] and then anchor in the roads at Suwālī,[5] which is only four leagues distant from Surat, and but two from the mouth of the river, bearing from it northwards. Merchandise is conveyed from one place to the other either by cart or by boat, as large vessels cannot enter the river at Surat until after they are unloaded, on account of the sandbanks at the mouth. The Dutch depart after having landed their goods at Suwālī, and the English need to do the same, neither being permitted

[1] Balsara in the original, Balsora of the *Arabian Nights*, the modern Bassora (Basra), in the Persian Gulf.

[2] Banianes in the original, the Vānia or Banya trading caste.

[3] Francs in the original, and Franguis on p. 49, names in the East for all Europeans except Greeks; Pers. *Farangī*.

[4] Diu and Point St. Jean. Diu is on an island (from which fact the name is derived—*dvīpa*, Sanskrit for 'an island') off the southern extremity of Gujarāt. It occupies an important position in the history of the Portuguese, and still belongs to them. St. Jean is the port in Gujarāt called Sajān or Sanjān, the Sindān of Arab writers, corrupted by the Portuguese into San Gens and the English into St. John's. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., 782; H. Wilberforce Bell, *Hist. of Kathiawar*, 89 f.)

[5] Souali in original: Suwālī: a roadstead near the mouth of the Tāptī (Yule, op. cit., p. 883).

to enter into the Surat river; but for some time back, the King has granted to the latter a place to winter [1] in during the rainy season.

Surat is a city of moderate size, with a poor fortress,[2] close to which you must pass, whether you approach it by water or by land. It has towers at each of its four angles; and as the walls are not terraced, the guns are placed upon scaffoldings. The Governor of the fortress commands merely the soldiers of the garrison, and possesses no authority in the city, which has its own separate Governor to receive the customs and the other revenues of the King throughout the extent of his Province.[3] The walls of the city are built of earth,[4] and the houses of private persons are like barns, being constructed of nothing but reeds, covered with cow-dung mixed with clay, to fill the interstices, and to prevent those outside from seeing between the reeds what goes on inside. In the whole of Surat there are only nine or ten well-built houses, and the Shāh-bandar [5] or chief of the merchants, owns two or three of them. The others belong to the Musalmān merchants, and those of the English [6] and Dutch are not the least fine, every President and Commander taking care to keep them in repair, the cost of which is charged against the accounts of their Companies. These dwellings are, nevertheless, only hired houses, as the King does not permit any Frank to possess a house of his own,

[1] The term winter (*hiver*) is used by several early writers on India to indicate the rainy season, viz. June to October. (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 970.)

[2] For illustrations of the fort see Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in Western India*, 48, 52.

[3] Ovington (*Voyage to Suratt*, 217) says that the Governor was appointed for three years, and never left the castle.

[4] Peter Mundy (Hakluyt Society, ii. 29) calls it 'a badde ditch'; Mandelslo (p. 29), 'a good rampier of stone'.

[5] Cha-bander in original, Shāh-bandar, i. e. harbour and customs master.

[6] The Surat House is 'of the best in Towne, very faire and stronglie built, the Rooffs in general flatt and tarassed aloft to walke on, very substantiallie done with lime. . . . Wee have also a garden which for its bignes is the neatest and costliest in all the Countrey hereabouts' (Mundy, ii. 25 f.; and see Fryer, Hakluyt Society, i. 214.) W. Foster (Sir T. Roe, Hakluyt Society, ii. 510) gives a valuable note describing the various houses occupied by the English in Surat.

fearing that he would thereby possess what he might convert into a fortress. The Reverend Capuchin Fathers have built a very commodious one upon the model of the houses of Europe, with a beautiful church, and I myself furnished a large portion of the money which it cost;[1] but the purchase had to be made in the name of a Maronite merchant of Aleppo[2] named Chelebi, of whom I have spoken in my account of Persia.

CHAPTER II

Concerning the Customs, the Money, the Exchange, the Weights, and the Measures of India.

In order to save repetition, which cannot be avoided in the course of a long journey, it is desirable to make the reader acquainted, from the first, with the practice in India in reference to customs, money, exchange, measures, and weights.

As soon as merchandise is landed at Surat it has to be taken to the custom-house, which adjoins the fort. The officers are very strict and search persons with great care.[3] Private individuals pay as much as 4 and 5 per cent. duty on all their goods; but as for the English and Dutch Companies, they pay less. But, on the other hand, I believe that, taking into account what it costs them in deputations and presents, which they are obliged to make every year at court, the goods cost them nearly the same as they do private persons.

Gold and silver are charged 2 per cent., and as soon as they have been counted at the custom-house the Mintmaster[4]

[1] For the French Capuchins in Surat see Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ed. Irvine, i. 62, iii. 309, iv. 266; *Diary of W. Hedges*, Hakluyt Society, ii. 305. Some remains of their chapel still exist, *Bombay Gazetteer*, ii. 304.

[2] Alep in original, for Aleppo, described bk. II, cap. ii, p. 134, of the *Persian Travels*, Paris, 1876. Chelebi in Turkish means 'a noble': 'Amongst them [the Persians] four degrees are most remarkable, Chawns, Coozel-bashes, Agaes, and Cheliby or Coridschey' (Sir T. Herbert, *Travels*, ed. 1677, p. 303). See also *Ency. of Islam*, i, pp. 831 ff.

[3] The officials of the Mughal custom-house at Surat had a bad reputation among the early European traders for severity and extortion. Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt*, 119 f.; P. della Valle, Hakluyt Society, i. 23, 126; Rawlinson, 145.

[4] The Mintmaster was called Dārogha (of the mint); the assays were made by the Sarrāf; other officials in the mints were the Amīn, who

removes them, and coins them into money of the country, which he hands over to the owner, in proportion to the amount and standard of the bullion. You settle with him, according to the nature of the amount, a day when he is to deliver the new coins, and for as many days as he delays to do so beyond the term agreed upon, he pays interest in proportion to the sum which he has received. The Indians are cunning and exacting in reference to coin and payments; for when money has been coined for three or four years it has to lose ½ per cent., and it continues in the same proportion according to age, not being able, as they say, to pass through many hands without some diminution.

All sorts of silver may be imported into the Empire of the Great Mogul, because there is a mint in each of the frontier towns, where it has to be refined to the highest standard,[1] as is the case with all the gold and silver in India, by order of the King, and it then is coined into money of the country. Bar silver, or old silver plate which has been bought without payment for the workmanship, loses the least, for on coined silver the loss on coinage cannot be avoided. Sales are, in general, conditional on payment being made in money coined during the current year; and if you are paid in old pieces you must submit to loss, according to the time they have been coined, as I have above said. In all places at a distance from towns, where the common people do not understand money well, and where there are no Changers, they will not accept a piece of silver until they have first put it in the fire to ascertain whether it is good or not; and this is especially practised at the river crossings.[2] As the ferry boats are made of osiers,

was a kind of spy on the others; the Mushrif, to keep the accounts, &c. (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Blochmann's transl., i. 18.)

[1] The method of assaying which was practised in India is described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 19, and upon it there are some important remarks and explanatory notes to be found in Percy's *Metallurgy of Gold and Silver*; Sir E. Maclagan, *Monograph on Silver and Gold Work in the Panjab*, 19 ff. For Musulmān coinage and mints, H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins in the India Museum*, Oxford, 1907.

[2] Ball remarks that a few years ago he found the people in a remote part of the District of Raipur, in the Central Provinces, most unwilling to accept any payment in silver; they would take copper, but preferred cowries.

covered only with oxhide, and are consequently very light,[1] the owners conceal them in the woods, and will not take them on their shoulders to carry them to the water before they have received payment.

As regards gold, the merchants who import it use so much cunning in order to conceal it, that but little of it comes to the knowledge of the customs' officers. The former do all they can to evade paying the customs, especially as they do not run so much risk as in the custom-houses of Europe. For in those of India, when any one is detected in fraud, he is let off by paying double, 10 per cent. instead of 5, the Emperor comparing the venture of the merchant to a game of hazard, where one plays double or quits. However, for some time back this has been somewhat changed, and it is to-day difficult to compound with the customs' officers upon that condition. The Emperor has conceded to the English Captains that they shall not be searched when they leave their vessels to go on shore; but one day an English Captain, when going to Tatta,[2] one of the largest towns of India, a little above Sindi,[3] which is at the mouth of the river Indus,[4] as he was about to pass, was arrested by the customs' guards, from whom he could not defend himself, and they searched him in spite of anything he could say. They found gold upon him; he had in fact already conveyed some in sundry journeys which he had made between his vessel and the town; he was, however, let off on payment of the ordinary duty. The Englishman, vexed by this affront, resolved to have his revenge for it, and he took it in a funny manner. He ordered a sucking-pig to be roasted, and to be placed with the grease in a china plate, covered with a napkin, and gave it to a slave to carry with him to the town, anticipating exactly what would happen. As he passed in front of the custom-house, where the Governor of the town,

[1] Coracles. See Index for further references to them.

[2] Tata in the original, the modern Tatta, in Sind (see p. 14), a taluk in the Karāchī District.

[3] Scimdy in the original, sometimes written Simdi by Tavernier—e. g. p. 14—Diul Sind, Sind, or the harbour near Lārībandar or Karāchī, at the mouths of the Indus. (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 320.)

[4] River of Indou in the original, i. e. Hindū or Sindhū—the Indus river.

the Shāh-bandar, and the Master of the Mint were seated in a divan, they did not fail to stop him, but the slave still advancing with his covered plate, they told his master that he must needs go to the custom-house, and that they must see what he carried. The more the Englishman protested that the slave carried nothing liable to duty, the less was he believed; and after a long discussion he himself took the plate from the hands of the slave, and proceeded to carry it to the custom-house. The Governor and the Shāh-bandar thereupon asked him, in a sharp tone, why he refused to obey orders, and the Englishman, on his part, replied in a rage that what he carried was not liable to duty, and rudely threw the plate in front of them, so that the sucking-pig and the grease soiled the whole place, and splashed up on their garments. As the pig is an abomination to the Musalmāns, and by their Law they regard as defiled whatever is touched by it, they were compelled to change their garments, to remove the carpet from the divan, and to have the structure rebuilt, without daring to say anything to the Englishman, because the Shāh-bandar and the Master of the Mint have to be careful with the Company, from which the country derives so much profit. As for the Chiefs of the Companies, both English and Dutch, and their deputies, they are treated with so much respect that they are never searched when they come from their vessels; but they, on their part, do not attempt to convey gold in secret as the private merchants do, considering it beneath their dignity to do so. The commerce of Tatta, which formerly was considerable, is decreasing rapidly, because the entrance to the river becomes worse from day to day, and the sands, which have accumulated, almost close the passage.[1]

The English, seeing that the custom of searching them had been adopted, had recourse to little stratagems in order to pass the gold, and the fashion of wearing wigs having reached them from Europe, they bethought themselves of concealing the

[1] In consequence of the silting of the channel, Aurangzeb was obliged to create a new port at a mouth of the Indus (Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, i. 123 f.). The trade and population of the town have much decreased since the seventeenth century (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xxiii. 255).

Jacobuses, rose-nobles, and ducats in the nets of their wigs every time they left their vessels to go on shore.[1] There was a merchant who desired to convey into Surat some boxes of coral without its coming to the knowledge of the customs' officers. When the vessel was about to enter the river, he had the boxes lashed to the stern, and as they were immersed two or three feet under the water, the officers who came to examine the merchandise on the vessel could not see them. Several days passed before the cargo was unladen, when at length it became possible to convey the boxes in safety into the town, without the customs' officers having wind of it. This was cleverly accomplished, but the merchant had cause to repent of it, and he found himself on the wrong side of his reckoning; for, as the river at Surat is always turbid and muddy, there attached itself to the coral, which had been a long time immersed in the water, a sort of slimy crust and a white skin, which gave them much trouble to remove, and after the coral was cleaned the loss to the merchant exceeded 12 per cent.

I now come to the coins current in India throughout the territories of the Great Mogul, and to all the kinds of gold and silver which, in order to secure most profit there, should be carried in ingots, rather than in coin.

In the first place it must be remarked that it is advantageous to purchase gold or silver which has been worked, in order to have it made into ingots, and to have it refined up to the highest standard; for, after being refined, you do not pay for the carriage of the alloy which was mixed with it before, and by not carrying the gold or silver in coin, you escape paying what the Prince and the mint have taken for their coinage dues.

If you import coined gold, the best pieces are rose-nobles,[2]

[1] Frauds were committed on the customs regarding exports, too, as will be seen in subsequent pages. M. Thévenot also mentions that he knew people who had conveyed away, with the aid of the Dutch commanders, numerous precious stones and other costly articles without paying any custom dues. (*Voyages des Indes*, Paris, 1684, p. 5.)

[2] Rose-nobles, also known as Angel, George, or Thistle nobles, first minted by Edward III (*New English Dict.*, s. v.). The noble was an English coin worth 6*s.* 8*d.* or 10*s.*

old Jacobuses,[1] Albertuses,[2] and other ancient pieces, both of Portugal and other countries, and all sorts of gold coins which have been coined in the last century. On these old pieces there is always some profit to be made by the merchant. Among the good gold coins which one may import into India, all the ducats of Germany, both those of Princes and of imperial towns, as also the ducats of Poland, Hungary, Sweden, and Denmark must be included ; and all these kinds of ducats are accepted at the same standard. The golden ducats of Venice formerly passed as the best, and were each valued at four or five of our sols [3] more than the others ; but, for the last twelve years or thereabouts, it seems that they have been altered, so that they are now valued only at the same price as the others. There are besides the ducats which the Grand Seigneur coins at Cairo,[4] and those of Salee [5] and Morocco,[6] but these three coins are the least valuable of all, and are generally worth four sols less than the others.

Throughout the Empire of the Great Mogul all the gold and silver is weighed by a weight called tolā, which amounts to 9 deniers 8 grains of our weight.[7] When a quantity of gold or silver is for sale, the Indians have brass weights, which bear the King's stamp, to prevent fraud ; and with these weights they weigh all the gold or silver at a time, provided it does not exceed one hundred tolās. For the weights of the Changers range only from one tolā up to one hundred, and these hundred tolās are equivalent in our weight to 38 onces 21 deniers 8 grains. As for the uncoined gold or silver, if there is much of it, it is

[1] Jacobus, an English coin of James I, originally issued in 1603, under the name of the Sovereign, worth from 20*s.* to 24*s.* (*New English Dict.*, s. v.)

[2] Albertuses. The Alberts Dutch dollar, a silver coin, was worth in exchange something less than the rix-dollar, or 4*s.* 6*d.* (Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, i. 207, 288.)

[3] 5 sols = 4½*d.* (See Appendix.)

[4] Caire in the original.

[5] Salé in the original, the modern Salli, the ancient Sala, on the north-west coast of Africa. For the Sallee Rovers or Pirates see *Ency. Brit.*, xviii. 857.

[6] Maroc in the original.

[7] Tolla in the original: the tolā therefore = 224 French gr. = 187·5 grains Troy. The present British tola = 180 grains Troy, i. e. the weight of the rupee.

tested, and the test having been applied, the buyers bid for it as highly as they can, out of jealousy to one another.

As there are merchants who have sometimes as much as forty and fifty thousand ducats [1] and more, the Indians weigh the coins with a weight which is exactly equal to one hundred ducats, and it also bears the King's stamp. Should it happen that the hundred ducats weigh less than this weight, pebbles are added till the weights are equal and when the whole amount is weighed you must make good to the Changer the sum of the weights of these pebbles. But before weighing golden coins, be they ducats or other coins, the whole are placed in a large charcoal fire, where the pieces become red-hot, after which the fire is quenched by throwing water on it, and they are then withdrawn. This is done for the purpose of ascertaining if any of them are false, and in order to burn the wax or gum which is sometimes adroitly attached in order that they may weigh more. But since some of the pieces are so well forged that they cannot be detected even after they have been in the fire; in order to test them the Changers bend them one by one, and by bending they know whether the coin is good, and they cut all those which are not.[2] After having examined all, they cause those which they believe to be bad to be refined; and for the good gold obtained by this refining they pay as much as for good ducats. All this gold is made into coins, called golden rupees,[3] with the exception of the ducats which have a face on one side; these are seldom melted but they are sold to the merchants who come from Tartary and the other countries of the North, the kingdoms of Bhutān,[4] Assam,[5] and others more

[1] 50,000 ducats at 9*s.* 4*d.* = £23,500.

[2] But 'I have never seen any Clipt Money here [Surat], and 'tis rare if either the Gold or Silver Coin is falsified' (Ovington, 219.)

[3] Golden rupees (Roupies d'or) were of different values; but those with which Tavernier had to do averaged, as will be seen further on, from 14 to 14½ silver rupees in value, say 31*s.* 6*d.* to 32*s.* (See p. 16 *n.*) Gold rupees were the modern gold mohur (Bernier, 60.)

[4] Boutan in the original. But the limits of the region referred to by Tavernier extended far beyond those of the modern Bhutān: see ch. xv of bk. III in vol. ii (p. 211 f.).

[5] Assam. Asen in the original appears to be an unusual spelling of Assam. That Kingdom is described in bk. II, ch. xvii, pp. 216–24 of vol. ii.

distant. It is of this kind of ducat that the women in those countries make their principal ornament: they suspend them from their hair on their foreheads.[1] As for the other ducats which are without faces, they are not valued by the merchants from the North.

With reference to all the other gold coins, many are sold to the goldsmiths, to the gold-drawers, and in general to all those who employ gold in their work. For if they can be disposed of without being made into rupees, they are not coined; this indeed is seldom done, except when the Emperors are placed on the throne, when they are used as largess to the people, together with silver rupees; and also to be sold to the Governors of Provinces who require quantities, as likewise to other nobles of the kingdom, who present them to the Emperor on the day when he enters into possession of his dominions. For they cannot always obtain jewels or other things worthy to be presented to him, both on this day, and also at the grand ceremonial—of which I shall speak elsewhere—when the Emperor is weighed every year.[2] They are, I say, very glad to obtain golden rupees on these occasions, and they also require them in order to make presents to the courtiers, by whose interest they hope to obtain higher appointments and more important offices of government.

In one of my journeys I saw by an example, which happened before my own eyes, wherein the virtue of these golden rupees lay. Shāhjahān,[3] the father of Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, had given to one of the nobles of his court the government of the province of Tatta, of which Sindi is the capital town.[4] Although from the very first year of his government there were serious complaints against him of the tyranny with which he treated the people, and of his great extortions, the Emperor allowed him to govern the Province for close on four

[1] They are worn with many other amulets: see C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, 59; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 572; *Lhasa*, 354.

[2] For the custom of weighing the Emperor see p. 301 below.

[3] Cha Gehan in the original.

[4] Tata and Simdi (see p. 9 *n.*). The chief town was known as Dewal or Diul Sindi, a name sometimes transferred in later days to Larry Bunder (Lārībandar), &c. (See *Hobson-Jobson*, 320.)

years, after which he recalled him. All the people of Tatta rejoiced, supposing that the Emperor had recalled him in order to put him to death. But it happened quite otherwise, for he was well received by the Emperor, who conferred upon him the government of Allahabad,[1] a much more considerable post than that of Tatta which he had just quitted. The cause of the good reception which he received from the Emperor was, that before he arrived at Agra he sent secretly to him as a present 50,000 golden rupees, which are equivalent to 105,000 [2] of our livres, and in addition about 20,000 golden rupees, both for the Begam Sāhib,[3] who then governed the whole kingdom, and for other ladies, and for some courtiers who could aid him with their support. All these courtiers are very glad to obtain plenty of gold in that way not only because it occupies small space, and it can be easily concealed, but also because they hold it honourable to leave large sums to their wives and children, at their deaths, of which the Emperor can have no knowledge : for, as I shall say further on, when a great noble dies the Emperor inherits his property, his wife remaining only mistress of her jewels.[4]

To return to the golden rupees. It should be stated that they are not current among the merchants ; for although one is not worth more than 14 silver rupees, which are equivalent to 21 livres of our money, at 30 sols to the rupee,[5] and that these golden rupees are scarcely ever to be met with save in the houses of the nobles, still when it happens that the latter make any payment with them they always desire to estimate them at a silver rupee, or at least at a quarter more than they are worth, by which the merchant loses his profit. Shāista Khān,[6] uncle of the Emperor, to whom I sold commodities for

[1] Halabas in the original, elsewhere spelt Hallabas.

[2] This is wrong, as, at 21 livres to the golden rupee, the figure should be 1,050,000.

[3] Jahānārā Begam (1614–80), daughter of Shāhjahān and Mumtāz Mahall. (Bernier, 11 ; Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, iii. 66.)

[4] See p. 44 below.

[5] 30 sols = 2*s.* 3*d.* = one rupee, and the livre therefore = 1*s.* 6*d.* (See Appendix to this volume.)

[6] Cha Est Kan in the original : Shāista Khān died 1694, aged 93 lunar years. His original name was Abū Tālib or Mīrzā Murād, son of ʻĀsaf

96,000 rupees,[1] when it came to the question of payment, asked me in what kind of money I wished him to pay me, whether in gold or silver coin. Before I replied, he added that if I would trust him I would take it in golden rupees, and that he did not give this advice under the belief that it would turn to his own advantage. I told him that I would follow his advice, and he immediately ordered golden rupees to be counted out to the amount due to me; but he claimed to give the golden rupee for 14½ of silver,[2] although among the merchants they pass only for fourteen. I was not ignorant of that, but thought it would answer better to receive my payment as the Prince wished to make it to me, in the hope of recompensing myself otherwise to the extent of what he wished to make me lose, or at least a part of it. I allowed two days to pass, after which I went to visit him and I told him that I had endeavoured to dispose of the rupees for the price at which I had received them, but that I had failed; and that accordingly, upon the payment which he had made me of 96,000 rupees, I should lose 3,428 $\frac{3}{16}$, the golden rupee which he wished me to take at 14½ rupees not being worth more than 14; whereupon he flew into a passion, and told me that he would give so many strokes of the slipper (for in India they never speak of blows with a stick),[3] to the Dutch Changer or Broker, which he would remember, believing that he was the cause of what I had come

Khān, Wazīr, and grandson of I'timādu-daula, father of Nūrjahān Begam, wife of the Emperor Jahāngīr. He was appointed Wazīr of Shāhjahān on his father's death in 1641: Viceroy of the Deccan, 1659: Governor of Bengal, 1666–89: retired to Agra, where he died. He is several times mentioned by Tavernier and in other memoirs of his time. (Sir T. Roe, i. 115; Manucci, i. 194; Bernier, 13, 56; Diary of Hedges, i. 42, 133, 141.) [For further details *v.* Beale, *Or. Biog. Dy.*, p. 372.]

[1] This was at Ahmadābād, at the end of 1652. (See p. 245 ff. below.) A second sale to Shāista Khān took place in 1660, at Choupar (Chāḳan) in the Deccan (see p. 26); and a third at Dacca in 1666. (See p. 106 below.)

[2] If we take the gold mohur at 31*s.* 6*d.*, the value of the rupee at 14 would be 2*s.* 3*d.*, and at 14½ would be 2*s.* 2*d.* (See pp. 13 *n.* and 15 *n.*)

[3] Castigation with a slipper is a contemptuous form of punishment, as the slipper is defiled by touching the earth, and leather is used in magic (Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, iii. 103), and a blow from anything made from the leather of the sacred cow causes pollution.

to tell him, of his not having been willing to take the golden rupees at the price he had given them to me, and that he would teach these people to understand money, and that they were all old rupees, and worth $\frac{1}{16}$th of a silver rupee more than those that were then being made. As I understood the humour of Asiatic princes, with whom it is useless to excite oneself, I allowed him to say all he wished, and observing that he became quieter and began to smile, I asked him to permit me to return to him on the following day the amount which he had caused to be counted out to me, or if not, that he would give me the balance of my payment which was still due, and that I would take the golden rupee at 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ rupees, as he had told me that it was value for so much.[1] The Prince then looked at me askance for some time without saying a word, and then he asked me whether I had with me that pearl which he had been unwilling to buy. I replied that I had, and thereupon drew it from my bosom and gave it to him. It was a large pearl of good water, but badly shaped, which had prevented him from taking it before.

After I had handed it to him, 'Say no more about it,' said he. 'In a word, how much do you want for this pearl?' I asked him 7,000 rupees for it, and it is true that rather than carry it back to France I would have taken 3,000. 'If I give you', he replied, '5,000 [2] rupees for this pearl, you will be well repaid for the loss which you say you have sustained on the golden rupees. Come to-morrow and I shall pay you 5,000 rupees. I wish you to leave contented, and you shall have in addition a khil'at [3] and a horse.' I then made him a bow, and besought him to give me a young horse, fit for work, as I had a long journey to make. Accordingly, on the following day, I received as he had promised, the robe, mantle, two waistbands, and the turban, which constitute, as I have elsewhere described, the complete suit which these princes are

[1] On p. 245 f. below, alluding to the same transaction, he says he received them at 14$\frac{1}{8}$ rupees. M. Joret, p. 158 *n.*, has, Ball thought, mixed up this transaction with the one which took place at Chākan, as mentioned on p. 16 *n.*, in the year 1660. (See also p. 26.)

[2] In the earliest edition this figure is by an obvious misprint given as 7,000. In the 1679 edition it is 5,000, which is adopted here.

[3] Calaat in the original, khil'at, Hind., a robe of honour: see p. 18 *n.*

accustomed to bestow upon those whom they desire to honour.[1] The mantle and the robe were of gold brocade, the two waist-bands striped with gold and silver ; the turban of cotton cloth was of fire colour striped with gold, and the horse, without a saddle, was covered by a housing of green velvet, with a small fringe of silver round it. The bridle was very narrow, and to it silver coins were attached in places. I believe the horse had never been mounted for as soon as it arrived at the Dutch house, where I lodged on this occasion, a young man mounted it, and it began to rear in so strange a manner and to shake him so that, having fallen when jumping over the roof of a hut which was in the court, the Dutchman narrowly escaped being killed. Having realized that this impetuous steed was not suitable for me, I returned it to Shāista Khān, and telling him what had happened, added that I believed he did not wish me to return to my country, as he had asked me to do in order to procure for him some rarity. During my discourse he only laughed, and then he called for the horse which his father used to ride. It was a large Persian horse, which had formerly cost 5,000 écus [2] when young, but it was then more than twenty-eight years old.[3] It was brought ready saddled and bridled, and the Prince desired me to mount it in his presence. It still had as good paces as any horse I had ever seen, and when I was mounted, he said 'Well, are you content ? He will not give you a fall.' I thanked him, and at the same time took my leave of him ; and the following day, before my departure, he sent me a large basketful of apples. It was one of six which Shāhjahān had sent to him ; they had come

[1] Khil'at, 'that of which a superior divests himself and presents to an inferior,' was the general term for the robe of honour. There were five degrees of the Khil'at—three, five, six, seven pieces, or clothes that the Emperor had actually worn himself. The full Khil'at of seven pieces is described by Tavernier (i. 132). See the description in Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 29, and references in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 483 f.

[2] £1,125, at 4*s*. 6*d*. the écu.

[3] Here there are irreconcilable discrepancies between this account of the transaction and that on p. 247, as our author gives the original cost of the horse there at upwards of 3,000 écus, and states that he sold it for 400 rupees to a Frenchman whom he at the same time placed in Shāista Khān's service, as he did not require it for his journey.

from the kingdom of Kashmīr,[1] and there was also a large Persian melon in the basket. All taken together might be value for 100 rupees, and I presented them to the wife of the Dutch Commander. As for the horse, I took it to Golkonda, where I sold it, old as it was, for 500 rupees, because it was still able to render good service.

To return to the discourse on coins, I shall add to what I have already said of the gold pieces, that it does not do to carry Louis d'or, Spanish nor Italian pistoles to India, nor any other gold pieces coined of late years, because there is too much to be lost on them. The Indians, who have no experience of them as yet, refine all, and it is by this refining that they make their profit. For the rest, every one strives to land his gold without the master of the customs knowing it; and when the merchant has sufficient skill to conceal it, he makes a profit of five or six of our sols on every ducat.

I come now to the silver coins, which must be distinguished as coins of the country and foreign coins, and I shall speak first of the latter.

The foreign silver coins which are imported into India are German rix dalers [2] and Spanish reals.[3] The first are brought by the merchants who come from Poland, from Little Tartary, and from the direction of Moscovie; the others by those who come from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo, and the principal part by the Armenians who have sold their silks in

[1] Kachemir in the original. The Emperors procured large supplies of fruit from Kashmīr, Kābul, and Central Asia (Bernier, 118, 203, 249). The apples of Kashmīr were, and are, famous (Sir W. R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, 349 f.). Presents of fruit were then, as now, commonly made. 'Doubtlesse they suppose our felicitie lies in the palate, for all that I euer reciued was eatable and drinkable—yet no *aurum potabile*' (Sir T. Roe, i. 172).

[2] Richedales in the original, for rix daler, properly reichs thaler; according to Sir Isaac Newton's tables, most of the varieties were worth in sterling 4*s.* 7*d.* Tavernier's equivalent of 100 = 216 rupees gives, with the rupee at 2*s.* 3*d.*, a value of 4*s.* 10¼*d.* As in other cases, the sterling value may have been somewhat less than the exchange value; hence the difference.

[3] Reale in the original, for real, or 'piece of 8 reals' of Seville, varied from about 4*s.* to 4*s.* 10*d.*, the rupee being taken at 2*s.* 3*d.*, and the écu at 4*s.* 6*d.*, to which latter it was on the average equal.

Europe. All the merchants strive to convey their silver through Persia without its being discovered, because, if the customs' officers have wind of it, it must be taken to the masters of the mint to be coined into 'abbāsīs [1], which is the coinage of the King, and these 'abbāsīs on arrival in India are again coined into rupees, by which there is a loss to the merchant of 10¼ per cent., both on account of the coinage and on account of the King's dues, which he has to pay in Persia.

In order to understand how this 10¼ per cent. is lost between Persia and India, and sometimes even more, according to the nature of the reals which are generally imported into Persia, it is necessary to remember what I have said of the coins and exchange in Persia in the preceding volume.[2] I have remarked that the real in Persia passes for 13 shāhīs,[3] which are equal to 3¼ 'abbāsīs, and that sometimes, when silver is scarce, half a shāhī more is given ; that the 'abbāsī is worth 4 shāhīs, and the tomān [4] 50 'abbāsīs or 200 shāhīs. Thus the real passing for 13 shāhīs, you receive 6½ tomāns for 100 reals. If you take 6½ tomāns to India you receive for each tomān 29½ rupees, and, consequently, for 6½ tomāns 191¾ rupees. But if you take to India Sevillian reals, of which I shall speak further on, for 100 you receive from 213 to 215 rupees ; and for Mexicans for 100 you receive only 212. When, then, for the 100 reals you receive only 212 rupees, you gain on these 100 reals 10¼ reals, and on the Sevillians you make a profit up to 11 per cent.

[1] Abassis in the original, for 'abbāsīs = from 1*s.* 5*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 389.) The 'abbāsī, or ⅕ of the kran, was recently worth less than 1½*d* (Curzon, *Persia*, i. 512.)

[2] *Persian Travels*, Paris edition, 1676, p. 120.

[3] Chaez in the original, for shāhī, Pers., = 4*d.* to 4½*d.* At present about 2⅛*d.* only. It is now worth ¼ 'abbāsī (Curzon, i. 514.)

[4] Tomān. In Fryer's time (1677) = £3 6*s.* 8*d.* (ii. 139). P. della Valle's estimate, sixty years earlier, was about £4 10*s.* ; Sir T. Herbert's valuation, £3 8*s.* 4*d.* ; at present only worth 7*s.* 6*d.* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 928.) Fifty 'abbāsīs, as above, equal £3 10*s.* to £3 15*s.* Forty-six livres (at 1*s.* 6*d.*, the equivalent given by Tavernier in vol. ii. 320) and 1⅕ denier = £3 9*s.*, while 29½ rupees at 2*s.* 3*d.* = £3 6*s.* 6½*d.* only, and 15 écus at 4*s.* 6*d.* = £3 7*s.* 6*d.* But Tavernier, in his account of Persian coins, expressly says that the value given in livres is the most exact. (See *Persian Travels*, p. 122, Paris edition of 1676.) In 1889–90 Lord Curzon found the tomān worth 5*s.* 6*d.*, but later, with the increased value of silver, it rose to 6*s.* (*Persia*, i. 471 f.)

It should also be remarked that there are three or four kinds of Spanish real, and that for 100, according to the standard, from 208 up to 214 and 215 rupees are given. The best of all are the Sevillians, and when they are of good weight you receive for 100, 213 rupees, and at some times up to 215, according to whether silver is scarce or plentiful.

The Spanish real should weigh 3 gros [1] and 7½ grains more than 2 rupees, but the silver of the rupees is much better, for the rupee is of the standard of 11 deniers and 14 grains, and the Sevillian real, like our white écu, is of the standard of only 11 deniers. The Mexican real is of but 10 deniers and 21 grains. For the Spanish real which weighs 73 vāls you receive 4½ mahmūdīs, and a mahmūdī is worth 20 paisā, and thus for the Spanish real you receive 90 paisā, but they must be good,[2] and, as I have said, weighing 73 vāls; 81 vāls [3] making an ounce, the val being of 7 deniers (standard).

As for the German rix dalers, being heavier than the reals, you get for 100 up to 116 [4] rupees; upon which it should be remarked that, in getting for the 100 reals and the 100 rix

[1] The gros = 59 grains Troy, and the French grain = ·819 gr. Troy, ∴ 3 gros 7½ gr. = 187 grains Troy. The weight of the piastre, or Seville piece of eight, was 17 dwt. 12 gr., and that of two rupees = 14 dwt. 20 gr., both according to Sir Isaac Newton, the difference being, therefore, 2 dwt. 16 gr. or 64 gr.; Ball, therefore, concludes that the 3 gros above must either be a misprint for 1, or that the value given to the gros is three times too great; even so, the 62⅓ gr. so deduced as the difference is slightly less than the 64 gr. deduced from Sir Isaac Newton. The absolute weight of the real is given by Tavernier at 73 vāls, or say 438 gr. Troy; and the weight of two rupees, according to him also, was 18 deniers 2 gr. = 454 French gr. = 380 Troy gr., and the difference = 58 gr., also too little.

[2] Pecha in the original, for paisā. Taking the paisā at ·54 of a penny (see Appendix), 90 of them would be equal to 4*s*. 0½*d*., i. e. the value of a Spanish real; but this is too low, and therefore these paisās must have been worth ·6 of a penny, or 'good!' as Tavernier remarks.

[3] Vāl. The French 'once', being equal to 472·18 gr. Troy, would give a value of nearly 5·84 gr. to the vāl. The tolā is said, on p. 29 to be = 32 vāls, and therefore the vāl = 7 French gr. = 5·73 gr. Troy. Thévenot gives the value at 3 gongy (ghūngchī), and this with the ghūngchī at 1·79 gr. = 5·37 gr. Troy. See Appendix to this volume. At present in Gujarāt 1 vāl = 3 ratī: 16 vāl = 1 gadīānā: 2 gadīānā = 1 tolā (*Bombay Gazetteer*, ii. 208).

[4] This must be a misprint for 216.

dalers up to 215 and 216 rupees, it appears as if every rupee should consequently be worth less than 30 sols. But, on the other hand, if the merchant adds up the cost of the carriage of the silver and the duties, he will find that each rupee costs him more. All these reals and rix dalers are weighed by the 100, and when the weight is short they add small pebbles as when they weigh gold, as I have related above. But, in order that the merchant shall obtain value he must take care that all the reals of Mexico and the Sevillians [1] weigh 21 deniers and 8 grains, i. e. 512 grains; and as for our white écu,[2] it ought to weigh 21 deniers and 3 grains, which are equal to 509 grains.[3]

I pass on to the coins of the country. The Indians have for their silver money the rupee, the half, the quarter, the eighth, and the sixteenth. The weight of the rupee is 9 deniers and 1 grain, and the standard of the silver 11 deniers and 14 grains. They have also a silver coin which they call mahmūdī,[4] but it is only current in Surat and in the province of Gujarāt.[5]

The small coinage of India is of copper, and is called paisā, worth about two of our liards. There are also some coins of half a paisā, of two paisā, and of four. According to the province you may be in, you receive for the silver rupee more or fewer of these paisā. On my last journey the rupee at Surat was quoted at 49 paisā, but there are times when it is

[1] The piastre, or Seville piece of eight, weighed, according to Sir Isaac Newton, 17 dwt. 12 gr. = 420 gr. Troy, and its sterling value in silver was 54*d.* = 4*s.* 6*d.*

[2] The old écu of France, of 60 sols Tournois, weighed also, according to Sir Isaac Newton, 17 dwt. 12 gr. = 420 gr. Troy, and its sterling value was also 4*s.* 6*d.*

[3] The 509 gr. of Tavernier is a misprint for 507; it is repeated in the edition of 1713. The equivalent of 507 French grains is 424·5 Troy grains, or 4·5 gr. more than Sir Isaac Newton's figure in preceding note.

[4] Mamoudi in the original, for mahmūdī, = 20 paisā, or two-fifths of a rupee ∴ = 10·8*d.*, the rupee being 2*s.* 3*d.* Other relations given by our author in his account of Persian money give a less value for the mahmūdī, namely, one-sixteenth of the Venetian sequin, and one-eighth of the Spanish dollar, or 7*d.* and 6½*d.* The value as deduced from the 'abbāsī would seem, however, to be the mean of these, or from 8½*d.* to 9*d.* nearly. Several writers give to the Surat mahmūdī a value of one shilling. It was subject to constant variation (Fryer, i. 139; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 389, 707).

[5] Guzerate in the original.

worth 50, and others when it falls to 46.[1] At Agra and Jahānābād it is worth 55–56 paisā, the reason of that being, that the nearer you approach the copper mines [2] the more paisā you receive for the rupee. As for the mahmūdī, it is always worth 20 paisā. There are still two other kinds of small money in use in the empire of the Great Mogul: these are small bitter almonds and shells. In the province of Gujarāt alone the inhabitants use as small change these bitter almonds, which are brought from Persia, as I have remarked in the first part of my history. They grow in dry and arid places among rocks, the tree which produces them closely resembling our broom. These almonds are called bādām,[3] and are so bitter that colocynth is not more so, so that there is no need to fear that children will amuse themselves by eating them. Sometimes 35, sometimes 40, of them are given for the paisā.[4]

The other small money consists of shells called cowries, which have the edges inverted; they are not found in any other part of the world save only in the Maldive Islands.[5] They are the principal source of revenue of the King of these Islands, for they are exported to all the States of the Great Mogul, to the kingdoms of Bījāpur and Golkonda, and even

[1] Fifty paisā at ·54*d.* (see p. 21) = 2*s.* 3*d.* Thévenot, although he says that the rupee = 29–30 sols, adds that it equalled 32½ to 33½ paisā only (*Voyages*, Paris, 1684, p. 52).

[2] There is no further indication as to the position of these copper mines; probably they were those now known at Singhānā and other localities in Rājputānā. Full accounts of the ancient mines there will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 259, and in Watt, *Economic Dictionary*, ii. 647 ff.

[3] Baden in the original, for bādām (Pers. and Hind.), fruit of *Amygdalus communis*, L., var. *amara*, D.C. The use of bitter almonds as small coinage is attested by many authorities (Barbosa, ed. Dames, i. 156; Linschoten, Hakluyt Society, i. 246; Ovington, 219; Mundy, ii. 311, iii. pt. i, 252). Compare the use of mats and seeds in Africa for the same purpose (Ovington, 71, 445).

[4] Thévenot says 68; perhaps he meant a double paisā (*Voyages*, p. 53).

[5] This is incorrect, as money cowries (*Cypraea moneta*) have a much wider distribution, though the Maldives have furnished a large proportion of the supply for currency. The name is cori in the original. See Pyrard de Laval, Hakluyt Society, i. 236 ff.; Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1st ed., ii. 222.

to the islands of America,[1] to serve as money. Close to the sea up to 80 are given for the paisā, but the number diminishes as you leave the sea, on account of the cost of carriage; so that at Agra you receive but 50 or 55 for the paisā. Finally, according to the manner of counting known to the Indians—100,000 rupees make a lekke,[2] 100,000 lekkes make a kraur,[3] 100,000 kraurs make a padan, 100,000 padans make a nīl.[4]

In India a village must be very small indeed if it has not a money-changer, called a Shroff,[5] who acts as banker to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange. As, in general, these Changers have an understanding with the Governors of Provinces, they enhance the rupee as they please for paisā and the paisā for these shells. All the Jews who occupy themselves with money and exchange in the empire of the Grand Seigneur pass for being very sharp; but in India they would scarcely be apprentices to these Changers.[6]

[*Here follows, in the original, a table giving the letters used as numbers, which need not be reproduced.*]

They have a very inconvenient custom for payments, and I have already remarked upon it in reference to golden rupees when a payment is made in that coin. They say that the longer a rupee of silver has been coined the less is it worth in comparison with those newly coined, or which have been coined a short time, because the old ones having often passed by hand, become worn, and they are in consequence lighter. Thus, when you make a sale, it is necessary to say that you

[1] A trade in these cowries to the West Coast of Africa and the West Indies still exists (*Ency. Brit.*, xxiv. 833).

[2] Lākh, Hind.

[3] A crore, or more properly, karor (Hind.), is 100 lākhs, or 10,000,000 (ten millions). Tavernier is wrong in stating it to be one thousand times more. However, Thévenot makes a similar statement (*Voyages*, p. 52); and it may be remarked that there are to be found similar contradictory statements, by different authorities, as to the values of our billions, trillions, &c. Comp. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ed. Jarrett, ii. 111 f.

[4] The value of the padam is variously given as 10 to 1,000 billions. The nīl is 10 billions.

[5] For Cheraf in the original, from Ar. Sarrāf, a money-changer or banker.

[6] This remarkable testimony to the sharpness of the Indians is applicable also at the present day.

require to be paid in Shāhjahānī [1] rupees, i. e. in new silver, otherwise your payment will be made in rupees coined fifteen or twenty years or more, upon which there may be up to 4 per cent. of loss. For, in the case of those which have not been coined within two years, $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is demanded or at least $\frac{1}{8}$th; and the poor people who do not know how to read the year when these rupees or paisā were coined are liable to be cheated, because something is always deducted from them, one paisā or half paisā on a rupee, and on the paisā three or four cowries.

As for false silver, but little is met with. If by chance there should be a false rupee in a bag given by a private merchant, it pays better to cut it and to lose it than to say anything about it, because if it becomes known you run some risk, the order of the Emperor being that you must return the bag to him from whom you received it, and thence it passes from one to another until the false coiner is discovered, and when one is detected, for sole punishment a finger is merely lopped off.[2] If it happens that the false coiner is not found, and that he who has given the silver is pronounced to be not guilty, he is freed on payment of some fine. This it is which yields such large profits to the Changers, for whether one receives or makes any payment he must show them the silver, and they receive for their commission $\frac{1}{16}$th of a rupee per cent.

As for the silver issued from the sarquet [3] or Emperor's treasury it is never base, for all that goes into it is carefully examined by the Changers of the Emperor, and the great nobles also employ their own. Before the silver is lodged in the treasury it is thrown into a large charcoal fire, and when the rupees are red the fire is extinguished by means of water, after which they are withdrawn. If one be found which is not perfectly white, or has the slightest trace of alloy, it is immediately cut. Whenever rupees enter the treasury they are

[1] Cha Jenni in the original, i. e. coined in the reign of Shāhjahān.

[2] This punishment is recognized in Islām : 'If a man or woman steal, cut off their hands' (*Korān*, v. 42) ; but there are many exceptions to the rules (Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 284 f.).

[3] Sarquet, possibly for zakhīra, Hind., i. e. treasure or treasury, but it more probably represents sarkār, an abbreviation for māl-i-sarkār, or khazāna-i-sarkār, i. e. the Government Treasury. For the Imperial treasuries see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 12 ff.

stamped with a punch, which makes a small indentation without piercing; some of them have seven or eight marks of this kind, i. e. they have entered the treasury seven or eight times.[1] They are all placed by the thousand in sacks with the seal of the grand treasurer, to which is added the number of years since they have been coined. It is by this that the treasurers make their profit, both those of the Emperor and those of the nobles of the kingdom. If you make a sale it is in new rupees, coined in the same year; but when you go to receive payment the treasurers try to pay you in old rupees, by which you stand to lose up to 6 per cent.; and if you wish to have new silver, you must make up your mind to compound with them. On my fifth journey I went to see Shāista Khān,[2] having promised him to do so on the preceding occasion, and having pledged myself that he would be the first who should see whatever I had brought. Immediately on my arrival at Surat I let him know, and I received a command to go to meet him at Choupart, a town of the Deccan [3] to which he had laid siege. Having reached him in a short time, I sold him at once the greater part of the goods I had brought from Europe, and he told me that he awaited from day to day the money which should be sent to him from Surat to pay the army and to pay me then for what he had bought from me. I could not believe, however, that this Prince was in command of so large an army

[1] On shroff-marked rupees see Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, iv. 532 f.

[2] See p. 15 *n*.

[3] On p. 326 below, this place is spelt Choupar. Ball suggested that the 'Choupart' of the text was Sholapur; but Prof. Jadunath Sarkar points out that the place referred to is Chākan (J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, 2nd ed., pp. 87, 90). After Sivajī's surprise of Shāista Khān at Poona in 1663, Prince Mu'azzam was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, and the Mughal army retired, leaving strong detachments at Chākan, 18 miles north of Poona. See a full account of the fort and its history in *Bombay Gazetteer*, xviii. pt. 3, pp. 121–3; Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, ed. 1921, i. 50 *n*. 5; Shāista Khān's capture of Chākan is described by Grant Duff, ed. 1921, i. 151. The sale was made in 1660, during Tavernier's fifth visit to India. In his *Persian Travels*, he states (bk. IV, p. 467) that on his sixth journey, when at Ispahān, in 1664, he told the King that he had sold the jewels, which he had shown to him on the previous occasion, to Shāista Khān for 120,000 rupees.

without having plenty of money with him, and I rather thought that he hoped to make me lose something on the gold or silver pieces which I should receive for my payment, as he had done on my previous journey. The result was as I had foreseen ; but for my sustenance and that of my people and cattle, he ordered that food should be furnished in abundance, both evening and morning, and on most days he sent to invite me to dine with him. Ten or twelve days passed, during which I heard no mention made of the money for which he waited, and being resolved to take leave of him, I went to his tent. He appeared somewhat surprised, and, regarding me with a sullen countenance, 'Wherefore', said he to me, 'do you wish to leave without being paid ? and who would pay you afterwards if you went away without receiving your money ?' At these words, assuming a look as proud as his : 'My King', I replied, 'will cause me to be paid ; for he is so generous that he will reimburse all his subjects who have not received satisfaction for what they have sold in foreign countries.' 'And in what manner would thy King recoup himself ?' replied he, as in a rage. 'With two or three good vessels of war,' I replied, 'which he will send to the port of Surat or towards its coasts, to await ships returning from Mocha.'[1] He appeared stung by this reply, and, not daring to carry his ill-humour further, he at once commanded his treasurer to give me a letter of exchange on Aurangābād. At this I was very glad, as it was a place through which I had to pass in order to go to Golkonda,[2] and, moreover, because it spared me the carriage and risk to my money. The following day I received my letter of exchange and took my leave of the Prince, who was no longer angry, and he requested me if I returned to India not to omit to visit him ; this I did on my sixth and last journey.[3] When I arrived at Surat he was in Bengal, where I joined him, and he bought

[1] This illustrates the nervousness of the Mughals about any interference with the mercantile and pilgrim traffic between Surat and the Red Sea.

[2] There appears to be no other indication of Tavernier's destination at this time ; he probably spent, according to M. Joret, the latter part of this year (1660) in this journey to Golkonda and the return to Surat, embarking for Bandar 'Abbās at the end of the same year or the beginning of 1661.

[3] In 1666. (See p. 106 below.)

from me the residue of the goods which I had not been able to sell either to the King of Persia or to the Great Mogul.

To return to my payment, having arrived at Aurangābād, I called on the Grand Treasurer, who had never previously seen me, but he told me that he knew why I had come to see him; that three days previously he had received notice, and that he had already drawn from the treasury the money which he was to pay me.[1] When all the bags required for my payment had been produced, I had one of them opened by my Changer, who saw that it contained rupees on which 2 per cent. would be lost. Upon which I thanked the Treasurer, and told him that I did not understand that sort of thing, that I would send one of my people to complain to Shāista Khān and ask him to order me to be paid in new silver, or I would go to reclaim my goods: this I straightway did. But having sent a man to him, and getting no reply by the time that I might have received one, I went to the Treasurer to inform him that since I had no news from the Prince I was going myself to get back what I had sold. I believe he had already received instructions as to what he should do, for seeing I was resolved to start he said he would be grieved by the trouble I was taking and that it would be better we should agree with one another. In short, after several discussions concerning the 2 per cent. which he wished to subtract, I obtained 1 per cent. of it; and I would have lost the other except for a fortunate meeting with a Shroff who had to receive payment of a letter of exchange on Golkonda; for this Shroff, not having money at hand, was very glad to accommodate himself with mine, arranging for me to receive the same sum in new silver at Golkonda at fifteen days' sight.

Finally, these Changers, in order to test silver, make use of thirteen small pieces, one half of which is copper and the other of silver, which are the 'touches'.[2] These thirteen pieces,

[1] Elsewhere (p. 326 below) he says the payment was made at Dultabat (Daulatābād) by the Treasurer, who, four days previously, had received an advice of his coming. In that passage, so far from alluding to difficulties, he praises the exactitude of the Indians in reference to matters of trade.

[2] The French original contains a figure of the touchstones. A description of them, known as mihakk, will be also found in the *Āīn-i-*

being all of different standards, are not used by them except when a small quantity of silver or some worked silver is in question; for in the case of a large amount it is taken to the refiner. Silver is bought by the weight called tolā, which weighs 9 deniers and 8 grains, or 32 vāls, and 81 vāls make, as I have said, one once;[1] so that 100 tolās make 38 onces, 21 deniers and 8 grains.

The following are the different values of the 13 standards of silver. The first and lowest standard is taken at 15 paisā the tolā, which make of our money 9 sols 2 deniers;[2] the 2nd at 18 paisā, which are equal to 10 sols 2 deniers; 3rd at 20 paisā, which are equal to 12 sols 6 deniers; 4th at 23 paisā, which are equal to 14 sols 6 deniers; 5th at 26 paisā, which are equal to 15 sols 10 deniers; 6th at 29 paisā, which are equal to 17 sols 6 deniers; 7th at 33 paisā, which are equal to 19 sols 2 deniers; 8th at 35 paisā, which are equal to 20 sols 10 deniers; 9th at 38 paisā, which are equal to 22 sols 6 deniers; 10th at 40 paisā, which are equal to 24 sols 2 deniers; 11th at 43 paisā, which are equal to 25 sols 10 deniers; 12th at 46 paisā, which are equal to 27 sols 6 deniers; 13th at 49 paisā, which are equal to 29 sols 2 deniers.

I must not forget to remark here on the extreme parsimony both of these Shroffs, or Changers, and of all Indians in general; it will suffice to give an example of it which is very special, but of which Europeans are not as yet aware. It is, that of all the gold which remains on the touchstone after an assay has been made, and of which we here make no account, far from allowing so small a thing to be lost, they collect it with the aid of a ball, made half of black pitch, and half of wax, with which they

Akbarī, i. 19. 'They have a touchstone like us, and they test after our manner. When the touchstone is full of gold, they have a ball of a certain composition which resembles wax, and with this ball, when they wish to see if the gold be good or poor, they press on the touchstone and take away some gold from the said touchstone, and then they see in the ball the goodness of the gold. And when that ball is full of gold they melt it, and take out the gold which they have tested by the touchstone. The said money-changers are extremely acute in this business' (Varthema, Hakluyt Society, 165).

[1] See p. 21.

[2] As the sol was the sixtieth part of the écu of 4*s.* 6*d.*, its value was ·9 of a penny, and the ordinary paisā of Tavernier was consequently worth ·54 of a penny. See p. 21 *n.* and Appendix.

rub the stone which carries the gold, and at the end of some years they burn the ball and so obtain the gold which it has accumulated. The ball is about the size of our tennis-court balls, and the stone is like those which our goldsmiths commonly use.[1]

This is all that I have been able to observe of special importance with regard to the customs and coins of India, and it only remains for me to speak of the exchange.

As all goods produced in the Empire of the Great Mogul, and a portion of those of the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bījāpur, reach Surat to be exported by sea to different places of Asia and Europe, when you leave Surat to go for the purchase of these goods to the towns from whence they are obtained, as Lahor, Agra, Amadabat, Seronge, Brampour, Daca, Patna, Banarou, Golkonda, Decan, Visapour, and Dultabad,[2] you take silver from Surat and dispose of it at the various places, giving coin for coin at par. But when it happens that the merchant finds himself short of money in these places, and has need of some to enable him to pay for the goods which he has bought, he must meet it at Surat, when the bill is due, which is at two months, and by paying a high rate of exchange.[3]

At Lahore on Surat the exchange goes up to 6¼ per cent.; at Agra from 4¼ to 5; at Ahmadābād from 1 to 1½; at Sironj to 3; at Burhānpur from 2½ to 3; at Dacca to 10; at Patna from 7 to 8; at Benares to 6.

At these three last places letters of exchange are only given on Agra, and at Agra those on Surat, the whole amounting only to the sum just stated; at Golkonda from 4 to 5; and on Goa the same; at Deccan to 3; at Bījāpur to 3; at Daulatābād from 1 to 1½.

[1] This trade of collecting the sweepings of goldsmiths' shops is carried out by workmen known as Niyāriyā, 'separators': see Crooke, *Tribes and Castes, North-West Provinces and Oudh*, iv. 91 f.

[2] Lahore, Agra, Ahmadābād, Sironj, Burhānpur, Dacca, Benares, Golkonda, Deccan, Bījāpur, and Daulatābād. These spellings will be used on subsequent pages.

[3] For an account of the business of an Indian banker and of the various forms of their bills of exchange, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, pt. i, 82 ff. For banking in Bombay, see Edwardes, *Gazetteer Bombay City and Island*, i. 274 ff.

In some years the exchange rises from 1 to 2 per cent., when there are Rājās, or petty tributary Princes, who interfere with trade, each claiming that the goods ought to traverse his territory and pay him custom.[1] There are two in particular between Agra and Ahmadābād, one of whom is the Rājā of Antivar,[2] and the other the Rājā of Bergam,[3] who harry the merchants much in reference to this matter. One may, however, avoid passing the territories of these two Princes by taking another route from Agra to Surat by way of Sironj and Burhānpur ;[4] but these are fertile lands intersected by several rivers, the greater number of which are without bridges and without boats, and it is impossible to ford them until two months after the rainy season. For this reason the merchants who have to be at Surat by the season for going to sea, generally make their way through the country of these two Rājās, because it can be traversed at all seasons, even during the rains, which consolidate the sand of which nearly the whole country is composed. Besides, it is not to be wondered at that the exchange is so high, for those who lend the money must accept on their part the risk that if the goods are stolen the money is lost to them.

On arrival for embarkation at Surat, you find there plenty of money.[5] For it is the principal trade of the nobles of India to place their money on vessels in speculations for Hormuz, Bassora, and Mocha, and even for Bantam, Achīn, and the Philippines. For Mocha and Bassora the exchange ranges from 22 to 24 per cent., and for Hormuz from 16 to 20 ; and for the other places which I have named the exchange varies in proportion to the distance. But if the goods happen to be lost by tempest, or to fall into the hands of the Malabārīs,[6]

[1] For a good account of the status of these Rājās see Bernier, 207 f.

[2] A misprint, probably for Dantivar (see p. 58), i. e. Dāntā, or Dāntawārā, a State in Mahi Kāntha, Bombay Presidency.

[3] Probably the Bargant of p. 69 below. In the edition of 1713 it is given as Bergant. The proper name is probably Bāglānā.

[4] For description of Sironj and Burhānpur see pp. 42, 46 below (Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, i. 51 ; *Imperial Gazetteer*, vi. 190 ff. ; *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii. 251).

[5] On the prosperity of Surat during this period see Manucci, i. 61 ff. ; Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in Western India*, 35 ff.

[6] Malavares in the original. For their piracies see p. 143 below.

who are the pirates of the Indian seas, the money is lost to those who have risked lending it.

I have but one word to say, in addition, regarding the weights and measures. Here, in the margin, is the 10th part of the ell of Agra, and the 8th of the ell of Ahmadābād and Surat. As for the weights, the ordinary man is 69 livres, and the livre is of 16 onces; but the man which is used to weigh indigo, is only 53 livres. At Surat you speak of a ser, which is 1¾ livres,[1] and the livre is 16 onces.

CHAPTER III

Concerning conveyances and the manner of travelling in India.

BEFORE setting out for Agra, it is appropriate to speak of the conveyances and of the manner of travelling in India, which, in my opinion, is not less convenient than all the arrangements for marching in comfort either in France or in Italy. Differing from the custom in Persia, you do not employ in India in caravans or journeys either asses, mules, or horses, everything being carried here on oxen or by waggon, as the country is sufficiently level.[2] If any merchant takes a horse from Persia he does it only for show, and to have him led by hand, or in order to sell him advantageously to some noble.

They give an ox a load weighing 300 or 350 livres,[3] and it is an astonishing sight to behold caravans numbering 10,000

[1] This must mean one ¾ths of a livre, as elsewhere in this volume; that is about the relation, roughly speaking, namely, 12 French onces. The present authorized British weights are:

80 tolās (or rupee's weight) = 1 ser = 2½ lb. Troy.
40 sers = 1 man or maund = 100 lb. Troy.

[2] The English translation of this passage by John Phillips, in 1677 and 1684 is, like many others, curiously inaccurate, and as a sample, it may be given here: 'Quite otherwise it is in Persia, where they neither make use of asses, mules, nor horses, but transport all their wares to the Indies upon oxen or in wains, their countries being so near to one another'!

[3] 'The normal load for continuous travel of a fair-sized elephant is 800 pounds, so the animal is equal to eight ponies, small mules, or asses: to five stout pack-mules or bullocks, and to three and one-third of a camel' (J. L. Kipling, *Beast and Man in India*, ed. 1892, p. 239).

or 12,000 oxen together, for the transport of rice, corn, and salt—in the places where they exchange these commodities—carrying rice to where only corn grows, and corn to where only rice grows, and salt to the places where there is none. They use camels also for caravans, but rarely, and they are specially reserved to carry the baggage of the nobles. When the season presses, and they wish to get the goods quickly to Surat, in order to ship them, they load them on oxen, and not on carts. As all the territories of the Great Mogul are well cultivated, the fields are enclosed by good ditches, and each has its tank or reservoir for irrigation. This makes it so inconvenient for travellers, because, when they meet caravans of this description in narrow roads, they are sometimes obliged to wait two or three days till all have passed. Those who drive these oxen follow no other trade all their lives; they never dwell in houses, and they take with them their women and children.[1] Some of them possess 100 oxen, others have more or less, and they all have a Chief, who acts as a prince, and who always has a chain of pearls hanging from his neck. When the caravan which carries corn and that which carries rice meet, rather than give way one to the other, they often engage in very sanguinary encounters. The Great Mogul, considering that these quarrels were prejudicial to commerce and to the transport of food in his kingdom, arranged that the Chiefs of the two caravans should come to see him. When they arrived, the King, after he had advised them for their mutual benefit to live for the future in harmony with each other, and not to fight again when they met, presented each of them with a lākh, or 100,000 rupees,[2] and a chain of pearls.

In order to enable the reader to understand this manner of

[1] The well-known Banjārās used to perform most of this carrying trade in India. In the Central Provinces, South-Western Bengal, and the northern districts of Madras, Ball says he has met with large numbers of them; and in Sambalpur he has seen their fixed dépôts, where the infirm are left while the others are on their journeys. Railways have driven them from many of the routes which they used to follow. The best accounts of the Banjārās will be found in the paper by N. R. Cumberlege, reprinted in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iv. 163 ff., and R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, ii. 162 ff.

[2] See p. 24 *n*.

carrying in India, it should be remarked that among the idolaters of this country there are four tribes, whom they call Manaris,[1] of which each numbers about one hundred thousand souls. These people dwell in tents, as I have said, and have no other trade but to transport provisions from one country to another. The first of these tribes has to do with corn only, the second with rice, the third with pulse, and the fourth with salt, which it obtains from Surat, and even from as far as Cape Comorin. You can also distinguish these tribes in this manner —their priests, of whom I shall elsewhere speak, mark those of the first with a red gum, of the size of a crown, on the middle of the forehead, and make a streak along the nose, attaching to it above some grains of corn, sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, in the form of a rose. Those of the second are marked with a yellow gum, in the same places, but with grains of rice ; those of the third with a grey gum, with grains of millet, and also on the shoulders, but without placing grains there.[2] As for those of the fourth, they carry a lump of salt, suspended from the neck in a bag, which weighs sometimes from 8 to 10 livres (for the heavier it is the more honour they have in carrying it), with which, by way of penance before praying, they beat their stomachs every morning. Generally all have a string, or tress, round the shoulders, from which hangs a small box of silver in the form of a reliquary, of the size of a good hazel nut, in which they keep a superstitious writing which their priests have enclosed in it.[3] They place them also on their oxen, and on the other animals born in their herds, for which they entertain a special affection, loving them as dearly as they would do their children, especially when they happen to be childless.

The dress of the women is but a simple cloth, white or coloured, which is bound five or six times like a petticoat from the waist downwards, as if they had three or four one above the

[1] Manaris, probably a corruption of the term Banjārā. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 114 f.

[2] Much of this is probably mere hearsay, and it is not corroborated by recent authorities.

[3] The ta'wīz, for which see Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921, 247 ff.

other. From the waist upwards they tattoo their skin with flowers, as when one applies cupping glasses, and they paint these flowers divers colours with the juice of roots,[1] in such a manner that it seems as though their skin was a flowered fabric.

While the men load their animals in the morning and the women fold up their tents, the priests who follow them set up in the most beautiful parts of the plain where they are encamped, an idol in the form of a serpent, entwined about a staff of six or seven feet in height,[2] and each one in order goes to make reverence to it, the girls turning round it three times. After all have passed, the priests take care to remove the idol and to load it on an ox assigned for that purpose.

The caravans of waggons do not ordinarily consist of more than one hundred or two hundred at the most. Each waggon is drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and accompanied by four soldiers, whom the owner of the merchandise is obliged to pay. Two of them walk on each side of the waggon, over which two ropes are passed, and the four ends are held by the soldiers, so that if the waggon threatens to upset in a bad place, the two soldiers who are on the opposite side hold the ropes tight, and prevent it turning over.

All the waggons which come to Surat from Agra or from other places in the Empire, and return by Agra and Jahānābād,[3] are compelled to carry lime, which comes from Broach, which, as soon as it is used, becomes as hard as marble.[4] It is a great source of profit to the Emperor, who sends this lime where he pleases; but, on the other hand, he takes no dues from the waggons.

I come to the manner of travelling in India, where oxen take

[1] The English translation of John Phillips has it juice of 'grapes'; but the original word is *racines*, not *raisins*. For an account of tattooing see Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, iii. 124.

[2] Here the allusion is apparently to Nāga, or snake worship. But snake worship is not mentioned in recent accounts of Banjārās: see Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, ii. 176 ff. For their distinctive dress, ibid. ii. 184 f.

[3] Janabat in the original.

[4] Coral or shell lime probably, which make the best chunam. For an account of cements see Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, 713 ff.

the place of horses, and there are some of them whose paces are as easy as those of our hacks. But you should take care when you buy or hire an ox for riding that he has not horns longer than a foot, because, if they are longer, when the flies sting him, he chafes and tosses back the head, and may plant a horn in your stomach, as has happened several times.[1] These oxen allow themselves to be driven like our horses, and have for a bridle only a cord, which passes through the tendon of the muzzle or the nostrils. In level tracts, where there are no stones, they do not shoe these oxen, but they always do so in rough places, both on account of the pebbles and because of the heat, which may injure the hoof. Whereas in Europe we attach our oxen by the horns, those of India have a large hump on the neck,[2] which keeps in position a leather collar about four fingers wide, which they have only to throw over the head when they harness them.

They have also, for travelling, small, very light carriages, which can carry two persons ;[3] but usually you travel alone, in order to be more comfortable, being then able to have your clothes with you ; the canteen of wine and some small requisites for the journey having their place under the carriage, to which they harness only a pair of oxen. These carriages, which are

[1] Oxen are now seldom ridden in northern India, but they were used for this purpose at Surat. 'The vulgar . . . are pleas'd with getting on a small Ox, as their Pad, to carry them in the Town, or round the Country' (Ovington, 253). P. della Valle (Hakluyt Society, i. 185) saw a Portuguese youth riding to school on 'a Carnero, or wether without horns'. 'The Pandārams and Jangamas, priests of Siva, go on horseback or in a palanquin, but their favourite mode of progression is riding on an ox' (Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1906, p. 129).

[2] The hump on the shoulders was unknown to John Phillips, the author of the English translation of 1677 and 1684, so he renders this passage, 'the Indians only put a thick truss upon their necks, that keeps,' &c. This is a good example of the kind of mistake many translators have fallen into when, in ignorance of local facts, they have strained their author's words in order to make sense, as they conceive it.

[3] This is what is known as a bahal or bahlī. 'The Coaches in this Countrie are generally drawne with Oxen, never above 2 to a Coach, which haue but 2 wheeles, in all things resembling a little Carte, the Cover excepted, which is like that of a Coach in England' (Mundy, ii. 189) ; and see P. della Valle, i. 21.

provided, like ours, with curtains and cushions, are not slung; but, on the occasion of my last journey, I had one made after our manner, and the two oxen by which it was drawn cost me very nearly 600 rupees.[1] The reader need not be astonished at this price, for there are some of them which are strong, and make journeys lasting 60 days, at 12 or 15 leagues a day, and always at the trot. When they have accomplished half the journey, they give to each two or three balls of the size of our penny rolls, made of wheaten flour, kneaded with butter and black sugar, and in the evening they have a meal of chick-peas, crushed and steeped in water for half an hour. The hire of a carriage amounts to about a rupee a day. The journey from Surat to Agra occupies thirty-five or forty days' journey by road, and you pay for the whole journey from 40 to 45 rupees. From Surat to Golkonda it is nearly the same distance and the same price, and it is in the same proportion throughout the whole of India.

Those who can afford to take their ease make use of a palankeen,[2] in which they travel very comfortably. It is a kind of bed, 6 or 7 feet long and 3 feet wide, with a small rail all round. A sort of cane, called bamboo,[3] which they bend when young, in order to cause it to take the form of a bow in the middle, supports the cover of the palankeen, which is of satin or brocade; and when the sun shines on one side, an attendant, who walks near the palankeen, takes care to lower the covering. There is another, who carries at the end of a stick a kind of basket-work shield, covered with some kind of beautiful stuff, in order that he may be able promptly to

[1] Ball believes that as much as Rs. 500, and perhaps more, is sometimes given now in Bombay and the Central Provinces for a good pair of trotting bullocks. The pace they can keep up has to be experienced in order to be properly realized. For bullock-racing in India, see *Folk-lore*, xxviii. 157.

[2] Pallanquin in the original; pālkī in Hindi: see, for an illustration, Bowrey (Hakluyt Society), 86, with Temple's note; P. della Valle, i. 183; Ovington, 255 ff.

[3] Bambouc in the original. Bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*, &c.). It is not necessary to grow bamboos to a particular shape, as by means of fire they can be made to bend into the required forms. Still, they are so trained sometimes during growth: see Fryer, i. 97; Grose, 247.

shelter the occupant of the palankeen from the heat of the sun when it turns and strikes him on the face.[1] The ends of the bamboo are attached on both sides to the body of the palankeen between two poles, joined together in a saltier, or St. Andrew's Cross, and each of these poles is 5 or 6 feet long. Some of these bamboos cost as much as 200 écus, and I have paid 125 for one. Three men, at most, place themselves at each of these ends, and carry the palankeen on their shoulders, one on the right and the other on the left, and they travel in this way faster than our chairmen in Paris, and with an easier pace, being trained to the trade from an early age. When you wish to make haste, and travel as much as 13 or 14 leagues a day, you take 12 men to carry the palankeen, so that they may relieve one another from time to time. You pay each of them only 4 rupees a month inclusive, but you pay up to 5 rupees when the journey is long, and when they are required to travel for more than sixty days.

He who desires to travel with honour in India, whether by carriage or palankeen, ought to take with him 20 or 30 armed men, some with bows and arrows and others with muskets, and you pay them as much per month as those who carry the palankeen. Sometimes, for greater show, you carry a flag. This is always done by the English and Dutch, for the honour of their Companies. These attendants not only conduce to your honour, but they watch also for your protection, and act as sentinels at night, relieving one another, and striving to give you no cause of complaint against them. For it should be mentioned that in the towns where you hire them they have a head man who answers for their honesty, and when you employ them, each one gives him a rupee.[2]

In the large villages there is generally a Musalmān governor, and there you find sheep, fowl, and pigeons for sale ; but in the places where there are only Banians, you find only flour, rice, vegetables, and milk.

[1] The English translation of 1684 says, 'when he turns and lies on his face'. This sunshade is like the Āftābgīr, used by the Mughal Emperors (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 50).

[2] A custom still common in India, where the Kahār bearers are provided by a Chaudharī or head man of the caste ; but palankeen travelling is rapidly disappearing.

The great heat of India compels travellers who are not accustomed to it to travel by night, in order to rest by day. When they enter towns which are closed they must leave by sunset, if they wish to take the road. For when night comes, and the gates are closed, the Governor of the place, who has to answer for thefts which occur within his jurisdiction, does not allow any one to go out, and says that it is the Emperor's order, which he must obey. When I entered such places I took provisions, and left early, in order to camp outside under some tree in the shade, waiting till it was time to march.

They measure the distances of places in India by gos and by coss. A gos [1] is about four of our common leagues, and a coss [2] about one league.

It is time now to leave Surat for Agra and Jahānābād, in order to see what is remarkable on that route.

[1] The gos, or gau, is equal to 8 or 10 miles in Southern India, but in Ceylon, according to Sir Emerson Tennent (*Ceylon*, i. 567; ii. 582), it is only from 3½ to 4 miles (*Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. 229). The word is a vague measure of distance—as far as the lowing of a cow can be heard, or as far as a man can walk in an hour (P. della Valle, ii. 230). The gaukos in Northern India is as far as the lowing of a cow can be heard.

[2] In the original edition this word is spelt coste by mistake, as explained in the 'Avis'; in subsequent editions it is cosse. It has been thought better to substitute the ordinary Anglo-Indian term coss throughout in this translation. While here definitely, and elsewhere inferentially, Tavernier gives the coss an equal value with the league, Thévenot says the coss was only half a league. The old French 'lieue de poste' = 2 miles 743 yards, and Akbar's coss = 2 miles 1,038 yards. But the coss was and is a most variable unit, as, indeed, Tavernier himself remarks. In some parts of India it exceeds 3 miles, and the Bengal coss of 4,000 cubits or 2,000 yards = 1 m. 1 f. 3 p. 3½ yds. (See Appendix to this volume.) 'A Course, 12,000 of the said feete, is 2⅖ mile English' (Mundy, ii. 67). The Akbarī kos was 400 poles, each 12½ gaz or yards, or 5,000 gaz (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii. 414). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 261.

CHAPTER IV

Route from Surat to Agra by Burhānpur and Sironj.[1]

THE routes to all the principal towns of India are not less well known to me than are those of Turkey and of Persia, and, for six journeys which I have made from Paris to Ispahān, I have made double the number from Ispahān to Agra, and to several other places in the Empire of the Great Mogul. But it would weary the reader to cause him to pass more than once by the same roads while giving him an account of these different journeys, and of sundry small adventures with which they have been accompanied; therefore it is that, without indicating the times at which I have made them, it will suffice to give an exact description of each route.

There are but two roads from Surat to Agra, one by Burhānpur and Sironj, and the other by Ahmadābād, and the first will form the subject of this chapter.

From Surat to Barnoly,[2] 14 coss. Barnoly is a large town where you cross a river by a ford, and traverse, in this first march, a country of mixed character, sometimes meeting woods, and sometimes fields of wheat and rice.

From Barnoly to Balor, 10 coss. Balor is also a large village, situated close to a tank which is about a league in circuit, and upon the margin of it there is a good fort, which, however, is not kept in repair. Three-quarters of a league on the near side of the village you pass a rivulet by a ford, but with much difficulty, because there are many rocks and stones under the water which may overturn a carriage. The route this second day lies nearly altogether through forests.

[1] The elucidation of these routes has been facilitated by the notes of Sir R. C. Temple on the Travels of Peter Mundy, and of Sir W. Foster on those of John Jourdain and Sir T. Roe, all published by the Hakluyt Society. The forms of the place-names used by Tavernier have been given in the text: those found in modern maps, in the notes.

[2] Bardoli, or Panoli of some maps. The distance from Surat as the crow flies is only about 18 miles. On p. 116 below it is said to be 12 coss only. The river crossed is the Pūrnā.

From Balor to Kerkoa,[1] or, as they now call it, the Begam's caravansarāī, 5 coss. This caravansarāī is large and spacious, and it was built by the order of Begam Sāhib, the daughter of Shāhjahān, as a work of charity. For formerly the stage from Balor to Navapoura was too long, and this place being on the frontier of the country of those Rājās who are generally unwilling to recognize the Great Mogul, whose vassals they are, scarcely a caravan passed which was not ill treated; moreover, it is a forest country. Between the caravansarāī and Navapoura you pass a river by a ford, and another close to Navapoura.[2]

From Kerkoa to Navapoura,[3] 15 coss. Navapoura is a large village full of weavers, but rice constitutes the principal article of commerce in the place. A river passes by it, which makes the soil excellent, and irrigates the rice, which requires water. All the rice which grows in this country possesses a particular quality, causing it to be much esteemed. Its grain is half as small again as that of common rice, and, when it is cooked, snow is not whiter than it is, besides which, it smells like musk, and all the nobles of India eat no other.[4] When you wish to make an acceptable present to any one in Persia, you take him a sack of this rice. The river which passes Kerkoa, and the others of which I have spoken, combine to form the Surat river.[5]

From Navapoura to Nasarbar, 9 coss; Nasarbar to Dol-Medan, 14 coss; Dol-Medan to Senquera, 7 coss; Senquera to Tallener,[6] 10 coss; at Tallener you cross the river which goes to Broach,[7] where it is very wide, and from thence it flows into the Gulf of Cambay. From Tallener to Choupre, 15 coss; Choupre to Senquelis, 13 coss; Senquelis to Nabir, 10 coss;

[1] Balor is the modern Ballor; the site of Kerkoa, the modern Kirkā, or the Begam's caravansarāī, is near Behānā.

[2] These rivers are tributaries of the Tāptī.

[3] From Bardoli (Panoli) to Navapoura or Nārāyanpura the distance as the crow flies is about 42 miles; here it is given as 30 coss, and in ch. ix as 28 coss. This and the preceding stage indicate a value of something less than 1½ mile for the coss. (See p. 116 below.)

[4] This fine rice is known as 'perfumed' (bāsmatī, sukhdās): in Peshāwar, bārā.

[5] The Tāptī.

[6] The stages are: Nārāyanpura; Nandurbār; Sinkheda; Thālner.

[7] This is a mistake, as the river at Thālner is the Tāptī. It is the Narbadā which goes to Broach.

Nabir to Baldelpoura, 9 coss;[1] At Baldelpoura loaded carts have to pay the Brampour [2] customs dues, but the carts which carry only passengers pay nothing. Between Navapoura and Brampour it is all a good country for wheat, rice, and indigo. From Baldelpoura to Brampour, 5 coss.

Brampour [3] is a large, much-ruined town, the houses of which are for the most part thatched. It has a large castle still standing in the middle of the town, and there it is that the Governor resides.[4] The government of this province is so important that it is conferred only upon a son or an uncle of the Emperor, and Aurangzeb, who now reigns, was for a long time Governor of Brampour during the reign of his father. But since it has been realized how much can be yielded by the province of Bengal, which formerly bore the title of kingdom, as I shall elsewhere indicate, its government has become the most important in the Empire of the Great Mogul. There is a considerable trade in this town, and both at Brampour itself and in all the province an enormous quantity of very transparent muslins are made, which are exported to Persia, Turkey, Muscovie, Poland, Arabia, Grand Cairo, and other places. Some of these are dyed various colours and ornamented with flowers, and women make veils and scarfs of them; they also serve for the covers of beds, and for handkerchiefs, such as we see in Europe with those who take snuff. There are other fabrics, which are allowed to remain white, with a stripe or two of gold or silver running the whole length of the piece, and at each of the ends, from the breadth of one inch up to twelve or fifteen—in some more, and in others less—it is a tissue of gold, silver, and of silk with flowers, and there is no reverse, one side being as beautiful as the other. If those which they export to Poland, where they are in great demand, have not at both ends at least three or four inches of gold or silver, or if this gold and silver become black when crossing the ocean

[1] The stages are: Chopra; Sānklī; Raver; Balledā.

[2] Burhānpur, now a station on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway: in Nimār District, Central Provinces.

[3] For Burhānpur, see Sir T. Roe, i. 89 ff.; Bernier, 31, 36; *Imperial Gazetteer*, ix. 104 ff.; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii. 589.

[4] The Lāl Qal'a, or Red Fort, built by Akbar.

between Surat and Hormuz, and from Trebizonde to Mangalia,[1] or other ports of the Black Sea, the merchant cannot dispose of them except at great loss. He ought to take great care that the goods are well packed, and that they are secured from damp: this, for so long a voyage, requires much care and trouble. Some of these fabrics are all banded, half cotton and half gold or silver, such pieces being called ornis.[2] They contain from fifteen to twenty ells, and cost from one hundred to one hundred and fifty rupees, the cheapest being not under ten or twelve rupees. Those which are only about two ells long serve ladies of rank for the purpose of making scarfs and veils which they wear on their heads, and they are also sold largely in Persia and Turkey. They make, also, other kinds of fabrics at Brampour, and there is hardly another province in the whole of India which has a greater abundance of cotton.

On leaving the town of Brampour there is another river to be crossed besides the large one [3] which I have mentioned above; as it has no bridge, you cross by a ford, when the water is low, and by boat in the rainy season. The distance from Surat to Brampour is 132 coss.[4] These coss are the smallest in India, a cart being able to traverse one in less than an hour.

I am reminded here of a strange commotion which arose at Brampour in the year 1641,[5] when I was returning from Agra to Surat. The origin of it was, in a few words, as follows.

[1] Mingrelia (?) in Transcaucasia, now Russian territory.

[2] Orhnī, Hind., Mahr. odanī, a woman's mantle. In vol. ii, pp. 4, 35, the word is spelt ormis, and in the 1679 edition ormus. 'Ornees, 16 coveds [cubits] longe, wrought with Silk and Gold', Mundy, ii. 155.

[3] The larger river is the Tāptī, and the other, one of its tributaries.

[4] As an illustration of the uncertainty of the calculation of distances, Mundy gives 170 kos; Fitch, 152; Jourdain, 166; Tieffenthaler, 150 (Mundy, ii. 50).

[5] In reference to this casual mention of a date, M. Joret remarks that Tavernier has been lost sight of from the spring of 1639, when he was at Ispahān, till he turns up thus in India in 1641. Towards the end of the same year he says he went to Goa (bk. I, ch. xii). It is probable, M. Joret adds, that he spent the winter of 1640–1 at Agra, and in the same journey paid his first visit to Dacca in Bengal, which he revisited in 1666–7. In bk. III, ch. xiv, he says, however, he was in Agra in 1642, which M. Joret thinks may be a misprint for 1641. (*Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, par C. Joret, Paris 1886, pp. 54–60; see also the Introduction to this volume.)

The Governor of the Province, who was the Emperor's nephew on his mother's side, had employed as one of his pages a young man of handsome appearance and fairly good family, who had a brother who lived as a Dervish,[1] and for whom all the town entertained much veneration. One day . . . the page, observing that the Governor was about to commit an offence, stabbed him three times in the stomach, slaying him before he could open his lips to cry aloud. This done, the page left the palace without allowing any sign of emotion to appear on his face, the guards at the gate thinking that the Governor had sent him on some message. The Dervish having learnt from his brother what had happened, in order to preserve him from the fury of the people, and to disclose at the same time the infamy of the Governor, ordered all the other Dervishes, his comrades, to seize the banners of Muhammad [2] which were planted about the mosque, and at the same time they called upon all the Dervishes, Fakīrs and others, who were good Musalmāns, to follow them. In less than an hour a multitude of rabble assembled, and the Dervish, taking the lead with his brother, went straight to the palace, crying out with all their might, 'Let us die for Muhammad, or let them give up to us that infamous person in order that dogs may eat him after his death, as he is not worthy to be interred amongst Musalmāns.' The guard of the palace was not able to resist such a multitude, and would have yielded to them, if the Dārogha [3] of the town with five or six nobles had not found an opportunity of making themselves heard, and of appeasing the people, by warning them that they should have some respect for a nephew of the Emperor, and so induced them to withdraw. The same night the body of the Governor was carried to Agra, together with his harem, and Shāhjahān, who then reigned having heard the news, was not in the least distressed, because he inherited the property of all his subjects,[4] and he even bestowed on the page a small appointment in Bengal.

[1] Deruich in original, for Dervish, Pers. Darvesh.

[2] Probably the 'Alām, or standards, carried at the Muharram festival, which are described by Ja'far Sharīf in his account of the festival in the *Qānūn-i-Islām*. See Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921, p. 160.

[3] Deroga in original: head police official.

[4] 'It should also be borne in mind that the Great Mogol constitutes

From Brampour to Piombi-sera, 5 coss. Before proceeding further, it should be remarked that throughout this work wherever the word sera occurs, it signifies a great enclosure of walls or hedges, within which 50 or 60 thatched huts are arranged all round. Here there are some men and women who sell flour, rice, butter, and vegetables, and who make it their business to prepare bread and cook rice.[1] If by chance any Musalmān arrives, he goes into the village to seek for a piece of mutton or a fowl, when those who supply the food to the traveller clean out for him the room which he wishes to occupy, and they place in it a small bed of girths,[2] upon which he spreads the mattress which he carries with him on his journey. From Piombi-sera to Pander, 3 coss; Pander to Balki-sera, 6 coss; Balki-sera to Nevelki-sera, 5 coss; Nevelki-sera to Cousemba, 5 coss; Cousemba to Chenipour, 3 coss; Chenipour to Charoüa, 8 coss; Charoüa to Bich-ola, 8 coss; Bich-ola to Andy, 4 coss. At Andy Handiā (you cross a river which discharges itself into the Ganges between Benares and Patna).[3]

From Andy to Onquenas, 4 coss; Onquenas to Tiquery, 5 coss; Tiquery to Toolmeden, 4 coss; Toolmeden to Nova-sera, 4 coss; Nova-sera to Ichavour, 4 coss; Ichavour to Signor, 5 coss; Signor to Chekaipour, 3 coss; Chekaipour to Dour-ay, 3 coss; Dour-ay to Ater-kaira, 3 coss; Ater-kaira to

himself heir of all the Omrahs, or lords, and likewise of the Mansebdars, or inferior lords, who are in his pay' (Bernier, 204): cf. Ovington, 197. See p. 15 above.

[1] These people are known as Bhathiyārā, Crooke, *Tribes and Castes, North-West Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 34 ff.

[2] A charpoy (*chārpāī*, Hind.), with plaited tape (*newār*) stretched across the frame. Such beds are still to be found in the Government Rest Houses or Dawk Bungalows.

[3] Some of the intervening stages cannot be traced with certainty; the chief places on the route are: Borgām; Nau Sarāī, Seharā; Chainpur; Charwā; Handiā on the River Narbadā. Tavernier has raised a difficulty by confounding the River Narbadā with the Son. Handiā, mentioned by Manucci (i. 67) is an old Muhammadan town in the Hoshangābād District, Central Provinces, which fell into decay when the Mughal officials left the place about A. D. 1700, and a better road was made over the Vindhyan range, via Indore (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 201).

Telor, 4 coss; Telor to San-kaira, 3 coss; San-kaira to Seronge,[1] 12 coss.

Sironj is a large town, of which the majority of the inhabitants are Banian merchants and artisans, who have dwelt there from father to son, which is the reason why it contains some houses of stone and brick. There is a large trade there in all kinds of coloured calicoes, which they call chites,[2] with which all the common people of Persia and Turkey are clad, and which are used in several other countries for bedcovers and table-clothes. They make similar calicoes in other places besides Sironj, but the colours are not so lively, and they disappear when washed several times. It is different with those of Sironj; the more they are washed the more beautiful they become. A river passes here, of which the water possesses the property of giving this brightness to the colours; and during the rainy season, which lasts four months, the workers print their calicoes according to patterns which the foreign merchants have given them, because, as soon as the rains have ceased, the water of the river becomes more turbid, and the sooner the calicoes are washed the better the colours hold, and become brighter.

There is also made at Sironj a description of muslin which is so fine that when it is on the person you see all the skin as though it were uncovered. The merchants are not allowed to export it, and the Governor sends all of it for the Great Mogul's seraglio, and for the principal courtiers. This it is of which the sultanas and the wives of the great nobles make themselves shifts and garments for the hot weather, and the

[1] Here, again, some places on the route, small villages or temporary inns, cannot be identified with certainty. The main stages are: Handia; Tumrī; Nau Sarāī; Ichhāwar, in the Bhopāl State; Sīhor, a cantonment in Bhopāl; Shaikhpura; Duraibā; Hāthiyākherā; Dilod; Sironj. Sironj in the Mughal period was an important place in Tonk State, but the manufacture of chintzes and muslins, for which it was famous, has died out, and no recollection of its having once formed the staple trade of the place survives (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xxiii. 39). The river referred to in the text is a tributary of the Betwā. Bernier (p. 403) says that the inferiority of the water prevented the manufacture of Kashmīr shawls at Patna, Agra, and Lahore. See ii. 29 below on the effects of water on the dyeing of chintz. Jadunath Sarkar (*India of Aurangzīb*, Introd. cxiv f.) discusses this route.

[2] See p. 65.

King and the nobles enjoy seeing them wearing these fine shifts, and cause them to dance in them.[1]

From Brampour to Sironj there are 101 coss, which are greater than those between Surat and Brampour, for a cart takes an hour, and sometimes an hour and a quarter, to travel one of these coss. In these 100 leagues [2] of country you march for whole days among fertile fields of wheat and rice, which strongly resemble our fields at Beausse,[3] for one rarely meets with woods, and between Sironj and Agra the country is of much the same character. As the villages are very close to one another you travel in comfort, and make the day's journey as you please.

From Seronge to Magalki-sera, 6 coss; Magalki-sera to Paulki-sera, 2 coss; Paulki-sera to Kasariki-sera, 3 coss; Kasariki-sera to Chadolki-sera, 6 coss; Chadolki-sera to Callabas,[4] 6 coss.

Callabas [5] is a large town, where formerly a great Rājā

[1] This is the fabric, semi-transparent muslin, known as Āb-ī-ravān, 'flowing water'. Aurangzeb is said to have remonstrated with his daughter for the scantiness of her dress, and the princess replied that she wore seven garments made of this material (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 706).

[2] Here, as elsewhere, the league is used as the equivalent of the coss, and the fact pointed out on p. 43 and in the Appendix that the coss near Surat is a short one is referred to.

[3] La Beauce or Beausse, an ancient division of France in Orléanais. Its capital town was Chartres; it formed an extensive and very fertile plain; it is now comprised in the Department of Eure et Loire.

[4] The stages are: Sironj to Mughal Sarāī, in the Tonk State; Mughal Sarāī to Pālkī Sarāī; Pālkī Sarāī to Kachnor kī Sarāī; Kachnor kī Sarāī to Shāhdaurā; Shāhdaurā to Kālābāgh.

[5] Kālābāgh (?), the Collybaye of Jourdain (p. 151), a halting-place on the old Deccan road, about 100 miles south of Gwalior, not mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. or, much less probably, the Calabad or Calabay of Manucci (iii. 502, 509, iv. 429). [But Manucci describes it as a 'province' close to the Gwāliyār (Gwalior) fortress. Irvine suggests Kālpī; but 'the plains of Gohad', Tod's *Rajasthan*, i, 16, may be suggested. They lie north of Gwalior, whereas Tavernier's Callabas was 46 coss to the south of it.] Prof. Jadunath Sarkar suggests that the 'great Rājā' mentioned in the text was Champat Rāī Bundela, who rebelled against Aurangzeb. His territory was invaded by the Mughals, and he finally committed suicide in October 1661 (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, iii. 30 ff.). Numerous instances of pillars of the skulls of enemies or criminals will be found in Fryer (ii. 245), and a sketch of such a Mīnār or pillar in Mundy (ii. 108).

resided who paid tribute to the Great Mogul. Generally, when caravans passed it, the merchants were robbed, and he exacted from them excessive dues. But since Aurangzeb came to the throne he cut off his head, and those of a large number of his subjects. They have set up towers near the town on the high-road, and these towers are pierced all round by several windows where they have placed in each one the head of a man at every two feet. On my last journey, in 1665, it was not long since this execution had taken place when I passed by Callabas; for all the heads were still entire, and gave out an unpleasant odour.

From Callabas to Akmate, 2 coss; Akmate to Collasar,[1] 9 coss. Collasar is a small town, of which all the inhabitants are idolaters. As I was entering it, on this final journey, there arrived there also eight large pieces of artillery, some forty-eight pounders, the others thirty-six pounders, each gun being drawn by twenty-four pairs of oxen. A strong and powerful elephant was following this artillery, and whenever there was a bad spot from which the oxen had difficulty in drawing it, they made the elephant advance, and push the gun with his trunk.

Outside the town, for the whole length of the high-road there are a number of large trees which they call *mengues*,[2] and in several places near these trees you see small pagodas, each of which has its idol at the entrance. This elephant, passing in front of one of these pagodas, near to which I was encamped, and where there were at the door three idols of about five feet in height, when he was close by, took one with his trunk and broke it in two; he then took the next, and threw it so high and so far that it was broken in four pieces; while as for the third, he knocked off the head with a blow of his trunk. Some thought that the driver of the elephant had ordered him to do so, and had given him the signal; this I did not observe. Nevertheless, the Banians regarded it with an evil eye, without daring to say aught, for there were more than 2,000 men in charge of the guns, all of them in the Emperor's

[1] Kolāras, a well-known town in Gwalior, though not mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. The total distance from Mughalsarāī to Kolāras, measured on the map, is about 62 miles.

[2] Mangoes, the fruit of *Mangifera Indica*.

service, and Musalmāns, with the exception of the chief gunners, who were Franks—French, English, and Dutch. The Emperor was sending this artillery to the province of Deccan, where his army was opposed to the Rājā Sivajī, who had pillaged Surat the previous year [1664], as I shall have occasion for describing elsewhere.[1]

From Collasar to Sansele, 6 coss; Sansele to Dongry,[2] 4 coss; Dongry to Gate; 3 coss. Gate[3] is a pass in the mountains, which is half a quarter of a league long, and which you descend when going from Surat to Agra. You still see at the entrance the ruins of two or three castles, and the road is so narrow that chariots can only pass one another with the greatest difficulty.

Those who come from the south, *en route* to Agra, as from Surat, Goa, Bījāpur, Golkonda, Masulipatam, and other places, cannot avoid traversing this pass, not having any other road except by taking that through Ahmadābād. There were formerly gates at each end of the pass, and at that which was on the Agra side there are five or six shops of Banians, who sell flour, butter, rice, herbs, and vegetables. On my last journey I halted at one of these shops while awaiting the coaches and carts, the passengers having descended from them for this transit. Close by them was a large store full of sacks of rice and corn, and behind these sacks a snake of thirteen or fourteen feet in length, and of proportionate girth, was concealed. A woman while taking some grain from the sacks was bitten on the arm by this snake, and, feeling herself wounded, left the shop, crying 'Rām, Rām!' that is to say, 'Oh God! Oh God!' Immediately several Banians, both men and women, ran to her aid, and they tied the arm above the wound, thinking they could prevent the poison from ascending higher. But it was unavailing, for immediately her face swelled, and then became blue, and she died in less than an hour.

[1] For the artillery sent to reinforce Jai Singh in his Deccan campaign see Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzīb*, iv. 107 f.

[2] Sansele is Sīprī; Dongry, Dongri, 8 miles from Sīprī, which is 15 miles from Kolāras; Dungri-Ghāt is represented on some maps near Narwar.

[3] Gate stands perhaps for some separate ghāt or pass, probably near Gopālpur on the Sind river, about 6½ miles from Dongri,

The Rājputs,[1] who are considered to be the best soldiers in India, constitute the heathen soldiery, and make no scruple of killing when it is a question of attacking or defending. As this woman was on the point of death, four of these cavaliers arrived, and, having learnt what had happened, entered the store each with a sword and a short pike in his hand, and slew the serpent. The people of the place then took it and threw it outside the village, and immediately a great number of birds of prey perched on the carcase, which was devoured in less than an hour. The relatives of the woman took her body and carried it to the river to wash it, after which they burnt it. I was compelled to remain two days in this place, because there is a river [2] to cross, which, instead of becoming lower, increased from hour to hour on account of the rains which had fallen during three or four days, so that I had to cross it half a league lower down. You always strive to cross this river by ford, because in order to reach the boats it is necessary to unload the carts and coaches, and even to take them to pieces, so that they may be carried by hand for the whole of this half-league of road, which is the worst that it is possible to conceive. It is all covered with great rocks, and confined between the mountain and the river, so that when the waters are in flood they cover the whole road, none but the people of the country being able to traverse it. They obtain their livelihood from the passengers, from whom they take the most that they can; but for that it were easy to facilitate the passage by making a bridge, since there is no lack of either wood or stone.

From Gate to Nader,[3] 4 coss. Nader is a large town on the slope of a mountain,[4] above which there is a kind of fortress, and the whole mountain is surrounded by walls. Most of the

[1] Ragipous in the original, Rājputs, the warrior caste.

[2] The Sind river, a tributary of the Jumna.

[3] Narwar, in Gwalior, on right bank of Sind river, Lat. 25° 39′ 2″ N., Long. 77° 56′ 57″ E., 44 miles south of Gwalior; an ancient Hindu town, surrendered to Nāsiru-d-dīn, A. D. 1251. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xvii. 396 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, ii. 307 ff.) The distance is given as 17 coss from Kolāras to Narwar, and the true distance is 35 miles, and the stages given between Mughalsarāī and Kolāras amount to 28 coss, while the true distance is about 63 miles. Taken together, 45 coss = 98 miles, would give nearly the usual average of 2 miles = 1 coss.

[4] A steep scarp of the Vindhyan range.

houses, as is the case in the other towns of India, are thatched, and have only one story; and those of the wealthy have but two, and are terraced. Several large tanks around the town were formerly lined with cut stone, but they are now neglected; about one league off there are still some beautiful tombs. The river we crossed the day before, and that must be crossed again four or five coss beyond Narwar, surrounds the three sides of the town and of the mountain, which form a sort of peninsula, and after a long and tortuous course it discharges itself into the Ganges.[1] They make at Nader a quantity of quilted coverlets, some white, others embroidered with flowers in gold, silver and silk.

From Nader to Barqui-sera, 9 coss; Barqui-sera to Trie, 3 coss; Trie to Goüaleor,[2] 6 coss. Gwalior, a large town, is like others ill-built, in the manner of India. A small river passes it. It is built along the side of a mountain which lies to the west, and towards the top it is surrounded by walls with towers. There are in this enclosure several ponds formed by the rains, and what they cultivate there is sufficient to support the garrison; this is why this place is esteemed one of the best in India. On the slope of the mountain which faces the north-west, Shāhjahān built a pleasure-house, from whence all the town is visible, and it is fit to serve as a fortress. Below this house there are to be seen several images in bas-relief, sculptured in the rock, all of which have the forms of demons, and there is one, among others, of an extraordinary height.[3]

[1] There are two fine Musalmān bridges over the Sind; the weaving industry has disappeared.

[2] The route is: Barkī Sarāī; Antrī; Gwalior, the last the chief town of the State of the same name, and the residence of Mahārājā Sindhia, situated in Lat. 26° 13′ N., and Long. 78° 12′ E., 65 miles south of Agra. The fort, which was surrendered to Sindhia in 1886 in exchange for Jhānsī, stands on an isolated hill of sandstone 342 feet high, 1½ mile long, and 300 yards wide. On its eastern side there are several colossal figures, sculptured in bold relief, our author mentions. The Jain and Hindu antiquities have been described by Mr. Fergusson, and by Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, ii. 330 ff. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xii. 438 ff.) The distance from Narwar to Gwalior is nearly 50 miles; here it is given as 18 coss, the coss thus exceeding 2½ miles. The river to which Tavernier refers is possibly the Vaisalī.

[3] This is the series of images of the Jain Tirthankaras, or twenty-four

Since the Muhammadan kings have taken possession of these countries, the fortress of Gwalior had become the place where they send princes and great nobles for safe custody.[1] Shāhjahān having ascended the throne by treachery, as I shall relate [2] in the course of my narrative, caused all the princes and nobles whom he believed to be able to injure him, to be arrested, one after the other, and sent them to Gwalior, but he allowed them all to live and to enjoy their revenues. Aurangzeb, his son, does just the contrary ; for when he sends any great noble there, at the end of nine or ten days he causes him to be poisoned, and he does this so that the people may not say that he is a sanguinary monarch. As soon as he had in his power Prince Murād Bakhsh,[3] his younger brother, whom he encouraged to take arms against his father, Shāhjahān, and who, being Governor of the Province of Gujarāt, had proclaimed himself Emperor, he had him placed in this fortress, where he died.[4] They have erected in the town an appropriately magnificent tomb for him, in a mosque which they built for the purpose, with a great court in front, all surrounded by vaults under which there are several shops. It is the custom in India, when they build a public edifice, to surround it with a large market-place, with an endowment for the poor, to whom they give alms daily, and who pray to God for him who has caused the work to be done.

At 5 coss from Gwalior you cross, by ford, a river which is called Laniké.[5] From Goüaleor to Paterki-sera, 3 coss ; Paterki-sera to Quariqui-sera,[6] 10 coss.

great saints, constructed under the Tunwar dynasty (A. D. 1440–73, Sleeman, *Rambles*, 267).

[1] On Gwalior as the Mughal State prison, where the prisoners were dosed with pōst or infusion of opium, see Bernier, 106 ff.

[2] See pp. 260 ff. below.

[3] Morat Bakche in original. On his fate see Bernier, 107 f., and for his rebellion, Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzīb*, i. 318 ff.

[4] Murād Bakhsh was murdered by two slaves on December 4, 1661, and buried in the 'Traitors' Cemetery' at Gwalior Fort ; Sulaimān Shikoh was drugged to death in May 1662, and buried beside his uncle, Murād Bakhsh : Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 100, 236.

[5] This probably stands for Sanike, i. e. Sank river, a tributary of the Kunwārī river.

[6] Kunwārī-kī Sarāī.

There is a bridge at Paterki-sera,[1] with six large arches, and the river which flows under it is called Quarinadi.

From Quariqui-sera to Dolpoura,[2] 6 coss. At Dolpoura there is a great river called Chammel-nadi [3]—you cross it in a boat, and it discharges itself in the Jumna [4] between Agra and Allahābād. From Dolpoura to Minasqui-sera,[5] 6 coss. At (? Beyond) Mania (-ki-sarāī) there is a river called Iagou-nadi [6] —you cross it by a very long bridge built of cut stone, and called Iaoulcapoul.[7] From Minasqui-sera to this bridge, 8 coss.[8]

It is not far from this bridge that they examine goods, so that when you reach Agra [9] you are not able to evade the dues ; but it is particularly to see if among the number of cases full of fruits preserved in vinegar, in glass pots, there are not any cases of wine. From the bridge of Iaoulcapoul to Agra, 4 coss.[10] Thus from Sironj to Agra is 106 coss, which are common coss, and from Surat to Agra 339.

[1] This is an obvious misprint for Quariqui-sera, where the bridge really was, namely, over the Quari (Kunwārī) nadī, 'Princess river', which joins the Sind river near its junction with the Jumna.

[2] Dholpur, the chief town of the State of the same name. It is 34 miles south of Agra, and 40 miles north-west of Gwalior (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xi. 331 f. The value of the coss as deduced from this would be very nearly two miles, 37 coss = 71 miles. The Chambal river lies three miles to the south of this town, which was built by Rājā Dholan Deo, in the eleventh century, and surrendered to the Emperor Bābur in 1526.

[3] Chambal river.

[4] Gemena in the original. The Chambal joins the Jumna 25 miles south-west of the town of Etāwah.

[5] Maniā.

[6] Jājau on the Utangan river, a tributary of the Jumna, where, on June 10, 1707, Mu'azzam defeated his brother 'Azam.

[7] Iaoulcapoul, for Jājau kā pul, or the bridge of the Jājau.

[8] Mundy's route (ii. 61 ff.) was : Monde Sara, Mundiākherā ; Dholpoore, Dholpur ; Saya, Saiyan ; Agra. Tavernier halted at Pater kī Sarāī, Kunwārī Sarāī, Dholpur, Maniā kī Sarāī, Jājau bridge.

[9] For description of Agra see p. 86.

[10] There is a good deal of error in the distances as above stated. From Dholpur to Maniā it is 9 miles, from Maniā to Jājau on the Utangan river 6 miles, from Jājau to Agra about 20 miles ; total, say 35 miles, as against 16 coss wrongly divided.

CHAPTER V

Route from Surat to Agra by Ahmadābād

FROM Surat to Baroche,[1] 22 coss. The country between these two towns abounds with corn, rice, millet, and sugar-canes. Before entering Broach, a river which runs to Cambay is crossed by a ferry, and discharges itself afterwards into the gulf bearing the same name.

Baroche is a large town, containing an ancient fortress which has been neglected ; the town has been widely renowned from all time on account of its river, which possesses a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes, which for this reason are brought from all quarters of the empire of the Great Mogul where there is not so great an abundance of water. In this place baftas[2] or pieces of long and narrow calico are made in quantity ; they are very beautiful and closely woven cloths, the price of them ranging from 4 up to 100 rupees. Custom dues have to be paid at Broach on all goods, whether imported or exported. The English have a very fine dwelling there ;[3] and I remember that, on arrival one day when returning from Agra to Surat[4] with the English President, some jugglers immediately came to ask him whether he desired them to show him some examples of their art ; these he was curious to see. The first thing they did was to kindle a large fire, and heat iron chains to redness ; these they wound round their bodies, making believe that they experienced some pain, but not really receiving any

[1] Broach, chief town of district of same name in Gujarāt, situated on the right bank of the Narbadā, 30 miles from its mouth (*Imperial Gazetteer*, ix. 28 ff.). *Villace* in original, a big 'straggling town'.

[2] Bāftas, one of the numerous varieties of fine calico, which were formerly largely exported to Europe from India. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 47.) The *New English Dict.* defines 'Baft, a kind of coarse and cheap (generally cotton) fabric, originally of oriental manufacture, but now made in Great Britain for export, especially to Africa : Pers. *bāfta*, wrought, woven.'

[3] The English factory was established in 1616. The building seems to have disappeared.

[4] In the English translation of 1684, by John Phillips, these names are transposed.

injury.[1] Next, having taken a small piece of stick, and planting it in the ground, they asked one of the company what fruit he wished to have. He replied that he desired mangoes,[2] and then one of the conjurers, covering himself with a sheet, stooped to the ground five or six times. I had the curiosity to ascend to a room in order to see from above, through an opening of the sheet, what this man did, and I saw that he cut himself under his arm-pits with a razor, and anointed the piece of wood with his blood. At each time that he raised himself, the stick increased under the eye, and at the third time it put forth branches and buds. At the fourth time the tree was covered with leaves, and at the fifth we saw the flowers themselves. The English President had his chaplain with him, whom he had brought to Ahmadābād to baptize a child of the Dutch Commander, and he had been asked to be the godfather, for it should be remarked that the Dutch have no clergymen save in those places where both merchants and soldiers are quartered together. The English Chaplain at first protested that he was unable to consent that Christians should be present at such spectacles, and when he saw that from a piece of dry wood these people in less than half an hour had caused a tree of four or five feet in height, with leaves and flowers, as in springtime, to appear, he insisted on breaking it, and proclaimed loudly that he would never administer the communion to any one who witnessed such things in future. This compelled the President to dismiss the jugglers, who travel from place to place with

[1] For tricks of this kind see Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921, p. 173.

[2] The mango trick. Also described by Bernier (p. 321), who, however, did not personally witness the performance, and by Ovington (258), who believed that it was due to Black Magic, because a gentleman became ill after eating one of the mangoes, and did not recover until, following a Brāhman's advice, he restored it to the magician. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 555 f., for other early accounts of this famous trick. On the only occasion when Ball witnessed it, he was not much impressed with it as an example of sleight of hand ; but the juggler was not of the first class. And his experience is that of other observers. It seems probable that the above-mentioned juggler knew he was being watched by Tavernier, and therefore distracted his attention by means of the razor. Chardin speaks of the incident contemptuously, and also of Tavernier for being deceived by it. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam, ed. 1711, vol. iv, p. 133.)

their wives and children, like those whom we in Europe commonly call Egyptians or Bohemians [1]; and having given them the equivalent of ten or twelve écus,[2] they went away very well satisfied.

Those who wish to visit Cambay, need not go out of their way more than about five or six coss, or thereabouts; and when at Broach, instead of going to Baroda, which is the ordinary route, they make directly for Cambay, from whence afterwards they reach Ahmadābād. Except for business, or out of curiosity, this route is not taken, not only because it is longer, as I have said, by five or six leagues,[3] but principally on account of the danger in passing the end of the gulf.

Cambay [4] is a large town at the end of the gulf which bears its name. Here those beautiful agates which come from India are cut into cups, handles of knives, beads, and other objects of workmanship.[5] Indigo [6] of the same kind as that of Sarkhej [7] is made, also, in the vicinity of the town, and it was celebrated for its traffic when the Portuguese flourished in India. In the quarter close to the sea, many fine houses, which they built and richly furnished after the manner of Portugal may still be seen; but at present they are uninhabited, and decay from day to day. Such good order was maintained at that time in Cambay, that at two hours after dark every street was closed by two gates, which are still to be seen, and even now some of the principal of them are closed, especially those in the avenues

[1] In the Deccan and Bombay they probably belonged to castes like the Nat and Kolhāti (Russell, *Castes, Central Provinces*, i. 139; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vi. 240 f.).

[2] = £2 5*s.* to £2 14*s.*, at 4*s.* 6*d.* per écu.

[3] Here again leagues and coss are treated as synonymous terms.

[4] Cambaya in the original. Cambay, chief town of the State of Cambay, Province of Gujarāt, Bombay Presidency, 52 miles south of Ahmadābād. (See the account by Pyrard de Laval, ii. 249.)

[5] A full account of this industry will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 506; Watt, *Commercial Products*, 561 f.

[6] The cultivation of indigo has much diminished of late in that part of India (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vi. 183).

[7] Sarquesse in the original, this is Sarkhej, the Surkeja of Major Scott's Madras route map, south-west of Ahmadābād (*Bombay Gazetteer*, iv. 89, 292). Tieffenthaler calls it Sarkés, *Géog. de l'Ind.*, par Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791, p. 377. See for further information Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 31. (Spelt Suarkej on p. 59 below.)

to the market-places. One of the principal reasons why this town has lost a part of her commerce is, that formerly the sea came close to Cambay, and small vessels were able to approach it easily; but for some years past the sea has been receding day by day, so that vessels are now unable to come nearer than four or five leagues to the town.[1]

Pea-fowl are abundant in India, and especially in the territories of Broach, Cambay, and Baroda. The flesh of the young bird is white and of good flavour, like that of our turkeys, and throughout the day they may be seen in flocks in the fields; for during the night they perch in the trees. It is difficult to approach them by day, because if they perceive the sportsman they fly away from him more rapidly than a partridge, and enter the jungle, where it is impossible to follow them, one's garment being torn at every step. Hence, they can only be captured easily at night; and this, in a few words, is the method employed. You approach the tree with a kind of banner, on which life-like peacocks are painted on each side.[2] On the top of the stick there are two lighted candles, the light of which attracting the peacock, causes him to stretch out his neck almost to the end of the stick, where there is a cord with a running noose, which the man who carries the banner draws when he sees that the peacock has placed his neck in it. However, you must be careful not to kill a bird, or any other animal, in the countries of Rājās, where the idolaters are the masters; it is not dangerous in the parts of India where the rulers of the country are Musalmāns, as they permit sport to be without restriction.[3] It happened one day that a rich merchant of Persia, when passing by the territory of the Rājā of

[1] The commercial decay of Cambay is due, partly, to competition with Bombay and Surat, partly to the silting up of the gulf and to the Bore or rushing tide (*Imperial Gazetteer*, ix. 297; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vi. 195).

[2] Peacocks are successfully approached by day by a native sportsman, who carries before him a cloth screen, on which a rude representation of a peacock is painted, some birds actually making a charge towards the screen.

[3] Kārttikeya, god of war, is represented as riding on a peacock, and many castes, particularly Jāts, venerate the bird in northern India. See Sleeman, *Rambles*, 259.

Dantivar,[1] either out of bravado or from not knowing the customs of the country shot a peacock on the road. The Banians, enraged by an act which is regarded among them as a horrible sacrilege, seized the merchant themselves, and also the money he had with him, which amounted to 300,000 rupees, and tying him to a tree, whipped him during three days so severely that the poor man died of it.

After Cambay you next reach a village which is only three coss distant, where there is a pagoda to which the majority of the courtesans of India come to make their offerings. This pagoda contains many nude figures, and among others a large figure like an Apollo, which has the private parts all uncovered. When the old courtesans have amassed a sum of money in their youth, they buy young female slaves, to whom they teach dances and lascivious songs, and all the tricks of their infamous trade. When these young girls have reached the age of eleven or twelve years their mistresses take them to this pagoda, as they believe that it will be good fortune to them to be offered and abandoned to this idol.[2]

From this pagoda to Chiidabad [3] it is 6 coss. Here is one of the most beautiful houses of the Great Mogul, and a vast enclosure, where there are extensive gardens and large tanks, with all the embellishments of which the genius of the Indians is capable. From Chiidabad to Ahmadābād it is but 5 coss. I return to Baroche and the ordinary route. From Baroche to Baroda,[4] 22 coss. Baroda is a large town built on a good soil, where there is a considerable trade in calicoes. From

[1] Dāntā, or Dāntawārā, a State under the Political Agency of Mahi Kāntha, Bombay. The Chief is a Hindu. It has been pointed out already that the Antivar of p. 31 is probably a misprint for Dantivar.

[2] This is a vague reference to the rite of initiation, by a form of marriage to the god, of the Devadāsī, 'handmaids of the god,' at Deccan temples: see Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, iii. 374 ff., iv. 604 f. In western India they are called Bhāvin (*Bombay Gazetteer*, x. 126). For the custom see Barbosa, ed. Dames, i. 222 f.; Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ix. 820, xi. 673. Local inquiries have failed to identify the temple described by Tavernier.

[3] Sayyidābād, which is not traceable on modern maps.

[4] Baroda, Broudra in original, the chief town of the territory of the Gāekwār. From Broach to Baroda, the distance measured on the map is about 48 miles.

Broudra to Neriade,[1] 18 coss; from Neriade to Amadabat,[2] 20 coss.

Ahmadābād is one of the largest towns in India, and there is a considerable trade in silken stuffs, gold and silver tapestries, and others mixed with silk; saltpetre, sugar, ginger, both candied and plain, tamarinds, mirabolans,[3] and indigo cakes, which are made at three leagues from Ahmadābād, at a large town called Suarkej.[4]

There was formerly a pagoda in this place, which the Musalmāns seized and converted into a mosque. Before entering it you traverse three great courts paved with marble, and surrounded by galleries, but you are not allowed to place foot in the third without removing your shoes. The exterior of the mosque is ornamented with mosaic, the greater part of which consists of agates of different colours, obtained from the mountains of Cambay, only two days' journey thence.[5] There are many tombs of ancient idolatrous kings, like so many small chapels of mosaic, with columns of marble sustaining small vaults by which the tombs are covered. A river [6] flows past Ahmadābād on the north-west, and during the rainy season, which lasts in India three or four months, it becomes very wide and rapid, and does great injury every year. It is the same with all the rivers of India, and when the rains have ceased, you must generally wait six weeks or two months before it is possible to ford the river at Ahmadābād, as there is no bridge.[7] There are two or three boats, but one cannot

[1] Nadiād in Kaira District (*Bombay Gazetteer*, iii. 173).

[2] Ahmadābād, the chief town in the District of the same name, in the Province of Gujarāt, Bombay Presidency. Tieffenthaler calls the town itself Guzarat.

[3] The dried unripe fruit of *Terminalia chebula*, Retz. (Watt, *Commercial Products*, 1073.)

[4] Sarkhej in the Ahmadābād District: see n. 7 on p. 56 above. The cultivation of indigo has greatly decreased, and Sarkhej is now known only for its fine tank (*Bombay Gazetteer*, iv. 18, 58).

[5] The reference is apparently to Sultān Ahmad's mosque, in the Bhadar or citadel, built A. D. 1414; first attempt by Hindus to build in the Musalmān style. There are tombs of Sultān Begada and of other kings of the dynasty at Sarkhej (ibid. iv. 276, 291 f.).

[6] The Sābarmatī.

[7] The Sābarmatī is now crossed by the Bombay–Baroda Railway bridge.

make use of them, save when the river falls, and it takes much time to cross. The peasants do not stand on ceremony, for in order to go from one bank to the other they make use of the skin of a goat,[1] which they fill with air and tie on between the chest and the abdomen. It is thus, by swimming this river, that the poor, both men and women, cross, and when they wish to take their children across with them they make use of round earthen pots, which have mouths four fingers in width, and placing a child in one of these pots they push it before them while swimming. This brings to my mind a circumstance which happened at Ahmadābād, while I was there in the year 1642,[2] which is too remarkable to pass by in silence.

A peasant and his wife were crossing the river one day in the manner I have just described, and having an infant with them of about two years of age they placed him in one of these pots, so that only his head could be seen from outside. In the middle of the river they landed on a small bank of sand where there was a large tree, which the water had carried down, and the father to rest himself pushed the pot containing the infant on the shoal. As he approached the foot of the tree, the trunk of which was somewhat raised above the water, a snake came out from between the roots, and jumped into the pot where the infant was. The father and mother, startled, and losing their wits, let the pot go, and when the river carried it away they remained some time half-dead at the foot of the tree. About two leagues lower down a Banian and his wife, with a little child, were bathing in the river before going to dinner. They beheld from afar the pot upon the water, and half the head of a child outside its mouth. The Banian immediately swam out, and pushed it ashore. The woman, followed by her child, came presently to lift out the other baby which was in the pot, And at that moment the snake, which had done no injury to

[1] This is the so-called mussuck (*mashak*, Hind.) deri, sarnā, sarnāī, zuk, consisting of the inflated skin of a goat; sometimes, as on the Sutlej, in the Himalayan regions, the skin of a buffalo is used for the same purpose. Gore, *Lights and Shadows of Hill Life*, 122; Conway, *Climbing and Exploration in the Karakorum Himalayas*, 172.

[2] This casual reference to a date is of use as confirmation of Tavernier having been in this part of India in that year. (See Joret, *J. B. Tavernier*, Paris, 1886, p. 64.)

the first child, left the pot, and entwined itself about the body of the Banians' child which was close to the mother, bit it, and injected its poison, which caused its immediate death.

This extraordinary adventure did not much distress these poor people, as they believed that it had happened by a secret dispensation of their god, who had taken from them one child in order to give them another, by which they were soon consoled. Some time after, the report of this adventure having reached the ears of the first peasant, he went to the Banian to tell him how it happened and to demand from him his child. This caused a fierce dispute between them, the second peasant maintaining that the child was his, and that his god had given it to him in the place of the one who was dead. In a word, the matter made a great noise, and was at length laid before the Emperor, who ordered that the infant should be returned to its father.

About the same time a somewhat amusing case occurred in the same town of Ahmadābād. The wife of a rich Banian merchant, named Saintīdās, had no children, and announced that she wished for some. A servant of her house one day took her apart, and said to her that if she was willing to eat what he would give her, she might feel certain that she would have a child. The woman desiring to know what she ought to eat, the attendant said that it was a little fish, and that she need only eat some three or four.[1] The religion of the Banians forbidding them, as I have elsewhere said, to eat anything which has had life, the woman was at first unable to bring herself to do what he suggested; but the servant having said that he knew how to disguise it so well that she would not know that what she was eating was fish, she resolved at length to try the remedy, and she lay the night following with her husband, according to the instruction she had received from the servant. Some time after, the woman perceiving that she was enceinte,

[1] In the East surprising effects are often attributed to a fish diet. See the *Kitāb 'Ajāib al-Hind* (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, Leyden, 1883), p. 131, for a remarkable instance. In many Hindu castes the bride and bridegroom are made to catch fish as a fertility charm. Manucci (ii. 37) speaks of a fish called *instinco* (saqanūr) used by men as a love stimulant. See Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, v. 203; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 48 ff.

her husband died, and the relatives of the defunct wished to take possession of his effects. The widow objected, and told them they should have patience till they knew if the infant which she carried would arrive safely.

The relatives, surprised by this news, which they had not expected, treated it as a lie or a joke, the woman having been fifteen or sixteen years with her husband without bearing. When she found that these people tormented her, she threw herself at the feet of the Governor, to whom she related what had happened, and he ordered that the relatives should wait till the woman was delivered. Some days after her confinement the relatives of the deceased, who were persons of position, and desired to secure for themselves so considerable an inheritance, maintained that the infant was illegitimate, and that the woman's husband was not its father. The Governor, to ascertain the truth, assembled the doctors, who decided that the infant should be taken to the bath, and that if the remedy which the mother had adopted was genuine, the child would smell of fish; this was done and the thing happened accordingly. After this experiment the Governor ordered the effects of the deceased to be secured for the infant, as its parentage had been proved; but the relatives, annoyed that so good a morsel was escaping from them, appealed from this judgement, and went to Agra to inform the Emperor. In consequence of what they stated, His Majesty issued an order to the Governor to send the mother and the infant, that the same experiment might be made in his presence; this having turned out as on the first occasion, the relatives of the deceased withdrew their claim and the effects were secured for the mother and infant.

I remember also another amusing thing which was told me at Ahmadābād—where I have been ten or twelve times—during the stay I made there on one of my journeys, on my return from Delhi.[1] A merchant with whom I often dealt, and who was much loved by Shāista Khān, Governor of the Province and uncle of the Emperor, had the reputation of never having

[1] Joret (*J.-B. Tavernier*, Paris, 1886, p. 47) supposes that this was in the early part of 1667, but says the passage is too obscure to admit of any definite conclusion.

lied. Shāista Khān having completed the three years of his government, according to the custom in the Empire of the Great Mogul, and Aurangzeb, son of Shāhjahān, having succeeded, he withdrew to Agra, where the court then was. One day, as he was conversing with the Emperor he remarked that he had seen many uncommon things in all the governments with which His Majesty had honoured him, but one thing alone surprised him, which was that he discovered a rich merchant who had never told a lie, and who was upwards of seventy years old. The Emperor, surprised at such an extraordinary thing, told Shāista Khān that he desired to see the man of whom he had spoken, and ordered him to send him forthwith to Agra, which was done. This caused much distress to the old man, both on account of the length of the road, which is from twenty-five to thirty days' journey, and because it was necessary for him to make a present to the Emperor. In short, he offered a gift valued at 40,000 rupees; it was a gold box for keeping betel, ornamented with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. After he had saluted the Emperor, and had made his present, the Emperor merely asked his name, to which he replied that he called himself the man who had never lied. The Emperor asking him further what his father's name was: 'Sire,' replied he, 'I know not.'[1] His Majesty, satisfied with this reply, stopped there, and, not desiring to know more, ordered them to give him an elephant, which is a great honour, and 10,000 rupees for his journey.

The Banians have a great veneration for monkeys, and they even feed them in some pagodas where they go to worship.[2] There are in Ahmadābād two or three houses which serve as

[1] The oriental version of the well-known saying: 'It is a wise father that knows his own child' (Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, Act ii, Scene 2). Οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἑὸν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω (Homer, *Odyssey*, i. 216). In India this belief prevails specially where the institution of Mother Right and of descent in the female line exists, as among the Khasi and Synteng of Assam, and the Nāyars and other castes in Malabar.

[2] Monkeys, representing the god Hanumān, are venerated and fed at many Hindu temples, perhaps the best-known example being the so-called Monkey Temple at the Durgā Kund, or pool of Durgā, at Benares (Sherring, *The Sacred City of the Hindus*, 158 f.; Greaves, *Kashi, the Illustrious*, 89). See Fryer, *New Account*, ii. 73.

hospitals,[1] especially for cows, oxen, monkeys, and other sick and disabled animals, and they convey there all that they are able to find, and feed them. It should be stated that on every Tuesday and Friday all the monkeys in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād, of their own instinct, come in a body to the town, and ascend the houses, each of which has a small terrace where the occupants sleep during the great heat. On each of these days they do not fail to place upon these little terraces rice, millet, sugar-canes in their season, and other similar things; for if by chance the monkeys did not find their food on the terraces, they would break the tiles with which the rest of the house is covered, and cause great damage. It should be remarked that the monkey eats nothing which he has not first well smelt, and before swallowing anything he makes a store for future hunger, filling his two cheeks with provisions, which he keeps for the following day.[2]

I have said that the Banians have an especial veneration for the monkey, and this is an example in point among several others which I could quote. One day at Ahmadābād, at the Dutch House, a young man of that nation, who had arrived but a few days before to serve in the office, and was ignorant of the customs of the country, perceiving a large monkey on a tree in the court-yard, wished to give an example of his skill, or rather as it turned out, of his youth, by shooting it. At the time I was at table with the Dutch Commander, and we had scarcely heard the shot before there was a great uproar among the Banians in the service of the Dutch Company, who came to complain bitterly against him who had slain the monkey. They all wished to resign, and it was with much trouble and many apologies that they were appeased and induced to remain.

In the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād monkeys are numerous, and it may be said that in the places where there are many of these animals there are but few crows. For when the latter have built their nests and laid their eggs, the monkeys climb

[1] There are now six animal hospitals in the Ahmadābād District (*Bombay Gazetteer*, iv. 114). On these hospitals see Fryer, i. 138; Linschoten, Hakluyt Society, ed. i. 253; Ovington, 300 f.

[2] The retention of food in the pouch only lasts for a short time, the monkey masticating it at his leisure.

the trees and throw the eggs on the ground. One day, on my return from Agra, I left Ahmadābād with the English Chief or President who had come there for some business, and was returning to Surat. We passed, at four or five leagues from Ahmadābād, a small grove of the trees which are called mangoes. We saw overhead numbers of large monkeys, male and female, and several of the latter carried their young ones in their arms. We each had our carriage, and the English President stopped his to tell me that he had an excellent and curious gun which the Governor of Damān [1] had presented to him, and, knowing that I was a good shot, he asked me to prove it upon one of these monkeys. One of my attendants, who was of the country, signed to me not to risk it, and I sought to dissuade the President from his intention, but it was impossible; so taking his gun he shot a female monkey, which remained extended between two branches and let her young ones fall to the ground. What my attendant, who had signed to me, had foreseen followed at once. All the monkeys on the trees, to the number of more than sixty, descended immediately, in a rage, and jumped on the carriage of the President, and would have strangled him, but for the prompt assistance that some gave by closing the windows, while the crowd of attendants who were present drove them off. Although they did not come to my carriage, which followed at some paces distant from that of the President, I nevertheless feared for myself the fury of these monkeys, which were both large and powerful, and so much were they enraged that they pursued the carriage of the President for nearly a league.

Continuing our route from Surat to Agra. From Amadabat to Panser, 13 coss; from Panser to Masana, 14 coss; from Masana to Chitpour,[2] 14 coss.

Sidhpur is a fairly good town, so named on account of the great trade which it does in those coloured cottons which are called chites,[3] and at four or five hundred paces on the south

[1] The Portuguese settlement in Thāna District, Bombay (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xi. 128 ff.).

[2] The route is Pansār, Mehsānā, Sidhpur (Chitpur on the map in Bernier, p. 238).

[3] Chites (see p. 46), from Mahr. *chit* and Port. *chita* = chintz (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 201 f.).

side there flows a small river. When I arrived at Sidhpur, on one of my journeys, I was encamped under two or three trees at one of the ends of a great open space near the town. A short time afterwards four or five lions [1] appeared which they brought to train, and they told me it generally took five or six months, and they do it in this way. They tie the lions, at twelve paces distance from each other, by their hind feet, to a cord attached to a large wooden post firmly planted in the ground, and they have another about the neck which the lion-master holds in his hand. These posts are planted in a straight line, and upon another parallel one, from fifteen to twenty paces distant, they stretch another cord of the length of the space which the lions occupy, when arranged as above. These two cords which hold the lion fastened by his two hind feet, permit him to rush up to this long cord, which serves as a limit to those outside it, beyond which they ought not to venture to pass when harassing and irritating the lions by throwing small stones or little bits of wood at them. A number of people come to this spectacle, and when the provoked lion jumps towards the cord, he has another round his neck which the master holds in his hand, and with which he pulls him back. It is by this means that they accustom the lion by degrees to become tame with people, and on my arrival at Sidhpur I witnessed this spectacle without leaving my carriage.

The following day I had another experience, which was a meeting I had with a party of Fakīrs, or Musalmān Dervishes.[2] I counted fifty-seven of them, of whom he who was their Chief or Superior had been master of the horse to Shāh Jahāngīr,[3] having left the court when Sultān Bulākī, his grandson, was strangled by order of Shāhjahān, his uncle, as

[1] These were true lions, and not chītās, or hunting leopards, as lions are known to have been so tamed, and the region is one in which they may very possibly have been obtained. Tame lions were kept by Jahāngīr and other Emperors (Terry, 184 f.; Sir T. Roe, i. 198 f.). Aelian (*On the Peculiarities of Animals*, iii. 26) says they were tamed and used in sport: but he confuses the lion with the *chītā*. The Malloi presented tame lions and tigers to Alexander the Great (Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., p. 97).

[2] Dervichs in original, for Dervishes.

[3] Cha Gehan-guir in original, for Shāh Jahāngīr.

I shall relate elsewhere.[1] There were four others who, under the Superior, were Chiefs of the band, and had been the first nobles of the court of the same Shāhjahān. The only garment of these five Dervishes consisted of three or four ells of orange-coloured cotton cloth, of which they made waistbands, one of the ends passing between the thighs and being tucked between the top of the waistband and the body of the Dervish, in order to cover what modesty requires should be concealed, both in front and behind.[2] Each of them had also a skin of a tiger upon the shoulders, which was tied under the chin. They had eight fine horses, saddled and bridled, led by hand before them, three of which had bridles of gold and saddles covered with plates of gold; and the five others had bridles of silver, and the saddles also covered with plates of silver, and a leopard's skin on each. The other Dervishes had for their sole garment a cord, which served as a waistband, to which was attached a small scrap of calico to cover, as in the case of the others, the parts which should be concealed. Their hair was bound in a tress about their heads, and made a kind of turban. They were all well armed, the majority with bows and arrows, some with muskets, and the remainder with short pikes, and a kind of weapon which we have not got in Europe. It is a sharp iron, made like the border of a plate which has no centre, and they pass eight or ten over the head, carrying them on the neck like a ruff.[3] They withdraw these circles as they require to use them, and when they throw them with

[1] Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrū, and titular Emperor, is said by some to have been strangled, while others assert that he was allowed to escape to Persia (Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 392). His nickname was Bulāqī, from *bulāq*, the ring worn by women in the septum of the nose. A boy is ornamented in this way in order that he may be supposed to be a girl, and thus escape from the effects of the Evil Eye. *V.* pp. 267 f.

[2] Cf. the account of naked Fakīrs by Bernier (p. 317).

[3] These are the chakar, thin sharp-edged metal quoits, which can be flung with marvellous accuracy and effect against an enemy. The Sikhs are especially proficient in their use. Bowrey (p. 22) describes a ring, seemingly of another kind, worn by Fakīrs: 'Some, nay Severall, that I have Seen doe weare a very broad plate of beaten iron about their necks. I judge it may be 4½ or 5 feet over, haveinge theire necks through a round hole in the midst thereof, and this fastened on by a smith very strongly rivotted on, so that the party cannot ly downe.'

force at a man, as we make a plate to fly, they almost cut him in two. Each of them had also a sort of hunting horn, which he sounds, and makes a great noise with when he arrives anywhere, and also when he departs, and also a rake, or instrument of iron, made something like a trowel. It is with this instrument, which the Indians generally carry in their journeys, that they level the places where they wish to halt, and some, collecting the dust in a heap, make use of it as a mattress and bolster in order to lie more comfortably. There were three of these Dervishes armed with long rapiers, which they had received, apparently, from some Englishman or Portuguese. Their baggage consisted of four boxes full of Arabic and Persian books and some cooking utensils, and they had ten or twelve oxen to carry those among the troop who were invalids. When these Dervishes arrived at the place where I was encamped with my carriage, having then with me fifty persons, both people of the country, whom one engages, as I have said, for travelling, as also my ordinary servants, the Chief or Superior of the troop, seeing me well accompanied, inquired who that Aga [1] was; and then asked me to surrender to him the position I occupied, it being more commodious than any other about the place for camping with his Dervishes. As they informed me of the quality of this Chief and the four Dervishes who followed him, I was willing to do them a civility, and to yield that which they asked with a good grace; and so I ceded the place to them, and took another which suited me as well. Immediately the place was watered with a quantity of water, and made smooth and level, and, as it was winter and was somewhat cold, they lighted two fires for the five principal Dervishes, who placed themselves between them in order to warm themselves both before and behind. During the same evening, after they had supped, the Governor of the town came to pay his respects to these principal Dervishes, and during their sojourn in the place sent them rice and other things which they were accustomed to eat. When they arrive in any place the Superior sends some of them to beg in the towns and villages, and whatever food they bring, which is given them out of charity, is immediately distributed to all

[1] Āghā, Pers., means lord or master.

in equal portions, each being particular to cook his own rice for himself. Whatever they have over is given every evening to the poor, and they reserve nothing for the following day.

From Chitpour to Balambour, 12 coss; from Balambour to Dantiuar,[1] 11 coss; Dantiuar to Bargant, 17 coss.

Bargant [2] is the territory of a Rājā, where one has to pay customs. On one of my journeys to Agra, when passing by Bargant, I did not see the Rājā, but only his lieutenant, who treated me with great civility, and presented me with rice, butter, and fruits of the season. In return I gave him three waistbands of calico, gold, and silk, four handkerchiefs of coloured cotton, and two bottles, one of brandy and the other of Spanish wine. On my departure he ordered me to be escorted for 4 or 5 coss by twenty horsemen.

When returning from the same journey I sent before me my heavier goods by wagon, and to shorten the road I purposed to return by the same route. I had with me sixty Peons or people of the country, and seven or eight attendants who ordinarily waited on me. One evening, being encamped on the frontiers of the territory of the Rājā of Bargant, all my Peons [3] assembled to tell me that by taking the route through Bargant we should run the risk of being all strangled, and that the Prince of that country spared no one, and lived by robbery alone. That at the least, if I did not engage one hundred other Peons, there was no possibility of escaping the hands of the runners, whom he would send from both sides, and that they were obliged, as much for my safety as their own, to give me this advice. I spent some time disputing with them, and reproaching them with their cowardice; but from fear lest they should not also reproach me for my temerity, I resolved to employ fifty more, and they went to search for them in the neighbouring villages. For traversing

[1] Balambour is Pālanpur, capital of the State of the same name (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xix. 354 f.). Dantiuar is Dāntā, or Dāntawārā, the chief town of the State of the same name (see p. 58 *n.*). It is 136 miles north of Baroda (ibid. xvii. 12 f.). The Antivar of p. 31 is apparently the same place.

[2] Called Bergam on p. 31.

[3] Pion in the original for Peon, Port., a foot soldier; whence the name 'pawn' in chess (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 696 f.).

the territories of the Rājā during three days only, they asked four rupees each, which is as much as one gives them for a month. On the following day, when I wished to start, my Peons, showing themselves to be obstructive and irresolute, came to tell me that they would leave me, and that they did not wish to risk their lives, asking me not to write to their Chief at Agra, who was answerable for their not leaving me against my wish. There were three of my personal servants who also treated me as the others had done, and there remained with me only he who led my horse, my coachman, and three other attendants with whom I started under the protection of God, who has always aided me in my journeys. At about a coss from the place whence I started I perceived, on turning round, some of these Peons, who followed me at a distance. Having ordered my carriage to stop to await them, I told the first who advanced that if they wished to come with me they should march around my carriage and not follow at a distance; and seeing them to be still timid and irresolute, I said that I did not require cowards in my service, and dismissed them for the last time. When I had travelled another coss, I perceived on the side of a mountain about fifty horsemen, of whom four separated to advance towards me. When I saw them I got out of the carriage at once, and having thirteen fire-arms, I gave a gun to each of my people. The horsemen approaching, I placed the carriage between them and me, and got ready to fire, in case they prepared to attack me. But they at once made me a sign that I had nothing to fear, and one of them said that it was the Prince who was hunting, and who had sent them to ask what stranger passed through his territory; I replied I was the same Frank [1] who had passed five or six weeks previously. By good fortune, the lieutenant of the Rājā, to whom I had presented the brandy and Spanish wine, followed close behind these four horsemen, and having assured me how rejoiced he was to see me again, asked me forthwith if I had any wine. I told him that I never travelled without it; and in fact I was provided, the English and Dutch having presented me at Agra with several bottles. Immediately on the lieutenant returning to the Rājā, he him-

[1] Franguy in the original.

self came to meet me, and assuring me that I was welcome, told me that he wished me to halt at a place which he indicated under certain trees, a coss and a half from where we were, and that he would not fail to come to drink with me. He came towards evening, and we remained there two days together to amuse ourselves; and the Rājā summoned the Baladines,[1] without whom the Persians and Indians do not think they can enjoy themselves properly. On my departure, the Rājā gave me two hundred horsemen to accompany me for three whole days to the frontiers of his country, and I was let go for three or four pounds of tobacco, which was all the present I made them. When I arrived at Ahmadābād the people could hardly believe that I had received such good treatment from a Prince who had the reputation of ill-treating all strangers who passed through his country.

From Bargant to Bimal, 15 coss; from Bimal to Modra, 15 coss; from Modra to Chalaour, 10 coss. Chalaour[2] is an ancient town upon a mountain surrounded with walls, and difficult of access; formerly it was a strong place. There is a tank on the top of the mountain, and another below, between which and the foot of the mountain is the road to the town. From Chalaour to Cantap, 12 coss; from Cantap to Setlana, 15 coss; from Setlana to Palavaseny, 14 coss; from Palavaseny to Pipars, 11 coss; from Pipars to Mirda, 16 coss.

From Dāntawārā to Mirda it is three days' journey,[3] and

[1] Baladines, from the Portuguese Baladeira; the more usual form is Bayadère among authors; but it is never heard, and is practically unknown in India, as a name for Nāchnīs or dancing girls. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 75.)

[2] Jālor, a town in the State of Jodhpur or Mārwār in Rājputānā. The fort, 800 yards long by 400 yards wide, is on an eminence 1,200 feet high, and commands the town. It is of considerable strength, and still contains two tanks. It was famous in Rājput history, being several times mentioned in Tod, *Annals of Rājasthān*; Erskine, *Gazetteer, Western States, Rājputānā*, 189 f. The stages are: Bhīnmāl, also a famous place (*Imperial Gazetteer*, viii. 111), and Modrā, to Jālor. There is apparently some confusion between Baglānā and Dāntawārā, as the distances cannot be reconciled with Bāglānā, mentioned on p. 69 above.

[3] This statement is somewhat inconsistent with the route given, which represents 9 stages and 125 coss. The stages are: Khandap;

it is a mountainous country belonging to semi-independent Rājās or Princes, who pay some tribute to the Great Mogul. But in return, the Great Mogul appoints them to important posts in his armies, from which they derive much more than the tribute which they are obliged to pay him.

Mirda is a large town, but badly built. When I arrived there, during one of my journeys in India, all the caravansarāīs were full of people, because the aunt of Shāhjahān, wife of Shāista Khān, was then on her way, taking her daughter to marry her to Sultān Shujā', second son of Shāhjahān. I was obliged to order my tent [1] to be pitched upon a bank where there were large trees on both sides, and two hours afterwards I was much surprised to see fifteen or twenty elephants which came to break off as much as they could of these great trees. It was a strange thing to see them break large branches with their trunks, as we break a piece of faggot.[2] This injury was done by order of the Begam to avenge herself of an affront by the inhabitants of Mirda, who had not received her, and had not made a present as they ought to have done.

From Mirda to Boronda, 12 coss; from Boronda to Coëtchiel, 18 coss; from Coëtchiel to Bandar-Sonnery, 14 coss; from Bandar-Sonnery to Ladona, 16 coss; from Ladona town to Chasou, 12 coss; from Chasou to Nuali, 17 coss; from Nuali to Hindoo, 19 coss; from Hindoo to Baniana, 10 coss.

These two last places are towns where, as in all the surrounding country, round indigo cake is made, and being the best of all the varieties of indigo it is consequently twice as dear.

From Baniana to Vettapour, 14 coss; Vettapour is a very old town where they make woollen carpets. From Vettapour to Agra, 12 coss; from Surat to Agra there are in all 415

Sītalwānā; Palāsnī; Pīpār; Mertā or Mairtā. Mertā is one of the most famous places in Rājput history, the scene of several bloody battles, described by Tod (Erskine, *Gazetteer, Western States, Rājputāna*, 203 ff.).

[1] This is the obvious meaning, tante being in the original a misprint for tente.

[2] The mahouts of the present day sometimes, for similar reasons, make their elephants do injury of this kind. (See p. 48.)

coss. If one could make equal stages of 13 coss each, he would accomplish the journey in thirty-three days; but, since one rests and halts in certain places, the journey lasts generally from thirty-five to forty days.[1]

CHAPTER VI

Route from Ispahān to Agra by Kandahār [2]

I HAVE already given an exact description of a part of this route, having conducted the reader as far as Kandahār.[3] It now remains for me to take him from Kandahār to Agra, to which there are only two routes via Kābul or Multān respectively. The latter is shorter than the other by ten days, but the caravan scarcely ever takes it, because from Kandahār to Multān it is a desert country almost all the way, and because one must march sometimes for three or four days without meeting water. Hence the most common and beaten track is by Kābul. From Kandahār to Kābul there are 24 stages; from Kābul to Lahore, 22; from Lahore to Delhi or Jahānābād, 18; and from Delhi to Agra, 6: these, with the 60 stages from Ispahān to Farah,[4] and the 20 from Farah to Kandahār, make in all, from Ispahān to Agra, 150 stages. But those merchants who have urgent business sometimes join in parties of three or four on horseback, and accomplish the journey in half the time, that is to say in 60 or 75 days.

Multān [5] is a town where quantities of calicoes are made, and they used to be all carried to Tatta before the sands had obstructed the mouth of the river; but since the passage has

[1] The stages from Mertā to Agra are: Bharūndā; Kuchhel; Bandar-Sindrī; Ludānā on the Bandī river in Jaipur; Chaksū; Lohwān; Hindaun, a partially ruined city in Jaipur (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xiii. 135); Bayānā, in Bharatpur State, an important town in Rājput history (*ibid.* vii. 137: Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey*, ii. 54, vi. 50, xx. 61): Fatehpur Sīkrī, the site of Akbar's famous palace, 23 miles west of Agra (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xii. 84; E. W. Smith, *The Mughal Architecture of Fatehpur Sīkrī*, Allahabad, 1894–5).

[2] Candahar in original. See p. 4.

[3] *Persian Travels*, bk. v, ch. xxiv, p. 693, Fr. ed., 4to. 1676.

[4] Farat in the original. [5] Multān, on the Chenāb river.

been closed for large vessels they are taken to Agra, and from Agra to Surat, as are also some of the goods which are made at Lahore. As this carriage is very expensive, but few merchants go to make investments either at Multān or Lahore, and indeed many of the artisans have deserted; this has much diminished the revenues of the Emperor in these provinces. Multān is the place from whence all the Banians migrate who come to trade in Persia, where they follow the same occupation as the Jews, as I have elsewhere said, and they surpass them in their usury. They have a special law which permits them on certain days to eat fowls, and they have only one wife between two or three brothers, of whom the eldest is regarded as the father of the children.[1] Numerous Baladins and Baladines, who hail from this town, spread themselves in divers parts of Persia.

I come to the route from Kandahār to Agra by Kābul and Lahore. From Kandahar to Charisafar, 10 coss; Charisafar to Zelaté, 12 coss; Zelaté to Betazy, 8 coss; Betazy to Mezour, 6 coss; Mezour to Carabat, 17 coss; Carabat to Chakenicouzé, 17 coss.[2]

Between Kandahār and Chakenicouzé,[3] on the frontier of India, there is a country where many small Chiefs rule and render some allegiance to the King of Persia.

From Chakenicouzé to Caboul, 40 coss.[4] In these 40 coss

[1] Tavernier was misled in believing that the Bānias of the Panjāb and Sind ate meat of any kind or practised polyandry. (See Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 59 ff.) They are widely spread in Persia, Central Asia, and in ports along the Arabian Sea (Curzon, *Persia*, i. 384, 401, 407, 435; Badger, *Hist. of the Imams and Sayyids of 'Oman*, 81). On their reputation for astuteness in trade see Fryer, i. 211; Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*, 169; Bowrey, 27; *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix. pt. i, 78.

[2] The route is Shahr-i-safā, 'city of purity' (Macgregor, *Central Asia* 672, Babur, *Memoirs*, trans. Erskine, 226); Kalāt-i-Ghilzāī; Āb-i-tāzī; Mansūr; Kārābāgh; Shigānū. See Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzīb*, introd. civ f.

[3] Colonel Yule suggests that Chakenicouzé may have been the Shigānu of Broadfoot and Sekaneh of Babur's *Memoirs*, trans. Erskine, 220. If not identical with Ghaznī, it was probably in or near its latitude. Ghaznī is 85 miles SW. of Kābul, and 145 miles NW. of Kalāt-i-Ghilzāī.

[4] The total distance here given from Kandahār to Kābul is 110 coss. The distance in miles is 318, which would indicate a coss of 3 miles nearly. Tieffenthaler gives the stages from Kābul to Ghaznī as follows:

of road there are only three poor villages, where bread and barley for the horses can seldom be obtained, and the safest plan therefore is to carry a supply with you. In the months of July and August a hot wind prevails in these quarters, which suffocates and kills suddenly, like the wind of which I have spoken in my accounts of Persia, which prevails also in certain seasons near Babylon and Mosul.[1]

Kābul is a large town, fairly well fortified, and it is there the people of Usbek [2] come every year to sell their horses; they estimate that the trade in them amounts annually to more than 60,000.[3] They take there from Persia also, many sheep and other cattle, and it is the great meeting-place for Tartary, India, and Persia. You can obtain wine there, and articles of food are very cheap.

Before passing further it is necessary to note here a curious fact concerning the people called Augans,[4] who inhabit (the country) from Kandahār to Kābul, towards the mountains of Balch,[5] and are powerful men, and great thieves at night. It is the custom of these Indians to clean and scrape the tongue every morning with a small curved piece of a particular root.[6]

Kābul to Argandī (Urghandī) 12 milles, thence to Jadussia 12 milles, thence to Scheschgaon (Shashgāo) 12 milles, thence to Gasni (Ghaznī) 10 milles, total 46 milles. (*Geog. de l'Ind.*, Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791, p. 69.)

[1] 'All over Kandahār province the summer heat is intense, and the sīmoon is not unknown. The hot season through this part of the country is rendered more trying by frequent dust storms and fiery winds' (*Ency. Brit.*, i. 310).

[2] A Turkish tribe of Central Asia (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 960).

[3] Rupees.

[4] Afghāns. Mr. Longworth Dames has shown that Pathān is the true name of this people, and that the term Afghān, first applied by foreigners, appears to be of literary origin; it has now been adopted as a polite designation by the upper classes (Sir P. Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed., ii. 217).

[5] Balkh, an ancient city of Turkestan, south of the Oxus.

[6] Accounts of this practice among the tribes on the North-west Frontier have not been traced. But in western India, Brāhmans, after cleaning their teeth, break the twig in half, and with one piece scrape their tongues (Mrs. S. Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, 212). In Siam, 'whatever confidence the Siamese may have in this mixture [betel] as to keeping their mouths clean, it is remarked that the tongue is in holes in several places, and they are obliged to scrape it every morning to

This causes them to throw up a quantity of foul matter, and excites them to vomit. And those who inhabit the country on these frontiers of Persia and India practise the same thing, nevertheless, they vomit but little in the morning; but instead, when they take their meals, as soon as they have eaten two or three mouthfuls, their heart is disturbed, and they are obliged to vomit, after which they return to eat with appetite. If they do not do so they live only to the age of thirty years, and they become dropsical.

From Caboul to Bariabé,[1] 19 coss; Bariabé to Niméla, 17 coss; Niméla to Alyboüa, 19 coss; Alyboüa to Taka, 17 coss; Taka to Kiemry, 6 coss; Kiemry to Chaour, 14 coss; Chaour to Novéchaar, 14 coss; Novéchaar to Atek,[2] 19 coss.

Attock is a town situated on a promontory where two great rivers meet. It is one of the best fortresses of the Great Mogul, and they do not permit any stranger to enter it if he does not hold a passport from the Emperor. The Reverend Jesuit Father Roux, and his companion, wishing to go by this route to Ispahān, and not having obtained a passport from the Emperor, were sent back from thence, and returned to Lahore, where they embarked upon the river to go to Sind, from whence they passed into Persia. From Atek to Calapané, 16 coss; Calapané to Roupaté, 16 coss; Roupaté to Toulapéca, 16 coss; Toulapéca to Keraly, 19 coss; Keraly to

cleanse the slime which these drugs cause' (Turpin, *History of Siam*, in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, ix. 608).

[1] Col. Yule states that Barikāb is often mentioned by writers (Babur, *Memoirs*, ed. Erskine, pp. 275, 278, 290, and Moorcroft, ii, p. 373). There are caves hollowed in a bank there for the accommodation of travellers (Vigne, *Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, &c.*, 1840, pp. 239–40). Tieffenthaler mentions two three-day itineraries between Peshāwar and Attock as follows, the total distance being 30 so-called Indian milles —Peschaver to Schahabad 6 milles, to Akora 12 milles, to Attak 12 milles. The second is more detailed: Peschaver to Djouigousar 3 milles, Djouigousar to Schahabad 4 milles, Schahabad to Noschera (Naushahra) 8 milles, Noschera to Girdab 4 milles, Girdab to Akora 4 milles, Akora to Neri 4 milles, Neri to Khairābād 3 milles, thence across the Indus to Attak. (*Geog. de l'Indoustan*, par J. Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791.) Tavernier's route from Kābul to Attock was: Barikāb; Nimlabāgh; 'Alībāghān or Ilāhabāgha; Dakka; Khaibar; Peshāwar; Naushahra; Attock. See Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzīb*, Introd., cii ff.

[2] Attock is situated near the junction of the Indus and Kābul rivers.

Zerabad, 16 coss ; Zerabad to Imiabad, 18 coss ; Imiabad to Lahor, 18 coss.[1]

Lahore is the capital of a kingdom, and is built on one of the five rivers which descend from the mountains of the north to go to swell the Indus, and give the name of Penjab [2] to all the region which they water. This river at the present day flows at a quarter of a league distant from the town, being liable to change its bed, and the neighbouring fields often sustain much damage from its great overflowings.[3] The town is large, and extends more than a coss in length, but the greater part of the houses, which are higher than those of Agra and Delhi, are falling into ruins, the excessive rains having overthrown a large number. The palace of the Emperor is rather fine, and is no longer, as it was formerly, on the margin of the river, which has withdrawn, as I have said, about a quarter of a league. One can obtain wine at Lahore.[4]

I shall remark, *en passant*, that after leaving Lahore, and the kingdom of Kashmīr which adjoins it on the north, all the women are naturally unprovided with hair on any part of the body,[5] and the men have very little of it on the chin.

From Lahor to Menat-Kan, 12 coss ; Menat-Kan to Faty-abad, 15 coss ; Faty-abad to Sera-dakan, 15 coss ; Sera-dakan to Sera-balour, 15 coss ; Sera-balour to Sera-douraï, 12 coss ; Sera-douraï to Serinde, 17 coss ; Serinde town to Sera Mogoul, 15 coss ; Sera Mogoul to Sera Chabas, 14 coss ; Sera Chabas to Dirauril, 17 coss ; Dirauril to Sera-Crindal,

[1] It has been suggested by Mr. A. B. Wynne, who knows this country well, that Roupaté should be identified with Rawāt, near the Manikyālā tope, 16 miles south of Rāwalpindi. The route is : Attock to Kālā kī Sarāī ; Rawāt ; Tulpurī ; Kariālā, Sarāī Ālamgīr ; Wazīrābād ; Amīnābād ; Lahore.

[2] Panj-āb, Pers., ' five waters or rivers '.

[3] The changes in the course of the river Rāvī are noticed in *Imperial Gazetteer*, xvi. 112.

[4] No inconsiderable recommendation in the eyes of Tavernier, who makes frequent references to the wine which he carried with him on his journeys, and with which he delighted to entertain his friends.

[5] In the case of women, the absence of hair was probably due to the use of depilatories, common among Musalmān women. See Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921, 68, 305.

14 coss; Sera-Crindal to Guienaour, 21 coss; Guienaour to Dehly, 24 coss.[1]

Before proceeding further it should be remarked that nearly all the way from Lahore to Delhi, and from Delhi to Agra, is like a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides, which is very pleasant to the view;[2] but in some places they have been allowed to perish and the people have not taken care to plant others.

Delhi is a large town, near the river Jumna,[3] which runs from north to south, then from west to east, and after having passed Agra and Kadioue,[4] loses itself in the Ganges. Since Shāhjahān has caused the new town of Jahānābād to be built, to which he has given his name, and where he preferred to reside rather than at Agra, because the climate is more temperate, Delhi has become much broken down and is nearly all in ruins, only sufficient of it remaining standing to afford a habitation to the poor. There are narrow streets and houses of bamboo as in all India, and only three or four nobles of the court reside at Delhi, in large enclosures, in which they have their tents pitched. Here also the Reverend Jesuit Father who was at the court had his dwelling.

Jahānābād, like Delhi, is a great straggling town, and a simple wall separates them. All the houses of private persons are large enclosures, in the middle of which is the dwelling, so that no one can approach the place where the

[1] The route is: Lahore to Amānat Khān; Fatehpur; Dehkhān; Phillaur; Daurāhī; Sirhind, Sahrind; Mughal Sarāī; Shāhābād; Tarāwarī; Karnāl; Gannaur; Delhi.

[2] On the map which accompanies the French edition of 1713 this avenue is represented; it is mentioned by Bernier (p. 284) and by Sir T. Roe (ii. 537, 544).

[3] Delhi, on the Jumna, here Gemna, and elsewhere spelt Gemené. The distance from Gannaur is only about 36 miles. Tavernier distinguishes between Old Delhi and Shāhjahānābād. Shāhjahān occupied Shāhjahānābād or New Delhi in 1648, ten years after the beginning of its building.

[4] Kadioue is not, as Ball suggested, Etāwah, but Khajwā or Khajuhā in the Fatehpur District, United Provinces, the place where Sultān Shujā' was defeated on January 5, 1659. See Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzīb*, ii. 143 ff. The place is not on the bank of the Ganges, but 10 miles distant from that river. Bernier (p. 75) calls the place Kadjoüé, which confirms its identification with the Kadioue of Tavernier.

women are shut up. The greater part of the nobles do not live in the town, but have their houses outside, so as to be near the water. When entering Jahānābād from the Delhi side, a long and wide street is to be seen, where, on both sides, there are arches under which the merchants carry on their business, and overhead there is a kind of platform.[1] This street leads to the great square, where the Emperor's palace is; and there is another very straight and wide one, which leads to the same square near another gate of the palace, in which there are the houses of the principal merchants who keep no shops.

The Emperor's palace is a good half league in circuit.[2] The walls are of fine cut stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement there is a tower. The fosses are full of water and are lined with cut stone. The principal gate has nothing magnificent about it,[3] nor has the first court, where the nobles are permitted to enter on their elephants.

Leading from this court there is a long and wide passage which has on both sides handsome porticoes, under which there are many small chambers where some of the horse-guards lodge. These porticoes are elevated about two feet from the ground, and the horses, which are fastened to rings outside, take their feed on the edge. In certain places there are large doors which lead to different apartments, as to that of the women, and to the Judges' court. In the middle of this passage there is a channel full of water, which leaves a good roadway on either side, and forms little basins at equal distances. This long passage leads to a large court where the Omrahs,[4] i.e. the great nobles of the kingdom, who resemble the Bachas[5] in Turkey, and the Khāns in Persia, constitute

[1] Known at present as the Faiz Bāzār.

[2] The fort measures 1,600 feet east and west, by 3,200 feet north and south, exclusive of the gateways (Fanshawe, *Delhi Past and Present*, 22).

[3] Fergusson, on the contrary, describes the gate as 'the noblest entrance known to belong to any existing palace' (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, ii. 309), and compare Fanshawe, p. 22.

[4] Omerahs and Omrahs in the original for *Umarā*, Arabic pl. of *Amīr*. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 637.)

[5] Bachas for Pachas. Chardin quaintly says of the two modes of spelling that bacha means Head of the King; and pacha, Feet of the

the bodyguard. There are low chambers around this court for their use, and their horses are tethered outside their doors.

From this second court a third is entered by a large gate, by the side of which there is, as it were, a small room raised two or three feet from the ground. It is where the royal wardrobe is kept, and whence the khil'at [1] is obtained whenever the Emperor wishes to honour a stranger or one of his subjects. A little farther on, over the same gate, is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are kept,[2] which are heard some moments before the Emperor ascends his throne of justice, to give notice to the Omrahs, and again when the Emperor is about to rise. When entering this third court you face the Dīvān where the Emperor gives audience. It is a grand hall elevated some four feet above the ground floor, and open on three sides. Thirty-two marble columns sustain as many arches, and these columns are about four feet square with their pedestals and some mouldings.[3] When Shāhjahān commenced the building of this hall he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the chapel of the Grand Duke in Italy; but having made a trial upon two or three pillars to the height of two or three feet, he considered that it would be impossible to find enough stones for so considerable a design, and that moreover it would cost an enormous sum of money; this compelled him to stop the work, and content himself with a representation of different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, and near the side overlooking the court, as in a theatre, they place the throne when the Emperor comes to give audience and administer justice. It is a small bed of the size of our camp beds, with its four columns, the canopy, the back, a bolster, and counterpane; all of which are covered with diamonds.[4]

King (*Voyages*, Amsterdam, ed. 1711, vol. i, p. 35). The true explanation being, as Colonel Yule states (*Hobson-Jobson*, 70), that as Arabic has no p, they have substituted b, which the Turks have adopted.

[1] Khil'at (See p. 18.). This wardrobe was known as the Toshakhāna.

[2] The Naubat- or Naqqār-khāna (Bernier, 260; Fanshawe, 23, 26).

[3] It was sometimes called Chihal Sitūn, the hall of 'forty pillars'.

[4] Manucci (i. 88) says: 'It is like a table, adorned with all kinds of precious stones and flowers in enamel and gold. There are three

When the Emperor takes his seat, however, they spread on the bed a cover of gold brocade, or of some other rich quilted stuff, and he ascends it by three small steps of two feet in length. On one side of the bed there is a parasol elevated on a handle of the length of a short pike,[1] and to each column of the bed one of the Emperor's weapons is attached, to one his shield, to another his sword, next his bow, his quiver, and arrows, and other things of that kind.

In the court below the throne there is a space twenty feet square, surrounded by balustrades, which on some occasions are covered with plates of silver, and at others with plates of gold. At the four corners of this space the four Secretaries of State are seated, who both in civil as well as criminal matters fulfil the rôles of advocates. Several nobles place themselves around the balustrade, and here also is placed the music, which is heard while the Emperor is in the Dīvān. This music is sweet and pleasant, and makes so little sound that it does not disturb those present from the serious occupations in which they are engaged. When the Emperor is seated on his throne, some great noble stands by him, most frequently his own children. Between eleven o'clock and noon the Nawāb,[2] who is the first Minister of State, like the Grand Vizir in Turkey, comes to make a report on what has passed in the chamber where he presides, which is at the entry of the first court, and when he has finished speaking, the Emperor rises. But it must be remarked that from the time the Emperor seats himself on his throne till he rises, no one, whosoever he may be, is allowed to leave the palace; though I am bound to say that the Emperor was pleased to exempt me from this rule, which is general for every one—and here, in a few words, is how it occurred.

cushions, a large one five spans in diameter, and circular, which serves as a support to the back, and two other square ones, one on each side, also a most lovely mattress. For in Turkey, and throughout the whole of Hindustān, they do not sit upon chairs, but upon carpets or mattresses, with their legs crossed.' Cf. Bernier, 260 ff., for the etiquette at the Emperor's receptions.

[1] Demi-pique in the original. This is the Āftābgīr, 'sun-seizing' (*Āīn*, i. 50).

[2] Nabab in original, for Nawāb. The Wazīr was Ja'far Khān.

Wishing one day, while the Emperor was in the Dīvān, to leave the palace on urgent business which could not by any means be deferred, the Captain of the guards caught me by the arm, and told me roughly that I should not pass out. I argued with him some time, but at length, seeing that he would treat me with violence, I put my hand to my canjare,[1] and would have struck him in the rage I was in if three or four guards, who saw my action, had not restrained me. Happily for me the Nawāb, who was uncle of the Emperor, passed at the moment, and being informed of the subject of our quarrel, ordered the Captain of the guards to let me go out. He reported to the Emperor in due course what had occurred, and in the evening the Nawāb sent one of his people to tell me that His Majesty had notified that I might enter and leave the palace as I was pleased while he was in the Dīvān, for which I went on the following day to thank the Nawāb.

Towards the middle of the same court there is a small channel which is about six inches wide, where, while the Emperor is on his seat of justice, all strangers who attend the audience must stop. They are not allowed to pass it without being called, and even ambassadors themselves are not exempted from this rule. When an ambassador has arrived at the channel, the officer in charge of the introductions calls out towards the Dīvān, where the Emperor is seated, that such an ambassador wishes to speak to His Majesty. Then a Secretary of State repeats it to the Emperor, who very often does not appear to hear, but some time after lifts his eyes, and throwing them upon the ambassador, conveys a sign through the same Secretary that he may approach.[2]

From the hall of the Dīvān you pass on the left to a terrace from whence you see the river, and thence the Emperor enters

[1] Canjare for khanjar, Hind., a kind of dagger. Most of the khanjar in the Indian Museum have doubly-curved blades, and are about 12 inches long. In the *Āīn*, pl. xii, no. 5, it is shown as a bent dagger with a double curve in the blade and a hilt like a sword (Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 86 f.).

[2] An interesting account of the proceedings at the Grand Darbār of Shāhjahān will be found in Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, 6 ff. Compare the Court regulations of the Persian Sassanians and of the modern Shāh (Sir P. Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed., i. 465, ii. 382 f.).

a small chamber from which he passes into his harem. It was in this little chamber I had my first audience with His Majesty, as I shall elsewhere relate.

To the left of this same court where the Dīvān is situated, there is a small well-built mosque, the dome of which is entirely covered by lead, and so thoroughly well gilt that some indeed believe that the whole is of massive gold.[1] This is where the Emperor goes daily to pray, save on Friday, when he visits the Grand Mosque, which is very magnificent, and is situate on a lofty platform higher than the houses of the town, and it is reached by many grand flights of stairs. On the day the Emperor goes to the mosque, a large net five or six feet in height is stretched round these stairs lest the elephants might approach them, and out of respect with which the mosque is regarded.

The right side of the court is occupied by porticoes which form a long gallery, elevated about six inches above the ground, and the whole extent of these porticoes constitutes the Emperor's stables, to which there are several doors. They are always full of very fine horses, the least valuable of which has cost 3,000 écus, and some are worth up to 10,000 écus. In front of each door of the stables hangs a kind of screen made of bamboos split like our osiers; but, unlike the way in which we weave our little twigs of osier with osier itself, the bamboo is woven with twisted silk representing flowers, and the work is very elaborate and requires much patience. These screens serve to prevent the flies from tormenting the horses, but that is not deemed sufficient, for two grooms are

[1] 'It is not a little singular, looking at the magnificent mosque which Akbar built in his palace at Fatehpur Sīkrī, and the Motī Masgid, with which Shāhjahān adorned the palace at Agra, that he should have provided no place of worship in his palace at Delhi. The little Motī Masgid which is now found there was added by Aurangzeb. . . . There is no place of prayer within the palace walls, of the time of Shāhjahān, nor, apparently, any intention of providing one. The Jāma Masgid was so near, and apparently part of the same design, that it seems to have been considered sufficient to supply this anomalous deficiency' (Fergusson, ed. 1891, iii. 600 f.; Fanshawe, 451). Possibly the mosque of which Tavernier speaks was only a temporary building, afterwards replaced by the Motī Masjid.

told off to each horse, one of whom is generally occupied in fanning it. There are also screens stretched before the porticoes, as before the doors of the stables, which are lowered and elevated according to necessity; and the floor of the gallery is covered with beautiful carpets, which are taken up in the evening in order to spread the bedding of the horses. This bedding is made of the horse's own droppings dried in the sun, and afterwards somewhat crushed.[1] The horses imported into India, whether from Persia or Arabia, or the country of the Usbeks, undergo a complete change of food, for in India they are given neither hay nor oats. Each horse receives for its portion in the morning two or three balls made of wheaten flour and butter, of the size of our penny rolls.[2] There is much difficulty in accustoming them to this kind of food, and often four or five months pass before it can be accomplished. The groom is obliged to hold the horse's tongue in one hand, and with the other he has to force the ball down its throat. In the sugar-cane or millet season they are given some at midday; and in the evening, an hour or two before sunset, they receive a measure of chick-peas which the groom has crushed between two stones and steeped in water. These take the place of hay and oats. As for the other stables of the Emperor, where he has also some fine horses, they are poor places, badly built, and do not deserve to be mentioned.

The Jumna is a fine river with large boats upon it, and, after passing Agra, it loses its name in the Ganges at Allāhābād. The Emperor keeps many small brigantines at Jahānābād for pleasure, and they are highly decorated after the manner of the country.

[1] This is also the custom in Persia (Wills, *Land of the Lion and Sun*, ed. 1891, p. 101).

[2] To old horses in Persia balls of dough made of barley, flour, and water, the usual camel food, are given (Wills, 103). See 'Horse-bread', with references in the *New English Dict.*, s. v. Tavernier does not mention the Dūb grass, dug up by grass-cutters, which was presumably supplied.

CHAPTER VII

Sequence of the same Route, from Delhi up to Agra

FROM Dehly to Badelpoura, 8 coss; From Badelpoura to Peluel-ki-sera, 18 coss; From Peluel-ki-sera to Cotki-sera, 15 coss; From Cotki-sera to Cheki-sera [1], 16 coss.

At Cheki-sera there is one of the grandest pagodas in India with an asylum for apes, both for those commonly in the place and those from the neighbouring country, where the Banians provide them with food. This pagoda is called Mathura; [2] formerly it was held in much greater veneration by the idolaters than it is at present, the reason being that the Jumna then flowed at the foot of the pagoda,[3] and the Banians, both those of the place and those who came from afar in pilgrimage to perform their devotions there, were able to bathe in the river before entering the pagoda, and after coming out of it before preparing to eat, which they must not do without bathing; besides, they believe that by bathing in running water their sins are more effectually removed. But for some years back the river has taken a northerly course, and flows at a good coss distance from the pagoda; this is the reason why so many pilgrims do not visit it now.

From Cheki-sera to Goodki-sera, 5 coss; From Goodki-sera to Agra, 6 coss.[4]

[1] The stages are probably: Ballabhgarh; Palwal; Kosī; Shaikh kī Sarāī, for Shāh kī Sarāī, the Shāhganj Sarāī, then recently built (Growse, *Mathura*, 120, 127). It is to be noted that Tavernier calls Mathura the Shāh kī Sarāī, and gives the name Mathurā to the temple. A useful examination of this route will be found in Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzib*, Introd., xcvii f.

[2] Mathurā, or Muttra, on the right bank of the Jumna, about 30 miles above Agra. It was a centre of the Buddhist faith about the year A. D. 400, when visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hian. Monkeys still swarm in the city, where they are fed by the inhabitants. In 1669–70 Aurangzeb visited the city, and destroyed many of its temples and shrines (Growse, 36; Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 437).

[3] On the supposed change in the course of the Jumna see Growse, 119 f.

[4] On his second journey Tavernier made the distance from Mathurā to Agra 18 kos, which is about right. In this case he must have omitted one stage. If he made only two marches the natural halt would have been Farah.

Agra is in 27° 31′ latitude,[1] in a sandy soil; which is the cause of excessive heat in summer. It is the largest town in India, and was formerly the residence of the Emperors. The houses of the nobles are beautiful and well built, but those of private persons have nothing fine about them, as is the case in all the other towns of India. They are separated from one another, and are concealed by the height of the walls, from fear lest any one should see the women; so it is easy to understand that all these towns have nothing cheerful about them like our towns in Europe. It should be added to this that, Agra being surrounded by sands, the heat in summer is excessive, and it is, in part, this which induced Shāhjahān to abandon the place, and to remove his court to Jahānābād.

All then that is remarkable at Agra is the palace of the Emperor,[2] and some beautiful tombs both near the town and in the environs. The palace of the Emperor is a considerable enclosure with a double wall, which is terraced in some places, and above the wall small dwellings have been built for certain officers of the court. The Jumna flows in front of the palace; but between the wall and the river there is a large square where the Emperor makes his elephants fight.[3] They have purposely selected this spot near the water, because the elephant being excited by his victory, they would not be able to pacify him for a long time if they did not urge him into the river, to effect which it is necessary to use artifice, by attaching to the end of a handpike fuses and petards, which are set on fire to drive him into the water; and

[1] The true latitude of Agra is 27° 10′ 6″.

[2] The palace was commenced during the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī; but the chief architectural monuments are due to Shāhjahān (*Arch. Survey*, iv. 12). New Delhi or Shāhjahanābād was occupied by the Court in 1648, some ten years after the beginning of the work. The Tāj at Agra was built between 1632 and 1653, but the central mausoleum was ready in 1643. The Pearl mosque was finished in 1653 (Smith, *Oxford Hist.*, 420 f.). The old fort at Agra was built by Salīm or Islām Shāh (A. D. 1545–53–4), and was called Bādalgarh, 'Cloud Fort'. It was blown up in 1556. For its rebuilding by Akbar see Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 76.

[3] On these animal fights see Fryer, i. 280; Bernier, 276 ff.; Mundy, ii. 127 f., iii, pt. i. 127 f.

when he is two or three feet deep in it he forthwith becomes appeased.

There is a large square on the side of the town in front of the palace, and the first gate, which has nothing magnificent about it, is guarded by some soldiers. Before the Emperor had given up his residence at Agra for that at Jahānābād, whenever he went to the country on a visit he entrusted the custody of the palace, where his treasure was, to one of the principal and most trustworthy of his Omrahs, who, until the return of the Emperor, never moved, neither day nor night, from this gate where his lodging was. It was during such an absence that I was permitted to see the palace at Agra. The Emperor having left for Jahānābād, where all the court followed, and even the women too, the government of the palace was conferred on a noble who was a great friend of the Dutch, and, in general, of all the Franks.[1]

M. Velant, chief of the Dutch factory at Agra,[2] as soon as the Emperor had left, went to salute this noble and make him a present, according to the custom. It was worth about 6,000 [3] écus, and consisted of spices, Japanese cabinets, and beautiful Dutch cloths. He invited me to go with him when he went to pay his compliments to the Governor; but this noble was offended at being offered a present, and obliged him to take it back, telling him that, in consideration of the friendship he had for the Franks, he would take only one small cane out of six which formed a part of the gift. They were those Japanese canes which grow in short nodes; it was even necessary to remove the gold with which it had been embellished, as he would not receive it except in its unadorned condition. Compliments having passed on both sides, the Governor asked M. Velant what he desired him to do to serve him; and he having prayed him to have the goodness, as the court was absent, to permit him to see the interior of the palace, it was granted him, and six men were given to accompany us.[4]

[1] Franguis in the original, Franks, i. e. Europeans. (See pp. 5 and 49.)

[2] Bernier (p. 292) speaks of the Dutch factory at Agra.

[3] About £1,350.

[4] For buildings at Agra see Sleeman, *Rambles*, 312 ff., and Syad Muhammad Latif, *Agra*. Tavernier's visit was probably in 1648, as he

The first gate, where, as I have said, the dwelling of the Governor of the palace is situated, is a long and dark arch, after which you enter a large court surrounded with porticoes, like the Place Royale or Luxembourg at Paris. The gallery which is opposite is larger and higher than the others, and is supported by three rows of columns, and under those, on the three other sides of the court, which are narrower and lower, there are several small chambers for the soldiers of the guard. In the middle of the great gallery you see a niche in the wall to which the Emperor obtains access from his harem by a small concealed staircase, and when seated there he looks like a statue. He has no guards about him then, because he has nothing to fear ; and because neither before nor behind, from the right nor from the left, can any one approach him. During the great heat he keeps only one eunuch by him, and most frequently one of his children, to fan him. The nobles of the court remain below in the gallery under this niche.

At the end of the court there is, on the left hand, a second gateway which gives entrance to another great court, which is also surrounded by galleries, under which there are also small rooms for some officers of the palace. From this second court you pass into a third, where the King's apartments are situated. Shāhjahān had intended to cover the arch of a great gallery which is on the right hand with silver, and a Frenchman, named Augustin de Bordeaux,[1] was to have done the work. But the Great Mogul seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was more capable to negotiate at Goa an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done, for, as the ability of Augustin was feared, he was poisoned on his return from Cochin.[2] This gallery is painted with foliage of gold and azure, and the floor is covered with a carpet. There are doors under the gallery giving

would not have been admitted while Shāhjahān was imprisoned there from 1658 till his death in 1666.

[1] On his work at Agra see Smith's notes on Sleeman, *Rambles*, ed. 1915, 319 f. Tavernier's account of the building of the Tāj Mahall is discussed, ibid. 316.

[2] 'The assertion that Augustin was sent to Goa and poisoned is not corroborated from Portuguese sources'—*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, p. 1345.

entrance into very small square chambers. I saw two or three of them which were opened for us, and we were told that the others were similar. The three other sides of the court are altogether open, and there is but a simple wall to the height of the support. On the side overlooking the river there is a projecting Dīvān or belvedere, where the Emperor comes to sit when he wishes to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his brigantines, and making his elephants fight. In front of this Dīvān there is a gallery which serves as a vestibule, and the design of Shāhjahān was to cover it throughout with a trellis of rubies and emeralds, which would represent, after nature, grapes green and commencing to become red; but this design, which made a great noise throughout the world, required more wealth than he had been able to furnish, and remains unfinished, having only two or three wreaths of gold with their leaves, as all the rest ought to be, and enamelled in their natural colours, emeralds, rubies, and garnets making the grapes.[1] About the middle of the court you see a great tank for bathing, of forty feet in diameter, and of a single piece of sandstone, with steps cut in the stone itself, both within and without.[2]

As for the tombs in Agra and its environs, there are some which are very beautiful, and every eunuch in the Emperor's harem is ambitious to have as magnificent a tomb built for himself. When they have amassed large sums they earnestly desire to go to Mecca, and take with them rich presents; but the Great Mogul, who does not wish the money to leave his country, very seldom grants them permission, and consequently, not knowing what to do with their wealth, they expend the greater part of it in these burying-places, and thus leave some memorial.

[1] We may compare the unfinished window in the palace of Alaeddin (Sir R. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, ed. 1893, x. 108 ff.).

[2] The reference is apparently to the Bath or Cistern of Jahāngīr, now in the court opposite the Dīwān-i-'āmm. It is nearly 5 feet in height, 4 feet in depth, 8 feet in diameter, and 25 feet in circumference, with an inscription in Persian characters giving the date A. D. 1616, the year in which Jahāngīr married Nūrjahān (Syad Muhammad Latif, *Agra*, 79 f.).

Of all the tombs at Agra, that of the wife of Shāhjahān is the most splendid. He purposely made it near the Tasimacan,[1] where all foreigners come, so that the whole world should see and admire its magnificence. The Tasimacan is a large bazaar, consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which are chambers for the use of merchants, and an enormous quantity of cottons is sold there. The tomb of this Begam, or sultan queen, is at the east end of the town by the side of the river in a large square surrounded by walls, upon which there is a small gallery, as on the walls of many towns in Europe. This square is a kind of garden divided into compartments like our parterres, but in the places where we put gravel there is white and black marble.[2] You enter this square by a large gate, and at first you see, on the left hand, a beautiful gallery which faces in the direction of Mecca, where there are three or four niches where the Moufti[3] comes at fixed times to pray. A little farther than the middle of the square, on the side of the water, you see three great platforms raised one upon the other, with towers at the four corners of each, and a staircase inside, for proclaiming the hour of prayer. There is a dome above, which is scarcely less magnificent than that of the Val de Grace at Paris. It is covered within and without with white marble, the centre being of brick. Under this dome there is an empty tomb, for the Begam is interred under a vault beneath the first platform. The same changes which are made below in this subterranean place are made above around the tomb, for from time to time they change the carpet,

[1] The Tāj, known as Tāj-makān, 'Tāj-house,' Tāj-muqām, 'Tāj residence,' one of which is represented in Tavernier's Tasimacan, Tāj-mahall, 'Tāj palace,' or Tāj-ganj, 'Tāj bāzār', was erected as the tomb of Arjumand Bānū Begam, known as Mumtāz Mahall, 'exalted of the palace,' daughter of 'Āsaf Khān, Wazīr: born 1592, married to Shāhjahān 1612, died in childbed 1631. For the history of the building see Bernier, 294 ff.; Sleeman, *Rambles*, 312 ff.; Mundy, ii. 213 f.; Syad Muhammad Latif, 100 ff.

[2] For the Tāj garden see Mundy, ii. 214 f.; Sleeman, *Rambles*, 317 f.; and for gardens in mediaeval India see *Journal Anthropological Society, Bombay*, vii. 526 ff.; C. M. Villiers Stuart, *The Gardens of the Great Mughals*, 1913.

[3] Mufti, a Turkish title applied to the supreme exponent of the Law.

chandeliers, and other ornaments of that kind, and there are always there some Mollahs [1] to pray. I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which twenty-two years have been spent, during which twenty thousand men worked incessantly ; this is sufficient to enable one to realize that the cost of it has been enormous.[2] It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work, because, from want of wood, they, as well as the supports of the arches, had all to be made of brick ; this has entailed much labour and heavy expenditure. Shāhjahān began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war with his sons interrupted his plan, and Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it. A eunuch in command of 2,000 men guards both the tomb of the Begam and the Tasimacan, to which it is near at hand.

On one side of the town the tomb of King Akbar [3] is to be seen ; as for those of the eunuchs they have but a single platform with small chambers at each of the four corners.

When you reach Agra from the Delhi side you meet a large bazaar, close to which there is a garden where the King Jahāngīr, father of Shāhjahān, is interred.[4] Over the gate of this garden you see a painting which represents his tomb covered by a great black pall with many torches of white wax, and two Jesuit Fathers at the ends. One is much astounded at seeing that Shāhjahān, contrary to the practice

[1] More correctly Mullā.

[2] The facts have been collected by Smith in his edition of Sleeman's *Rambles*, 316 f.

[3] This was built by Jahāngīr at Sikandrā. For the best account of this building see E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, Agra*, Allahabad, 1909 ; Sleeman, op. cit. 323, 354, 358.

[4] This is a mistake : Jahāngīr was buried at Shāhdara, Lahore. The difficulty is the identification of the building mentioned by Tavernier. Mr. R. Barkley-Smith, Magistrate of Agra, kindly referred the question to Father H. Hosten, who writes : 'I have always understood that the passage in Tavernier applies to Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. When I visited Sikandra in 1912 I looked carefully for the pictures which he mentions, but I could not see anything. Many Christian paintings existed in Jahāngīr's palace about 1608–9 : in fact, his whole palace, I mean the public buildings, was covered with Christian paintings.' Tavernier, on his visit, could not have examined the place carefully.

of the Musalmāns, who hold images in abhorrence, has allowed this painting to remain, and it can only be explained because the Emperor his father and he himself had learnt from the Jesuits some principles of mathematics and astrology. But he had not the same indulgence for them in another matter, for on going one day to see a sick Armenian, named Cotgia,[1] . . . whom he much loved, and whom he had honoured with splendid appointments, and the Jesuits, who had their house close to that of the Armenian, happening to ring their bell just then, the noise proved displeasing to the Emperor, and as he thought it might inconvenience the sick man, in a rage he commanded it to be removed and hung on the neck of his elephant; this was promptly done. Some days after, the Emperor seeing the elephant with this heavy bell suspended from its neck, thought that so great a weight might injure it, and he therefore ordered it to be carried into the office of the Couteval,[2] which is a sort of barrier where a provost administers justice to those of the quarter, and it has remained there ever since. This Armenian had been brought up with Shāhjahān, and, as he was very clever and an excellent poet, he was high in the good graces of the Emperor, who had given him valuable governorships, but had never been able, either by promises or threats, to induce him to become a Musalmān.

CHAPTER VIII

Route from Agra to Patna and Dacca, towns of the Province of Bengal; and the quarrel which the author had with Shāista Khān, uncle of the King.

I STARTED from Agra for Bengal on the 25th of November 1665 [3] and halted the same day at a poor caravansarāī distant

[1] There is a hiatus here in the original, probably Tavernier was uncertain as to the name, Cotgia (for Khwāja, 'lord') being a title.

[2] Kotwāl, i. e. police-magistrate or provost.

[3] Tavernier, p. 301 ff. below, describes how he witnessed the Mogul's festival on the 4th to the 9th of November, and then saw the jewels. Soon afterwards he must have left Delhi so as to reach Agra for this start. (See *Joret*, op. cit., p. 193.)

3 coss [1] from Agra. The 26th [November] I reached Beruzabad, 9 coss. It is a small town, where, on my return, I received 8,000 rupees of the balance of the money which Ja'far Khān owed me for the goods which he had brought from me at Jahānābād.[2] The 27th [November] to Serail Morlides, 9 coss; 28th [November] to Estanja, 14 coss; 29th [November] to Haii-Mal, 12 coss; 30th [November] to Sekandera, 13 coss; 1st of December to Sanqual, 14 coss.[3]

On this day I met 110 wagons, each drawn by 6 oxen, and there was upon each wagon 50,000 rupees. It was the revenue of the Province of Bengal, which, all charges being paid and the purse of the Governor well filled, amounted to 5,500,000 rupees.[4] At one league on this side of Sanqual you cross a river called Sengar,[5] which flows into the Jumna, only at a distance of half a league. You cross this river Sengar by a stone bridge, and when you arrive from the Bengal side, to go to Sironj and Surat, if you wish to shorten the journey by ten days, when quitting the road to Agra you must come as far as this bridge, and cross the river Jumna by boat. Nevertheless the route by Agra is generally taken, because by the other there are five or six days' stony marches, and because one must pass through the territories of Rājās where there is danger of being robbed.

The 2nd [December] I came to a caravansarāī called Cherour-abad,[6] 12 coss. Half-way you pass Jahānābād, a small town near which, about a quarter of a league on this side, you pass a field of millet, where I saw a rhinoceros eating stalks of this millet, which a small boy nine or ten years [7] old

[1] Mundy halted at Nūr Mahall kī Sarāī, 1 kos from Agra.

[2] See, for account of this purchase, p. 112.

[3] The route is: Fīrozābād; Sarāī Murlīdās; Etāwa; Ajītmall; Sikandra; Sanklā Jamwārā, 10 miles from Ghātampur. Mundy's stages were Fīrozābād; Shikohābād; Jaswantnagar; Etāwa; Bakhar Khānpur; Jānakī Sarāī; Sikandra; Bhognīpur; Shankar kī Sarāī; Ghātampur.

[4] Tieffenthaler places the revenue of Bengal at 13,006,590 rupees in Akbar's time, and he says that it was 40,000,000 rupees according to Manucci (ii. 414), in the time of Shāhjahān; subsequently it fell to 8,621,200 rupees (*Géog. de l'Ind.*, p. 443). See Bernier, 457; Elliot-Dowson, *Hist. of India*, vii. 138.

[5] Saingour in the original. [6] Korā Jahānābād.

[7] Tame rhinoceroses, to which a good deal of freedom was allowed,

presented to him. On my approaching he gave me some stalks of millet, and immediately the rhinoceros came to me, opening his mouth four or five times; I placed some in it, and when he had eaten them he continued to open his mouth so that I might give him more.

The 3rd [December] I came to Serrail Chageada, 10 coss; the 4th, to Serrail Atakan, 13 coss; the 5th, to Aurangābād,[1] a large town, 9 coss. Formerly this town had another name, and it is the place where Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, gave battle to his brother Sultān Shujā', who held the government of the whole of Bengal. Aurangzeb having been victorious gave his name to the town, and he built there a handsome house with a garden and a small mosque.

The 6th [December] to Alinchan[2], 9 coss. About two leagues on this side of Alinchan you meet the Ganges. Monsieur Bernier,[3] Physician to the King, and a man named

were formerly not uncommonly kept by the Rājās. Sometimes, as at Baroda, they were performers in the fighting arena, and on such occasions were commonly painted with divers bright colours. Elsewhere Ball has shown that the Kartazon of Megasthenes and the 'Horned Ass' of Ktesias were probably this animal (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 59); in the latter case the colours which have puzzled so many commentators were, he believed, artificial pigments applied to the hide of the rhinoceros seen by Ktesias, as they are on elephants at the present day (*Proceed. Roy. Irish Academy*, 2nd ser., vol. ii, no. 6, 1885). Chardin describes and figures a rhinoceros from Ethiopia which he saw at Ispahān. He says he did not know whether the animal was found in India (*Voyages*, Amsterdam ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 133).

[1] The original name of the place was Khajuhā or Khajwā, which was changed to Aurangābād, 'place of the throne,' after the battle in which Shujā' was defeated, on January 5, 1659. See Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, ii. 143 ff. A Sarāī and hall (bāradarī) erected in honour of his victory, are fine buildings, which have been restored (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xv. 219 f.). The marches from Korā Jahānābād are Sarāī Shāhzāda, Hatgāon, Aurangābād. [2] Alamchand.

[3] M. Bernier, the well-known historian of the Mogul Empire, was qorn at Joué-Etiau, in Anjou, in September 1620. In 1654 he went to Syria and Egypt, and from Cairo, where he remained for more than a year, he went to Suez and embarked for India, where he took service as physician to the Great Mogul (*Travels*, Introd. xxi). In 1668 he returned to France, and died in 1688. It is curious that he is not mentioned in the *Ency. Brit.* On his meeting with Tavernier see Bernier, Introd. xxi. 113. Bernier does not mention Rachepot.

Rachepot, who was with me, were surprised to see that this river, so much talked about, is not larger than the Seine in front of the Louvre, it being supposed that it equalled in width, at the least, the Danube below Belgrade. There is actually so little water between the months of March and June or July, when the rains commence, that boats are not able to ascend it. On arrival at the Ganges, we each drank a glass of wine which we mixed with water—this caused us some internal disturbance; but our attendants who drank it alone were much more tormented than we were. The Dutch, who have a house on the banks of the Ganges, never drink the water of the river, except after it has been boiled; as for the native inhabitants, they have been accustomed to it from their youth; the Emperor even and all his court drink no other.[1] You see every day a large number of camels which do nothing else but fetch water from the Ganges.

The 7th [December] we came to Halabas,[2] 8 coss. Allāhābād is a large town built on a point of land where the Ganges and the Jumna meet one another. It has a fine castle built of cut stone, with a double ditch, and it is the dwelling of the Governor. He is one of the greatest nobles in India, and as he is troubled with bad health he employs some Persian Physicians, and he then also had in his service M. Claude Maille of Bourges,[3] who practised both surgery and medicine. It was he who advised us not to drink any of the Ganges water,

[1] When Akbar was at Agra or Fatehpur Sīkrī he used to get Ganges water from Soron in the Etah District, when in the Panjāb from Hardwār (*Āīn*, i. 55).

[2] Allāhābād, Ilāhābās of Akbar, at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges.

[3] M. Claude Maillé of Bourges. As we shall see (p. 231 below) a man of this name who had escaped from the Dutch service was, in the year 1652, a not very successful amateur gun-founder for Mīr Jumla; he had after his escape set up as a surgeon to the Nawāb, with an equipment consisting of a case of instruments and a box of ointments which he had stolen from M. Cheteur, the Dutch Ambassador to Golkonda. Tavernier does not mention his identity with this physician which, however, seems more than probable. He states that M. Cheteur left a surgeon named Pitre de Lan with the king of Golkonda. (See p. 241 below. Also see Smith's note on Sleeman, *Rambles*, ed. 1915, p. 560.) Manucci calls him Clodio Malier or Menolhaõ (i. 86, iii. 173).

which would produce disturbance of the stomach, but to drink rather the water from wells. The chief of these Persian Physicians whom this Governor had in his pay, one day threw his wife down from the top of a terrace to the ground, impelled apparently to this cruel action by a freak of jealousy. He thought that she was killed, but she had only two or three ribs broken, and the relations of the woman threw themselves at the feet of the Governor to demand justice. The Governor summoned the Physician, and commanded him to withdraw, not wishing to keep him any longer in his service. He obeyed this order, and, having placed his disabled wife in a pallankeen, he departed with all his family. He was not more than three or four marches from the town when the Governor, finding himself unusually ill, sent to recall him, upon which the Physician stabbed his wife, four of his children, and thirteen female slaves, after which he returned to the Governor, who said nothing to him about it, and took him again into his service.

On the 8th I crossed the Ganges in a large boat, having waited from the morning till midday on the bank of the river, till M. Maillé brought a letter from the Governor giving us permission to cross. For on each side there is a Dārogha, who allows no one to pass without an order; and he takes note also of the kind of merchandise carried, each wagon being charged four rupees, and a chariot paying but one, without counting the boat, for which it is necessary to pay separately.

This day the halt was at Saudoul Serail, 16 coss; The 9th at Yakedil-sera, 10 coss; 10th at Bouraky-sera, 10 coss; 11th at Banarou,[1] 10 coss.

Benares [2] is a large and very well-built town, the majority of the houses being of brick and cut stone, and more lofty than those of other towns of India; but it is very inconvenient

[1] The halts are at inns on the road, and therefore difficult to fix. Probably his route was: Sa'adu-llā kī Sarāī; Jagdīs Sarāī; Ahīrbans kī Sarāī. The halts of Mundy (ii. 109) were: Barā Mahall ki Sarāī; Ahīrbans kī Sarāī; Jagdīs kī Sarāī; Mohan Sarāī.

[2] Benares is 74 miles distance to the east of Allāhābād, and 466 south-east of Delhi.

that the streets are so narrow. It has several caravansarāīs, and, among others, one very large and well built. In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cottons, silken stuffs, and other kinds of merchandise. The majority of those who vend the goods are the workers who have made the pieces, and in this manner foreigners obtain them at first hand. These workers, before exposing anything for sale, have to go to him who holds the contract, so as to get the imperial stamp impressed on the pieces of calico or silk, otherwise they are fined and flogged.[1] The town is situated to the north of the Ganges, which runs the whole length of the walls, and two leagues farther down a large river [2] joins it from the west. The idolaters have one of their principal pagodas in Benares, and I shall describe it in Book II, where I shall speak of the religion of the Banians.

About 500 paces from the town, in a north-western direction, there is a mosque where you see several Musalmān tombs, of which some are of a very beautiful design. The most beautiful are placed each in the middle of a garden enclosed by walls which have openings of half a foot square, through which the passers-by can see them. The most considerable of all is like a great square pedestal, each face of which is about forty paces long. In the middle of this platform you see a column of 32 to 35 feet in height, all of a piece, and which three men could with difficulty embrace. It is of sandstone, so hard that I could not scratch it with my knife. It terminates in a pyramid, and has a great ball on the point, and below the ball it is encircled by large beads.[3] All the sides of this tomb are covered with figures of animals cut in relief in the stone, and it has been higher above the

[1] This custom of stamping cloth by officials, as a guarantee of its quality, prevailed in the time of the Mauryas, the mark known as 'the identity stamp' (*abhijnāna mudra* of the Indian writers, σύσσημον of the Greek travellers) being usually impressed on the bale with vermilion (Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 58).

[2] This is probably the Barnā, as the Gūmtī is 16 miles off, and joins the Ganges at Saidpur in the Ghāzīpur District. The Barnā is not now a large river, but rather a small stream.

[3] The large beads are representations of the fruit of the emblic myrobalan (Skt. *āmalaka*), a favourite ornament in Hindu architecture.

ground than it now appears; several of the old men who guard some of these tombs having assured me that since fifty years it has subsided more than 30 feet. They add that it is the tomb of one of the kings of Bhutān, who was interred there after he had left his country to conquer this kingdom, from which he was subsequently driven by the descendants of Tamerlane. It is from this kingdom of Bhutān that they bring musk, and I shall give a description of it in Book III.[1]

I remained at Benares on the 12th and 13th, and during these two days there was continual rain; but it did not prevent me from resuming my journey, and on the evening of the 13th I crossed the Ganges with the passport of the Governor. They examine all travellers' baggage before embarking in the boat, personal property pays nothing, and it is only on merchandise that one must pay duty.

The 13th [December] I halted at Baterpour, 2 coss; 14th at Satragy-sera, 8 coss; 15th at Moniarky-sera, 6 coss. During the morning of this day, after having travelled two coss, I crossed a river called Carnasar-sou, and at three coss from thence one crosses another named Saode-sou, and both are crossed by fords. The 16th at Gourmabad, 8 coss.

It is a town on a river called Goudera-sou, and you cross it by a stone bridge. The 17th at Saseron, 4 coss.[2]

Sāsarām[3] is a town at the foot of the mountains, near to

[1] Tavernier seems to refer to the Buddhist remains at Bakariyā Kund, north-west of the city, part of the buildings having been subsequently utilized by the Musalmāns (Sherring, *The Sacred City*, 274 ff.; Greaves, *Kāshi*, 73 ff.). The pillar is one of Asoka's edict pillars which, according to the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, stood north-east of the city. It was destroyed in a riot in 1809, and only the stump, known as Lāt Bhairon, survives (V. A. Smith, Hastings, *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, ii. 466). The mention of the tomb of the King of Bhutān may be due to confusion with Buddhism.

[2] The route was apparently: Bahādurpur; Sarāī Sīrsī; Mohanīā kī Sarāī; Khurramābād, now Jahānābād; Sāsarām. Mundy halted at Bahādurpur, Sarāī Sīrsī, Sāwant kī Sarāī, Khwāja kī Sarāī, Khurramābād, and Sāsarām. The rivers crossed were the Karamnāsā, Durgāvatī and Kudrā, for which see *Imperial Gazetteer*, xxii. 186 f.; *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii. 151.

[3] In the tank at Sāsarām are the tombs of Sher Shāh, the Afghān, who drove Humāyūn from his throne, and was killed in 1545 while directing the siege of Kālanjar, Bānda District, Bundelkhand. His son, Salīm

which there is a large tank. You see a small island in the middle, where there is a very beautiful mosque, in which there is the tomb of a Nawāb named Salīm Khān, who had it built during the time he was Governor of the Province. There is a fine stone bridge to cross into the island, which is all flanked and paved with large cut stones. On one of the sides of the tank there is a large garden, in the middle of which is another beautiful tomb of the son of the same Nawāb, Salīm Khān, who succeeded his father in the government of the Province. When you wish to go to the mine of Soulmelpour,[1] of which I shall speak in the last book of this narrative, you leave the main road to Patna, and turn straight southwards by Ekberbourg [2] and the famous fort of Rhodas, as I shall say in the same place. The 18th [December] I crossed, in a boat, the river Sonsou,[3] which comes from the mountains of the south; and, after crossing it, those who have goods have to pay a certain duty. This day my halt was at Daoud-Nagar-Sera [4] where there is a fine tomb, 9 coss. The 19th to Halva-sera,[5] 10 coss; 20th to Aga-sera, 9 coss. In the morning I met 130 elephants, both large and small, which were being taken to Delhi to the Great Mogul. The 21st to Patna, 10 coss.

or Islām Shāh, died at Gwalior in 1544, and was also buried at Sāsarām. For an account of the place see Buchanan, in Martin, *Eastern India*, i. 424, and a photograph in Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 329.

[1] Soulmelpour, a misprint for Soumelpour (vol. ii, p. 63, where it is shown to have been situated in Palāmau). It is also mentioned by Tieffenthaler as Sommelpour, thirty milles SSE. of Rohtās. (*Géog. de l'Ind., traduit par Bernoulli*, Berlin, 1791, p. 433.)

[2] Ekberbourg, which is misprinted in the puzzling-looking form of Exberbourg in the English translation by John Phillips (1684), is undoubtedly identical with Akbarpur, a village at the foot of the hill upon which the remains of the old fort of Rohtās are still to be seen. A small portion has been restored and made habitable. Ball has described this neighbourhood in *Jungle Life in India*, p. 349. Of the substitution of the French *bourg* for the Indian *pur* these pages furnish several examples. Mundy (ii. 167) calls it Ecbarpore.

[3] The river Son, which rises in the west, near Amarkantak.

[4] Dāūdnagar in Gaya District. The tomb is not mentioned in *Imperial Gazetteer*, xi. 199.

[5] Arwal on the Son, formerly, as stated by Tieffenthaler, famous for its paper factory. The original village has been swept away by the river, and a new one bears the name. It is forty-one miles distant from Patna, so that the value of the coss is here also about two miles.

Patna is one of the largest towns in India, and is situated on the margin of the Ganges, on its western side,[1] and it is not less than two coss in length. The houses are not better than those in the majority of the other towns of India, and they are nearly all roofed with thatch or bamboo. The Dutch Company has an establishment there on account of the trade in saltpetre,[2] which is refined at a large village called Chaprā, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, 10 coss above Patna.

Arriving at Patna with M. Bernier, we encountered some Dutchmen in the street who were returning to Chaprā,[3] but who halted their carriages in order to salute us. We did not separate before we had emptied together two bottles of Shīrāz wine in the open street, regarding which there is nothing to remark upon in this country, where one lives without ceremony, and with perfect liberty.

I remained eight days in Patna, during which time an occurrence happened which will show the reader that unnatural crime does not rest unpunished by the Musalmāns. A Mimbachi[4] who commanded 1,000 foot disgraced a young boy who was in his service; . . . the boy, overwhelmed with grief, chose his time to avenge himself, and being one day out hunting with his master, and removed from the attendants by about a quarter of a league, he came behind him and cut off his head with his sword. He then rode immediately to the town at full speed, crying aloud that he had slain his master

[1] On the right bank.

[2] An account of the manufacture of saltpetre and the decadence of this once valuable trade will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, 499; Watt, *Econ. Prod.*, 972 ff.; Bernier, 440. 'The Dutch have a Factory here [Patna] alsoe, for procureinge of Saltpeeter, but live with little freedom or Enjoyment of any worldly pleasure here, dareinge not to presume to Enter any of the Gates of the Citty without leave from some of the great Officers' (Bowrey, 225).

[3] Choupar in the original, Chaprā (Sœpra of Dutch writers), headquarters of Sāran District, Bengal; owing to the recession of the Ganges from it its importance has diminished. At the end of the 18th century the French, Dutch, and Portuguese had factories there, and the saltpetre of the district was specially famous. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, x. 175).

[4] Mimbachi, for Mīngbāshī, 'commander of 1,000.' Here Mīm stands for Mīng, Turkish for 1,000. (Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 231.)

for such a reason, and came at once to the house of the Governor, who placed him in prison. But he left it at the end of six months, and although all the relatives of the deceased did what they could to procure his execution, the Governor did not dare to condemn him, as he feared the people, who maintained that the young man had acted rightly.

I left Patna by boat to descend to Dacca on the 29th of January (?),[1] between 11 o'clock and noon. If the river had been strong, as it is after the rains, I should have embarked at Allāhābād, or at the least at Benares. The same day I slept at Sera Beconcour,[2] 15 coss.

Five coss on this side of Beconcour you meet a river called Pompon sou,[3] which comes from the south and flows into the Ganges. The 30th [December] to Sera D'Eriia, 17 coss. On the 31st, after having gone 4 coss or thereabouts, you meet the river Kaoa, which comes from the south; 3 coss lower you see another called Chanon, which falls from the north; 4 coss farther you discover that called Erguga, which comes from the south; and again, 6 coss below, that of Aquera, which comes from the same quarter, and these four rivers lose their names in the Ganges.[4] All that day I beheld lofty mountains[5] on the south side and at a distance from the Ganges, some 10 coss and some 15 coss, and I came to a halt at Monger town, 18 coss.

The first day of January 1666, after having sailed two hours I saw the Gandak[6] enter the Ganges from the north. It is a large navigable river. This evening the halt was at Zangira[7] 8 coss. But as the Ganges twisted much during the day the distance is fully 22 coss by water. During the 2nd,

[1] This is a mistake for December, see below.

[2] Baikunthpur about 22 miles from Patna.

[3] Pūnpūn or Fatwā nālā, a river of South Behār, which rises in the south of the Gayā District. It joins the Ganges at Fatwā, and is crossed by the road from Bānkipur at 10 miles from that town.

[4] Compare Keul and Tiljugā rivers, and Kargariā, Bhāgmatī and Chāndū khāls or channels.

[5] Kharakpur hills and adjoining ranges. Monger is Monghyr (Mungīr: 25° 23′ N. Lat.; 86° 23′ E. Long.).

[6] Gandet in the original. This was the Būrh or Old Gandak river.

[7] Janjirā for Jahāngirhā of map, near Sultānganj.

between 6 o'clock in the morning and about 11 o'clock, I saw three rivers enter the Ganges, and they all three come from the north side. The first is called Ronova, the second Taè, and the third Chanan.[1] I slept at Baquelpour,[2] 18 coss.

The 3rd, after four hours' travelling on the Ganges, I encountered the river Katare,[3] which comes from the north, and slept this day at a village called Pongangel,[4] at the end of the mountains which abut on the Ganges, 13 coss.[5] On the 4th [January], one hour below Pongangel, I met a great river called Mart-nadi, which comes from the north, and I slept at Ragemehale,[6] 6 coss.

Rājmahāl is a town on the right bank of the Ganges, and when you approach it by land you find that for one or two coss the roads are paved with brick up to the town. It was formerly the residence of the Governors of Bengal, because it is a splendid hunting country,[7] and, moreover, the trade there was considerable. But the river having taken another course, and passing only at a distance of a full half league from the town, as much for this reason as for the purpose of restraining the King of Arakan, and many Portuguese bandits [8] who have settled at the mouths of the Ganges, and by whom the inhabitants of Dacca, up to which they made incursions, were molested—the Governor and the merchants who dwelt at Rājmahāl removed to Dacca, which is to-day a place of considerable trade.[9]

[1] These names probably represent sundry khāls. (Buchanan, in Martin, *Eastern India*, ii. 9 ff.)

[2] Bhāgalpur in Behār.

[3] Possibly the Kosī.

[4] Called Borregangel by De Graaf in 1669 (see *Histoire générale des Voyages*, La Haye, 1755, vol. xiii, p. 50, and Popangel in a map of 'Indostan' in the same volume). Its position corresponds with that of the modern Sikrīgali ghāt.

[5] This distance is much understated, being about 50 miles by land.

[6] Rājmahāl, a well-known town on the Ganges. Made the capital in 1592 (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xxi. 77). The Mart Nadī is possibly the Kālindrī.

[7] There is still a considerable amount of sport to be had in this neighbourhood, though the rhinoceros has become extinct since 1843.

[8] For Portuguese, at Noākhālī, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, xix. 130; and at Chatgāon (Chittagong), Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, iii. 19 and *Studies*, pp. 118 ff.

[9] This change was made in the time of Jahāngīr, according to Tieffenthaler, and now, owing to changes in the river, the remaining trade has gone to Sāhibganj (*Census Report Bengal*, 1911, vol. i. 25.)

On the 6th, having arrived at a great town called Donapour,[1] at 6 coss from Rājmahāl, I left M. Bernier, who went to Kāsimbāzār,[2] and from thence to Hugli[3] by land, because when the river is low one is unable to pass on account of a great bank of sand which is before a town called Soutiqui.[4] I slept this evening at Toutipour,[5] distant from Rājmahāl 12 coss. At sunrise I beheld a number of crocodiles asleep on the sand. The 7th I reached Acerat,[6] 25 coss.

From Acerat to Dacca, by land, there are still 45 coss. During this day I beheld so large a number of crocodiles that, at length, I became desirous to shoot one in order to ascertain if what is commonly said is true, namely, that a shot from a gun does not affect them. The shot struck him in the jaw and the blood flowed, but he did not remain where he was, and escaped into the river. On the 8th I again saw a great number of these crocodiles lying on the bank of the river, and I fired at two with two shots, each charge having three balls. Immediately they were wounded they turned over on the back, opening the mouth and dying on the spot. This day I slept at Douloudia, 17 coss. The crows were the cause of our finding a fine fish which the fisherman had concealed on the bank of the river in the reeds. For when our boatmen observed that there were a great number of crows which cawed and entered the reeds, they concluded that they must contain something unusual, and they searched so well that they found sufficient to make a good meal.

On the 9th [January], at 2 P.M., we encountered a river called Chativor which comes from the north, and our halt was at Dampour, 16 coss. The 10th we slept on the margin

[1] Donapur, situated on the farther bank of the Ganges at six milles east of Bakarpur, according to Tieffenthaler.

[2] Casenbazar in the original: Kāsimbāzār (Cossimbazar.) See p. 106 *n*.

[3] Ogouli in the original: Hugli. (See p. 108.) The Hugli factory was established in 1650, and became Head Factory of the Bay in 1657 (Temple on Bowrey, 168.)

[4] Sūti or Sooty in Murshidābād District, where the Bhāgirathī leaves the Ganges.

[5] Tartipur, which appears in Mīr Jumla's campaign against Sultān Shujā' (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, ii. 273.)

[6] Acerat is identified by Professor Jadunath Sarkar with Hazrāhāt.

of the river in a place far removed from houses, and made this day 15 coss. On the 11th, having arrived towards evening at the spot where the Ganges divides into three branches, one of which goes to Dacca, we slept at the entrance of this channel, at a large village called Jatrapour,[1] 20 coss. Those who have no baggage can proceed by land from Jatrapour, to Dacca, and they shorten their journey very much, because the river winds about considerably. On the 12th, at noon, we passed before a large town called Bagamara, and slept at Kasiata, another large town,[2] 11 coss.

On the 13th, at noon, we met a river at 2 coss from Dacca called Laquia,[3] which comes from the north-east. Opposite the point where the two rivers join, there is a fortress with several guns on each side. Half a coss lower down you see another river called Pagalu,[4] over which there is a fine brick bridge, which Mīr Jumla [5] ordered to be built. This river comes from the north-east, and half a coss below you find another called Cadamtali, which comes from the north, and which you also cross by a brick bridge ; [6] on both sides of the river you see several towers, where there are as it were enshrined many heads of men who have robbed on the high roads.[7]

[1] Jatrapore ; Jātrapur, near Dacca, is mentioned in Hedges, *Diary*, iii. 220.

[2] So many changes in the courses of the rivers and the positions of the towns have taken place in this region, that it would require closer knowledge of the locality than the editors possess, and more detailed maps than we have had access to, to identify closely this portion of Tavernier's route. For the Dacca river, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, xi. 103. Kasiata is Qāzīhāt, the law officer's market.

[3] The Lakhya river is remarkable among Bengal rivers for its swift current.

[4] Pagla. This term, meaning 'fool,' is applied in deltaic regions in Bengal to branches or loops from rivers which derive their water not from an independent source, but from the river which they again rejoin. In the same way a river in Kāthiāwār is called Ghela, 'insane,' from its violent movements in the rainy season (Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, ed. 1921, p. 19.) The Bāvlī, or 'mad' stream in Rewa Kāntha, Bombay, once followed the Saint Mīrzā, and ran with butter instead of water (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vi. 170.)

[5] Mirza Mola in the original.

[6] Dacca stands on the north bank of the Būrhī Gangā, formerly the Padmā, 8 miles above its junction with the Dhaleswarī.

[7] For Skull pillars, see Fryer, ii. 245.

We arrived at Dacca [1] towards evening, and accomplished this day 9 coss. Dacca is a large town, which is only of extent as regards length, each person being anxious to have his house close to the Ganges. Its length exceeds 2 coss; and from the last brick bridge, which I have mentioned above, up to Dacca, there is a succession of houses, separated one from the other, and inhabited for the most part by the carpenters who build galleys and other vessels. These houses are, properly speaking, only miserable huts made of bamboo, and mud which is spread over them. Those of Dacca are scarcely better built, and that which is the residence of the Governor is an enclosure of high walls, in the middle of which is a poor house merely built of wood. He ordinarily resides under tents, which he pitches in a large court in this enclosure. The Dutch, finding that their goods were not sufficiently safe in the common houses of Dacca, have built a very fine house, and the English have also got one which is fairly good. The church of the Rev. Augustin Fathers is all of brick,[2] and the workmanship of it is rather beautiful.

On the occasion of my last visit to Dacca, the Nawāb Shāista Khān, who was then Governor of Bengal, was at war with the King of Arakan, whose navy generally consists of 200 galleys besides several other small boats. These galleys traverse the Gulf of Bengal and enter the Ganges, the tide ascending even beyond Dacca.

Shāista Khān, uncle of the King Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, and the cleverest man in all his kingdom, found means for bribing many of the officers of the King of Arakan's navy, and forty galleys, which were commanded by Portuguese, promptly joined him. In order to secure these new allies firmly in his service, he gave large pay to each of the Portuguese officers and to the soldiers in proportion, but the natives received only double their ordinary pay. It is most surprising to see with what speed these galleys are propelled by oars. Some are so long that they have up to fifty oars on each side, but there are not more than two men to each oar.

[1] Dacca in E. Bengal.

[2] 'There were many Christians [at Dacca], white and black Portuguese with a church served by a friar called Agostinho' (Manucci, ii. 26).

Some are much decorated, whereon the gold and blue paint have not been spared.[1]

The Dutch keep some of them in their service in which they carry their merchandise, and they occasionally have to hire some from others, thus affording a means of livelihood to many people.

The day following my arrival in Dacca, which was the 14th of January, I went to salute the Nawāb, and presented him with a mantle of gold brocade, with a grand golden lace of 'point d'Espagne' round it, and a fine scarf of gold and silver of the same 'point', and a jewel consisting of a very beautiful emerald. During the evening, after I had returned to the Dutch with whom I lodged, the Nawāb sent me pomegranates, China oranges, two Persian melons, and three kinds of apples.

On the 15th [January] I showed him my goods, and presented to the Prince, his son, a watch having an enamelled gold case, a pair of pistols inlaid with silver, and a telescope. All this which I presented, both to the father and to the young lord of about ten years of age, cost me more than 5,000 livres.

On the 16th I agreed with him as to the price of my goods, and afterwards I went to his wazīr to receive my bill of exchange payable at Kāsimbāzār.[2] Not that he was unwilling to pay me at Dacca, but the Dutch, who were more experienced than I, warned me that there was risk in carrying silver to Kāsimbāzār, where one cannot go except by re-ascending the Ganges, because the land route is very bad and full of jungle and swamps. The danger consists in this, that

[1] With the aid of the Dutch and the partly enforced assistance of the Portuguese bandits, Shāista Khān captured Chittagong in 1666. For an account of this campaign see Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, iii. 220 ff.

[2] Kāsimbāzār, a town in the Murshidābād District, was of great commercial importance before Calcutta was founded. It was situated on the Bhāgirathī river, which has changed its course, and now flows three miles from the town. The different European nations in succession monopolized the trade. The first English commercial agent was appointed in 1658. Its proximity to Murshidābād was a cause of constant danger, and it was often attacked by the Nawābs of Bengal. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, xi. 52 f.)

the small vessels which are employed are very subject to be upset by the least wind, and when the sailors discover that one carries money, it is not difficult for them to wreck the boat, to recover the silver afterwards, at the bottom of the river, and appropriate it.

On the 20th I took leave of the Nawāb, who invited me to return to see him, and gave me a passport in which he described me as a gentleman of his household; this he had already previously done during the time that he was Governor of Ahmadābād, when I went to the army to meet him in the Province of Deccan, which the Rājā Sivajī [1] had entered, as I shall relate elsewhere. In virtue of these passports I was able to go and come throughout all the territories of the Great Mogul as one of his household, and I shall explain their tenor in Book II.

On the 21st [January] the Dutch gave a great banquet in my honour, to which they invited the English and some Portuguese, with an Augustin friar of the same nation. On the 22nd I went to visit the English, who had for Chief or President Mr. Prat,[2] and after that the Reverend Portuguese Father, and some other Franks. Between the 23rd and the 29th I made some purchases for 11,000 rupees, and all being embarked I went to bid farewell. On the 29th, in the evening, I left Dacca, and all the Dutch accompained me for two leagues in their small armed boats, and the Spanish wine was not spared on this occasion. Having been on the river from the 29th of January to the 11th of February, I left my servants and goods in the boat at Hazrāhāt, where I hired another boat which carried me to a large village called Mirdapur.

On the 12th [February] I hired a horse to carry myself, and not being able to hire another for my baggage, I was obliged to employ two women, who took charge of it. I arrived the same evening at Kāsimbāzār, where I was well received by M. Arnoul van Wachttendonk, Director of all the settlements of the Dutch in Bengal, who invited me to lodge with him.[3] On the 13th I passed the day agreeably

[1] Seva-gi in the original, see p. 147 below.

[2] Thomas Pratt, for whom see Irvine's note on Manucci, iv. 430 also Foster, *Eng. Factories, 1661–64*, pp. 294 and 393.

[3] Mr. W. Foster has kindly traced this Dutchman, Arnoldus van

with the Dutch gentlemen, who desired to enjoy themselves in honour of my arrival. On the 14th [February] M. Wachttendonk returned to Hugli, where the principal settlement is, and on the same day one of my servants, who had preceded me, came to give me notice that the people whom I had left in the boat with my goods had been in great danger on account of the strong wind, which had lasted two days, and which became stronger during the night.

On the 15th [February] the Dutch gave me a pallankeen to go to Murshidābād.[1] It is a great town, 3 coss from Kāsimbāzār, where the Receiver-general of Shāista Khān resided, to whom I presented my bill of exchange. After having read it he told me that it was good, and that he would have paid me if he had not on the previous evening received an order from the Nawāb not to pay me in case he had not already done so. He did not tell me the reason why Shāista Khān acted in this manner, and I returned to my lodging not a little surprised at this proceeding. On the 16th I wrote to the Nawāb to know what reason he had for ordering his Receiver not to pay me. On the 17th, in the evening, I left for Hugli in a boat with fourteen oars, which the Dutch lent me, and that night and the following I slept on the river.

On the 19th, towards evening, I passed a large town called Nadiyā,[2] and it is the farthest point to which the tide reaches. There arose so furious a wind, and the water was so high, that we were compelled to stop for three or four hours and draw our boat ashore.

On the 20th I arrived at Hugli, where I remained till the 2nd of March, during which time the Dutch made me welcome,

Wachtendonck, or Wagtendonck. He is mentioned in the 1663 Dagh-Register, Batavia, as upper merchant at Kāsimbāzār. A letter from Hugli of 22 June, 1665, N.S., states that on the death of Rogier van Heyningen, Wachtendonck had become provisional Chief (Directeur) (*Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 376). Evidently he was confirmed, as in succeeding volumes he is referred to as Directeur. He died at Hugli 30 August, 1668, N.S. (ibid., 1666–9, p. 184). He is apparently the Sieur Waikenton of vol. ii, p. 33.

[1] Madesou Bazarki in the original. Murshidābād, then also called Makhsūsābād or Makhsūdābād, and by the English Muxoodābād.

[2] Nandi in the original. Nadiyā, Nabadwīp, capital town of Nadiyā District, situated on the west bank of the Bhāgirathī. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xviii. 261 f.)

and sought to give me all the amusement which the country could afford. We made several excursions on the river, and we enjoyed all the delicacies found in our European gardens, salads of several kinds, cabbages, asparagus, peas, and principally beans, the seed of which comes from Japan, the Dutch desiring to have all kinds of herbs and pulses in their gardens, which they are most careful to cultivate, but they have been unable, however, to get artichokes to grow.

On the 2nd of March I left Hugli and arrived on the 5th at Kāsimbāzār. The following day I went to Murshidābād to know if the Receiver who had refused to pay me had received another order from the Nawāb. For as I have above said, I immediately wrote to Shāista Khān to complain of his action and to know for what reason he did not wish my bills of exchange to be paid. The Director of the Dutch factories added a letter to mine, and pointed out to the Nawāb that I was too well known to him—having, formerly at Ahmadābād, at the army of the Deccan, and in other places, had many transactions with him—not to deserve favourable treatment; that he ought to remember that I, being the only person who often brought to India the choicest rarities of Europe, it was not the way to make me wish to return as he had invited me, if I should leave discontented; besides which, owing to the credit which I enjoyed, I should be easily able to dissuade those who intended to come to India with rare objects, by making them fear the treatment I had received. Neither my letter nor that of the Director produced the effect we had hoped, and I was in no wise satisfied with the new order which the Nawāb had sent to the Receiver, by which he ordered him to pay me with a rebate of 20,000 rupees from the sum which I ought to receive, and was carried by my bill of exchange, according to the price upon which we had agreed. The Nawāb added that if I was unwilling to content myself with this payment I might come to take back my goods. This action of the Nawāb had its origin in an evil turn played me by three rogues at the court of the Great Mogul. And this is the history of it in a few words.[1]

[1] In turning aside to relate what follows, Tavernier drops the thread of his narrative, and we are left to casual remarks from which to trace his route and his occupation from this time, namely, the beginning of

Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, at the solicitation of two Persians and a Banian, had a short time ago established a custom very injurious to merchants who come from Europe and other places to sell jewels at the Court. When they arrive, whether by sea or by land, the governors of the places where they arrive have orders to send them to the Emperor with their goods, either with their consent or by force;[1] this the governor of Surat did in the year 1665, and sent me to Delhi or Jahānābād where the Emperor was. There are in the employment of His Majesty, two Persians, and a Banian, whose duty it is to see and examine all the jewels which one wishes to sell to the Emperor. One of these two Persians is named Nawāb 'Ākil Khān,[2] i.e. the prince of wit, and it is he who has charge of all the Emperor's precious stones. The other is named Mīrzā Mu'azzam, whose duty is to tax each piece. The Banian, called Nihāl Chand,[3] has to see whether the stones are false and if they have any flaw.

These three men have obtained permission from the Emperor to see, before he does, all the foreign merchants bring to sell

March 1666 till his return to France in December 1668. Thus, on the 8th of April, he states he was at Mālda, and on the 12th of May he reascended the Ganges (vol. ii. 199); on the 2nd of July he witnessed an eclipse of the sun at Patna, where he had probably remained during the month of June (vol. ii. 192). Towards the end of this month, or beginning of August, we have casual mention of his having met the deputies of the French Company for Commerce in Agra (see Joret, op. cit., p. 201). He arrived at Surat by way of Sironj and Burhānpur on the 1st November (*Recüeil*, p. 117), and met there M. Thévenot, who returned then from Golkonda and Madras (*Recüeil*, p. 118). He makes two references to his having been in Surat in January, or the beginning of 1667 (see p. 118 below; and vol. iii. *Recüeil*, p. 118), where he relates an act of brutality by M. Berber. Shortly afterwards, or in February, i. e. within the sailing season, he probably embarked from Surat for Bandar 'Abbās (Gombroon). The above facts are partly derived from M. Joret's work, pp. 198–202.

[1] Marco Polo (ed. Yule, i. 379) reports that the Great Kaan used to treat in the same way merchants visiting his dominions.

[2] 'Āqil Khān, Mīr 'Askarī, was Aurangzeb's Wazīr, he died in A. D. 1695 (Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dict.* 76). See also bk. ii, ch. x, p. 314 f. For the legend of his love affair with the Princess Zeb-un-nissa, daughter of Aurangzeb, see Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, 79 ff., from which he appears never to have been Wazīr, though he rose to be Sūbahdār of Delhi, dying in 1696.

[3] This trio appears as Akel Kan, Mirza-Mouson, and Nali Kan, in the original.

to him, and afterwards to present them to him, and although they have sworn to take nothing from the merchant, they do not neglect to extort all they can in order to ruin him. When they see anything beautiful from which there is reason to hope for a large profit, they try to make him sell it to them for half its value, and if he refuses to let them have it, they are malicious enough to estimate the jewels when they are before the Emperor at half their value; besides which the Emperor Aurangzeb cares little for stones, and loves gold and silver much better. On the day of the Emperor's festival, of which I shall elsewhere speak, all the princes and nobles of the court make him magnificent presents; and when they are unable to find jewels to buy, they present him with golden rupees, of which the Emperor, as I have said, makes more account than the precious stones, although precious stones constitute a more honourable present than golden coins. It is at the approach of this festival that he sends out of his treasury numerous diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, which the controller of the jewels entrusts to several merchants for sale to the nobles, who are bound to make presents to the Emperor, and in this manner the Emperor receives both the money and his jewels together.

There is still another disadvantage for the merchant jeweller. It is that after the Emperor has seen any stones, a Prince or other noble who knows of it will never buy them, and besides, while these three valuers of the jewels are considering and examining them in their dwellings, where he is obliged to carry them, he meets several Banians who are experts, some for diamonds, others for rubies, for emeralds, and for pearls, who write down the weight, quality, perfection, and colour of each piece. And if the merchant afterwards goes to the Princes and Governors of Provinces, these people send them a memorandum of all that he carries, with the price, which they maliciously place at half the true value of the goods. These Banians are in business a thousand times worse than the Jews, and more cunning than they in all kinds of dodges and in malice when they wish for revenge.[1]

[1] Ralph Fitch (ed. Ryley, p. 101) says of the people of Bengal: 'they be a kind of craftie people, worse than the Jewes'. 'Those that are tradesmen are very ingenuous, and those that are accomplished Merchants

Observe then the bad turn which these three personages played me.

When I arrived at Jahānābād, one of them came and told me that he had the Emperor's order to see what I brought, before I would be permitted to exhibit it in his presence. They sincerely wished that the Emperor was not at Jahānābād, because they would have tried to buy all that I had for themselves, in order to profit by reselling it to the Emperor, and to the Princes when the opportunity should occur—this, nevertheless, they had never been able to induce me to do.

On the following day all three came to see me, one after the other, and they wished to get from me amongst other things a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls, the largest of which weighed thirty carats and the least sixteen, with another single pear-shaped pearl of fifty-five carats. As for the bouquet, the Emperor took it; but with regard to the pearl, seeing that, notwithstanding all that they could say, I was unwilling to sell them anything, they so managed that before I had shown my jewels to the Emperor Ja'far Khān,[1] his uncle saw it, after which he did not wish to return it, saying that he would pay me as high a price for it as the Emperor, asking me not to mention it; for in fact he desired to present it to the Emperor.

After the Emperor had selected from among my jewels those which he desired, Ja'far Khān bought several pieces from me, and at the same time purchased the great pearl. Some days afterwards he caused me to be paid the amount agreed upon, with the exception of the pearl, upon which he desired me to rebate 10,000 rupees. The two Persians and the Banian had maliciously informed him that on my arrival they might, if they had wished, have had the pearl for 8,000 or 10,000 less than I had sold it to him for; this was wholly untrue, and Ja'far Khān having told me that if I would

are Very accute, and the most excellent arithmeticians in the world' (Bowrey, 24.)

[1] Ja'far Khān (not Zafar Khān as in the first edition) was appointed Wazīr by Aurangzeb about A. D. 1662, and died in 1670. He was son of Sādiq Khān, a cousin of Nūrjahān, who had married one of her sisters: hence his kinship to Aurangzeb (Bernier, 271: Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dict.*, 188.)

not accept the money which he offered me I might take it back, I took him at his word, assuring him that he would never see it again during his life. I kept to my word, and remained firm in my resolve. That which made me so fixed was because I desired to carry, if I could, something considerable to Shāista Khān, and if it had been permitted to me on my arrival at Surat to go to him first, I would not have gone to see the Emperor at Jahānābād, regarding which I had a great dispute with the Governor of Surat. For when I went to salute him, he immediately told me that I would not be treated as on my other journeys, and that the Emperor wished, absolutely, to be the first to see all that was curious which was brought into his kingdom.[1] I was more than four months disputing in vain with this Governor; at last I was obliged to go to visit the Emperor, and lest I should take another route they gave me fifteen horsemen to accompany me to Jalor.[2]

Having then started for Bengal, these three inspectors of jewels, incensed with spite, and urged on, no doubt, by Ja'far Khān, who was anxious to take his revenge for my refusal, wrote to Shāista Khān that I was taking some jewels to show to him, and among others a very beautiful pearl which I had sold to Ja'far Khān; but that he had returned it to me when he ascertained that I was trying to make him pay 10,000 rupees more than it was worth. They wrote similarly regarding the other jewels which I carried, and it was upon these false and malicious advices, which Shāista Khān did not receive till after he had delivered to me my bill of exchange, that the Prince wished to deduct 20,000 rupees from the total sum; this was reduced finally to a rebate of 10,000 rupees, with which I was obliged to content myself.

Since I have above spoken of the present which I made to Shāista Khān, I ought not to be silent regarding those which I was also obliged to make to the Emperor, to the Nawāb Ja'far Khān, to the eunuch of the Grand Begam,[3] sister of Aurangzeb, to the Grand Treasurer, and to the attendants of the treasury. For it should be stated that if any one

[1] See p. 324 below. [2] See p. 71.
[3] Jahānārā, who fills much space in Bernier and Manucci.

desires to have audience of the Emperor, they ask, before everything else, where the present is that he has to offer to him, and they examine it to see if it is worthy of being offered to His Majesty. No one ever ventures to show himself with empty hands, and it is an honour obtained at no little cost. On my arrival at Jahānābād I went to make my reverence to the Emperor on the 12th September 1665, and this is the present which I made him. Firstly, a shield of bronze in high relief thoroughly well gilt, the gilding alone costing 300 ducats of gold, which amount to 1,800 livres,[1] and the whole piece to 4,378 livres.[2] In the middle was represented the history of Curtius, who threw himself, on horseback and fully armed, into the gulf which opened in Rome, whence a mephitic vapour emanated. On the circuit of the shield was a clever representation of the siege of Rochelle. It was the *chef d'œuvre* of one of the most excellent workmen in France, and it had been ordered by M. le Cardinal Richelieu. All the great nobles who were then with the Emperor Aurangzeb were charmed with the beauty of this work of art, and they told him that he should place this rich piece on the grand elephant which carried the standard before His Majesty on the march.

I also presented the Emperor with a battle mace [3] of rock crystal, all the sides of which were covered with rubies and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal. This piece cost 3,119 livres.[4] Also a Turkish saddle embroidered with small rubies, pearls, and emeralds, which had cost 2,892 livres.[5] Also another horse's saddle with the housing, the whole covered with an embroidery of gold and silver, costing 1,730 livres.[6] The entire present which I made to the King amounted to 12,119 livres. Present made to Nawāb Ja'far Khān, uncle of the Great Mogul. Firstly, a table, with nineteen pieces to make a cabinet, the whole of precious stones of diverse colours representing all kinds of flowers and birds. The work had been done at Florence, and had cost 2,150 livres.[7] Also a ring with a perfect ruby which cost 1,300 livres.[8] To the

[1] £135.
[2] £328 7*s*.
[3] The Shushbur or Gurz of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i, plate xii; list of plates i, p. x.
[4] £233 18*s*. 6*d*.
[5] £216 18*s*.
[6] £129 15*s*.
[7] £161 5*s*.
[8] £97 10*s*.

Grand Treasurer a watch having a golden case covered with small emeralds, 720 livres.[1] To the attendants of the treasury of the Emperor, and to those who drew the money from the treasury, 200 rupees, which make 300 livres.[2] To the eunuch of the Grand Begam, sister of the Emperor Aurangzeb, a watch with a painted case which cost 260 livres.[3]

All the presents which I made, to the Great Mogul,[4] to Shāista Khān, and to Ja'far Khān, uncles of His Majesty, as also to the Grand Treasurers of the Emperor, to the stewards of the Khān's houses, to the captains of the palace gates, and further to those who on two occasions brought me the khil'at,[5] or robe of honour, on the part of the Emperor, and as often on the part of the Begam, his sister, and once on the part of Ja'far Khān—all these presents, I say, amounted to the sum of 23,187 livres.[6]

So true is it that those who desire to do business at the courts of the Princes, in Turkey as well as in Persia and India, should not attempt to commence anything unless they have considerable presents ready prepared, and almost always an open purse for divers officers of trust of whose services they have need.

I have said nothing in the former volume of the present which I also made to the bearer of the khil'at on the part of the King of Persia, to whom I presented 200 écus.[7]

CHAPTER IX

Route from Surat to Golkonda

I HAVE made several journeys to Golkonda, and by different routes, sometimes by sea, from Hormuz to Masulipatam, sometimes from Agra, and most frequently from Surat, which is the great threshold of Hindustān. I shall not speak in this chapter save of the ordinary route from Surat to Golkonda, in which I include that from Agra, which leads to Daulatābād,

[1] £54. [2] £22 10*s*. [3] £19 10*s*.
[4] Mogor in the original. [5] See p. 18.
[6] 23,187 livres at 1*s*. 6*d*. =£1,739 0*s*. 6*d*. Trade must have been profitable to have allowed such presents to be made. [7] £45.

as I shall describe in due course, only making mention, in order not to weary the reader, of two journeys which I made in 1645 and 1653.

I left Surat [1] on the 19th of January of the year 1645 and camped at Cambari, 3 coss; from Cambari to Barnoli, 9 coss; from Barnoli to Beara, 12 coss; from Beara to Navapour, 16 coss. This is the place where, as I have said, the best musk-scented [2] rice in the world grows. From Navapour to Rinkula, 18 coss; from Rinkula to Pipelnar, 8 coss; from Pipelnar to Nimpour, 17 coss; from Nimpour to Patane, 14 coss; from Patane to Secoura, 14 coss; from Secoura to Baquela, 10 coss; from Baquela to Disgaon, 10 coss; from Disgaon to Dultabat,[3] 10 coss.

Daulatābād [4] is one of the best forts in the empire of the Great Mogul; it is on a mountain which is scarped on all sides, the road to it being so narrow that only one horse or one camel can pass at a time. The town is at the foot of the mountain and has good walls, and this important place, which the Moguls lost when the Kings of Bījāpur and Golkonda revolted and threw off the yoke, was retaken under the reign of Jahāngīr by a subtle stratagem. Sultān Khurram, who was afterwards called Shāhjahān, commanded the army of the Emperor his father in the Deccan, and Asad Khān,[5] father-in-law of Shāista Khān, who was one of the generals, said something to the Prince, who was so enraged that, sending

[1] See for this part of the route, pp. 40–41 above.

[2] Scented rice, see p. 41 above.

[3] The stages, so far as they can be identified, seem to be: Surat, Khumbāriā, Viārā, Bardolī, Nārāyanpur, Pimpalner, Nāmpur, Patnā, Sakorā, Waklā, Deogāon, Daulatābād. But some places are doubtful: cf. Mundy's route, ii. 40 ff. For Pimpalner see p. 120, *n.* 1, below.

[4] Daulatābād. A town and fort in the Deccan, ten miles N.W. of Aurangābād, 170 miles N.E. of Bombay, and 28 miles N.W. of Haidarābād; also known by the name of Deogiri or Deogarh. 'The hill on which the fort stands rises almost perpendicularly from the plain to a height of about 600 feet, and it is entirely isolated, though commanded by several hills to the south.' The history of the changes of masters of this fort is too long for insertion here, but reference may be made to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, xi. 200 f., for information. The distance to Daulatābād from Nāmpur by these stages, measured on the map, is 94 miles, as against the 58 coss above. See for Daulatābād, Bilgrami & Willmott, *Sketch*, ii. 397 ff.

[5] Ast-Kan in the original.

at once for one of his paposhes or slippers, which are left at the door, he ordered him to receive five or six strokes with it on the head ; this in India is the highest affront, after which it is impossible for a man to show himself.[1] All this was done through an understanding between the Sultān and the general, in order better to deceive the world, and especially the spies which the King of Bījāpur might have in the army of the Prince. The rumour of the disgrace of Asad Khān being quickly spread, and he himself having gone to seek refuge with the King of Bījāpur, the latter, not having sharp enough eyes to perceive the ruse, gave him a good reception and promised him his protection. Asad Khān, finding himself so well received, asked the King to allow him for greater safety to take with him ten or twelve of his wives, and about as many servants, into the fortress of Daulatābād ; this was granted to him.

He entered with eight or ten camels, the two kajāwas[2] which are carried on either side of the camels being well closed, according to custom, so that one cannot see the women who are inside. But instead of women they had put in them good soldiers, two in each kajāwa, all men of action ;[3] of the same sort was each Shutari[4] who led his camel, so that it was easy for them to slaughter the garrison, who were not on their guard, and to make themselves masters of the place, which has ever since remained under the authority of the Great Mogul. There are, moreover, in this place numerous fine cannons,[5] and the gunners are generally English or Dutch. It is true that there is a small mountain higher than the fortress, but it is difficult of approach except by passing the

[1] On this incident see Bernier, 53 ; Manucci, i. 194.

[2] Cajavas in original, for kajāwas—panniers used for the conveyance of women on camels. For an illustration see Manucci, iv. 392.

[3] Sultān Khurram (i. e. Shāhjahān) imitated, if he did not take a hint, from the tactics of the siege of Troy. See Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i. 408.

[4] Chatre in original, for Shutari, a camel driver.

[5] With reference to the early use of fire-arms, General Maclagan's article on Early Asiatic Fire Weapons is full of information. (See J.A.S.B., vol. xlv, 1876, p. 30.) For the artillery at Daulatābād, see Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 431.

fortress. There was a Dutch gunner there, who after serving the Emperor for fifteen or sixteen years asked for his dismissal from him, and even the Dutch Company, which had placed him at the service of the Great Mogul, did all that it could to help him to obtain it; but it was never able to achieve this desire, because he was a very good gunner, and succeeded admirably with fireworks. The Rājā Jai Singh,[1] who is the most powerful of all the idolatrous princes of India, and who had most effectively aided Aurangzeb to ascend the throne, was sent as Commander-in Chief of the armies of that Emperor against the Rājā Sivajī, and when passing near the fortress of Daulatābād [2] this Dutch gunner went to salute him, and all the gunners of the army were Franks like himself. The Dutchman, taking advantage of the opportunity, told the Rājā that if he agreed to give him his dismissal he would promise to find him a means for mounting cannon on the mountain which commanded the fortress, and they had already surrounded the mountain with a wall, some soldiers having been placed within the enclosure to prevent any one taking possession of it. The Rājā, approving of the scheme, promised him that if he should be able to accomplish it he would obtain for him his dismissal from the Emperor with a liberal present. The matter having turned out successfully, to the Prince's content, he kept his promise to the Dutch gunner, and I saw the latter arrive at Surat at the beginning of the year 1667, whence he embarked for Batavia.

From Dultabat to Aurengabat,[3] 4 coss.

Aurangābād was formerly only a village, of which Aurangzeb

[1] Raja Jesseing in the original. For this appointment of Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh see Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, ed. 1921, i. 158.

[2] Daulatābād, see bk. ii, ch. xi., p. 326 below.

[3] Aurangābād, on the Kaum river, a tributary of the Godāvarī, is situated in the dominions of Haidarābād. It is 270 miles distant from the capital, and 68 miles from Ahmadnagar. The mausoleum resembles the Tāj at Agra, on a small scale. The tomb contains the body of Zainābādī, not the first wife, but concubine of Aurangzeb (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, i, 65 f.). The caravansarāī referred to is still to be seen, and is described as being a vast stone building. The distance between Daulatābād and Aurangābād is 14 miles, so that the 4 coss is probably a misprint for 7. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, vi. 148 ff.; Bilgrami & Willmott, *Sketch*, ii. 322 ff.

has made a town which is not enclosed. He made this notable increase, both on account of a lake of about 2 coss in circuit, upon which the village was built, and in memory of his first wife, who died there, and who was mother of his children. She is buried at the end of the lake on the western side, where the King has built a mosque with a splendid tomb and a fine caravansarāī. The mosque and the tomb cost a large sum, because they are covered with white marble, which was brought by wagon from the neighbourhood of Lahore,[1] and was on the road nearly four months. One day, when going from Surat to Golkonda, I met, at five marches from Aurangābād, more than 300 wagons laden with this marble, the smallest of which was drawn by 12 oxen.

From Aurengabat to Pipeli, 8 coss; from Pipeli to Aubar,[2] 12 coss; from Aubar to Guisemner, 10 coss; from Guisemner to Asti, 12 coss; from Asti to Saruer, 16 coss; from Saruer to Lesona, 16 coss; from Lesona to Nadour,[3] 12 coss.

You must cross a river at Nander which flows into the Ganges, and pay 4 rupees per wagon, besides which, in order to cross, it is necessary to have a written order from the Governor. From Nadour to Patonta, 9 coss; from Patonta to Kakeri, 10 coss; from Kakeri to Satapour, 10 coss; from Satapour to Sitanaga, 12 coss; from Sitanaga to Satanagar, 10 coss. It is at Satanagar that you first enter the territories of the King of Golkonda. From Satanagar to Meluari, 16 coss; from Meluari to Girballi, 12 coss; from Girballi to Golkonda, 14 coss. This route from Surat to Golkonda amounts to 324 coss. And I made the journey in

[1] There must be a mistake as to the source of this white marble, as it could not have been obtained from the neighbourhood of Lahore. Probably it came from one of the known localities in Rājputāna in the States of Alwar, Jaipur, or Jodhpur. The Makrānā quarries in the last-named State furnished, it is said, the white marble of which the Tāj was built. See Sleeman, *Rambles*, 318; Watt, *Commercial Products*, 715.

[2] Thevenot (*Voyages des Indes*, p. 227) describes this route, and mentions a magnificent tank at Ambād.

[3] Nānder is situated on the north bank of the Godāvarī, which flows into the Bay of Bengal, and has no connexion with the Ganges, but the name Guenga (Ganges) was sometimes formerly applied to the Godāvarī itself. See p. 129 and Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 688 ff. The route appears to be Aurangābād, Piprī, Gansargavī, Ashtā, Koalta, Lasonā, Nānder.

27 days.[1] I took 5 more on my journey in the year 1653, having followed a different road from Pimpalner,[2] where I arrived on the 11th of March, having parted from Surat on the 6th.

The 12th at Birgam; the 13th at Omberat; the 14th at Enneque-Tenque[3]—a good fortress; which bears the names of two Indian princesses. It is on a mountain scarped on all sides, and it has only a small path on the eastern side for the ascent. There is a tank inside the enclosure of this place, and they might sow sufficient to feed 500 or 600 men, but the Emperor does not desire to keep it garrisoned, and they have allowed it to fall in ruins.

The 15th [March], to Geroul. The 16th to Lazour, where there passes a river, upon which, at a cannon's shot from the eastern bank, there is one of the largest pagodas in the country, where a large number of pilgrims resort daily. The 17th [March] to Aurengabad; the 18th [March] to Pipelgan; the 19th [March] to Ember; the 20th [March] to Deogan; the 21st [March] to Patris; the 22nd [March] to Bargan; the 23rd [March] to Palam; the 24th [March] to Candear, a great fort, but commanded on one side by a mountain. The 25th [March] to Gargan; the 26th [March] to Nagouni; the 27th [March] to Indove; the 28th [March] to Indelvaï; the 29th [March] to Regivali. Between these two last places there is a small river which separates the territories of the Great Mogul from those of the King of Golkonda. The 30th [March] to Masapkipet; the 31st [March] to Mirelmola-kipet; the 1st [April] to Golkonda.[4]

[1] The route, so far as the halts have been identified, is Nānder, Patantā, Karkhelī, Sāntāpur, Satulanagar, Shankarpallī, Golkonda.

[2] Pimpalner in Khandesh Dist., *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii. 465.

[3] Ankai and Tankai are distinct villages, the former being now a station on the Ahmadnagar Railway. The route is Vīrgāon, Umapurānā or Umiāna, Ankai, Tankai.

[4] Thévenot's route between Aurangābād and Golkonda, which he traversed about the year 1666, corresponds in parts with this one of Tavernier, but he appears to have left the regular line occasionally to visit pagodas, &c. (*Voyages des Indes*, pp. 235, 277.) The main line of his route is clear, but it is difficult to identify some of his intermediate stages: Aurangābād, Piprī, Ambād, Deogāon, Pathrī, Parthānī, Palam, Kandhār, Logāon, Indūr, Yellaredipetta, Massapet, Golkonda. The

To go from Agra to Golkonda it is necessary to go to Burhānpur by the route already described; from Burhānpur to Daulatābād, which is not more than five or six marches, and from Daulatābād to the other places which I have mentioned.

You may take still another route to go from Surat to Golkonda, that is to say, by Goa and Bījāpur, as I shall describe in the particular account of my journey to Goa. I come now to what I have been able to remark of greatest interest in the Kingdom of Golkonda, and to the late wars which it has had to undertake against the neighbouring States, during the time that I was in India.

CHAPTER X

Of the kingdom of Golkonda and the wars which it has carried on during the last few years.

THE Kingdom of Golkonda, speaking generally, is a rich country, abounding in corn, rice, cattle, sheep, fowls and other commodities necessary to life. As there are numerous tanks, there is also an abundance of good fish, and you find more particularly a kind of smelt, which has but one bone in the middle and is of very delicate flavour.[1] Nature has contributed more than art to make these tanks, of which the country is full. They are generally situated in somewhat elevated positions, where it is only necessary to make a dam [2]

small river dividing Mughal and Golkonda territories is apparently the Manjira. Kandhār or Kandahār is a famous old fort, 25 miles south-west of Nānder, both places mentioned in his account of Aurangzeb's invasion of Golkonda in 1656 (Jadunath Sarkar, i. 227; Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 628f.). Prof. Jadunath Sarkar identifies Bargan with Wuddagaon (Indian Atlas, sheet 56); Palam with Polliam; Nagouni, east of Komdelwaddy (not as Ball suggested, Hingānī); Mirel-mola-kī-pet with Mīr Jumla kī Pett. As to Indelvai cf. p. 127 *n.* below.

[1] Probably the so-called Chilwā or Chalwā fish, which are, as Dr. Francis Day states, Aspidoparia morar (*Fishes of India*, 565). They constitute the whitebait of India.

[2] Band is the native and Anglo-Indian term applied to these dams or embankments, which are thrown across valleys and hollows in order to form collecting areas for the drainage of the country.

on the side of the plain in order to retain the water. These dams are sometimes half a league long, and after the season of the rains is past they open the sluices from time to time in order to let the water run into the fields, where it is received in divers small canals to irrigate the lands of private individuals.

Bhāgnagar is the name of the capital town of this kingdom, but it is commonly called Golkonda, from the name of the fortress, which is only 2 coss distant from it, and is the residence of the King. This fortress is nearly 2 leagues in circuit, and requires a large garrison. It is, in reality, a town where the King keeps his treasure, having left his residence in Bhāgnagar since it was sacked by the army which Aurangzeb sent against it, as I shall relate in due course.

Bhāgnagar is then the town which they commonly call Golkonda, and it was commenced by the great grandfather of the King who reigns at present, at the request of one of his wives whom he loved passionately, and whose name was Nagar.[1] It was previously only a pleasure resort where the King had beautiful gardens, and his wife often telling him that, on account of the river, the spot was suitable for building a palace and a town, he at length had the foundations laid, and desired that it should bear the name of his wife, calling it Bhāgnagar, i.e. the Garden of Nagar. This town is in 16° 58′ of lat.[2] The neighbouring country is a flat plain, and near the town you see numerous rocks as at Fontainebleau. A large river [3] bathes the walls of the town on the south-west side, and flows into the Gulf of Bengal close to Masulipatam. You cross it at Bhāgnagar by a grand stone bridge, which

[1] Bhāgnagar, or the Fortunate City, was so called by Qutb Shāh Muhammad Kulī after a favourite mistress, whose name was, however, Bhāgmatī, not, as stated by our author, Nagar, which merely signifies town, and the name has no connexion with Bāgh, ‘ a garden ’. It was founded in 1589, and became the seat of government instead of Golkonda, which is seven miles distant. By the Persians, according to Thévenot, it was already called Haidarābād, a title given by the King after the death of his mistress, but many Hindus still call it Bhāgnagar. See Ferishta, *Hist. of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, trans. J. Briggs, ed. 1910, iii. 451.

[2] The true latitude of Golkonda is 17° 22′ N., the longitude being 78° 27′ E.

[3] The Mūsi river, a tributary of the Kistnā.

is scarcely less beautiful than the Pont Neuf at Paris.[1] The town is nearly the size of Orléans, well built and well opened out, and there are many fine large streets in it, but not being paved—any more than are those of all the other towns of Persia and India—they are full of sand and dust; this is very inconvenient in summer.

Before reaching the bridge you traverse a large suburb called Aurangābād,[2] a coss in length, where all the merchants, brokers, and artisans dwell, and, in general, all the common people; the town being inhabited only by persons of quality, the officers of the King's house, the ministers of justice, and military men. From 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning till 4 or 5 in the evening the merchants and brokers come into the town to trade with foreign merchants, after which they return home to sleep. There are in these suburbs two or three beautiful mosques, which serve as caravansarāīs for strangers, and several pagodas are to be seen in the neighbourhood. It is through the same suburb that you go from the town to the fortress of Golkonda.

When you have crossed the bridge you straightway enter a wide street which leads to the King's palace. You see on the right hand the houses of some nobles of the court, and four or five caravansarāīs, having two storeys, where there are large halls and chambers, which are cool. At the end of this street you find a large square, near which stands one of the walls of the palace, and in the middle there is a balcony where the King seats himself when he wishes to give audience to the people. The principal door of the palace is not in this square, but in another close by; and you enter at first into a large court surrounded by porticoes under which the King's guards are stationed. From this court you pass to another of the same construction, around which there are several beautiful apartments, with a terraced roof; upon these, as upon the quarter of the palace where they keep the elephants,

[1] The Purāna Pul, or Old Bridge, built by Kulī Qutb Shāh in 1593. For an account of Haidarābād see Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 522 ff.; Meadows Taylor, *Story of My Life*, Oxford, 1920, 44 ff., 70.

[2] The Kārwān suburb, Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 584 ff.; Jadunath Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, i. 232.

there are beautiful gardens, and such large trees, that it is a matter for astonishment how these arches are able to carry such a weight ;[1] and one may say in general terms that this house has all the appearance of a royal mansion.

It is about fifty years since they began to build a splendid pagoda[2] in the town ; it will be the grandest in all India if it should be completed. The size of the stones is a subject for special astonishment, and that of the niche, which is the place for prayer, is an entire rock of such enormous size that they spent five years in quarrying it, and 500 or 600 men were employed continually on this work. It required still more time to roll it upon the conveyance by which they brought it to the pagoda ; and they told me that it took 1,400 oxen to draw it.[3] I shall explain why the work is incomplete.[4] If it had been finished it would have justly passed for the noblest edifice in the whole of Asia.

On the other side of the town, from whence one goes to Masulipatam, there are two large tanks,[5] each of them being about a coss in circuit, upon which are some decorated boats intended for the pleasure of the King, and along the banks

[1] The idea of these elevated gardens was probably introduced by Persian immigrants. The gardens of Golkonda with their pavilions are still famous. The ultimate source of such gardens was Babylon. (*Ency. Brit.*, iii. 99.)

[2] This is the Mecca Masjid, commenced by Abdulla Qutb Shāh Kulī. (Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 567.)

[3] Grandpré describes how these Megalithic structures were erected in India, and there is reason to believe the same method was followed in Egypt. After the first course was laid a slope of earth was placed against it up which the stones for the second course were rolled ; when they were laid, more earth was added to raise the slope again, in order to roll up the stones for the third course, and so on. When completed the building was therefore surrounded by a mountain of clay, which had then to be removed (cf. *Voyage in the Indian Ocean, &c.*, i. 169, London, 1803). A very interesting account, with sketches and diagrams, of the means used by the Indians for moving large masses of stone will be found in the *Rurki Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2nd Series, 1878, iii. 1 ; *Selec. Rec., N.W.P. Government*, New Series, v. 316 ; P. R. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1914, p. 154.

[4] See p. 132.

[5] The Husain Sāgar, area 8 square miles, and the Mīr Alam, 8 miles in circumference (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xiii. 311).

many fine houses which belong to the principal officers of the court.

At three coss from the town there is a very fine mosque where there are the tombs of the Kings of Golkonda ;[1] and every day at 4 o'clock P.M. bread and pulão[2] are given to all the poor who present themselves. When you wish to see something really beautiful, you should go to see these tombs on the day of a festival, for then, from morning to evening, they are covered with rich carpets.

This is what I have been able to observe concerning the good order and the police which is maintained in this town. In the first place, when a stranger presents himself at the gates, they search him carefully to see if he has any salt or tobacco, because these yield the principal revenue of the King. Moreover, it is sometimes necessary that the stranger should wait for one or two days before receiving permission to enter. A soldier gives notice first to the officer who commands the guard, and he sends to the Dārogha[3] to give him notice also. But as it often happens that the Dārogha is engaged, or that he is taking exercise outside the town, and sometimes the soldier whom they have sent pretends not to have found him, in order to have an excuse for returning, and being much better paid for his trouble—the stranger is obliged to await the termination of all this mystery, and sometimes, as I have said, for one or two days.

When the King administers justice he comes, as I stated, into the balcony which overlooks the square, and all those who desire to be present stand below, opposite to where he is seated. Between the people and the wall of the palace three rows of sticks of the length of a short-pike are planted in the ground, at the ends of which are attached cords which cross one another, and no one, whosoever he may be, is allowed to pass these limits without being summoned. This barrier, which is not put up except when the King administers justice, extends the whole length of the square, and opposite the

[1] For a full account of these magnificent tombs see Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 516 ff.

[2] Palão or pulão, Hind., a dish of rice, meat, and spices.

[3] The Prefect or Superintendent of Police.

balcony there is an opening to allow those who are summoned to pass. Then two men, who hold by the ends a cord stretched across this opening, have only to lower it to admit the person who is summoned. A Secretary of State remains in the square below the balcony to receive petitions, and when he has five or six in hand he places them in a bag, which a eunuch, who is on the balcony by the side of the King, lowers with a cord, draws up, and presents them to His Majesty.

The principal nobles mount guard every Monday, each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of a week. Some of these nobles command 5,000 or 6,000 horse, and encamp under their tents around the town. When they mount guard each goes from his home to the rendezvous, but when they leave it they march in good order across the bridge, and thence by the main street they assemble in the square in front of the balcony. In the van ten or twelve elephants march, the number representing the rank of the officer who goes off guard. Some of them bear cages (howdahs) somewhat resembling the body of a small coach, while others carry only their driver, and another man who holds a sort of banner in place of the cage.

After the elephants the camels follow two by two, sometimes up to thirty or forty. Each camel has its saddle and on it is fixed a small culverin,[1] which a man, clad in a skin from head to foot, like a pantaloon, and seated on the crupper of the camel with a lighted match in hand, quickly turns from side to side before the balcony where the King is seated.

After them come the carriages, around which the servants walk on foot, after which the led-horses appear, and finally the noble to whom this whole equipment belongs, preceded by ten or twelve courtesans, who await him at the end of the bridge, leaping and dancing before him up to the square. After him the cavalry and infantry follow in good order. And as all that affords a spectacle, and has something of pomp

[1] Culverin, derived through Fr. Coulevrine, from Lat. Coluber, a serpent. It is a long slender gun which throws a ball to a considerable distance. The camel guns were known as Shutarnāl, 'camel-piece'; Zambūrak, 'hornet', Shāhīn, 'falcon' (Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 135 f.).

about it that amuses me, during three or four consecutive months which I have sometimes spent at Bhāgnagar, my lodging being in the main street, I enjoyed every week seeing these fine troops passing, which are more or less numerous according to the rank of the noble who has been on guard in his turn.

The soldiers have for their sole garment only three or four ells of cloths, with which they clothe the middle of the body before and behind. They wear the hair long, and make a great knot of it on the head as women do, having for their sole head-dress a scrap of three-cornered cloth, one corner of which rests on the middle of the head, and the other two are tied together on the nape of the neck. They do not wear a sabre like the Persians, but a broadsword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer; this makes them not liable to burst.[1] As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrows, shield and mace, with helmet and a coat of mail, which hangs behind from the helmet over the shoulders.

There are so many public women in the town, the suburbs, and in the fortress, which is like another town, that it is estimated that there are generally more than 20,000 entered in the Dārogha's register, without which it is not allowed to any woman to ply this trade.[2] They pay no tribute to the King, but a certain number of them are obliged to go every Friday with their governess and their music to present themselves in the square in front of the balcony. If the King be

[1] The iron at Haidarābād, at a very early period, obtained a wide renown, being in fact the material which, when made into steel, afforded the source of supply for the manufacture of Damascus blades, the raw material having been exported to Persia and the Panjāb for that purpose (see *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xvi, pp. 417, 666; Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 88). Two villages, situated to the north of Golkonda, namely Nirmal and Indore, are specially mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (ii. 230) as producing excellent iron and steel (Bilgrami & Willmott, i. 399 ff.). According to Thévenot, at Iṇdelvai, i.e. Yedalvoi, four leagues from Indūr, quantities of swords, daggers, and lances were made and distributed thence throughout India (*Voyages des Indes*, p. 235).

[2] Compare the control of prostitutes at Vijayanagar (Elliot & Dowson, *Hist. of India*, iv. 111 f.; Abd-er-Razzak, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, 29 f.).

there they dance before him, and if he is not, a eunuch signals to them with his hand to withdraw.

In the cool of the evening you see them before the doors of their houses, which are for the most part small huts, and when the night comes they place at the doors a candle or a lighted lamp for a signal. It is then, also, that the shops where they sell tārī [1] are opened. It is a drink obtained from a tree, and it is as sweet as our new wines. It is brought from 5 or 6 coss distant in leather bottles, upon horses which carry one on each side and go at a fast trot, and about 500 or 600 of them enter the town daily. The King derives from the tax which he places on this tārī a very considerable revenue, and it is principally on this account that they allow so many public women, because they are the cause of the consumption of much tārī, those who sell it having for this reason their shops in their neighbourhood.

These women have so much suppleness and are so agile that when the King who reigns at present wished to visit Masulipatam, nine of them very cleverly represented the form of an elephant, four making the four feet, four others the body, and one the trunk, and the King, mounted above on a kind of throne, in that way made his entry into the town.[2]

All the people of Golkonda, both men and women, are well proportioned, of good stature, and of fair countenances, and it is only the peasantry who are somewhat dark in complexion. The King of Golkonda who reigns at present is called Abdulla Qutb Shāh,[3] and I will inform the reader, in a few words, whence he derives his origin. Under the rule of Akbar, Emperor of India, father of Jahāngīr, the Moguls extended their authority southwards only to Narbeder, and the river which passes it and, coming from the south, flows

[1] Tārī, Anglicé toddy—the sap of Phoenix sylvestris.

[2] See a curious Indian picture in Fanny Parks, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, vol. ii, frontispiece; and Krishna on an elephant in J. L. Kipling, *Beast and Man in India*, ed. 1892, p. 334.

[3] Abdoul-Coutou-Cha in the original, for Abdulla Qutb Shāh; he succeeded his father Muhammad Kulī on the throne of Golkonda in A. D. 1611, and reigned till 1672.

into the Ganges, separated their lands [1] from those of the Rājā of Narsingha,[2] which extended to Cape Comorin, the other Rājās being, as it were, his subjects, and deriving their power from him. It is this Rājā and his predecessors who have always been at war with those who succeeded Tamerlane [3] in India, and they were so powerful that the last Rājā who was at war with Akbar had on foot four armies, commanded by as many generals.[4] The most powerful of the four had his quarters in the territories which to-day constitute the kingdom of Golkonda, the second held his in the country of Bījāpur, the third in the Province of Daulatābād, and the fourth in the region of Burhānpur. The Rājā of Narsingha dying without children, these four generals established themselves each in the country which he held with his army, and caused themselves to be recognized as kings—one of Golkonda, another of Bījāpur, another of Burhānpur, and the fourth of Daulatābād. Although the Rājā was an idolater, these

[1] This passage is obscure, owing to some jumble between the names Beder or Bidar and Narbeder (for Narbadā). The river of Beder which is referred to, and formed the boundary of the Mughal's ancient territory, was in reality the Godāvarī, which at one time was supposed to join the Ganges. Its real course, however, is to the Bay of Bengal, into which it flows below Coconada. See p. 119.

[2] The name of Narsingha (a prince of Telugu origin, who died 1508 A.D.) was applied by the Portuguese to the old kingdom of Vijayanagara. Its capital town, though it bore the same name, was called Bisnagar by them. It was an enormously wealthy city, and the ruins still to be seen on its site near the small village of Hampi, in the Bellary District, testify to the magnificence of its buildings (A. H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins described and illustrated*). See *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hak. Soc., pp. 25, 39, &c.; Barbosa, ed. Dames, i. 182; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 618.

[3] Tamerlane or Tīmūr-lang (Temur-leng in the original), the ancestor of the Mogul emperors, invaded India in 1398; but Bābur was the actual founder of the dynasty (1526–30). For a good account of Tamerlane see Sir P. Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed., ii. 118 ff., and for Bābur, *ibid.* ii. 142 ff. His *Memoirs* are published under the editorship of Sir Lucas King, Oxford, 1921.

[4] It was not in the time of Akbar, but in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī (1482–1518), that the provincial governors declared their independence and set up five separate kingdoms: the Imādshāhī dynasty of Berār; the Nīzāmshāhī of Ahmadnagar; the Ādilshāhī of Bījāpur; the Barīdshāhī of Bīdar; and the Qutbshāhī of Golkonda. See Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 286 ff.

four generals were Musalmāns, and he of Golkonda was of the sect of Ali,[1] descended from an ancient family of Turkomāns, who inhabit the country of Hamadān in Persia.[2]

He was, as I have said, the most powerful of all; and a few days after the death of the Rājā of Narsingha they achieved a notable victory over the Mogul, after which there was nothing to prevent them from making themselves sovereigns. But since that time Jahāngīr, son of Akbar, conquered the kingdom of the new King of Burhānpur;[3] Shāhjahān, son of Jahāngīr, that of the King of Daulatābād;[4] and Aurangzeb, son of Shāhjahān, a part of the territory of Bījāpur.[5] As for the King of Golkonda, neither Jahāngir nor Shāhjahān made war upon him, and they left him undisturbed, on the condition that he should pay to the Moguls an annual tribute of 200,000 pagodas. These pagodas are gold pieces which are worth from 6 to 7½ francs[6] of our money, sometimes more and sometimes less. To-day the most powerful of the Rājās of this great peninsula south of the Ganges is the Rājā of Velou,[7] who extends his authority as far as Cape Comorin, and has succeeded to a part of the States of the Rājā of Narsingha; but, as there is no trade in his country, this Prince is little known, and strangers hardly ever go to it.

[1] Haly in original, for 'Alī, i. e. he was a Shī'a.

[2] Sultān Kulī Qutb Shāh was the first of the Qutb Shāhī kings. He reigned from 1512 to 1543, and was assassinated at the instigation of his son Jamshīd.

[3] Not quite correct as regards Burhānpur or Khāndesh as there were eleven princes of the Fārūqī dynasty; from its foundation in A. D. 1388 till A. D. 1601, when Asīrgarh was taken possession of by Akbar.

[4] Daulatābād, or Deogiri, was taken possession of in the year 1633 by Mahābat Khān, Shāhjahān's general.

[5] Bījāpur was not finally taken possession of by Aurangzeb till 1686, or subsequently to the date at which our author wrote, but he had partially subdued it some thirty years before. See Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921, i. 165.

[6] Here we should read livres for francs, as in bk. II. ch. xviii, the value of the new pagoda is stated to be 3½ rupees or 5¼ livres, i. e. 7*s*. 10½*d*.: vol. ii. p. 70; and on p. 117 the old pagoda is said to be equal to 7½ livres, or 11*s*. 3*d*. Independent testimony (see Appendix) gives about the same values; so that 200,000 pagodas would be equal to about £100,000, more or less, in exchange value.

[7] Velou, Vellore in North Arcot, represents Vijayanagar; see Smith, *Oxford Hist.*, 299 ff.

The present King of Golkonda has no son ; he has only three daughters, who are all married.

The eldest is married to one of the relatives of the Grand Shaikh of Mecca,[1] and the circumstances which preceded this marriage are sufficiently curious to occupy a place in my observations. The Shaikh having arrived at Golkonda in the garb of a mendicant, remained for some months at the gate of the palace, refusing to reply to sundry people of the Court who inquired why he had come. At length the matter being reported to the King, he sent his senior physician, who spoke Arabic well, to ascertain from the Shaikh what he wanted, and the reason of his coming. The physician, and some nobles of the Court who also spoke to him, immediately saw that he was a man of intelligence, and took him to the King, who was much pleased with his appearance and conversation. But at length the Shaikh having declared that he had come to marry the Princess, this proposition very much surprised the King, and was received by some of the Court as the proposal of a man who was not altogether in his senses. At first they merely laughed, but when they observed that he persisted in his demand, even threatening that a great calamity would befall the country if they did not give him the Princess in marriage, he was cast into prison, where he remained for a long time.

The King, at length, considering that it would be better to send him back to his own country, made him embark at Masulipatam on one of the vessels which carry goods and pilgrims to Mocha, whence they travel by land to Mecca. About two years afterwards the same Shaikh returned to Golkonda, and managed so well on this occasion that he espoused the Princess and acquired great credit in the kingdom, which he now governs, and where he is all-powerful.[2]

[1] Chek of Mecque in the original ; called Mīrzā Muhammad on p. 136. Ovington (p. 527) calls him Meera Mamoed (? Mīr Ahmad), and he is possibly identical with the Sharīfu-l-Mulk, who surrendered to Shāh 'Ālam in 1685, and died in 1687 (Manucci, iv. 444). The question of his origin is fully discussed by Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, iv. 332 f., Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, ed. 1921, i. 123.

[2] For another account of this marriage see Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt*, 527 ff.

It was he who prevented the King from yielding up the fortress of Golkonda, where he had taken refuge when Aurangzeb and his son entered Bhāgnagar, as I shall presently relate—throwing himself upon him, and threatening to kill him if he did not resolve to hold out without thinking more of delivering the keys to the enemy. This bold action was the reason why the King loved him the more, and made use of his counsel in all important affairs; and thus, not only as son-in-law of the King, but as Prime Minister, he is now the principal personage in the Court of Golkonda. It was he who caused the Great Pagoda [1] of Bhāgnagar to remain unfinished, because he threatened the kingdom with a great calamity if they persisted in completing it.

This Prince passionately loves all those who are proficient in mathematics, which he understands fairly well; hence, although he is a Musalmān, he favours all Christians who are learned in this science, as he particularly showed in the case of the Rev. Father Ephraim, a Capuchin,[2] when he was passing through Golkonda to go to Pegu, whither he was sent by his Superiors. He did all he could to induce him to remain in his country, and offered to build for him, at his own cost, a house and a church, assuring him that he would lack neither occupation nor parishioners, since some Christian Portuguese and many Armenians came every year for trade. But Father Ephraim, who had his orders to proceed to Pegu, was unable to accept his offer, and when he went to take leave of the Shaikh he received from him a khil'at of the most honourable kind, since it included the whole suit, namely the cap, the cabaye or grand robe, the arcalou [3] or cassock, two pairs of drawers, two shirts, and two girdles, with a scarf to be worn round the neck and upon the head for protection against the heat of the sun. The Reverend Father was astonished at this present, and told the Shaikh that he could

[1] Here used of the mosque at Bhāgnagar; see p. 124.

[2] Father Friar Ephraim of Nevers was Vicar of Madras from 1642 to his death in 1694 (Manucci, iv. 39).

[3] Cabaye, for qabā (-i-shāhī), i. e. royal robe. Arcalou, Turkish arqaliq, a coat with sleeves, a surtout, like the qabā, but having buttons, instead of strings, at the neck, breast, and waist. For this form of the khil'at see p. 18 above.

not wear it, but the latter pressed him to take it, and said that he might bestow it on one of his friends. Two months afterwards I received this present from Father Ephraim when I was at Surat, and I thanked him for it on the occasion of our first meeting.

The Shaikh, seeing that he could not detain the Father, and not wishing to allow him to travel on foot from Golkonda to Masulipatam, as he intended, compelled him to accept an ox which he gave him, with two attendants to conduct him; and not being able to force him to accept 30 pagodas[1] in addition, he directed the two attendants that on arrival at Masulipatam they should leave with the Capuchin Father both the ox and the pagodas. This order they did not fail to carry out in every particular, for otherwise on their return to Golkonda it would have cost them their lives. I shall complete the history of Father Ephraim, who afterwards experienced many misfortunes, when I describe Goa, which is the principal Portuguese possession in India.

The second daughter of the King of Golkonda was espoused to Sultān Muhammad, eldest son of Aurangzeb.[2] What led to the marriage was this: Mīr Jumla,[3] Commander-in-Chief of the army of the King of Golkonda, who had received from him much good service in establishing his throne, when he went to Bengal to deal with a Rājā's[4] affairs, left in hostage with the King, according to custom, his wife and children as pledge of his fidelity. He had many daughters, but only one son, who had a considerable following and made a great figure at Court.[5] The credit and the wealth which Mīr Jumla

[1] Say £15.

[2] Tavernier, probably correctly, styles him Sultān Muhammad: see p. 287 ff. below. He is also called Muhammad Sultān. The marriage took place in 1655–6 (Elliot & Dowson, *Hist.* vii. 118 f.). This prince died 3rd December 1676, aged 37 (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, iii. 49 f.). See also Bernier, 21; Ovington, 527; Manucci, ii. 195.

[3] Mīr Jumla. Tavernier writes this name in five different ways—Mir Gimola, Mirza Mola, Mirgimola, Amir Jemla, and Mir Jemla. His son's name was Muhammad Amīn.

[4] Mīr Jumla was sent to Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1660, with instructions to deal with the rebellious zamīndārs of the province, especially those of Assam and Arakan (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, iii. 178).

[5] This son, Muhammad Amīn, was a dissolute young man, who offended Abdulla Qutb Shāh, who found him asleep, in a state of intoxi-

had acquired made him enemies, who, jealous of such good fortune, sought to destroy it in his absence, and to injure him in the esteem of the King. They told him that Mīr Jumla's power should cause him to be suspected; that all his actions tended towards dethroning him and securing the kingdom of Golkonda for his son; that he ought not to wait till the evil was without remedy; and that in order to rid himself of an enemy—the more dangerous because he concealed himself—the shortest way was to poison him. The King, being easily persuaded, gave these persons an order to accomplish the deed; but having taken their measures clumsily three or four times in succession without being able to accomplish their object, the son of Mīr Jumla at length heard of it, and at once informed his father. It is not known exactly what command he got from his father; but after he had received his reply he went to the King, to whom he spoke out with boldness, taxing him with the services which his father had rendered him, and with the fact that without his aid he would never have come to the throne. This was true; but there was a Court intrigue which would take too long to describe. This young noble, somewhat carried away from his ordinary demeanour, used such sharpness of language to the King that His Majesty, offended by his insolence, rose in a rage, whilst the nobles of the Court, who were present, threw themselves on him and handled him roughly. At the same time, by order of the King, he was arrested with his mother and sisters, and put in prison, and this affair, which made a great commotion at Court, so much enraged Mīr Jumla, who soon had news of it, that, having forces at hand, and being beloved by the soldiers, he at once resolved to make use of these advantages to revenge himself for the injury. He was then, as I have said, deputed to Bengal, for the purpose of bringing to their allegiance some Rājās possessing territories on the Ganges; and Sultān Shujā', the second son of Shāhjahān,

cation, on the masnad or royal throne-cushion. When the King refused to pardon him, on the appeal of his father, Mīr Jumla, the latter seized the opportunity of escaping service with the tottering Golkonda dynasty, and made overtures to Aurangzeb. See Bilgrami & Willmott, ii. 481 f.; Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 224 ff.; Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921, i. 121.

who was then Governor of Bengal, was selected by him as most suitable to join forces with him against the King of Golkonda, whom he no longer regarded as his master, but as the greatest of his enemies. He accordingly wrote to the Prince that if he was willing to join him he would supply him the means of taking possession of the whole of the kingdom of Golkonda, and that he ought not to lose so good an opportunity of increasing the Mogul Empire, the succession to which affected him as well as the other princes, his brothers. But he did not receive a favourable reply from Sultān Shujā', who let him know that he did not trust the word of a man who was capable of betraying his King and might readily betray a strange prince whom he had attracted to his interests in order to accomplish his own revenge, and consequently he need not expect his aid. On receipt of this refusal of Sultān Shujā', Mīr Jumla wrote to Aurangzeb, who was then in his government of Burhānpur, and he, not being so scrupulous as his brother, accepted the offer which was made to him.[1]

While Mīr Jumla advanced his troops towards Bhāgnagar, Aurangzeb marched with his by long stages towards the Deccan, and the two armies having joined, they reached the gates of Bhāgnagar before the King had time to put his affairs in order. He only succeeded in taking refuge in the fortress of Golkonda, which Aurangzeb besieged after he had pillaged the town of Bhāgnagar [2] and removed all that was of much value from the palace. The King, seeing himself so hard pressed, believed that he would soon have to yield; and in order to avoid this hurricane, which threatened his complete ruin, sent back his wife and children with every honour to Mīr Jumla. There is both virtue and generosity in India as in Europe; and I shall give a noteworthy example of it in the person of the King of Golkonda. Some days after the enemy had laid siege to the fortress, a gunner perceiving Aurangzeb upon his elephant visiting the outworks, while

[1] For a correct account of the intrigues of Mīr Jumla see Jadunath Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, i. 219 ff.

[2] Bhāgnagar, the modern Haidarābād. On the campaign, *ibid.* i. 230 ff.; Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921, i. 259.

the King was on the bastion, said to the latter that if His Majesty wished he could destroy the Prince with a cannon ball, and at the same moment he put himself in position to fire. But the King, seizing him by the arm, told him to do nothing of the sort, and that the lives of princes should be respected. The gunner, who was skilful, obeyed the King, and instead of firing at Aurangzeb, he killed the general of his army who was farther in advance, with a cannon shot.[1] This stopped the attack which he was about to deliver, the whole camp being alarmed by his death. Abd-ul-Jabbār Beg,[2] general of the army of the King of Golkonda, who was close by with a flying camp of 4,000 horse, having heard that the enemy were somewhat disordered by the loss of their general, at once took advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and going at them full tilt, succeeded in overcoming them; and having put them to flight he followed them vigorously for 4 or 5 leagues till nightfall.

A few days before the death of this general, the King of Golkonda, who had been surprised, seeing himself pressed, and supplies being short in the fortress, was on the point of giving up the keys; but, as I have above related,[3] Mīr Ahmad,[4] his son-in-law, tore them from his hands, and threatened to slay him if he persisted any longer in such a resolution; and this was the reason why the King, who previously had but little liking for him, thenceforward conceived a great affection for him, of which he daily gave him proofs. Aurangzeb having then been obliged to raise the siege, halted some days to rally his troops and receive reinforcements, with which he set himself to besiege Golkonda. The fortress was as vigorously attacked as it was vigorously defended; but Mīr Jumla, who still retained some regard for the King, and, as some persons say with good reason, without proclaiming it openly, did not wish to allow Aurangzeb to proceed to extremities, and by his diplomacy secured a suspension of hostilities for some weeks. Shāhjahān, father of Aurangzeb, had formerly

[1] Mīr Asadu-llāh Bukhārī, son of Aurangzeb's paymaster, Mīr Fazlullāh Bukhārī (Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, i. 239).

[2] Abdul Jaber Beg in the original. This officer has not been traced.

[3] See p. 132. [4] Mirza Mahamed in original: v. 131.

received kind treatment from the King of Golkonda, with whom he had taken refuge when he had lost the battle with his elder brother against the Emperor Jahāngīr, their father.[1] Jahāngīr, having got the elder brother into his power, caused his eyes to be put out ;[2] but Shāhjahān, the younger brother, being better advised, took to flight, and the King of Golkonda, having received him with kindness, they bound themselves together in close friendship—Shāhjahān swearing to his host that he would never fight with him on any pretext. Mīr Jumla, who knew that it would not be difficult to bring two kings who were friends to an understanding, little as Aurangzeb was inclined to give way, and wishing, moreover, that that prince should find it advantageous to himself, communicated underhand to both of them what he planned in order to secure a lasting peace. He managed that the King of Golkonda should first write to Shāhjahān in very civil terms, praying him to become arbitrator between himself and Aurangzeb, placing his interests entirely in his hands, and promising to sign a treaty in whatever terms he pleased to frame it. With similar address Mīr Jumla persuaded Shāhjahān, on his side, to propose, as his response to the letter of the King of Golkonda, the marriage of the latter's second daughter to Sultān Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb, on condition that after the death of the King, the father of the Princess, his son-in-law should inherit the kingdom of Golkonda. This proposition having been accepted and the articles signed by the two kings, both the peace and the marriage were celebrated at the same time with much magnificence.[3] As for Mīr Jumla, he quitted the service of the King of Golkonda, and went to Burhānpur with Aurangzeb. Soon afterwards Shāhjahān created him first Minister of State and Commander-in-Chief of his armies, and he powerfully aided Aurangzeb to

[1] This was when Shāhjahān rebelled in 1623.

[2] Shahryār, who was blinded in 1627, was the youngest son of Jahāngīr. On the blinding of rivals to the throne see Fryer, iii. 38, and p. 268 below.

[3] The fine inflicted on the King of Golkonda amounted, it is said, to £1,000,000 as a first instalment of an annual tribute, but was in part remitted by Shāhjahān (Jadunath Sarkar, i. 238 ff.). The name of the princess was Pādshāh Bībī (Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921, i. 209).

ascend the throne by defeating Sultān Shujā'. For Mīr Jumla was a man of great intelligence, who understood equally well both war and the affairs of State.[1] I have had occasion to speak to him several times, and I have admired the firmness and the promptitude with which he responded to requests presented to him, giving his orders in every direction, and signing several dispatches as if he had but one sole matter to attend to.

The third Princess of Golkonda was promised to Sultān Sa'īd, another Shaikh of Mecca,[2] and the matter had so far advanced that the day was named for the marriage. But Abd-ul-Jabbār Beg, general of the army, went to the King of Golkonda, with six other nobles, to turn him from his design; and they so managed it that the marriage was broken off, and the Princess was given to Mīrzā Abdul Hasan,[3] a cousin of the King, by which marriage there are two sons. This has entirely destroyed the claims of the son of Aurangzeb, whom his father now keeps in prison in the fortress of Gwalior, because he betrayed his interests in favour of Sultān Shujā', his uncle.[4] This Princess would have been given at first and with no difficulty to Mīrzā Abdul Hasan if he had not been a debauchee, but for this reason the King ceased to regard and respect him; since his marriage he has reformed.

At the present time the King of Golkonda does not so much fear the Moguls, because, as is the case in their dominions,

[1] He understood other matters also, for Thévenot says he possessed 20 mans, or 408 Dutch livres, weight of diamonds. He had acquired these riches when, at the head of the army of Golkonda, he made war with the King of Bījāpur against Bisnagar (*Voyages des Indes*, p. 306). And Bernier (p. 17) states that he acquired wealth in many ways, and 'caused the diamond mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence, so that people discoursed of nothing but of the riches of Emir Jemla, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckoned but by sacks'. For a review of the career of Mīr Jumla see Jadunath Sarkar, i. 216 ff.

[2] Sultān Sa'īd, or Sayyid, meaning a descendant of Muhammad.

[3] Mirza-Abdul-Cosing in the original. Called Miersa Abou-il-Hassan by Havart, who makes him out to have been a lineal descendant of Ibrāhīm, the second king of the dynasty: quoted in *Hist. gén. des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 425 *n*.

[4] See p. 287 ff. below.

money does not leave his country, and he has amassed much to carry on war. Besides, he is greatly attached to the sect of 'Alī, to the extent of not wearing a cap like the other Musalmāns, because they say that 'Alī did not wear one, but another kind of head-dress ;[1] and for this reason the Persians, who arrive in India in great numbers to seek their fortunes, prefer to go to the King of Golkonda rather than to the Mogul. It is the same with the King of Bījāpur,[2] whom the Queen, sister of the King of Golkonda, has been careful to bring up in the same sect of 'Alī, who attracts many Persians to his service.

CHAPTER XI

Route from Golkonda to Masulipatam[3]

THE distance from Golkonda to Masulipatam is counted to be 100 coss by the straight road ; but if you wish to go by way of the diamond mine called in Persian Coulour and Gani in the Indian language,[4] it is 112 coss, and the latter is the route which I ordinarily followed.

From Golkonda to Tenara,[5] 4 coss. Tenara is a fine place,

[1] The Persian tāj, or cap, was the mark of the Shī'a sect, and Shāh Tahmāsp Safavī, King of Persia, when Humāyūn took refuge in his territories, tried to induce him to wear it (W. Erskine, *Hist. of India under Baber and Humayun*, i. 281 f.).

[2] 'Alī II ('Adil Shāhī) 1656–72 : *Oxford Hist. of India*, 297.

[3] Masulipatam. Thevenot gives the distance as 53 leagues. The true distance is about 210 miles, and from Madras 285 miles.

[4] Kollūr is the modern name by which this famous site is known ; it is situated on the Kistnā river in Lat. 16° 42′ 30″, Long. 80° 5′. The identification was first traced out by means of the routes to it given by Tavernier here and in bk. II, ch. xviii. Although all memory was lost of the true position of this mine until it was recently rediscovered, and very wild suggestions have been made on the subject, its position is correctly indicated on several maps of the beginning of the eighteenth and end of the seventeenth centuries. The question of this identification has been fully discussed in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 16. Gani is not a name, though so often quoted as such in works on precious stones. It is simply a Persian prefix, signifying 'Mine of' (*Kān-i*), and is known to have been used in connexion with other mines.

[5] This place appears to be the same as Atenara, mentioned on p. 240 below. It is not given on modern maps. It is also mentioned by Thévenot as Tenara. By the kind influence of the Resident at Hyderābād,

where there are four very good houses, each having a large garden. That one of the four which is situated on the left of the high road is incomparably finer than the three others. It is built throughout of cut stone in two storeys, and contains large galleries, beautiful halls, and fine rooms. In front of this house there is a large courtyard, which resembles the Place Royale in Paris. On each of the three other sides there is a large entrance, and stretching from one side to the other a fine veranda which is elevated about 4 or 5 feet above the ground and well arched over; here travellers of the higher classes are accustomed to lodge. Over each entrance there is a grand balustrade, and a small chamber for ladies. When persons of position do not wish to occupy these dwellings, they can have their tents pitched in the gardens; but it should be remarked that only three of these houses may be thus used, for the grandest and finest of them is reserved for the Queen. When she is not there you may see it and walk through it, for the garden is very beautiful and contains many fine pieces of water. The whole area is laid out in a similar manner. There are small chambers destined for poor travellers, who every day, towards evening, receive a dole of bread, rice, or vegetables already cooked; and the idolaters, who eat nothing which has been prepared by others, are given flour to make bread and a little butter, and, as soon as their bread is baked like a cake, they cover it on both sides with melted butter.

From Tenara to Iatenagar, 12 coss; Iatenagar to Patengy, 12 coss; Patengy to Pengeul, 14 coss; Pengeul to Nagelpar, 12 coss; Nagelpar to Lakabaron, 11 coss; Lakabaron to Coulour or Gani (of which I shall speak in the account of the mines).[1]

Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, has investigated the question. He identifies Tenara or Atenara with Sarūrnagar, because it is on the Masulipatam road; it is about 9 or 10 miles from Golkonda; there are several old Qutb Shāhī buildings and gardens which may be those described by Tavernier; and the next stage is Hayātnagar, the Jatenagar of Tavernier. He suggests that the word Tenara or Atenara is a corruption of Rāhatnagar, 'city of pleasure', Sarūrnagar having the same meaning.

[1] The route, as worked out by Mr. Dodwell of the Record Office, Madras, is as follows: Tenara, Sarūrnagar; Iatenagar, Hayātnagar;

The greater part of the road from Lakkāwurrum to Kollūr is rocky, especially towards Kollur, and in two or three places I was obliged to take my carriage to pieces, which can be quickly done. Wherever there happens to be a small quantity of good soil between the rocks cassia trees [1] flourish, the cassia produced from them being the best and most laxative in all India. This I know from the effect produced on my servants, who ate it as they walked along. Along the whole length of the town of Kollūr there runs a large river [2] which flows into the Bay of Bengal near Masulipatam.

From Coulour or Gani to Kah Kaly, 12 coss; from Kah Kaly to Bezouar, 6 coss. Close to Bezouar you recross the river.

From Bezouar to Vouchir, 4 coss; from Vouchir to Nilimor, 4 coss. Between Vouchir and Nilimor, about halfway, you cross a great river by means of a raft, there being no boat there. From Nilimor to Milmol, 6 coss; from Milmol to Maslipatan,[3] 4 coss.

Masulipatam [4] is a straggling town (*villace*), the houses in which are built of wood, and stand detached from one another. This place, which is on the sea shore, is renowned merely on account of its anchorage, which is the best in the Bay of Bengal, and it is the sole place from which vessels sail for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Cochin China, Mecca, and Hormuz, as also for the islands of Madagascar, Sumatra, and the

Patengy, Pantangi in Nalgonda District; Penguel, Pangal, about 4 miles N.E. of Nalgonda town; Nagelpar, Nagalpad, on the Mūsi river, about 20 miles E.S. of Nalgonda town; Lakabaron, Lacuaron; Coulour, Kōllūr, Guntūr District, Sattenapalle Taluk.

[1] Cassia fistula (Hind. amaltās) affords a valuable laxative; its long pods are familiar objects in Indian jungles. One of the native names for them is Bandar lāthī, or monkey's stick. (Watt, *Econ. Prod.*, 287 f.)

[2] The Kistnā. The 'great river' between Vouchir—Wouhir in original on p. 208 below—is one of its deltaic branches.

[3] The route, as worked out by Mr. Dodwell, is as follows: Coulour or Gani, Kōllūr, Guntūr District; Kah Kaly, Kākāni, 4 miles N. of Kōllūr, or possibly Karlapūdi, 29 miles S.E. by E. of Kōllūr; the river crossed is the Kistnā; Bezouar, Bezwāda; Vouchir, Uyyuru, 8 miles N.W. of Pāmarru; Nilimor, Pāmarru, 7 miles N.W. of Nidumōlu; Milmol, Nidumolu, 10 miles N.W. of Maslipatan or Masulipatam.

[4] See the accounts by the Dominican Fernandez Navarette, about 1670, and by the Dutch Minister, Philip Baldaeus, quoted in *Kistna Manual*, 1863, p. 90 f.; also Bowrey, 62, with other references, descriptions differing from that of Tavernier about the houses in the town.

Manillas. It should be remarked that wheel carriages do not travel between Golkonda and Masulipatam, the roads being too much interrupted by high mountains, tanks, and rivers, and because there are many narrow and difficult passes. It is with the greatest trouble that even a small cart can be taken. I have taken one to the diamond mines, but I was obliged to take it to pieces frequently in order to pass bad places. It is the same between Golkonda and Cape Comorin. There are no wagons in all these territories, and you only find there oxen and pack-horses for the conveyance of men, and for the transport of goods and merchandise. But, in default of chariots, you have the convenience of much larger pallankeens than in the rest of India; for one is carried much more easily, more quickly, and at less cost.

CHAPTER XII

Route from Surat to Goa, and from Goa to Golkonda by Bījāpur

TRAVELLERS can go from Surat to Goa partly by land and partly by sea, but the road is very bad by land, especially from Damān to Rājāpur. Most travellers prefer the sea route, and hiring an almadier,[1] which is a kind of row-boat, they go from point to point up to Goa, notwithstanding that the Malabaris, who are the pirates of India, are much to be feared along these coasts, as I shall presently describe.

The route from Surat to Goa is not counted by coss, but by gos, which are about equal to four of our common leagues.

From Surat to Daman, 7 gos; from Daman to Bassaïn, 10 gos; from Bassaïn to Chaoul, 9 gos; from Chaoul to Daboul, 12 gos; from Daboul to Rejapour, 10 gos; from Rejapour to Mingrela, 9 gos; from Mingrela to Goa, 4 gos. This makes in all, from Surat to Goa, 61 gos.[2]

The principal danger which has to be encountered on these coasts is, as I have said, the risk of falling into the hands of

[1] Almadier—from Arab. *al-ma'dīya*, a ferry-boat. Tavernier in his *Persian Travels* defines it as a small vessel of war. (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 15 f.; Barbosa, ed. Dames, i. 14; Linschoten, i. 262.)

[2] The route is Surat to Damān, Bassein, Chaul, Dābhol, Rājāpur, Vengurla,

the Malabaris, who are fanatical Musalmāns and very cruel to Christians.[1] I once met a barefoot Carmelite Father who had been captured by these pirates. In order to extort his ransom speedily, they tortured him to such an extent that his right arm became half as short as the other, and it was the same with one of his legs. The commanders pay wages only to the value of two écus to each soldier for the six months they generally spend at sea, and do not share with them the prizes taken; but they allow them to keep as their perquisite the garments and food store of those whom they capture. It is true that the soldiers are permitted to leave then, and if the commanders desire to retain them they are obliged to make a new contract with them. They seldom venture farther to sea than from 20 to 25 leagues; whenever the Portuguese capture any of these pirates they either hang them straight off or throw them into the sea. These Malabaris number 200 and sometimes as many as 250 men on each vessel, and they set sail in squadrons of from ten to fifteen vessels to the attack of a big ship; they do not fear cannon. They at once come alongside and throw numbers of fire-pots on the deck, which cause much injury if care be not taken to provide against them. For as the habits of the pirates are well known, immediately they are seen all the scuttles on deck are closed and it is flooded with water, so that the fire-pots cannot take effect.

An English captain named Mr. Clerc,[2] when coming from Bantam to Surat, met, in the latitude of Cochin, a squadron of Malabaris, consisting of twenty-five or thirty vessels, which forthwith attacked him vigorously. Seeing that he could not withstand their first onset, he set fire to some barrels of gunpowder which he had time to prepare, and the deck being blown up, a great number of pirates who were on it were also blown into the sea. Notwithstanding this, the remainder did not lose courage, and continued to press on board. The English captain, seeing that no other resource was left, ordered all his crew into two boats and retired to his cabin, where the

[1] For the ravages of the Malabāri pirates, many of whom were fanatical Moplah or Māppilla Musalmāns, see Fryer, i. 164; J. Biddulph, *The Pirates of Malabar*, 1907.

[2] Walter Clark, Master of the Comfort, whose exploit is described by Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in Western India*, 104 f.

pirates could not reach him ; he then set fire to a train which he had prepared, leading to a magazine containing a large quantity of powder. At the same time he threw himself into the sea, where he was picked up by his crew, and the vessel having caught fire, all the Malabaris who were on board jumped into the sea ; but that did not prevent the two boats, which contained about forty Englishmen, being captured by the remaining Malabaris ; and I was at breakfast at Surat with the English President, named Fremelin,[1] when he received a letter from Captain Clerc, which stated that he was enslaved by the Zamorin,[2] who is the most powerful king on the Malabar coast. This prince would not leave the English in the power of these savages, as they were in danger of their lives, because upwards of 1,200 women had become widows on the two occasions when the ship was on fire. He appeased them by promising them two piastres each [3] as recompense for the death of their husbands ; this amounted to above 2,400 écus, besides 4,000 more required for the ransom of the captain and the other Englishmen. The President immediately sent the money, and I saw them return, some of them in good health, but others broken down by fever. The Malabaris are such superstitious people that they touch nothing dirty or unclean with the right hand ; such service they reserve for the left, allowing the nails upon it, which serve as a comb, to grow, because they have long hair like women, which they twist round the head and cover it with a small three-cornered cloth.[4]

[1] William Fremlin, President of Surat, 1639–44. See Rawlinson, Index, for many references, and Mundy, ii. 24. In 1639, according to Mandelslo, Mr. Methwold, undoubtedly the Mr. Methold, whose visit to the diamond mines preceded Tavernier's (see bk. II, ch. xvi), resigned the Presidentship at Surat, and was succeeded by Mr. Fremling (*sic*) : *Travels into the East Indies*, English Trans., London, 1669, p. 71. [Fremlen took over charge on Dec. 11 (not 27), 1638 : note by Sir W. Foster referring to *Eng. Factories, 1637–41*, p, xv.]

[2] Samorin in the original. The title of the Hindu King of Calicut (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 977 f.).

[3] Piastre = 4*s*. 6*d*. ; the compensation for a husband was therefore about 9*s*.

[4] These are Moplah customs. Some Fakīrs grow their nails to a great length (Fitch, ed. Ryley, 102). Linschoten (i. 282) describes the careful purification of the Nāyars of Malabar. Musalmāns do not take food with the left hand, which is used in ablutions.

Having mentioned Damān,[1] I shall now describe in a few words how that town was besieged by Aurangzeb, who reigns at present. Many believe that elephants have a great effect in war; this is undoubtedly true, but not always in the way which is imagined, for it often happens that, instead of ravaging the ranks of the enemy, they turn upon those who drive them, and who are expecting an altogether different result, as Aurangzeb experienced at the siege of this city. He had been twenty days before Damān, and had arranged to make the assault on a Sunday, believing that Christians, like Jews, would not defend themselves on their Sabbath. The Commandant in Damān was an old soldier who had served in France, with three of his sons, whom he had with him then. There were in the place 800 men, both gentlemen and other brave soldiers, who had come from many places to take part in the defence and show their valour. For although the army of the Great Mogul consisted of more than 40,000 men, he was unable to prevent Damān being relieved from the sea, because he had no vessels and could not invest the place except by land. On the Sunday that he intended to make the assault, the Governor of Damān, in accordance with what had been settled at the council of war, caused mass to be said immediately after midnight, and then ordered a sortie to be made with all the cavalry and a part of the infantry, who were at first to attack on the side where there were 200 elephants. They threw a quantity of fireworks among them, which frightened them so much in the darkness of the night that, without knowing whither they went, and their drivers not being able to restrain them, they turned against the besiegers with such fury that in two or three hours half the army of Aurangzeb was destroyed, and three days after the siege was raised. Since that time the Prince has not cared to have anything more to do with Christians.[2]

I have made two journeys to Goa—the first was at the end

[1] Damān is situated in Lat. 22° 25′ N., Long. 72° 53′ E., about 100 miles north of Bombay. It was first sacked by the Portuguese in the year 1531, but it was rebuilt by the Indians, and was subsequently retaken in 1558 by the Portuguese, since which time up to the present it has remained in their possession.

[2] On the danger of elephants stampeding during a battle see Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., 69, with Pyrard de Laval, ii. 345.

of the year 1641, the second at the beginning of the year 1648. The first time I only remained seven days, and I returned to Surat by land. From Goa I went to Bicholly,[1] which is upon the mainland; from thence to Bījāpur, then to Golkonda, Aurangābād, and Surat. I could have gone to Surat without passing through Golkonda, but I was obliged to go there on business.

From Goa to Visapour,[2] which is generally accomplished in eight days, 85 coss. Visapour to Golkonda, which I travelled in nine days, 100 coss. From Golkonda to Aurangābād the stages are not so well defined, for sometimes it takes sixteen, sometimes twenty, or even twenty-five days. From Aurangābād to Surat the journey sometimes takes twelve days, but sometimes it is not accomplished in less than fifteen or sixteen.

Bījāpur is a large town which has nothing remarkable about it, either as regards public edifices or trade. The King's palace is large enough indeed, but badly built, and what causes the approach to it to be difficult is, that in the moat which surrounds it, and which is full of water, there are many crocodiles.[3] The King of Bījāpur has three good ports in his kingdom; these are Rājāpur,[4] Dābhol,[5] and Kare-

[1] This is the same as the Bicholi of vol. ii, p. 239, where it is stated to be on the Bījāpur–Goa frontier. At present Bicholim is the name of a district or subdivision of Goa territory (Fonseca, *Goa*, 1).

[2] Bījāpur, in Lat. 16° 49′ N., and Long. 75° 43′ E., is on the site of the ancient Vijayapura, which was called Visapour by early European travellers. Recently it has been made the head-quarters of the Kalādgi, now Bījāpur, District. It was taken possession of by Aurangzeb after Tavernier's time, namely in 1686. A full description of the ancient buildings which abound in Bījāpur will be found in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, and H. Cousens, *Bījāpur and its Architectural Remains*, 1916. 'The vagueness and inaccuracy of his account seems to show that Tavernier did not carefully examine Bījāpur' (*Bombay Gazetteer*, xxiii. 587).

[3] On the guarding of the moats of Indian forts by means of crocodiles see Crooke, *Things Indian*, 111 f.

[4] Rājāpur, chief town in the subdivision of the same name in the Ratnāgirī District of Bombay. As a port it has deteriorated, and vessels of even moderate size cannot come within three miles of the quay (*Vide Imp. Gaz.* xxi. 67). Mandelslo describes it as one of the chief maritime cities of the kingdom of Konkan. On Bījāpur boundaries see Fryer, ii. 50, 67; Bowrey, 20 f.

[5] Dābhol or Dabul, a port in the Konkan, in Lat. 17° 34′. It is described by Mandelslo as being on the river Kalewacka (Anjanvel or

puttun.[1] The last named is the best of all, and the sea washes the foot of the mountain, where, close to land, there is from 14 to 15 fathoms of water. On the top of the mountain there is a fort with a natural supply of water, and although not commanded by anything and by nature impregnable, since the King has been at peace with the Portuguese he has abandoned it.

Kareputtun is only five days' journey from Goa northwards, and Rāībāgh,[2] where the King of Bījāpur disposes of his pepper, is about the same distance from Kareputtun to the east. The King of Bījāpur, like the King of Golkonda, was formerly a tributary of the Great Mogul, but is so no longer.

This kingdom has been in trouble for some time on account of the rebellion of Nāïr Sivajī,[3] who was, on the establishment of the King of Bījāpur, what we call in France, Captain of the Guards. His father had been guilty of misconduct, for which the King arrested him and put him in prison, where he remained for a long time till he died. The young Sivajī, his son, thereupon conceived so strong a hatred for the King that he became a chief of bandits, and as he was both courteous and liberal he had as many followers, both cavalry and infantry, as he cared for, and in a short time he got together an army, the soldiers, on the report of his liberality, coming to join him from all sides. He was thus in a position to undertake some enterprise, when the King of Bījāpur died without children, and accordingly, without any great difficulty, he became master of a portion of the Malabar coast, including Rājāpur, Rasigar,[4]

Vāsishti): *Travels into the East Indies*, Eng. Trans., London, 1669, p. 74. See for early references, Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 289.

[1] Crapaten in the original, Kareputtun of Map. The account of the port refers to Vijaydurg. The fort has been demolished (*Bombay Gazetteer*, x. 343).

[2] Rabaqué in the original; Rāībāgh, in Belgaum District.

[3] The original founder of the Marātha Confederacy was Shāhjī; he was succeeded by his son, Nāik Sivajī; born in 1627, died in 1680. By his valour and treachery he won for the Marāthas the suzerainty of Southern India. See for his life, Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921. In the text the title of Sivajī is Nāyar, a Malayāli term usually applied to the well-known caste of that name and meaning 'leader' (Skt. *nāyaka*). Nāik, of this same origin, is the more usual form of the word. His father, Shāhjī, died as the result of a hunting accident.

[4] Probably Rakshasagudda in Kānara District (*Bombay Gazetteer*, xv,

Kareputtun, Dābhol, and other places. It is said that during the demolition of the fortifications of Rasigar he found immense treasure, and with this he supported his forces, by whom he was well served because they were always very well paid.

Some years before the death of the King, the Queen, as she had no children, adopted a boy, upon whom she had bestowed all her affection, and she brought him up, as I have already said, with the greatest care in the doctrines of the sect of Ali.[1] On the King's death she caused this adopted son to be declared King, and Sivajī, as he then possessed an army, continued the war, and for some time caused trouble during the regency of the Queen. A treaty was concluded on condition that Sivajī should retain, as vassal of the King, all the country which he had taken, the King receiving half the revenue. When the young King was, by this peace, established on the throne, the Queen, his mother, undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, and while I was at Ispahān she passed through on her return.

Returning now to the journey to Goa. When I left Surat for my second visit to Goa I embarked on a Dutch vessel called the *Maestricht*, which carried me to Vengurla, where I arrived on the 11th of January 1648.

Vengurla [2] is a large town, situated half a league from the sea, in the kingdom of Bījāpur. It has one of the best anchorages in all India, and the Dutch always came there for supplies when they blockaded Goa, and they still supply there the ships which they employ to trade in many parts of India, for excellent water and very good rice can be procured at Vengurla.

pt. 2, 80). For Sivajī s campaign see Grant Duff, *op. cit.* Prof. Jadunath Sarkar identifies Rasigar with Rājgarh.

[1] On the question of the parentage of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II, see Jadunath Sarkar, i. 285 f.; Bernier, 197; Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921, i. 123; Fryer, ii. 55: on Shī'a influence in Bījāpur, Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 291, 293.

[2] Mingrela in the original is Vengurla, a town and seaport, headquarters of a subdivision of the same name in the Ratnāgirī District of Bombay. The Dutch settlement was founded in 1638; in 1660 the town was garrisoned by Sivajī, and in 1664 it was burnt by him in consequence of a revolt; it was again burnt by Aurangzeb in 1675. A British settlement was established there in 1772, and in 1812 the town was ceded to the British (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xxiv. 306).

This town is also much renowned on account of its cardamoms,[1] which the orientals esteem as the best of spices, and as they are cultivated only in this country, are very scarce and dear. Coarse cotton cloths for home consumption are made there too, and a sort of matting called toti,[2] which is only used for wrapping up merchandise.

Hence it is not so much for commerce as for supplies which can be obtained at Vengurla, that the Dutch Company maintain an establishment there. For, as I have said, not only all the vessels which come from Batavia, Japan, Bengal, Ceylon, and other places, and those which sail for Surat, the Red Sea, Hormuz, Bassora, &c., both in going and returning, anchor in the roads at Vengurla, but also when the Dutch are at war with the Portuguese, and are blockading the bar at Goa, where they ordinarily keep eight or ten vessels, they send their small boats to Vengurla to obtain provisions. For they hold the mouth of the river during eight months of the year, so that nothing can enter Goa by sea during that time. It should be remarked in connexion with this subject that the bar at Goa is closed for a part of the year by sand, cast up by the south and west winds which precede the great rains, and to such an extent that there is only from a foot to a foot and a half of water for the passage of very small boats. But when the great rains begin to fall, the waters, which rise rapidly, soon remove the sands and open the passage to large vessels.[3]

[1] Cardamoms—the dried fruit of *Elettaria cardamomum* (Maton), a shrub belonging to the ginger family, much esteemed in the East as a spice, and largely exported to Europe for medicinal and other purposes. (Watt, *Commercial Products*, 511 ff.). Called *Cargamon* in the original.

[2] Tāt or Tānt, i. e. the fibre known as jute, with which gunny bags are made. It is produced from *Corchorus capsularis* (Linn).

[3] Aguada anchorage is virtually closed to navigation during the south-west monsoon, owing to the high winds and sea, and the formation of sandbanks in the estuary of the Mandāvī at this season (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xii. 250). On the Goa bar see P. della Valle, *Travels*, Hakluyt Society, i. 154, 158; *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, Hakluyt Society, ii. 82, 170.

CHAPTER XIII

Remarks upon the present condition of the town of Goa

GOA is situated in latitude 15° 32″, on an island of six or seven leagues circuit, upon the river Mandāvī,[1] which two leagues farther down discharges itself into the sea. The island abounds in corn and rice, and produces numerous fruits, as mangues, ananas, figues d'Adam, and cocos ;[2] but a good pippin is certainly worth more than all these fruits. All who have seen both Europe and Asia thoroughly agree with me that the port of Goa,[3] that of Constantinople, and that of Toulon, are the three finest ports in both the continents. The town is very large, and its walls are built of fine stone. The houses, for the most part, are superbly built, this being particularly the case with the Viceroy's palace. It has numerous rooms, and in some of the halls and chambers, which are very large, there are many pictures representing each of the vessels which come from Lisbon to Goa, and those which leave Goa for Lisbon, with the names of each vessel and that of the Captain, and the number of guns with which it is armed.[4] If the town were not so shut in by the mountains which surround it, it would without doubt be more numerously inhabited, and residence there would be more healthy than it is. But these mountains prevent the winds from refreshing it ; this is the cause of great heat. Beef and pork afford the ordinary food of the inhabitants of Goa. They also have

[1] Mandoua in the original. It rises in the Parvar Ghāt, in the District of Satāra and is 38½ miles long. It is the most important stream in the territory.

[2] Mangoes, pine-apples, plantains, and coco-nuts. Most persons acquainted with Indian fruits will agree with Tavernier, though some might make an exception in favour of the mango.

[3] The best account of Goa is that of J. N. Fonseca, *Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, 1878, condensed in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, xii. 249 ff. ; also see Linschoten, i. 175 ff. ; Pyrard de Laval, ii. 2 ff. ; *Commentaries of Dalboquerque*, ii. 88 ff. ; P. della Valle, i. 154 ff. ; Fryer, *New Account*, ii. 10 ff. ; Sir R. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains*.

[4] For these pictures see Pyrard de Laval, ii. 50 ; Linschoten, ii. 14.

fowls, but few pigeons, and although they live close to the sea fish is scarce.[1] As for confectionery, they have many kinds, and eat a large quantity. Before the Dutch had overcome the power of the Portuguese in India, nothing but magnificence and wealth was to be seen at Goa, but since these late comers have deprived them of their trade in all directions, they have lost the sources of supply of their gold and silver, and have lost much of their former splendour. On my first visit to Goa I saw people who had property yielding up to 2,000 écus of income, who on my second visit came secretly in the evening to ask alms of me without abating anything of their pride, especially the women, who came in *pallankeens*, and remained at the door of the house, whilst a boy, who attended them, came to present their compliments. You sent them then what you wished, or you took it yourself when you were curious to see their faces ; this happened rarely, because they cover all the head with a veil. Otherwise when one goes in person to give them charity at the door, the visitor generally offers a letter from some religious person who recommends them, and speaks of the wealth she formerly possessed, and the poverty into which she has now fallen. Thus you generally enter into conversation with the fair one, and in honour bound invite her in to partake of refreshment, which lasts sometimes till the following day.[2]

If the Portuguese had not been occupied with guarding so many fortresses on land, and if, owing to the contempt they felt for the Dutch at first, they had not neglected their affairs, they would not be to-day reduced to so low a condition.

The Portuguese who go to India have no sooner passed the Cape of Good Hope than they all become Fidalgos [3] or gentlemen, and add Dom to the simple name of Pedro or Jeronimo by which they were known when they embarked ; this is the reason why they are commonly called in derision 'Fidalgos of the Cape of Good Hope'. As they change their status so

[1] This is not the case at present (Fonseca, 13).

[2] The dissolute character of the women of Goa is remarked by Linschoten, i. 201, ii. 215 ; P. della Valle, i. 161 ; Fonseca, 162 ; Pyrard de Laval, ii. 113, 128.

[3] Fidalgues in the original. See Fryer, i. 191.

also they change their nature, and it may be said that the Portuguese dwelling in India are the most vindictive and the most jealous of their women of all people in the world. As soon as they entertain the least suspicion about their women they will, without scruple, make away with them by poison or the dagger. When they have an enemy they never forgive him. If they are of equal strength and dare not come to a struggle, they employ their black slaves, who blindly obey their master's order to kill any one; and this is generally accomplished with the stab of a dagger, or the shot of a blunderbuss, or by felling the man with a large stick of the length of a short pike which the slaves are accustomed to carry.[1] If it should happen that too long a time is spent in tracing the man they wish to murder, and they cannot find him in the fields or in the town, then without the slightest regard for sacred things they slay him at the altar; I have myself seen two examples of this—one at Damān, and the other at Goa. Three or four of these black slaves having perceived some persons whose lives they wanted to take attending mass in a church, discharged blunderbusses at them through the windows, without reflecting whether they might not wound others who had no part in the quarrel. It happened so at Goa, and seven men were slain near the altar, while the priest who was saying mass was seriously wounded. The law takes no cognisance of such crimes, because their authors are generally the first in the land. As for trials, they never come to an end. They are in the hands of the *Kanarins*,[2] natives of the country, who practise the professions of solicitors and procurators, and no people in the world are more cunning and subtle than they.

To return to the ancient power of the Portuguese in India, it is certain that if the Dutch had never come to India not a scrap of iron would be found in the majority of the Portuguese houses; all would have been of gold or silver, for they had to make but two or three voyages to Japan, to the Philippines, to the Moluccas,[3] or to China, to acquire riches, and to realize

[1] Pyrard de Laval, i. 131; Fryer, ii. 26.

[2] Canarins in the original, sometimes called Kanarese, the inhabitants of Kānara (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 154). [3] Moluques in the original.

on their return five or six fold, and even up to tenfold on the more important articles. Private soldiers as well as governors and captains acquired great wealth by trade. The Viceroy alone does not trade, or if he does, it is under the name of another ; and, moreover, he has a sufficient income without it. Formerly one of the most splendid posts in the world for a noble was to be Viceroy of Goa, and there are few monarchs who are able to bestow governments worth so much as those which depend upon this Viceroy. The first of these Governments is that of Mozambique, the appointment lasting for three years. In these three years the Governor makes a profit of 400,000 or 500,000 crowns [1] and sometimes more, if during the time he has no losses with the Cafres.[2] The Cafres are black people who come from many quarters of Africa to purchase cotton goods and hardware from the Commandant, who dwells on the Rio de Saine,[3] and is merely the agent of the Governor of Mozambique. These Cafres bring gold for the goods which they carry away, but if one of them happens to die when going or returning, all that has been entrusted to him is lost beyond remedy. The Governor of Mozambique trades also with the negroes who inhabit the length of the coast of Melinde,[4] and they generally barter for the goods which they require with ivory or ambergris.

On my last voyage to India the Governor of Mozambique, who then returned to Goa after having completed the three years of his government, procured a parcel of ambergris which was alone worth about 200,000 écus,[5] without counting the gold and ivory, which amounted to a larger sum.

[1] I. e. from £90,000 to £112,500. The enormous profits collected by the Portuguese Viceroys are detailed by Linschoten, i. 219 f., and by Pyrard de Laval, ii. 83. On their three years' term of office see Fryer, i. 189. Dalboquerque proposed to raise the period to eight years (R. S. Whiteway, *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, 174).

[2] Or Kaffir.

[3] The Zambezi, running past Sena (R. F. Burton, *The Lands of Cazembe*, 22).

[4] Malinda. An Arab town and kingdom on the east coast of Africa, from whence Vasco da Gama, on the occasion of his first voyage, struck across the sea to India (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 566).

[5] £45,000.

The second valuable Government formerly was that of Malacca, on account of the dues which had to be paid there. For it is a strait through which all the vessels sailing from Goa to Japan, China, Cochinchina, Java, Macassar, the Philippines, and other places must pass. They can indeed pursue another route along the western coast of the island of Sumatra, and either traverse the Strait of Sonde,[1] or leave the island of Java to the north; but when they return to Goa they are required to show the free pass of the Malacca custom-house—this compels them to follow the first-named route.

The third Government in value was that of Hormuz,[2] on account of its great trade, and of the dues which all vessels had to pay, both when entering and leaving the Persian Gulf. The Governor of Hormuz also levied considerable dues from those bound for the island of Bahren to the pearl fishery, and if they omitted to take out a passport from him he promptly sent their vessels to the bottom by means of his galeasses.[3] The Persians levy this tax at present, and the English share a small part of it, as I have said in my accounts of Persia;[4] but although they treat the merchants roughly, nevertheless they do not derive nearly as much from this revenue as the Portuguese did. It is the same with the Dutch at Malacca, who experience difficulty in raising sufficient to pay for the garrison which they maintain there.

The fourth Government in value was that of Muscat, which also was one with a considerable income. For all vessels coming to India from the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the coasts of Malinda must make the port of Muscat, and they generally take in water there. If any vessels failed to anchor there, the Governor sent to claim the custom, which was 4 per cent, and if any resistance was offered they ran the risk of being sent to the bottom by his galeasses.

[1] Sunda Strait, separating Sumatra from Java, to which the attention of the world was especially directed, in the year 1883, by the violent explosive eruption of the volcano of Krakatau or Krakatoa.

[2] Hormuz, see p. 3.

[3] A form of galley. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 361.

[4] The British grievance was that they did not receive their full moiety of the customs of Gombroon (Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 419 f.; Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in W. India*, 93).

The fifth Government was that of the island of Ceylon, to which all the places which the Portuguese had both on the coast of Malabar and on the Gulf of Bengal and other parts of India were subject, and the least of these petty Governments was worth 10,000 écus per annum.[1]

Besides these five principal Governments which were at the disposition of the Viceroy, he had also the patronage of a number of offices at Goa and other towns in India. The day upon which he makes his entry into Goa, his Captain of the Guards receives nearly 4,000 écus [2] of dues. The three offices of Engineer Major, Inspector of the Fortresses, and Grand Master of Artillery yielded 20,000 pardos [3] per annum, the pardo being worth 27 sols of our money. The Portuguese were then all rich—the nobles on account of the governments and other offices, and the merchants by the trade which they enjoyed before the English and Dutch came to cut the ground from under their feet. During the time they held Hormuz [4] they did not allow any merchant to travel to India by sea, all being compelled therefore to take the route by land through Kandahār. When the Turkish, Persian, Arab, Moscovite, Polish, and other merchants arrived at Bandar-'Abbās, they [5] constituted but one united body, and from it four of the most experienced were deputed to inspect all the different kinds of merchandise, and to ascertain the quality and price.

After their report to the others was made, the price was settled and the goods removed, and they were then distributed to each nation in proportion to the number of merchants who had come from the different countries. It is the custom throughout Asia that nothing is sold except in the presence

[1] £2,250. [2] £900.

[3] Pardao, a Portuguese name for a gold coin originally, afterwards applied to silver coins. If the sol may be taken as representing 0·9 of a penny (see p. 29), then the pardao of Tavernier's time was 2*s.*, being less in value than the rupee of 30 sols, which has been shown to have been 2*s.* 3*d.* Kelly, in the *Universal Cambist*, gives the value of the pardao at 2*s.* 6*d.*, and Sir H. Yule estimates it at the same figure in 1676, *vide* Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 672 ff.; Barbosa, ed. Dames, i. 191. This latter value would, however, proportionally raise the sol to upwards of a penny in value, and the rupee consequently to more than 2*s.* 9*d.*

[4] On the importance of Hormuz and its occupation by the Portuguese see Sir P. Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed., ii. 185 ff.

[5] I. e. the Portuguese.

of a broker, and each class of goods has its own separate one.[1] These brokers pay the money to those who have sold, and receive it from those who have bought; there are certain classes of goods for which the fee due to them is 1 per cent, others for which it amounts to 1½ and even up to 2 per cent. Accordingly the Portuguese in those times made great profits and suffered no losses from bankruptcies. As to the pirates, the Viceroy took effectual steps, for when the rains were over and the season for embarkation had arrived, according to the number of vessels laden with goods, he gave a sufficient number of galiotes [2] to escort them to sea for from 25 to 30 leagues—the Malabaris not venturing farther from the coast than 15 or 20. The captains of the galiotes and even the marines did some little trade during the voyage, and as they paid no customs, they were able to gain something to maintain themselves in comfort during the rains, when they had to remain in quarters. There was also a good arrangement for the military, by which the soldiers were promoted, for all who had come from Portugal, after nine years of service, received some appointment at sea or on land, and if they did not wish to accept it they were permitted to travel as merchants. If there happened to be among them any one of intelligence, he did not fail to gain a fortune, as he had all the credit he could desire, and found numbers of people very willing to employ their money, lending it to him on the chance of 100 per cent. profit on his return from a journey. If the vessel was lost, those who had lent lost their money or their goods, but, when it arrived safely, for one écu they received three or four.

The people of the country, called Kanarese, do not hold any offices under the Portuguese save in reference to law as agents, solicitors, or scribes, and they are kept in subjection. If one of these Kanarese or black men struck a white or European, there was no pardon for him, and he had to have

[1] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Banyan; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vi. 193.

[2] This name is derived from Galeota of the Portuguese. In India it took the form Gallevat, which has been anglicized into jolly-boat, as is explained by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 361. The Calcutta boatmen pronounce it *Jallybote*. Cf. p. 154.

his hand cut off.[1] Both Spaniards and Portuguese, especially the Spaniards, use them as receivers and men of business, and in the islands of Manilla or Philippines there are blacks so rich that some of them have offered the Viceroy up to 20,000 croisats [2] for permission to wear hose and shoes—this was not allowed them.[3] Certain of these blacks are to be seen with bare feet, though followed by thirty slaves, and superbly clad; and if the Portuguese had permitted them to equip vessels, and appoint the captains and other officers according to their own wishes, the former would not have made so many conquests in India, or at least would not have made them so easily.

These blacks have much intelligence and are good soldiers, and the clerics have assured me that they learn more in the colleges in six months than the Portuguese children do in a year, whatever the science may be to which they apply themselves.[4] It is for this reason that the Portuguese keep them in subjection.

The Indians of the country about Goa are idolaters, and do homage to many kinds of idols, of which I have given likenesses in this book,[5] saying that the idols resemble those

[1] On these people see Pyrard de Laval, ii. 35 f. On the cruelty of the Portuguese to Indians, ibid. ii, Introd. xxvi ff.

[2] Croisart (of Genoa), so called on account of the cross on it; it was worth about 6*s.* 6*d.*, and 20,000 = £6,500.

[3] The shoe question, we see, was in these early times as in latter days a burning one.

[4] The same may be said of the Indian youth of the present day, who far outstrip those of European parentage in the acquirement of learning before man's estate is reached.

[5] These engravings are not to be found in any of the editions of Tavernier with which Ball was acquainted. The statement in the text illustrates the prevalence of hero and ancestor worship. It may be remarked in this connexion that the worship of the Virgin Mary by Hindus is not uncommon in Western and Southern India. Khārva fishermen on the Bombay coast 'greatly revere the Roman Catholic saints, and offer flowers, oil, candles, and gold and silver ornaments in fulfilment of vows to the Virgin Mary and St. Francis Xavier' (Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, ii. 204). Worship was done in Madras to a bust of the late Bishop Gell set up on an improvised altar, with a cast of Saraswati, goddess of learning above, and various members of the Hindu pantheon round her (Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes on Southern India*, 361).

who have done good works in former times, to whom they should offer homage by adoring their images. Many of these idolaters worship monkeys, and also, in many parts of India, as I have elsewhere said, pagodas have been built and endowed with provision to feed a certain number, besides others from outside, which come twice a week in order to obtain food.[1] In a village on the island of Salsette,[2] there was a pagoda in which the idolaters kept, in a kind of tomb made of silver, the bones and nails of a monkey which, they said, had rendered great services to their gods by the diligence with which he conveyed news and advice from one to the other,[3] when persecuted by some hostile princes, even to the extent of traversing the sea by swimming. People came from many parts of India in procession to this idol to make offerings to this pagoda; but the clergy of Goa, and especially the Inquisitor, one day carried away this relic and brought it to Goa, where it remained some time on account of the dispute which it occasioned between the ecclesiastics and the people. For when the idolaters offered a large sum to ransom their relics, the people were of opinion that it should be accepted, because they said it could be used to make war against their enemies or for assisting the poor; but the clergy held a contrary opinion, and maintained that for no reason whatever should this idolatry be permitted. At length the Archbishop and the Inquisitor on their own authority removed the relic, and, having put it on a vessel which sailed out about twenty leagues from land, it was thrown into the sea. They would have burned it, but that the idolaters would have then been able to collect the ashes, which would have served as material for some new superstition.

[1] See p. 85.

[2] This is not the island north of Bombay called Salsette, but a district of the same name in Goa territory (Linschoten, i. 177; Fonseca, 1).

[3] This refers, not as Ball suggested, to the monkey god Hanumān, but to the relic tooth of Buddha, which the Portuguese acquired in 1560, when they burnt it and threw the ashes into the Goa river (Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 264 f.). Pyrard de Laval (ii. 145) follows the tradition accepted by Tavernier: 'They used to worship a monkey's tooth, and when that was taken by the Portuguese they wished to buy it back at the price of great riches, but the Portuguese would not restore it, and it was publicly burnt at Goa.' For the tooth in Ceylon see Tennent, *Ceylon*, 3rd ed., ii. 198 ff.; H. W. Cave, *Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, 90, 117.

There are in Goa numbers of people connected with the Church, for besides the Archbishop and his clergy there are Dominicans, Augustins, Cordeliers, Barefoot Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins, who are like the Recollects, with two houses of nuns, of which the Augustins are the Directors. The Carmelites, who are the last comers, are the best housed of all, and, although they are a little removed from the heart of the town, they have otherwise the advantages of enjoying fresh air, and of having the most healthy house in all Goa. It is on a fine elevation, where the wind blows about it, and is well built, with two galleries, one above the other.[1] The Augustins, who were the first comers in Goa, were well situated at the base of a small elevation, their church being on the main street with a handsome square in front.[2] But the Jesuits, having built a house, begged the Augustins to sell them the elevated ground, which was then unoccupied, under pretext of wishing to make a garden for the recreation of their scholars; and, having at length purchased it, they built a splendid college, which shut out the convent of the Augustins, and prevented it from receiving any fresh air. They have had great disputes with one another over this matter, but the Jesuits have at length gained their case.

The Jesuit Fathers are known at Goa by the name of Paulists, on account of their grand church dedicated to St. Paul.[3] They do not wear hats or three-cornered caps as in Europe, but a kind of cap which resembles, in form, a hat from which the brim has been removed, being somewhat like the caps of the slaves of the Grand Seigneur, which I have described in my account of the Seraglio. They have five houses in Goa, which are, the College of St. Paul, the Seminary, the Monks' House, the Noviciate, and the Bon Jesus.[4] The paintings of the ceiling of this last church are admirable. In the year 1663 the greater part of the College was burnt by an accident which happened in the night, and it cost them near 60,000 écus to rebuild it.

[1] For the Convent and Church of the Carmelites see Fonseca, 256 f.; Fryer, ii. 13. For the Recollects, *v.* p. 183 *n.*, below.

[2] Pyrard de Laval, ii. 57; Linschoten, i. 178; Fonseca, 311.

[3] Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 688; Mundy, iii, pt. 1, 163.

[4] Fonseca, 279 ff.

The hospital at Goa was formerly renowned throughout India ; and, as it possessed a considerable income, sick persons were very well attended to. This was still the case when I first went to Goa ; but since this hospital has changed its managers, patients are badly treated, and many Europeans who enter it do not leave it saye to be carried to the tomb.[1] It is but a short time since the secret of treatment by frequent bleedings was discovered ; and it is repeated, according to need, up to thirty or forty times, as long as bad blood comes, as was done to myself on one occasion when at Surat ; and as soon as the bad blood is removed, which is like an apostume, the sick person is out of danger.[2] Butter and meat are to him as poison, for if he eats them he puts his life in danger. Formerly some small ragouts were made for the convalescent, but they must nowadays content themselves with beef-tea and a basin of rice. Generally all the poor people who begin to recover their health cry out from thirst, and beg for a little water to drink ; but those who wait upon them, who are at present blacks or Mestifs [3]—avaricious persons, and without mercy—do not give a drop without receiving something, that is to say, unless some money is placed in their hands, and to give colour to this wickedness they give it only in secret, saying that the physician forbids it. Sweets and confectionery are not wanting, but they do not contribute much to the establishment of health, which in a hot country rather requires nourishing food.

I forgot to make a remark upon the frequent bleedings in reference to Europeans—namely, that in order to recover their colour and get themselves into perfect health, it is prescribed for them to drink for twelve days three glasses of . . .[4] one in the morning, one at midday, and one in the evening ; but, as this drink cannot but be very disagreeable, the convalescent swallows as little of it as possible, however much he may desire to recover his health. This remedy has been learnt from the

[1] For the Royal Hospital at Goa in its best days see Pyrard de Laval, ii. 3 ff. It was afterwards removed, the site of the original building being included in the Arsenal (Fonseca, 228 ff.).

[2] Fryer (ii. 14) notices the excessive use of bleeding in Goa.

[3] Mestiços, Half-castes (see p. 166).

[4] Pissat de vache in orig.

idolaters of the country,[1] and whether the convalescent makes use of it or not, he is not allowed to leave the hospital till the twelve days have expired during which he is supposed to partake of this drink.

CHAPTER XIV

Concerning what the Author did during his sojourn at Goa on his last journey in 1648.

Two days before my departure from Vengurla for Goa I wrote to M. de Saint Amant, the chief engineer, to beg him to arrange to send me an armed boat, on account of the Malabaris who infest these coasts; this he immediately did. I departed from Vengurla on the 20th of January 1648, and arrived at Goa on the 21st. As it was late, I postponed till the morrow going to pay my respects to the Viceroy Dom Philippe de Mascaregnas, who had formerly been Governor of Ceylon.[2] He received me well, and during the space of nearly two months which I spent at Goa, on five or six occasions he sent a gentleman to conduct me to the Powderhouse,[3] outside the town, where he very often stayed. He took pleasure in showing me guns and other things of that nature, regarding which he asked my opinion; and, among several presents which I made to him on my arrival, he was specially pleased with a very curiously and richly decorated pistol. When passing Aleppo, the French Consul had given it to me, its fellow having been unfortunately lost. It was a present which the nation intended to make to the Pasha, who would have been able to boast the possession of a pair of the most beautiful and best made pistols in all Asia. The Viceroys of Goa do not permit any one, whoever he may be—not even their own children—to sit at their table; but in the hall where they

[1] Hindus have much respect for the five products of the sacred cow (*panchgavya*), of which this is one. See Mrs. S. Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, 166.

[2] Dom Filippe Mascarenhas, the 26th Viceroy, held office from 1646 to 1651 (Fonseca, 92). See Manucci, i. 232, and other references in the index; Bernier, 17 f.

[3] Casa de Polvora, at Panelim (Fonseca, 214.)

take their meals there is a small space partitioned off, where covers are laid for the principal officers, as is done in the Courts of the Princes of Germany.[1] On the following day I went to pay a visit to the Archbishop,[2] and I reserved the day after for that which I owed to the Inquisitor. But when I went to his house he sent one of his gentlemen to say that he much regretted that he was unable to see me that day on account of the dispatches under preparation for Portugal, for which were two vessels that were about to sail waited. Nevertheless, if it was in reference to a matter of conscience, he would leave everything in order to speak to me. Having informed the gentleman that I had only come to pay my respects, and proposing to withdraw at once, he begged me to tarry a moment; and after he had reported what I had told him to the Inquisitor, he returned to assure me, on the part of his master, that the latter was obliged to me, and that as soon as the vessels had started he would send to let me know, so that we might have our interview at leisure.

As soon as the vessels had left, the same gentleman came, on the part of the Inquisitor, to tell me that the latter would expect me at about two or three p.m. in the house of the Inquisition,[3] for he dwelt in another, and both houses are very magnificent. I did not fail to be at the place indicated at the prescribed hour; and on my arrival a page appeared, who conducted me into the great hall, where, after I had walked up and down for about a quarter of an hour, an officer came to conduct me into the room where the Inquisitor was. After passing through two grand galleries and some suites of rooms, I entered a small chamber where the Inquisitor awaited me seated at the end of a large table, made like a billiard table, and both the table and all the furniture in the room were covered with green cloth brought from England.

[1] 'The viceroy treats none with familiarity, nor ever goes to assemblies or banquets' (Pyrard de Laval, ii. 78). The President of Surat always dined alone, except on great occasions (Rawlinson, 122).

[2] Dom Fr. Francisco dos Martyres, 1636–52 (Fonseca, 72.)

[3] For the Inquisition at Goa see Pyrard de Laval, ii. 92 ff.; P. della Valle, ii. 421; Fonseca, 210 ff.; Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, Oxford, 1921, i. 242.

As soon as I entered he told me I was welcome, and after I had presented my compliments he asked me what my religion was. I replied that I professed the Protestant religion. He then asked me whether my father and mother were also of the same religion, and I having replied that they were, he repeated that I was welcome, calling out to some persons who were close by to come in. At once a corner of the curtain was lifted, and I caught sight of ten or twelve persons who were in a small chamber at the side. The first who entered were two Augustin friars, and they were followed by two Dominicans, two Barefoot Carmelites, and some other ecclesiastics, to whom the Inquisitor straightway explained who I was, that I had no forbidden books with me, and that, being aware of the order to that effect, I had left my Bible at Vengurla. We conversed together for more than two hours about many things, particularly regarding my travels, all the company assuring me that they enjoyed hearing my account. Three days afterwards the Inquisitor invited me to dine with him at a fine house which is situated about half a league from the town, and belongs to the Barefoot Carmelites.[1] It is one of the most beautiful buildings in India, and I shall relate in a few words how these monks acquired possession of it. There was in Goa a nobleman whose father and grandfather had made much by trade, who built this house, which might be regarded as a splendid palace. He did not wish to marry, and, caring for nothing but religion, was frequently with the Augustins, for whom he manifested such affection that he made a will by which he bequeathed them all his wealth, provided that on his death they would inter him on the right side of the great altar, where they were to prepare for him a splendid tomb. According to common report this gentleman was a leper—a report which some persons diligently spread, seeing that he had given all his goods to the Augustins. It was said that the place on the right side of the altar was reserved for a Viceroy, and that it was not proper to place a leper there, to which the public generally and some even of the Augustins assented. Some Fathers of the convent having visited him and begged him to select some other

[1] Near the hill Nossa Senhora de Monte (Fonseca, 256 ff.): see Fryer, ii. 13.

place in the Church, he was so annoyed by the suggestion that he never returned to the Augustins, and went to his devotions with the Barefoot Carmelites, who received him with open arms, and accepted the conditions which the others had refused. He did not live long after he had made friends with these monks, who buried him with magnificence, and succeeded to all his property, including this superb mansion, where we were splendidly entertained with music during the repast.

I remained at Goa from the 21st of January to the 11th of March [1648], on the evening of which day I quitted it, after taking leave of the Viceroy. I also begged permission for the departure of a French gentleman named du Belloy,[1] which was granted me; but by his imprudence, this gentleman, who had not told me why he was at Goa, had a very narrow escape of being brought back, and I too of being carried along with him, before the Inquisition. This is the way he came to India, and his history as he told it to me: He had left his father's house in order to visit Holland, where, having spent more than he should, and not meeting any one who would lend him money, he resolved to go to India. He enlisted under the Dutch Company as a common soldier, and arrived at Batavia at the time when the Dutch were fighting with the Portuguese in the island of Ceylon.[2] As soon as he had arrived he was included among the recruits who were being sent to that island, and the General of the Dutch troops, seeing a reinforcement of brave soldiers commanded by a French captain named St. Amant,[3] full of courage and experience, resolved to lay siege to Negombo,[4] one of the towns in the island of Ceylon. Three successive assaults were made upon it, in which all the Frenchmen bore themselves bravely, especially St. Amant and Jean de Rose, who were both wounded.

The Dutch General, recognizing in these two men of courage,

[1] See p. 166, below.

[2] The war began with the arrival of Admiral Westerwold in 1638. There was an armistice in 1640 and Colombo was captured on 12th May 1656 (Tennent, *Ceylon*, ii. 42 ff.)

[3] Elsewhere called St. Amand.

[4] Negumbe in the original, it is Negombo, a town and fort about 20 miles north of Colombo in Ceylon (Tennent, *Ceylon*, ii. 630).

promised them as a reward that if Negombo were taken one of them would be made Governor of it. The place having at length been taken the General kept his promise to St. Amant, but when the news was sent to Batavia, a young man who had only recently arrived from Holland, a relative of the General, was appointed Governor of Negombo, to the prejudice of St. Amant, and came with orders from the Council at Batavia to displace him. St. Amant, finding himself thus treated, deserted with fifteen or twenty soldiers, the majority of whom were French, among them being MM. du Belloy, des Marests, and Jean de Rose, and joined with them the Portuguese Army. This small band of brave men, however, gave courage to the Portuguese, who advanced to the attack of Negombo, whence they had been driven, and they took it at the second assault.[1] At this time Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas was Governor of the island of Ceylon, and of all the places dependent on Portugal. He lived in the town of Colombo, and having received letters from Goa informing him of the death of the Viceroy, and conveying an invitation from the Council and all the nobility to take the vacant place, before leaving he desired to see St. Amant and those he had brought over with him and reward them. Dom Philippe was a gallant gentleman, and when he had seen them he resolved to take them with him to Goa, either because he thought he would have there the best opportunity of promoting them, or because he wished to have with him a body of resolute men on account of the Malabaris, who were lying in wait for him with about forty vessels, whereas he had but twenty-two. When near Cape Comorin the wind became so contrary, and so violent a tempest arose, that the whole fleet was dispersed, and many vessels were unhappily lost. Those who were in that of Dom Philippe exerted all their skill to bring it to land, but seeing they were unable to accomplish their object, and that it was breaking up, St. Amant, with five or six of his companions, including des Marests, du Belloy, and Jean de Rose, threw themselves into the sea with cords and pieces of wood, and managed so well that they saved Dom Philippe, and they themselves also escaped with him. To shorten this long story, on their arrival at Goa,

[1] For the capture and recapture of Negombo see Tennent, ii. 43 ff.

Dom Philippe, after he had made his entry as Viceroy, appointed St. Amant to the post of Grand Master of Artillery and Inspector-General of all the fortresses belonging to the Portuguese in India. Subsequently he arranged his marriage to a young girl, with whom he received a fortune of 20,000 écus. Her father was an Englishman, who had quitted the Company's service and had married the illegitimate daughter of a Viceroy of Goa. As for Jean de Rose, he asked the Viceroy to send him back to Colombo, where, with his permission, he married a young Mestive [1] widow, who brought him a large fortune. Dom Philippe, who had a very high opinion of des Marests, having witnessed his gallant deeds, and the many wounds which he received at the siege of Negombo, appointed him captain of his bodyguard, which was the best office at Court. It may be added that he was especially indebted for his own life to him, des Marests being the one who saved him from the wreck by taking him on his shoulders. Du Belloy asked to be permitted to go to Macao, and leave was granted to him. He had heard that some of the nobility retired thither after having acquired fortunes by trade, that they received strangers well, and that they loved gambling, which was du Belloy's strongest passion. He remained two years at Macao, greatly enjoying himself, and when his cash ran low these nobles willingly lent him some. One day, after winning about 6,000 écus,[2] and going back to play, he had the misfortune to lose all, and a considerable sum besides, which his friends had lent him. When he realized his loss, and that no one was willing to lend him more, he began to swear at a picture representing some holy subject, which was in the room, saying, in the rage which the majority of players feel, that this picture which was before his eyes was the cause of his loss, and that if it had not been there he would have won. Forthwith the Inquisitor was informed, for in all the towns in India which belong to the Portuguese there is one of these officials, whose power, however, is limited, for he has only authority to arrest the person who has said or done anything against religion, to examine the witnesses, and to send the offender with the informations by the first ship starting for Goa. There the

[1] Mestive, cf. Mestiços, half-castes, p. 160.

[2] £1 350.

Inquisitor-General has the power to acquit him or condemn him to death. Du Belloy was accordingly put on board a small vessel of ten or twelve guns with his feet in irons, while the captain was warned to watch him well, and that he would be held personally answerable for him. But as soon as they got to sea, the captain, who was a gallant man, and knew that Du Belloy was of good family, ordered his irons to be removed, and even made him eat at his table, taking care to supply him with clean linen and clothes necessary for the voyage, which lasted some forty days.

They arrived at Goa on the 19th of February 1649, and the vessel had scarcely reached port when St. Amant came on board on the part of the Viceroy, both to receive letters and learn what was going on in China. His surprise was great on seeing du Belloy's condition, and learning that the captain would not allow him to land till he had delivered him to the Inquisitor. Nevertheless, as St. Amant at that time possessed great authority, by force of his entreaties he obtained permission from the captain for du Belloy to go with him to the town. Du Belloy purposely again put on his old clothes, which were all in rags and full of vermin, and St. Amant, who knew that it would not do to play with the Inquisition, went first to present him to the Inquisitor, who, seeing this gentleman in so poor a condition, took pity on him, and allowed him the run of the town as his prison till he should see what the advices regarding him were, on condition, however, that he should present himself when required to do so. After these proceedings St. Amant brought du Belloy to my lodging, just as I was on the point of going out to visit the Bishop of Mire (i.e. Myra in Lycia),[1] whom I had formerly known at Constantinople when he was guardian of the Franciscans of Galata. I asked them to await my return, and to dine with me, which they did, after which I offered board and lodging to M. du Belloy, who stayed with me, and I ordered three suits of clothes and whatever linen was necessary for his use.

I remained for eight or ten days longer at Goa, during which time it was impossible for me to induce M. du Belloy to put

[1] *Ency. Brit.*, xix, 113 f. On the religious importance of Myra see *Ency. Biblica*, iii. 3245 f.

on his new clothes. But he would never tell me why, while from day to day he promised me to wear them. Being on the point of departure I told him I was about to take leave of the Viceroy, and he besought me earnestly to try to obtain permission for him to go with me. I did so willingly and with success. We left the same evening in the vessel by which I had come, and immediately M. du Belloy began taking off his old clothes and putting on a new suit, threw his old ones into the sea, and continued swearing against the Inquisition without giving me any reason, for I was then unaware of what had passed. In my amazement at hearing him swear in this manner, I told him that he was not yet out of the hands of the Portuguese, and that he and I, with my five or six servants, would never be able to defend ourselves against the forty men who rowed our boat. I asked him why he swore in this way against the Inquisition, and he replied that he would tell me the whole story from beginning to end ; this he did when we reached Vengurla, where we arrived at eight o'clock in the morning. On landing, we met some Dutchmen with the Commander, who had come down to the seashore to eat oysters and drink Spanish wine. They asked me at once who it was I had with me. I told them that he was a gentleman, who came with the French Ambassador to Portugal, and embarked for India with four or five others, who were still at Goa, and that, as neither his residence in the town nor the manners of the Portuguese were pleasing to him, he asked me to help him to get back to Europe. Three or four days later I bought him a country mount, i.e. an ox,[1] to enable him to travel to Surat, and I gave him an attendant to serve him, with a letter to the Capuchin, Father Zenon, begging the Father to give him, through my broker, 10 écus a month for his expenditure, and to obtain from the English President permission for him to embark on the first opportunity. This, however, did not come about, for Father Zenon took him back to Goa when he went thither on the business of Father Ephraim his comrade, of which I shall speak in the next chapter. Father Zenon thought, no doubt, that du Belloy,[2] by showing himself to the Inquisi-

[1] See p. 35–6 above.

[2] M. de la Boullaye le Gouz is referred to on p. 179 as the person who

tion and asking pardon, would obtain it easily. It is true that he did obtain it, but only after two years spent in the Inquisition, when he came out wearing a brimstone-coloured shirt with a great St. Andrew's cross on the front of it. He had with him another Frenchman called Maître Louys de Bar-sur-Seine, who was treated in the same fashion, and they both had to go in procession with those who were led to torture. M. du Belloy had made a mistake in returning to Goa, and did much worse in showing himself at Vengurla, where the Dutch, who had learnt by the advices they had received from the Commander at Surat that he had previously escaped from their service, seized him immediately, and placed him on a vessel which was going to Batavia. They said they had sent him to the General of the Company to be disposed of as that officer should think proper. But I know on good authority that when the vessel was a short distance from land they put this poor gentleman into a sack and threw him into the sea. This, then, was the end of M. du Belloy, but that of M. des Marests had nothing tragical about it, as will be seen from his history, which I shall relate in a few words.

M. des Marests was a gentleman of Dauphiné, from the neighbourhood of Loriol, who, having fought a duel, and killed his man, fled into Poland, where he performed some gallant acts, which secured for him the esteem and affection of the General of the Polish Army. At this time the Grand Seigneur kept two Polish Princes as prisoners at Constantinople in the Castle of the Seven Towers, and the General, knowing the valour and skill of des Marests, who was enterprising, and a good engineer into the bargain, proposed to him to go to Constantinople to see if by any means he could manage to get the Princes out of prison. Des Marests accepted this commission very willingly, and would no doubt have had the good fortune to succeed if he had not been discovered by certain Turks, who accused him of having been seen examining the Seven Towers with too much attention, and, with pencil in hand, making a plan in order to accomplish some evil design. This had been sufficient to cause the destruction of this

accompanied Father Zenon to Goa, but the occasion was apparently different from this one. See Manucci, iv. 457.

man if M. de Cesi, the Ambassador of France, had not so arranged that the matter was promptly arranged by a present (this in Turkey is the most sovereign remedy in such troublesome matters), and by representing that he was a young gentleman who was travelling for his pleasure, and proposed going to Persia by the first opportunity. It was not, however, the intention of the Sieur des Marests to go further, and he was waiting his opportunity to return to Poland after having done all that was possible to get the Princes out of prison ; but to escape from the hands of the Turks he was obliged to say that he was going to Persia, and to act moreover so that in fact he did go thither.

The Grand Seigneur had resolved never to give their freedom to these Princes, but they were lucky enough at length to find means of winning over a young Turk, son of the Captain of the Seven Towers, to whom his father generally entrusted the keys of the prison. On the night selected for their flight this young man pretended to lock certain doors, but left the padlocks open, and took the keys to his father ; but he did not dare to do the same to the two principal doors—at one of which the captain with the main guard was stationed—for fear of being discovered. The young man, who was entirely devoted to the Princes had well considered his plans and made timely provision of rope-ladders in order to get over two of the walls. But for that purpose it was necessary to have some correspondent outside, and also some one inside who shared this important secret. As the severest rigour was not observed towards the Princes they were allowed to receive some dishes from the kitchen of the French Ambassador, and the groom of the kitchen, who was in the plot, sent them on different occasions some pastry filled with ropes, of which they made ladders to aid them in their escape. The matter was so well planned and so well carried out that it succeeded, and the young Turk followed the Princes into Poland, where he became a Christian, and received an ample reward in appointments and money. The others who had aided in the escape of the Princes were rewarded in like manner, and the latter, when they reached Poland, made ample acknowledgement of the services which had been rendered to them by each person.

In due course M. des Marests arrived at Ispahān, and first addressed himself to the Rev. Capuchin Fathers, who brought him to my lodging, where I offered him a room, with a place at my table. He made some stay at Ispahān, during which he became acquainted with the English and Dutch, who showed a high regard for him, as he indeed well deserved. But it happened one day that his curiosity made him undertake too rash an adventure, and he nearly brought destruction upon himself, and with himself upon all the Franks at Ispahān. Near the caravansarāī where we lodged is a large bath to which men and women go by turns on certain days,[1] and the Queen of Bījāpur, during her sojourn at Ispahān on her return from Mecca,[2] was very fond of going to converse with the wives of the Franks, because the garden of her house adjoined the bath where they generally went. The Sieur des Marests, eagerly desiring to see what passed among these women, satisfied his curiosity by means of a crevice which he had observed in the roof of the bath, where he went sometimes ; and mounting from outside upon this roof, which was flat, and such as I have described in my accounts of the Seraglio and of Persia—by a hidden way which adjoined the caravansarāī where we were dwelling, he lay down on his stomach and saw through this crevice, that which he so much desired to behold without being himself perceived. He went, in this way, ten or twelve times, and unable to restrain himself from telling me one day, I warned him against returning, and told him that he was risking his own destruction, and with himself the destruction of all the Franks.[3] But instead of profiting by my advice, he went again two or three times, and on the last occasion he was discovered by one of the female attendants of the bath, in charge of the sheets, who for the purpose of drying them upon the poles which project from the roof, had ascended by a small ladder which led to the top. Seeing a man stretched out there she seized his hat and began to raise an alarm ; but the Sieur des Marests, to extricate himself from so dangerous a scrape, and to hinder the woman from making

[1] For this custom see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed., ii. 36.
[2] See p. 148.
[3] On the danger of such prying see instances in Fryer, iii. 130.

more noise, made a sign to her to be silent, and promptly placed in her hands two tomāns,[1] which by good luck he had with him out of the money I had given him for his expenses. When he returned to the caravansarāī I saw he looked scared, and concluding that something unpleasant had happened to him, I pressed him to say what it was. With some reluctance he at length admitted that he had been discovered by the woman, but had tried to silence her with money. He no sooner made this confession than I told him he must at once take flight, and that the danger was very much greater than he supposed. The Dutch Commander, whom it was desirable to inform of what had occurred, in order that a quick remedy might be applied to an evil of which we feared the immediate results, advised his departure at once, and we gave him a mule and as much money as he required to enable him to reach Bandar,[2] and to embark there on the first vessel sailing for Surat.

I gave him a letter of recommendation to the English President, who was a friend of mine, and asked him to advance him up to 200 écus if he should require them. I spoke very well of him in my letter, and I mentioned the offer which the Dutch Commander had made him at Ispahān, to send him to Batavia with letters to the General, who would certainly employ him according to his merit ; and, as a matter of fact, at this time, the Dutch being at war with the Portuguese in the island of Ceylon, a man of courage and intelligence like M. des Marests would be very useful to them. He was therefore strongly pressed to accept employment from them, they showed him great kindness and attention, and made him presents during his sojourn at Ispahān. But at length he told them that, not being of their religion, he felt some scruple in serving with them against the Portuguese, and that this was the only reason that prevented him from accepting the offers which they so kindly made him. The letters which I gave him for the English President contained an account of all this,

[1] Tomān, £3 9*s.* ; see p. 20. The tomān was not a coin, as might be inferred from this, but a money of account. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 928 f.

[2] i. e. Bandar 'Abbās, or Gombroon ; see p. 3.

but the Sieur des Marests preferring to serve the Portuguese, the President, who wrote in his favour to the Viceroy, by whom he was much liked, laid stress upon the offer by the Dutch, in order to render this gentleman's services more acceptable. The Viceroy also gave him a good reception, and when the Sieur des Marests made known to him that he desired to go to the island of Ceylon and take service in the Portuguese Army, he left by the first opportunity with very favourable letters from the Viceroy for Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas, who was still Governor of all the places which the Portuguese possessed in the island and its neighbourhood. He arrived three days after they had lost Negombo, and when the Portuguese retook the place, as I have above said, the Sieur des Marests was one of those who received most wounds and acquired most glory. It was he also who did most to save Dom Philippe from the shipwreck; and Dom Philippe, when he became Viceroy, thought that he deserved no less a recompense than the office of Captain of his Guards, in which he died three or four months afterwards. He was deeply regretted by the Viceroy, by whom he was much loved, and he left all his property to a priest with whom he had established a very close friendship, on condition that he paid me 250 écus which I had lent him; this I had nevertheless much difficulty in obtaining from the priest.

During my sojourn at Goa I was told the history of a caravel[1] which had arrived a short time previously from Lisbon. When about to make the Cape of Good Hope she was caught by a storm which lasted five or six days, and so much confused the sailors that they knew not where they were. At length they entered a bay 30 leagues away from the Cape,[2] where they found many houses, and as soon as they had anchored they saw all the beach lined with men, women, and children, who showed their astonishment at seeing white people, and a vessel like the caravel. The difficulty was that

[1] 'The Portuguese *caravel* is described by Bluteau as a round vessel (i. e. not long and sharp like a galley) with lateen sails, ordinarily of 200 tons burthen' (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 162.)

[2] In vol. ii. p. 27, it is stated that this voyage was made in 1648, and that the distance was 18 or 20 leagues from the Cape!

they could understand one another only by signs, and after the Portuguese had given these Cafres tobacco, biscuits, and spirits, the latter brought in return on the following day many ostriches and other birds resembling large geese, but so fat that they had scarcely any lean upon them.[1] The feathers of these birds are very handsome, and those on the belly are good for stuffing beds. One of the Portuguese sailors who belonged to this vessel sold me a large cushion made with these feathers, and told me all that had happened in the bay, where the ship remained twenty-seven days. From time to time they made some presents to the Cafres, such as knives, hatchets, imitation coral and imitation pearls, in the hope of finding out if any trade could be established, and particularly whether gold was to be obtained,—for they noticed among these people some who had pieces of it in their ears, hammered on both sides, like nails (rivets) of a lock. They brought two of these Cafres to Goa, as I shall presently relate, and I saw one of them who had five or six of these pieces of gold in each ear. The sailor told me that some of the women wore them also at the tip of the chin and in the nostrils. Eight or nine days after the Portuguese arrived in the bay the Cafres brought them small pieces of ambergris, a little gold, and some elephants' tusks—but very small—ostriches and other birds, and some deer.[2] As for fish, they received a great quantity. They did all that they could by signs to ascertain where this ambergris, which was very choice, had been obtained. The Viceroy showed me a small piece of it which did not weigh half an ounce, but he told me he had never before seen any of such good quality. They also tried hard to discover from whence the gold was obtained,—for as regards the elephants' tusks they had no difficulty, seeing, as they did every morning, numerous elephants coming to drink at a river which discharged itself into the bay. At length the Portuguese, after a sojourn of

[1] These were penguins, of which one if not two species are still found near the Cape of Good Hope : *Ency. Brit.*, xxi. 89. See vol. ii. 302, 307 ; *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, ii. Introd. xxxviii f. ; Pyrard de Laval, i. 16, 97.

[2] Cerfs. These must have been antelope, as there are no deer in that part of Africa.

three weeks,[1] seeing that through inability to understand one another it was impossible to discover anything, resolved to make sail with the first favourable wind. There were always some of these Cafres on board the vessel, because the crew were liberal to them with tobacco, biscuit, and spirits, and two of them were carried off to Goa, in the hope that they would be able to learn Portuguese, or that some child who might be placed in their company would acquire their language. The sailor told me that when they set sail, the Cafres, observing that two of their people, who apparently were persons of consequence, were being carried off, tore their hair, striking themselves on the stomach like people in a frenzy, yelling and howling in a horrible manner. But, after their arrival at Goa, they never learnt the Portuguese language, and thus, as was expected, no information could be acquired about the country; whence the Portuguese carried away only two pounds' weight of gold and three pounds of ambergris, with thirty-five or forty elephants' tusks. One of these Cafres survived only six months, and the other but fifteen, both having died of sorrow and pining. All this information was obtained through M. de Saint Amant, Engineer and Inspector-General of all the Portuguese fortresses in India, who employed in his service the sailor who told me of this discovery.

From Goa I returned to Vengurla, whence I went to Batavia, as I shall elsewhere relate,[2] wishing to give a full account of all that occurred to me during the voyage thither and on my return by sea from Batavia to Europe. But I should not forget to mention one thing which happened at Vengurla during the nine days I spent there, before I departed for Goa in the vessel sent me by M. de Saint Amant. An Idolater having died, and the fire being ready in the pit to burn the body according to custom, his wife, who had no children, obtained the permission of the Governor and went to the pit with the priests and her relatives to be burnt with the body of her husband. While they made the three circuits which they are accustomed to make round the pit, suddenly such heavy rain fell that the priests, wishing to withdraw to shelter, threw the woman into

[1] In vol. ii. 27, fifteen days.

[2] See vol. ii. 298 ff.

the pit. But the rain was so heavy and lasted so long that it put out the fire, and the woman was not burnt. Rising at midnight, she knocked at the house of one of her relatives, where several Dutchmen and the Capuchin Father Zenon went to see her. She was in a frightful condition, hideous and disfigured, but the pain she had already suffered did not prevent her from going, attended by her relations, to be burnt two days later. I shall speak fully of this barbarous superstition in my discourse on the religion and ceremonies of the Idolaters.[1]

CHAPTER XV

History of Father Ephraim, Capuchin, and how he was cast into the Inquisition at Goa.[2]

THE Shaikh [3] who married the eldest of the Princesses of Golkonda was unable, as I have related, to induce the Rev. Father Ephraim to stay at Bhāgnagar, where he offered to build him a house and church, so he gave him an ox and two servants to convey him to Masulipatam, where he expected to embark for Pegu, according to the instructions received from his Superiors. But as he could not find any vessel in which he could embark, the English managed so well that they attracted him to Madras, where they have a fort named Fort St. George,[4] and a general office for all dependencies of

[1] See bk. iii, ch. ix. Escapes of widows from the pyre were not infrequent. Job Charnock is said to have married a woman he rescued (Hedges, *Diary*, ed. Yule, ii. 90); Sleeman, *Rambles*, 25; Manucci, ii. 157; Bernier, 313; Bowrey, 40.

[2] It is now unnecessary to annotate this chapter in detail, as the story is told, with Irvine's notes, in Manucci, iii. 428, iv. 31 ff.; W. Foster, *English Factories in India, 1651–1654*, Introd. xxviii. 92.

[3] See pp. 131 f.

[4] Madrespatan in original, Madras and Fort St. George. The first British settlement dates from 1639, when a site for a factory was granted to Mr. Francis Day by Sri Ranga Rāyal, Rājā of Chandragirī. Up to 1653 the settlement was subordinate to the Chief of Bantam in Java; but it was then raised to the rank of a Presidency. For its subsequent growth and development reference may be made to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, xvi. 368, and *Madras in the Olden Times*, by Talboys Wheeler, Madras, 1882.

the kingdom of Golkonda and the countries of Bengal and Pegu. They advised him that he would have a greater harvest to reap there than in any other part of India where he could go, and they built him a good house and a church. But in reality the English were not seeking the good of Father Ephraim so much as their own ; and you must know why they wished to retain him among them. Madras is only half a league from St. Thomé,[1] a small maritime town on the Coromandel coast, fairly well built, and belonging at that time to the Portuguese.

Its trade was considerable, especially in cottons, and many artisans and merchants dwelt there, the majority of whom would have been very glad to settle with the English at Madras, but for the fact that there were opportunities at that time for the exercise of their religion in that place. But since the English built this church and kept Father Ephraim, many of the Portuguese left St. Thomé, attracted principally by the great care which this devout man took to instruct the people, preaching to them every Sunday and on all festivals, both in Portuguese and in the language of the country—a thing which was very unusual while they dwelt at St. Thomé. Father Ephraim came from Auxerre,[2] and was a brother of M. de Château des Bois, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, and he possessed a happy genius for all kinds of languages, so that in a short time he acquired both English and Portuguese in perfection. The ecclesiastics of St. Thomé, observing that Father Ephraim enjoyed a high reputation, and attracted by his teaching large numbers of their flock to Madras, conceived so much jealousy of him that they resolved to ruin him ; and they made use of the following means to accomplish their object :—The English and Portuguese being such close neighbours, they naturally had occasional differences, and generally both nations employed Father Ephraim to settle these, because he was a man of peace and of good

[1] Saint Thomé, St. Thomas's Mount, a cantonment in the Saidapet division of Chingleput District, 8 miles south of Madras city and called by the Indians Parangi malai, or 'European hill' (*Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. 778 ; *Imperial Gazetteer*, xxi. 387.)

[2] Auxerre, in the northern part of the province of Burgundy, on the banks of the Yonne.

sense, and knew both languages perfectly. One day the Portuguese purposely picked a quarrel and beat some English sailors, whose ship was in the St. Thomé roads. The English President thereupon demanding satisfaction for this insult, strife began to kindle between the two nations, and would have ruined all the trade of the country if the merchants on both sides had not set themselves to arrange the affair, knowing nothing of the vile plot which certain persons were weaving to catch Father Ephraim. But all the mediation of these merchants availed nothing, and by the intrigues of the Portuguese ecclesiastics, it was so managed that the Father got mixed up in the matter, became the mediator, and undertook to conduct the negotiations between both sides—a part which he very readily undertook. But he had no sooner entered St. Thomé than he was seized by ten or twelve officers of the Inquisition, who placed him in a small armed frigate, which at once set sail for Goa. They put irons on his feet and hands, and during a voyage of twenty-two days they never permitted him to land, although the majority of those on the frigate slept on shore nearly every night, it being the custom to sail from place to place along these coasts. On arrival at Goa, they waited till dark to land Father Ephraim and conduct him to the house of the Inquisition, for they feared lest by landing him in the daytime the people might have wind of it, and make an attempt to release a person so venerated in all that part of India. The report spread however in many directions that Father Ephraim the Capuchin was in the hands of the Inquisition, and as many people arrived daily at Surat from the Portuguese territories, we were among the first to receive the news, which amazed all the Franks residing there. Father Zenon the Capuchin, who had formerly been a companion of Father Ephraim, was most surprised and most specially annoyed ; and after consulting with his friends regarding the affair, he resolved to go to Goa at the risk of himself falling into the hands of the Inquisition. It was in truth a risk ; for after a man is shut up in the Inquisition, if any one has the hardihood to speak for him to the Inquisitor, or to any member of his Council, he is himself immediately placed in the Inquisition, and is regarded as more criminal

than the person on whose behalf he desired to speak. Neither the Archbishop of Goa nor the Viceroy himself dare interpose, they being the only persons over whom the Inquisition has no power. But even should they do anything which gives offence, the Inquisitor and his Council write to Portugal,[1] and, if it be so ordered by the King and the Inquisitor-General, when the answers arrive, proceedings are taken against these dignitaries, and they are remanded to Portugal.

Father Zenon was therefore not a little embarrassed, not knowing how to make the journey, as he had no friend to leave in his place nor any one to take with him, for it was then the season of contrary winds, and attacks of the Malabaris are always to be feared. He at length set out, travelling twenty-five or thirty days by land, and took as his companion M. de la Boullaye le Gouz,[2] of whom I have spoken in my account of Persia. The Father paid his expenses to Goa, for his purse had been a long time empty, and he would never have reached Surat but for the aid of the English and Dutch and other Franks, who gave him money at Ispahān.

On his arrival at Goa, Father Zenon was at first visited by some friends there, who, knowing the object of his journey, advised him to be careful not to open his mouth on behalf of Father Ephraim, unless he wished to be sent to keep him company in the Inquisition. Every one knows the strictness of this tribunal, and not only is it forbidden, as I have said,

[1] This passage has been rendered intelligible by collation with the French edition of 1713. In that of 1676 it is evidently incomplete, in consequence of the omission of a word. 'L'Inquisiteur et son Conseil en Portugal' should be 'l'Inquisiteur et son Conseil *écrivent* en Portugal,' &c.

[2] On p. 168 Tavernier has mentioned M. du Belloy as the person whom Father Zenon took with him to Goa from Surat, when he went there to obtain the release of Father Ephraim. His visit to Goa, when he was accompanied by Francis de la Boullaye le Gouz, was a different occasion. From Goa they went to Rājāpur, where they were imprisoned, and it was only on their return to Surat, or rather to Souali (i. e. Swally), that Father Zenon heard of the imprisonment of Father Ephraim. Tavernier writes the name Boulaye le Goût. Tavernier's statement about the poverty of le Gouz is also possibly incorrect, as the latter records that he refused an offer of money from the Viceroy of Goa. See his *Voyages*, Paris, 1653, and the *Biographie Universelle*, *s.v. Gouz* (*François de la Boullaye le*).

to speak for a prisoner, but moreover the accused is never confronted with those who give evidence against him, nor even allowed to know their names. Father Zenon perceiving that he was unable to accomplish anything at Goa, advised M. de la Boullaye to return to Surat, and entrusted to him 50 écus which he was to give at Paris to the widow of M. Forest who had died in India. Accordingly, he left for Surat by the first opportunity, and Father Zenon went straight to Madras to find out more exactly all that had passed in connexion with the arrest of Father Ephraim. When he had ascertained the treachery practised upon Father Ephraim at St. Thomé, he resolved to get to the bottom of it, and without the knowledge of the English President confided his plan to the captain in command of the fort, who, like the soldiers, was much enraged at the outrage which had been perpetrated on Father Ephraim. Not only did the captain strongly approve of Father Zenon's plan but he promised to give it his support and to back him in its execution. The Father, by means of the spies whom he had placed in the country, ascertained that the Governor of St. Thomé went every Saturday, early in the morning, to say his prayers in a chapel half a league from the town, situated on a small hill dedicated to the Holy Virgin. He caused three iron gratings to be placed on the window of a small room in the convent, with two good locks on the door and as many padlocks, and having taken all these precautions he went to the captain of the fort, an Irishman of great personal bravery, who kept the promise he had made him to aid in the ambuscade which was laid for the Governor of St. Thomé. He himself headed thirty of his soldiers, and accompanying Father Zenon they all went out of the fort towards midnight, and concealed themselves till daylight in a part of the mountain upon which this chapel of the Holy Virgin was situated, where they could not be seen. The Governor of St. Thomé, according to his custom, did not fail to go to the chapel shortly after sunrise, and when he got out of his pallankeen and ascended the hill, which was rough, on foot, he was immediately seized by the Irish captain and his soldiers, who emerged from the ambuscade with Father Zenon, carried him off to Madras to the convent of the Capuchins, and

imprisoned him in the chamber which had been prepared for him. The Governor, much surprised at finding himself carried off in this manner, protested strongly to Father Zenon, and threatened him with the resentment of the King of Portugal when he heard of this outrage against a Governor of one of his towns. This was his daily discourse during the time he was kept in the cell, and Father Zenon simply replied that he believed he was much more gently treated at Madras than Father Ephraim was in the Inquisition at Goa, whither he, the Governor, had sent him ; that he had only to cause the Father to be brought back, and they would replace him at the foot of the hill where he had been seized with as much right as the others had to carry off Father Ephraim. However, for five or six days the St. Thomé road was crowded with people who came to beseech the English President to exercise his authority and release the Governor. But the President only replied that he was not in his hands, and that after their action towards Father Ephraim he could not in common justice compel Father Zenon to release a person who was one of the authors of the injury done to his companion. The President contented himself with asking the Father to have the goodness to permit his prisoner to dine at his table, promising to surrender him whenever he wished ; this request he obtained easily, but was unable afterwards to keep his promise.

The drummer of the garrison, who was a Frenchman, and a merchant of Marseilles named Roboli, who was then in the fort, two days after the Governor of St. Thomé had entered it, offered him their services to aid him to escape, provided that they were well rewarded ; this he promised them, and also that they should have a free passage on the first vessel sailing from Goa to Portugal. The agreement being made, on the following day the drummer beat the reveille [2] at an earlier hour than usual, and with great vigour, and at the same time the merchant Roboli and the Governor, tieing sheets together, let themselves down by the corner of the bastion, which was not high. The drummer at the same time left his drum and followed them quickly, so that St. Thomé being only a good half league [1] from Madras, they were all three inside

[1] See p. 177 n. [2] 'Diane' in original.

it before anything was known of their departure.[1] The whole population of St. Thomé made great rejoicings at the return of the Governor, and immediately dispatched a boat to Goa to convey the news. The drummer and the merchant Roboli set sail forthwith, and when they reached Goa bearing the letters of the Governor of St. Thomé in their favour, every convent and wealthy house made them presents, and even the Viceroy himself, Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas, treated them kindly, and invited them to embark on his vessel intending to take them to Portugal with him ; but all three, the Viceroy and the two Frenchmen, died at sea.

I shall say in passing that there never was a Viceroy of Goa half so rich as Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas. He possessed a quantity of diamonds—all stones of great weight, from 10 to 40 carats ; two notably, which he showed me when I was at Goa. One of them was a thick stone, weighing 57 and the other 67½ carats, both being fairly clear, of good water, and Indian cut.[2] The report was that the Viceroy was poisoned on the vessel, and it was said that it was a just punishment for his having made away with many persons in the same manner, especially while he was Governor in the island of Ceylon. He always kept some of the most subtle poison to use when he wished his vengeance to be prompt ; and having on that account made many enemies, whom the fate of those he had murdered caused to fear a similar treatment for themselves, he was one morning hung in effigy at Goa, when I was there in the year 1648.

[1] 'To requite the affront of the Portuguese in betraying their French friar, they in February last [1651] seized the Padre governor, intending to detain him until the friar was released ; but on June 11 "in the dead of a darke night hee was conveyed over our walls with the laceing of a cott, and treachery of one Richard Bradbury, our drummer, who for that present had the round and charge of the watch ; and soe they escaped both to St. Thomey." However, with the help of representations from Surat and Bantam, the friar has been set at liberty.' Bradbury went to Macao in 1654, was wrecked and escaped to Macassar, when he was arrested by the English factors, but the Portuguese prevailed upon the King to insist on his release. Tavernier says wrongly that the drummer was a Frenchman and died on his voyage from Goa to Lisbon (W. Foster, *English Factories in India, 1651–1654*, p. 96 f.).

[2] Mīr Jumla, from whom probably the diamonds came, was a great friend of the Viceroy (Manucci, i. 232.)

In the meantime the imprisonment of Father Ephraim made a great sensation in Europe. M. de Château des Bois, his brother, complained of it to the Portuguese Ambassador, who not feeling too sure of his position, wrote promptly about it to the King his master; so that, by the first vessels which left for Goa, an order was sent that Father Ephraim should be released. The Pope also wrote saying that if he were not set free he would excommunicate all the clergy of Goa. But all these letters were of no avail,[1] and Father Ephraim had only the King of Golkonda, who loved him and who had done all he could to induce him to remain at Bhāgnagar, to thank for his liberty. The King had learnt from him some mathematics, like his son-in-law the Arab Prince, who had offered to build a house and church for the Father at his own expense.[2] This he had afterwards done for two Augustin clerics who had come from Goa. The King was then at war with the Rājā of the Province of Carnatica, and his army was close to St. Thomé; as soon therefore as he heard of the evil trick which the Portuguese had played on Father Ephraim he sent an order to Mīr Jumla, the General of his troops, to lay siege to St. Thomé, and to kill and burn all if he could not obtain a definite promise from the Governor of the place that in two months Father Ephraim would be set at liberty. A copy of the King's order was sent to the Governor, and the town was so alarmed that nothing was to be seen but boat after boat setting forth for Goa in order to urge the Viceroy to take measures for Father Ephraim's speedy release. He was accordingly set free, and messengers came to tell him, on the part of the Inquisitor, that he might leave. But although the door was open to him he refused to quit the prison till all the clerics in Goa came in procession to bring him forth. This they promptly did, and after he came out he went to pass fifteen days in the Convent of the Capuchins, who are a kind of Recollects.[3] I have heard Father Ephraim many times say

[1] The Pope's mandates were often disobeyed by Jesuits in the East. (See *Memoirs of the Christian Church in China*, by Rev. R. Gibbings, B.D., Dublin 1862.)

[2] See p. 132.

[3] Members of an Observantine branch of the Franciscan Order, which originated in Spain in the end of the fifteenth century, and were

what distressed him most during his imprisonment was to witness the ignorance of the Inquisitor and his council when they examined him, and he believed that not one of them had ever read the Holy Scriptures. They had placed him in a cell with a Maltese, who was one of the greatest scoundrels under heaven. He did not speak two words without scoffing at God, and passed all the day and a part of the night smoking tobacco, which must have been most unpleasant to Father Ephraim.

When the Inquisition seizes any person he is at once searched, and all that is found in his house in the way of furniture and effects is inventoried to be returned to him should he be found innocent. But as regards gold, silver, or jewels, they are not recorded, and are never seen again, being taken to the Inquisitor for the expenses of the trial. The Rev. Father Ephraim when entering the Inquisition was searched, but there were only found, in the pocket which these monks have sewn to their cloaks in the middle of the back, a comb, an inkhorn, and some pocket handkerchiefs. The searchers forgot that the Capuchins have also a small receptacle in the mantle under the armpit, where some small requisites are carried, and Father Ephraim was not searched in that direction. This left him four or five lead pencils which are covered with wood lest they should be broken, and as the pencil is used you pare off the wood.[1] These pencils afforded a resource whereby Father Ephraim was less wearied during his imprisonment than he otherwise would have been, and that, squint-eyed as he was, he went out with a vision in which there appeared to be scarcely any defect. It is the custom in the Inquisition to ask the prisoners every morning what they wish to eat that day, and it is then supplied them. The Maltese cared for little besides tobacco, and he asked for it at morning, noon, and

so named from the detachment from creatures and recollection in God which the founders aimed at (*New English Dict.*, s.v.: W. E. Addis, T. Arnold, *A Catholic Dict.*, 774.)

[1] This description shows the rarity of lead pencils at the time. Possibly they were of metallic lead, not of graphite, the former having been first used, and having bequeathed its name to the latter. The first reference to the use of graphite for making pencils is in 1565 (*Ency. Brit.*, xxi. 86). Pencil writing is mentioned by Ben Jonson in his *Epicœne* (v. i), which appeared in 1609.

night, which were the times when food was taken to them. This tobacco was all cut and packed in white paper nearly of the size of a quarter of a page, for throughout all the East tobacco in powder, and all drugs and other wares which can be so treated, are wrapped in white paper ; this tends to the profit of the seller, who weighs the paper and the goods together. This is the reason why so much paper is used in Asia, and it is the principal article of trade of the people of Provence,[1] who export theirs even to Persia. I make these remarks in reference to Father Ephraim, who carefully collected all these pieces of white paper in which the tobacco brought to the Maltese was packed, and it was upon them he wrote with his pencil his daily thoughts in prison. This was partly the cause that his sight lost much of its natural defect, and when I beheld him again I had at first some difficulty in believing that he was the same Father Ephraim who had been much squint-eyed previously, as he appeared to be so no longer. The cell where he was confined had for sole window a hole 6 inches square, with bars of iron, and this hole was so placed that when Father Ephraim wished to write he could only have light on the side opposite to that where he ordinarily directed his sight ; and so it was that by degrees it became right ; thus he derived from this fact some advantage during his imprisonment.[2] The Inquisitor refused either to lend him a book or give him the end of a candle, and treated him as sternly as he did a criminal who had already twice gone out of the Inquisition with a sulphur-coloured shirt and the cross of St. Andrew on the front in company to execution with those who were to die, but who had entered it for the third time. It may be said to the glory of Father Ephraim that he showed in his prison as much patience as discretion and

[1] The word in the original is provençaux, which Ball rendered 'people of the provinces', but that would be *provinciaux*. For an account of paper-making in India see Watt, *Comm. Prod.* 861 ff. Nicolò Conti (1420–44) says that the people of Cambay alone used paper, all other Indians writing on the leaves of trees, of which they made beautiful books (R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Nicolò Conti, 31).

[2] The interesting point in this story is altogether lost by the inaccuracy of the English translation of 1684 by John Phillips, which says that 'he lost the *sight* of one of his eyes through the darkness of the chamber'.

charity after he went out of it; and whatever evil the Inquisition had done to him, he was never heard to speak ill of it, nor even to make the least complaint, much less did he ever think of writing anything about it, which would have made public many things not tending to the glory of what the Portuguese call La Sanctissima Casa. Moreover, as I have said, all those who leave the Inquisition are made to swear to say nothing of what they have seen, nor of their examination, and, without breaking their oaths, they cannot speak or write concerning it.

Father Ephraim passed fifteen days at Goa in the Convent of the Capuchins, to regain some strength, after fifteen or twenty months spent in prison, and then set out to return to Madras; when passing Golkonda, he went to thank the King and the Arabian Prince, his son-in-law, for the kindness they had shown in interesting themselves so much in procuring his freedom. The King again begged him to live at Bhāgnagar, but perceiving that he wished to return to his convent at Madras, he gave him, as on the first occasion, an ox, attendants, and money for his conduct thither.[1]

[1] Ample testimony exists of the good repute in which these two French Capuchins, Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, lived in Madras. In the consultations of the Council, dated 4th April 1678, reference having been made to the troubles caused by Portuguese Popish priests, who meddled in the affairs of the town and were a cause of disturbance, it was resolved to remove some of them and to confirm the authority of Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, they being 'men that have ever behaved themselves with all due respect to the Government of the place and the English interest'.

Again, on Monday the 12th December 1715, the President, Edward Harrison, Esq., published a categorical statement of charges made in France against these Capuchins and others, and to the first article charging them with misbehaviour, &c., he replies: 'We are obliged to declare that the Capuchin Fathers above-named, who have had the care of this Mission in the city of Madras, from the first establishment thereof to the present time, by permission of our Right Honourable Masters, have always demeaned themselves in so humble a manner, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, as to give no just cause of complaint to us their representatives; their conduct has been regular and agreeable to their profession, nor have we ever heard of or remarked any action of theirs that could occasion the least scandal to their order.' (Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Times*, pp. 59 and 338.)

CHAPTER XVI

Route from Goa to Masulipatam by Cochin, described in the history of the capture of that town by the Dutch.

After the Dutch Company had deprived the Portuguese of all they possessed in the island of Ceylon, they cast their eyes on the town of Cochin, in the territory of which the variety of cinnamon called bastard [1] grows, as it had injured the sale of that of Ceylon. The merchants, finding that the Dutch valued their cinnamon at so high a price, began to buy that of Cochin instead, which they obtained very cheaply; and this cinnamon, as it gained a reputation, was carried to Gombroon, where it was distributed among the merchants who came from Persia, Great Tartary, Muscovy, Georgia, Mingrelia, and all the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. A large quantity of it was also taken by the merchants of Bassora and Bagdad, which supplied Arabia, and by those of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Constantinople, Roumania, Hungary, and Poland. In all the countries just named much cinnamon is consumed, for either in pieces or in powder it is put into the majority of dishes to improve the flavour. When a dish of rice is served, especially in Lent among the Christians, it is so covered with powered cinnamon that one cannot recognize what it is, and the Hungarians exceed all other nations in this respect. As for the Turks and other Asiatics, they put the cinnamon in small pieces in their pulaos.

The army sent from Batavia to the siege of Cochin disembarked at a place called Belli-porto,[2] where there was a fort which the Dutch had built with palm trunks. It is close to Krānganur,[3] a small town which the Dutch had taken during the preceding year, without having conquered Cochin, upon

[1] This is the wild cinnamon (*Cinnamomum iners*), which is common in the forests of the Konkan and Travancore (Watt, *Commercial Products*, 310 ff.) See Dames, *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. 1921, vol. ii. 112 f.

[2] This is probably Vaipur or Beypur (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 90.)

[3] Cranganor in the original; Krānganur or Kodungalūr, see p. 189. It is a principality subordinate to Cochin (C. Achyuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, 381).

which they had made some attempt. When the army landed it advanced within range of the guns of Cochin, and a river lay between it and the town. The place where the Dutch encamped was called Belle Épine,[1] and having entrenched themselves as far as the nature of the place permitted, they placed some batteries in position which, however, could not injure the town, because they were too far from it. They remained in this position until reinforcements arrived, for only three ships had come, and the commander of these first troops was one of the bravest captains of his time. A few days after the Governor of Amboyna [2] arrived with two ships, and afterwards a Dutch captain brought a number of Chinglas,[3] i.e. the people of the island of Ceylon. For the forces of the Dutch in India would not be so considerable as they are if they did not employ the natives of the country, with whom they augment the troops from Europe. Those of the island of Ceylon are good for the trenches, but for an attack they are useless. Those of Amboyna are good soldiers, and 400 of those who arrived were left at Belle Épine. The bulk of the army re-embarked, and landed near Cochin in the vicinity of a church dedicated to St. André, where the Portuguese with some Malabaris awaited the Dutch with resolution.[4] When they saw that the enemy landed without manifesting any fear they fired a discharge and then fled, but as they only aimed at the boats the Dutch did not lose many men. The Dutch seeing some companies of Portuguese marching on the sea-coast, and others further inland in the direction of a church called St. Jean, ordered some horsemen to reconnoitre them, but the Portuguese had fled and had set fire to the church, abandoning all to the Dutch. The latter then approached the town, and a French soldier named

[1] Sir H. Yule identifies this place with the Vaypine of Baldaeus. It is Vaipin, or Vyepu of the A.S., an island close to Cochin (C. Achyuta Menon, *op. cit.*, 379 f.). This gives a full account of the campaign, p. 89 ff.

[2] Amboine in the original, Amboyna, an island in the Molucca Sea, with a population of 296,000. (See Crawfurd, *Dictionary*, 11; *Ency. Brit.*, i. 797.) The Governor was the Jacob Hustaart of p. 193 *n.* 1 below.

[3] Singalese (Linschoten, i. 77; Pyrard de Laval, i. 266.).

[4] Their commander was Ignatio Sermento. The Malabāris were Moplahs.

Christofle, who was in their pay, seeing a basket attached to a rope which was hung from a bastion, went boldly to see what it had inside, without fearing musket shots. But he was much surprised when he found that it was a poor famished infant which the mother had placed there in order to escape the sorrow of seeing it die of hunger,—for already some time had elapsed since the Dutch had begun the siege of Cochin, and since any food had entered the town. The soldier, smitten with compassion, took the infant and shared with it whatever food he had, at which the General of the army was so indignant, saying that the soldier should have left the infant to die, that he assembled the council of war, and proposed that he should be shot. This was very cruel, but the Council moderated the sentence, only condemning him to the lash.

The same day ten men of each company were ordered to go to one of the houses of the King of Cochin, but they found no one there, and the previous year it had been pillaged. The Dutch then slew four kings of the country and 1,600 blacks, and only an old Queen escaped, who was taken alive by a common soldier named Van Rez, whom the General of the army promoted as a reward to be a captain at once.[1] A company was left in this house, but the Queen remained there only six days, as she was given into the custody of the Zamorin,[2] who is the most powerful of the petty Kings of this coast, to whom the Dutch had promised that if they took the town of Cochin they would give him that of Krānganur,[3] provided he was faithful to them.

The Dutch then began to entrench themselves and erect

[1] See C. Achyuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, 91.

[2] Samarin in the original; Zamorin, or King of Calicut, see p. 144. It comes through a local vernacular rendering of Sanskrit *Sāmundri*, the Sea-king. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 977.) But it is more likely to be a transliteration of the Malāyalam Sāmūtiri, itself a corruption of Swāmī-Srī, 'Lord Master': *Barbosa*, ii, p. 260 f.

[3] Krānganur, or, more properly, Kodungalūr, occupied by the Portuguese in 1523. They were expelled by the Dutch in 1661–2. The place has a remarkable history. According to tradition it was here that St. Thomas commenced his labours, in A.D. 52. The Jews claim to hold grants of land made to them there as early as A. D. 378, and the Syrian Church was firmly established there before the ninth century. The fort is now deserted. (See for further history *Imperial Gazetteer*, x. 343; C. Achyuta Menon, *op. cit.*, 381 ff.)

batteries, taking shelter under small forts made of palms, one laid upon another with clay. They erected one near the Church of St. Jean, which is close to the sea, and furnished it with four pieces of cannon ; and another in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, where was the hospital for the wounded, and close by that for the sick. They also made a battery of seven pieces of cannon and two mortars in a quarter called Calvetti.[1] Sometimes they threw bombs, sometimes stones, but the stones did by far the most injury to the besieged. This was the spot where the Dutch lost most men, especially at a small river where they tried to make a bridge with sacks full of clay, in order to be able to cross under cover, on account of a point of the bastion which impinged directly upon the river. The Pepper House is a large store surrounded by the sea, and there was then no one inside it. But when the Portuguese perceived that the enemy entertained the design of assaulting it they placed some men there with two guns ; this resulted in the bridge scheme being given up and in other measures being adopted. Five weeks elapsed without anything important being accomplished, and when the Dutch delivered an assault at night they were vigorously repelled, and lost many soldiers through the fault of the Governor of Krānganur, who commanded them, and who was drunk when the attack was made.

He was also among the prisoners taken by the Portuguese, and the Dutch General promptly caused those soldiers who had survived the assault to withdraw in a boat. Two months later he resolved to make another assault on the place where the last attack had been made ; and he sent a large frigate

[1] Calivete in the original; Calvetti Bazar, a quarter of Cochin inhabited by Moplas. The proper form of the name is Kalvetti, usually interpreted to mean ' a stone cutter ' (*Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. 247.) But Mr. V. K. Raman Menon of Tripunittura, Cochin, who has kindly supplied an exhaustive note on the subject, writes that the name means ' Hangman's Canal or Island ' (*kazhu ettuka*, ' to impale '), impalement, not hanging, being in ancient times the mode of execution. The Calvetti Canal, near which executions took place, separates the British from the native town of Cochin. In former times no Hindu lady, on the penalty of losing her caste, was allowed to cross into foreign territory, and this objection prevails at the present day. On punishment by impalement see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 149, 432 f.

to fetch reinforcements who were encamped in the direction of Belle Épine. But by accident the frigate struck on a bank of sand and foundered, by which many men were lost. Those who could swim landed near Cochin, not being able to land elsewhere ; they were in all about ten men, including soldiers and sailors, and the Portuguese made prisoners of them. The General did not on this account relinquish his intention to deliver an assault, and having disembarked all the sailors, he gave to some short pikes, to others hand grenades, and to some swords, with the intention of making an attack on the following night. But a French lieutenant, named St. Martin, representing that if they made a night assault they would in the darkness fall into the holes which the besieged might have made in the ramparts, and that by day they would run much less risk, his advice was followed and the General postponed the affair till the following day. As soon as the sun had risen he ranged his troops in battle order, and at about ten o'clock began the assault with four companies, each consisting of about 150 men. The Dutch lost many men in this last attack, and the Portuguese still more, for they defended themselves bravely, being aided by 200 soldiers of the Dutch Army who had deserted to them in revenge for having been kept out of six and a half months' pay, in consequence of the loss of Touan ;[1] this made them unwilling to serve the Dutch Army longer. Without these soldiers, who constitued an important aid to the enemy, the town could not have held out for two months ; and the ablest of the defenders was a Dutch engineer, who, on account of the bad treatment he had received on his own side, was constrained to pass over to that of the enemy.

The Dutch, who had entered Cochin on the Calvetti side, and were already masters of a rampart, remained all night under arms ; and on the following day the town capitulated. The Portuguese came to carry off the bodies of some clerics who had been killed ; but as for the others, the Dutch had

[1] Tuban, a town in north Java, about 50 miles east of Rambang, now included in the Netherlands Province of Rambang. It is described by Mandelslo (*Travels*, Eng. Trans., London 1669). See Crawfurd, *Dictionary*, 441 ; Pyrard de Laval, ii. 164. [But see Introduction.]

them all dragged to the river by the Chinese in their service—both the bodies of the Dutch as well as those of the Portuguese. The wounded were taken to the hospital, and those who had yielded embarked during the night with the engineer, passing without much noise between the Dutch ships, replying to those who asked them whence they came that they were commanded by the Dutch, and had orders for the ships to maintain a good look-out. This ruse served them well, and though the ships fired some cannon shots after them that did not prevent them from making their escape. The Portuguese, according to the terms of the capitulation, left Cochin with arms and baggage, but as soon as they were outside the gate of the town, where the Dutch troops were in order of battle, they were obliged to give up their arms and to lay them at the feet of the General, exception being made in the case of the officers, who retained their swords.[1] The General had promised the soldiers the loot of the town, but being unable to keep his promise for reasons which he explained to them, he led them to hope he would pay them six months' wages; this a few days afterwards was reduced to eight rupees each. The Zamorin then asked for the town of Krānganur, in accordance with the promise made to him, and it was indeed given to him; but first the General demolished all the fortifications and left him only the walls, at which the Zamorin was much displeased. The majority of those who were well were then commanded to march to one of the petty Kings of this coast known as the King of Porakād[2] to treat with him, and it was on this occasion that the Dutch General, who had formerly

[1] The capture of Cochin by the Dutch took place in the year 1663. The English factors who resided there retired to Ponnāni. The Dutch subsequently improved the place by erecting quays, building houses, &c. The Portuguese cathedral was made into a warehouse, and their churches were used for Protestant worship (*Imperial Gazetteer*, x. 355).

[2] Porca in the original stands for Porakād, formerly an important port in Travancore. The remains of a Portuguese fort and factory are now covered by the sea, being visible at low water. It is called Porcai by Varthema, who regarded it as an island, and the haunt of pirates in his time—1503–8. (See *Travels of Ludovico de Varthema*, edited by the Rev. Percy Badger, Hakluyt Society, p. 154; V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, iii. 594 f.; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 725; Barbosa, ed. Dames, vol. ii., 1921, p. 95 f.).

been, as I have said, a menial servant, showed himself to be of a cruel and barbarous nature. Four days had elapsed, during which the soldiers had been unable to buy any food, and two of them having stolen a cow and slaughtered it, the General, as soon as he knew of it, hung one of them forthwith, and intended to shoot the other, but the King of Porakād saved his life.

The treaty having been concluded with the King of Porakād, the Dutch General held a review of all the survivors, both sailors and soldiers, and the number amounted to about 6,000 persons, all the rest having died of disease or been slain. A few days afterwards he commanded some companies to lay siege to the town of Cannanore, which yielded at once without any resistance. When they returned the General had a crown made to place on the head of a new King of Cochin,[1] the former King having been driven away; and on the day selected for this grand performance he seated himself on a kind of throne, at the foot of which a Malabari called Montani, conducted by two or three captains, placed himself on his knees to receive the crown from his hand and to take possession of a kingdom of very limited extent—that is to say, some small territories in the neighbourhood of Cochin. This General when coming from Holland had been ship's cook, and this crowning of a miserable Malabari by the hands of a man who had more frequently brandished a pot-ladle than a sword, was without doubt a brilliant spectacle.

In the meantime the ships which had conveyed to Goa the Portuguese who had surrendered Cochin, returned laden with spoil. This was contrary to the terms of the capitulation, which provided that they should leave the place with arms and baggage, and be conducted to Goa without anything being taken from them. But as soon as they were at sea the Dutch took all that these poor people had, and having strictly searched both men and women, without the least respect for sex, returned laden with booty.

The General of the Dutch troops which came to the siege

[1] General Hustaart raised Prince Virakerala to the throne of Cochin, the treaty being concluded on 22nd March 1663 (C. Achyuta Menon, 95).

of Cochin having returned to Batavia, every one left, only a sufficient number of men remaining for the protection of the town. A Governor was sent from Batavia who overworked the soldiers in order to fortify the place, and he cut off the town from the gate of St. John to the Church of St. Paul, as also the whole quarter named Calvetti, because it was too extensive to be guarded. A short time after the siege, food became very cheap in Cochin, but that did not last long, for the Governor at once placed a duty on tobacco and various comestibles, so that there was only one dealer in them, and he fixed the price as he pleased. This Governor showed extreme severity towards the soldiers; he kept them shut up in the town, where they were, so to speak, in a prison; and they could drink neither wine nor suri[1] nor brandy, because the duties were excessive. This suri is a drink obtained from palms. While the Portuguese held Cochin one could live better on 5 sols than under the Dutch with 10 sols, because the Portuguese did not burden the town with taxes. This Governor, I say, was so severe that for the least fault he banished a man to the island of Ceylon, to the brickworks, sometimes for five or six years, and sometimes for life. But generally, however, when a man is sent there, although the committal is only for a few years, he never leaves it again.

There was in the garrison of Cochin a soldier of Aix in Provence named Rachepot, who, having failed to answer his name at roll-call, and having been late half a quarter of an hour, was sentenced to mount the wooden horse for three days. It is a common punishment for soldiers who are guilty of an offence, and is a very severe one. This horse is so sharp on the back that, with the great weight of the spurs which are placed on the feet of the victim, at the end of three or four hours he is severely torn and mutilated.[2] The poor Provençal, knowing that he had been sentenced to this

[1] From Sanskrit sura, a synonym with tārī, i. e. toddy, palm wine (see p. 128; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 874).

[2] Also known as the Timber Horse. The remains of one existed on the Parade at Portsmouth about 1760 (*New English Dict.*, s. v. Horse; *Notes and Queries*, 9 Ser., v., 82, 253).

punishment not for three hours but for three days, and fearing that he would succumb, instead of surrendering at the guard-house, concealed himself at the house of a Frenchman, one of his friends, who had been but a short time married. The married soldiers sleep three times a week at their own houses, but the others are obliged to sleep every night in barracks. The Governor, seeing that the Provençal did not appear, ordered a drum to be beaten throughout the town, and proclamation to be made that whoever would disclose the place where he was concealed would receive a reward of 100 piastres, and also that whoever kept him concealed without making a declaration would be certainly hung with him. The Provençal having received intimation of this threat, and not wishing to ruin the Frenchman with whom he lodged, found means to entice five or six of his companions, who were not able to stand any more than he the severity of the Dutch General, and escaped with them successfully on the following night, which was dark and rainy. They passed very close to a sentry, by whom they were not seen, the darkness and rain being very favourable to them, and if he had said a word they were resolved to kill him. Having travelled all night, they came to a small river near Porakād, but when the tide ascends this river it is wide and deep; this obliged these poor soldiers to throw away their clothes, and to retain only their drawers, in order to swim across quickly, as they feared pursuit. Hunger beginning to oppress them, they realized at their leisure, which they had not done when taking flight, the danger of dying; for not only did they not understand the language of the country, but what was more vexatious, they had always to camp in the open, as the idolaters who inhabit all that part of India would not allow them even to touch the walls of their houses, through fear of being in consequence obliged to throw them down. The superstition of these idolaters goes so far that they dare not touch one another, except in time of war. When by accident they touch any one they are obliged to go immediately and bathe three times in the water, otherwise they dare not eat, drink, nor enter their houses.[1]

[1] Ball remarks that he met this dread of defilement in its most

The Provençal and his companions met a Portuguese Jesuit Father, who asked them whence they came, and they told him all their misfortunes. Rachepot was more inconvenienced than all the others, having received a musket-shot in the thigh at the last assault on Cochin; and the wound, which had not fully healed, having reopened on the road, it was impossible for him to travel before he was cured, as it had been insufficiently dressed; and the Jesuit Father could give him no other aid than to write a word on his behalf in the Malabar language, upon a piece of palm leaf, to the King of Godorme,[1] whom the Dutch had driven from his country before they took Cochin. Rachepot, followed by his companions, went to him by the road which the Jesuit Father had pointed out, and he was well received by him, and found a Malabari there who understood Portuguese. The King asked Rachepot if he would like to remain with him, and he replied that he was content to serve him, and that his companions, of whom he was, as it were, the chief, would serve him also, as they did not wish to be parted from one another. The King gave orders that the Provençal's wound should be carefully dressed, and a preparation of oil and butter was immediately applied, from which he experienced relief. The King made him visit him two or three times every day, sometimes to fire a musket, sometimes to

intense form in Orissa, where, as also in parts of the Madras Presidency, it exists to an extent hardly to be realized by those whose knowledge of the Indians does not extend south of the valley of the Ganges. The Nambūtiri Brāhmans of Malabar live in isolated houses in order to avoid contamination (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 172 ff.; A. K. Iyer, *Tribes and Castes of Cochin*, ii. 178 ff.; on pollution in India see Hastings, *Encyl. Religion and Ethics*, ix. 582). There are, however, few parts of India in which a European would be allowed to take shelter in an ordinary Hindu house. The dwellings of Rājās and wealthy men are sometimes provided with an antechamber to which a European may be invited; and of course there are some, but rare, individual exceptions to the rule which makes travelling in India so different from what it is in Persia.

[1] This place was Kottāyam, a town and State of some note, and the centre of the Syrian Christians; Lat. 9° 36′ N., Long. 76° 31′ E. A full account of these Christians is given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, xvi, 6 f.; C. Achyuta Menon, 217 ff.; G. M. Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, 1892; Hastings, *op. cit.*, xii. 167 ff.

wield a hand-pike, asking him much regarding the way war is conducted in Europe. Sometimes he took pleasure in making him sing, but the unhappy Provençal could sing but sadly in consequence of the poor cheer which he received; for the King had ordered so little for the support of himself and his companions, that it scarce sufficed to buy rice, and that of the blackest kind. But he was obliged to be patient, both to await the healing of his wound and in order to learn something of the Malabar language, without which it would be very difficult for them to reach Madras. For from Cochin up to the place where they then were, they had experienced much difficulty in making themselves understood by signs, and in their greatest hunger the people of the country offered them nothing to eat but coconuts, which were insufficient to satisfy them.

On the day of one of the local festivals the King summoned Rachepot and his companions, and in consequence of the festival presented them with four figs [1] each, which he desired them to eat in his presence. The Malabaris told them that the King did them a great honour; but the poor people, who had so little for their subsistence, would have preferred a measure of rice instead of these four figs. The people of that country go about quite naked, only wearing a cloth which covers their private parts. The King himself is in that respect like the least of his subjects, save that he wears some gold ornaments in his ears.

Rachepot having been completely cured at the end of forty days, resolved to pass on with his companions, and they left one night without saying farewell to any one. They took their road to the south-east for Madras,[2] where they wished to go; and it is easy to believe that, being without money and only knowing a few words of the language, they suffered much during their journey. They lived on the charity

[1] Plantains, or so-called Bananas, the fruit of *Musa sapientum*, commonly called Adam's figs by the Portuguese (Linschoten, i. 25; Pyrard de Laval, i. 113).

[2] Their position was probably to the south-west of Madras, hence they should have directed their course rather to the north-east. Had they done so they would not have reached so far south as they appear to have done (see p. 200).

bestowed upon them, and often when they arrived in the villages some of the idolaters fled from fear, because in these mountains they are not accustomed to see white men ; others, who were less timid, came near them and gave them the wherewithal to drink and eat ; and those who were most friendly took them to their village in order to let their relatives and friends see them. When they had traversed these mountains[1] and began to enter the plain, they travelled in the forests for two and a half days without seeing any one ; and were convinced that they must die. To increase their misery in these forests they were attacked by great numbers of leeches which abound there, so that they were obliged to run in order to give the leeches less time to cling to their legs and thighs, where they assumed proportions larger than the hand. Thus they dared not rest in any place, but when they met a stream they plunged into the water, and removed the leeches on their bodies, whence much blood flowed in all directions ; this made them weak and feeble, added to which, as I have said, they found no one to give them food. The leeches of this country are small and slender, and do not take to the water, but live in the grass.

These poor people having walked in the forests the first day till two or three hours after nightfall, found a little river in the middle of which was a small dry island, where they rested till daybreak not fearing the leeches there, because they were surrounded by water. On the following day they pursued their journey with the same annoyance from leeches, and slept at night close to a tree, where they found a kind of platform,[2] made of wood and elevated about 4 or 5 feet from the ground, which, without doubt, some one had made to protect himself from the attacks of the leeches. This platform served them as a camp for this second night, and, day having come, they were again on the road, and at length arrived by midday at a Pagoda,[3] where there were many Brahmans or Banian priests, who pitied their miserable

[1] Probably the hilly region between Travancore and Madura.

[2] Known in India as a machān, Hind.

[3] Possibly Trichinopoli, but more probably Madura, or some place still farther south (see p. 200).

condition, and having learnt from them that they had found nothing to eat for three days, gave them rice, fruit, and vegetables dressed with butter. But they gave it all from a distance, making a sign to them not to approach, as we do in Europe with the plague-stricken, to whom one throws charity on a handkerchief spread on the road, but standing aloof. As the soldiers had been nearly three days without eating they forthwith took so much food that all of them had fever on the following day, so that to cure themselves they had to fast afterwards, dieting being in India the sovereign remedy for all kinds of ills.

After having eaten they wished to pursue their way, but the Brahmans made them understand that the forest extended very far, and that the leeches would take their lives if they did not find some place to protect themselves from these insects,[1] so they advised them to remain there the whole night, and on the following day to start early. They followed their advice. During the night heavy rain fell, and one of the Banian priests made a sign to them to follow him to his house. Arriving there he made them enter a hole under the house, which he besought them not to touch; and though he brought them food, they would not eat it for fear of increasing the fever with which they were attacked. When it was quite dark these poor people came out of the hole, and went on the terrace of the house to sleep more at their case. To avoid being caught there they did not fail to re-enter the hole at break of day, and the Brahman, master of the house, took them again to the Pagoda, where he ordered them to be supplied with food. He also made them rub their legs with a certain plant[2] the odour of which the leeches

[1] This was written long before naturalists had separated leeches from insects, and placed them in the class of the annelids.

[2] Sir G. Watt, who kindly investigated this question writes: 'I have no proof of the natives of South India actually using a decoction of the leaves of the very abundant wild plant, Adhatoda vasica, the Adatoda, Arusa, Rus, Bakas, &c.; but it is a powerful insecticide used all over the country, and I would be much surprised if it was not actually employed against leeches. In northern India it is used to kill the weeds and pests of the flooded rice fields, and the stems are used to line wells from which drinking water is drawn.' Col. L. A. Waddell (*Among the Himalayas*, 130)

could not bear, and gave each of them a cloth which contained a kind of chalk of the size of an egg, telling them that when the leeches attached themselves to their legs they need only touch them with this cloth, and that they would fall immediately. It has been proved that salt and fire have the same effect, and the natives of the country, when passing through the places where they know that there are leeches, always carry a lighted brand in their hands. The soldiers, with the preventative thus given to them, travelled with more comfort, and were not tormented by leeches as before. They reached open country at 4 p.m., and passed close to a fortress which belonged to the Banians, who gave them vegetables to eat and whey to drink—for water is not drunk in this country, as it is very unwholesome. The Banians pointed out to them, as well as they could, the road to Madras, which they had left in consequence of having kept too much towards the south. By going more to the east they shortened their journey, and traversed a mountainous country, inhabited by Christians of St. John,[1] of the religion of which I have spoken in my account of Persia when describing Bassora.[2] In the year 1643 these Christians, both those of these mountains and those of Bassora, sent ambassadors to the Viceroy of Goa to obtain permission from him to be allowed to dwell in the island of Ceylon. They undertook to drive out the

guarded himself and his servants from leech-bites by dusting the stockings with tobacco-snuff and wearing putties, or thick woollen bandages round the legs. In Ceylon they used to carry knives to rid themselves of the leeches, 'which are so numerous, they would kill them if they did not so' (Dames, *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. 1921, ii. 119). Friar Odoric in 1320 says the gem finders in Ceylon used lemon juice (*Hakluyt Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 58). Sir Joseph Hooker, who says he repeatedly took a hundred leeches at a time from his legs, and that they even found their way to his eyelids, adds: 'Snuff and tobacco leaves are the best antidote, but when marching in the rain it is impossible to apply this simple remedy. The best plan I found to be rolling the leaves over the feet, inside the stockings and powdering the legs with snuff' (*Himalayan Journal*, vol. ii, p. 42). Sir Emerson Tennent says the natives of Ceylon smear their bodies with oil, tobacco ashes, and lemon juice, to keep off the leeches (*Natural History of Ceylon*, p. 481; *Ceylon*, i. 302 ff.).

[1] Syrian Church—probably colonies from the central headquarters in Malabar (see p. 196 *n.*).

[2] *Persian Travels*, bk. ii, ch. viii, p. 222.

inhabitants of the country. But the Viceroy refused to grant what they asked except on condition that they became Catholics, and as they were unwilling to agree, the arrangement they proposed did not take effect.[1] A Jesuit Father was sent from Goa to these Christians to work for their conversion, but as he made no progress he preferred to devote his care to the idolaters, whose language he acquired so perfectly that he spoke it as if he had been born in the country. From time to time he converted some of them, whom he sent to Goa. This he was never able to accomplish with the Christians of St. John, who are thoroughly fixed in their views; as he passed nearly forty years with the idolaters, who were unwilling that any one should touch either their persons or their houses, it is easy to conclude that he suffered much during that time, and that no kind of life could be more austere than his. For he had to live like the idolaters, who eat nothing which has possessed life; and as he travelled from one place to another the food of these countries was insufficient to give him the strength necessary for the fatigues he had to undergo.[2]

Rachepot and his companions had one evening the good fortune to meet, on their road, this Jesuit Father, who on his part was much pleased to see them, and having asked them whence they came, they told him all that had happened at the siege of Cochin, the cruel treatment they had received from the Dutch, and the misadventures of their journey. The Father advised them to go back to Goa, where they might find opportunities to return to Europe by taking service on Portuguese vessels; but seeing they had resolved to go to Madras, he wrote down the route, not being able to indicate their stages beyond Gingi,[3] a small town inhabited

[1] Mr. J. P. Lewis, who kindly investigated this matter, has been unable to find any tradition of this proposed migration of the Syrian Christians to that island.

[2] Compare the rule of life practised by Abbé J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1906, p. 201 f.

[3] Guinchy in the original, Gingi, in South Arcot District, a ruined hill-fort and village 50 miles south of Arcot. It was taken by Sivajī in 1677, from the Muhammadan Governor appointed from Bījāpur. It was for a time garrisoned by the French, 1750 to 1761. The place

by Musalmāns, except by the miserable hamlets which exist on this route.

On the following day, at their departure, he exhorted them to be of good courage, and gave them 24 measures of rice, which was sufficient for five or six days. On their arrival at Gingi, which is but two or three stages from the place where they left the Jesuit Father, they met four Portuguese who had escaped from Cochin, when they were about to surrender and hand over the town to the Dutch. These four unfortunates, who had become renegades, invited the newcomers to join the Musalmāns of Gingi, who asked them if they would serve them, offering them each three pagodas a month. In the extremity of their misery necessity would have compelled them to accept this offer, if they had not at the same time spoken of their being circumcised, and denying their faith; and fearing that they would be kept against their will, they left quietly, and followed their journey bravely to Madras, which is ten days' march from Gingi.[1] They still suffered much during so long a journey, living on the charity bestowed upon them, and not being able to communicate save by signs. They were received hospitably at Madras by the Rev. Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, French Capuchins, and as their bodies were all black and burnt by the sun, after five or six days of rest all the skin peeled off them, from which they suffered much.[2]

The English had the kindness to offer them a passage upon one of their vessels which was then returning to Europe, and Rachepot allowed his companions to go, but decided to return by land himself, after having rested nearly two months at Madras. During this time the Capuchin Fathers found means to enable him to earn more than 100 écus, and three suits of clothes with the necessary linen, by the sale of little rings of horse-hair, which he knew how to make very skilfully. He worked devices and letters on them, and these

is now deserted, and has the reputation of being one of the most unhealthy in the Karnatic (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xii. 242 ff.).

[1] The distance from Gingi to Madras is 82 miles.

[2] The story, in spite of the restrictions imposed by caste, gives a pleasant picture of the kindliness and charity of the people of southern India.

rings were much approved of by the Mestive[1] Portuguese, who never see anything of great value, so that some of them gave a gold ducat for each ring.

Rachepot having saved money, as I have said, went by land from Madras to Surat, from Surat to Agra, and from Agra to Delhi, where I arrived some time after on my last voyage to India. As I saw he was in want, I took him into my service, and I lent him, too, some money on my departure, which has never been repaid to me. From him I learnt all the details of the voyage which I have recounted, but I have also known fifteen or twenty other persons who have taken the same route when travelling from Goa to Cochin, and from Cochin to Madras.

It is fairly short, and there is no lack of food and good water, but it has otherwise, as I have said, many inconveniences, which are, that it is very little frequented; the almost inevitable annoyance from the leeches is one of the principal, and the superstition of the Banians, who do not allow any one to touch their persons nor their houses, is one of the most troublesome, and even if one takes water from their tanks they destroy them immediately,[2] and do not use them any more; for this reason some of the priests always guard them.

CHAPTER XVII

The Sea Route from Hormuz to Masulipatam[3]

I LEFT Gombroon for Masulipatam on the 11th of May 1652, embarking on a large vessel belonging to the King of Golkonda, which goes every year to Persia laden with muslins and chites or coloured calicoes, the flowered decoration of which is all done by hand, which makes them more beautiful and more expensive than when it is printed. The Dutch Company

[1] See pp. 160 and 166.

[2] The tank is not destroyed (see p. 225), but the water is let out and the tank is refilled, after purification by recital of sacred texts, and the water is mixed with some brought from a holy place of pilgrimage.

[3] See W. Foster, *English Factories in India, 1651–1654*, Introd. xxxviii f.

is in the habit of supplying a pilot and a sub-pilot and two or three gunners to the vessels belonging to the Kings or Princes of India, neither the Indians nor the Persians having the least knowledge of navigation.[1] On board the vessel upon which I embarked there were six Dutch, and about one hundred sailors of the country. We left the Persian Gulf with a soft and favourable wind, but made little way before meeting a rough sea and south-west winds so violent, though good for our course, that it was impossible to carry more than a small sail. On the day after, and those following it, the wind became more furious, and the sea more disturbed, so that, when we arrived at the 16th degree, which is the latitude of Goa,[2] the rain, thunder and lightning increased the hurricane, and we were unable to carry any sail except the simiane,[3] and that half furled, and thus we drove before the tempest for many days. We passed the Maldive islands without being able to see them, and our vessel made much water. For it had remained nearly five months in the roads at Gombroon during the hot season, and if care is not then taken to wet the timbers which are exposed above water they open; this is the reason why vessels make so much water when laden. The Dutch are careful to throw water all over theirs both morning and evening in order to preserve them, because without this precaution one runs risk of being lost in a tempest. We had

[1] 'Brave and victorious as the Persians have shown themselves at different epochs on land, no one has ever ventured so far to belie the national character as to insinuate that they have betrayed the smallest proficiency at sea' (Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 388). See also the account of the maritime ambitions of Nādir Shāh (*ibid.* ii. 390 ff.). For the invincible repugnance felt by Persians towards the sea, and the vain attempt of Nādir Shāh to organize a fleet, see Sir P. Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed., i. 3 f., ii. 271. The Chinese, who were better navigators, not only visited India in early times, but continued to visit Hormuz up to the middle of the fifteenth century. Ships of Tchin, Matchin (South China), and Khanbalik (Pekin) are specifically referred to by Abd-er-Razzak (*India in the Fifteenth Century, Hakluyt Society*, pt. 1, p. 6).

[2] The latitude of Goa is 15° 30′ N.

[3] This word is the Persian shāmiyāna, which, however, signifies an awning, or a kind of tent without walls (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 821). It must not be confounded with a kind of cloth called Samiano or Samānū, a fine stuff made at Samānā in the Patiāla State.

in our vessel fifty-five horses which the King of Persia was sending as a present to the King of Golkonda, and about 100 merchants, both Persians and Armenians, who were going to India for trade. During the whole of a day and night a cross wind blew with such violence that our vessel took in water on all sides, and the worst was that our pumps were no good. It fortunately happened that there was a merchant on board who was taking to India two bales of cow-hides, which we call Russian leather; these skins are much valued, because they are cool, for covering small beds on which one throws oneself during the day to sleep for an hour or two. There were also on board four or five shoemakers or saddlers, who understood how to stitch these skins and they did a good service to all in the vessel, and likewise to themselves, for we were in danger.[1] They made big buckets each consisting of four skins, and five large holes were cut in various parts of the lower deck, where some of the ship's company filled the skins, which were then hauled up through the holes. The skins held about a pipe of water each, and, in order to hoist them, a thick cable was extended from the mainmast to the foremast, to which as many pulleys were attached as there were buckets. To each bucket a sufficient number of passengers was allotted to hoist it, and so in less than an hour or an hour and a half we baled all the water out of the vessel. On this same day while the storm was so severe a strange thing occurred. Three thunderbolts struck our vessel. The first fell on the foremast, which it split from top to bottom, then leaving the mast at the level of the deck, it ran along the length of the vessel, killing three men in its course. The second fell two hours later, and, running from stem to stern, killed two more men on the deck. The third followed soon after, the pilot, sub-pilot, and I being together near the mainmast; and the cook coming just then to ask the pilot if he wished him to serve the supper, the thunderbolt made a small hole in the cook's stomach, and burnt off all his hair, as one scalds a pig, without doing him any other injury. But it is true that when this

[1] These skins were known as Bulgar leather, Persian *bulghār* (*ibid.* 125).

small hole was anointed with coconut oil he cried aloud and experienced acute agony.

On the 24th of June we sighted land in the morning, and when sufficiently near recognized that we were off Pointe de Galle,[1] the principal town of the island of Ceylon, which the Dutch took from the Portuguese. From this up to Masulipatam roads we had fairly good weather, and we arrived there on the 2nd of July, one or two hours after sunrise. Our pilot at once went on shore to salute the Dutch Commander, and when he told him that I was on board the vessel, with M. Louis du Jardin,[2] of whom I have spoken in my Persian narrative, he sent two horses to the landing-place, to enable us to visit him, for from thence to the house of the Dutch it is a good half-league's distance. The commander and the Dutch merchants received us with much civility, and prepared two rooms for us, and strongly pressed us to remain with them, which we accepted for this first night only. The following day we went to lodge with M. Hercules, a Swede by nationality, in the service of the Dutch Company; he, being married, had a house of his own in the town. In order to be free we lived *en pension* with him, and the Dutch Commander invited us often to dine at his house, where he very much pressed us to stay. We went two or three times to amuse ourselves with him in a beautiful garden which the Dutch have half a league from the town, and three of them being married, their wives generally took part in our amusements. We regaled them in our turn with many kinds of excellent fruits and good wine which we had brought from Persia; and M. du Jardin, who danced well and played the lute, strove on his own account to contribute to their amusement. The English also were present at our small parties, and they entertained us two or three times as pleasantly as they could, having baladines,[3] of whom there is no lack in this country, always in attendance after the repast.

[1] Ponte de Galle in the original. On another occasion Tavernier landed there (vol. ii. 246). For the Dutch and English Houses see Bowrey, 61 f.

[2] See vol. ii. 90, 125.

[3] Dancing-girls (see p. 71 *n.*).

On the 18th and 19th of June[1] we bought a pallankeen, three horses, and six oxen, to carry us with our servants and baggage. We had settled to go straight to Golkonda to the King, to sell him some of the pear-shaped pearls, of which the least weighed 34,[2] and the largest 35 carats; and some other jewels, most of which were emeralds. But the Dutch told us that we should make a useless journey, and that the King would buy nothing rare or of high price which Mīr Jumla, who commanded his army and was the Prime Minister of his Court, had not first seen, and the Mīr was then engaged at the siege of Gandikota,[3] in the Province of Carnatic,[4] so we resolved to go in search of him, and the following is the route which we took in this journey.

CHAPTER XVIII

Route from Masulipatam to Gandikota, a town and fortress in the Province of Carnatic; and the Author's transactions with Mīr Jumla, who commanded the Army of the King of Golkonda; in which also there is included a full description of Elephants.

We left Masulipatam on the 20th of June[5] [1652] at 5 p.m., and slept at a garden—which, as I have said, is only half a league from the town, and belongs to the Dutch, the chief of whom accompanied us, and we amused ourselves pretty well during a good part of the night. The following day being the 21st, after having taken leave of the Dutch, we

[1] As they arrived at Masulipatam on the 2nd of July, it is clear that the month should be July both in this passage and also in the next chapter.

[2] Probably a misprint for 24 (see p. 229).

[3] Gandicot in the original, for Gandikota (see p. 227).

[4] Carnatica in the original, for Carnatic or Kārnātaka. Its geographical limits have varied. At one time it corresponded with the kingdom of Vijayanagara, including Mysore and part of Telingana. It is now restricted to a region below the Ghāts. (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 164, and *Imperial Gazetteer*, ix. 301.)

[5] This should be July (see note [1]). On p. 212 the succeeding month is given as August, the year being 1652.

travelled 3 leagues, and slept at a place called Nilmol.[1] On the 22nd [July] we travelled 6 leagues to Wouhir,[2] another village, and before arriving there we crossed a river[3] on a raft. On the 23rd [July], after a march of six hours, we halted at Patemet,[4] which is but a poor village; on account of the rains we were obliged to remain there on the 24th, 25th, and 26th.

On the 27th [July] we arrived at a large borough called Bezwādā,[5] not having been able to accomplish this day more than a league and a half, on account of the quantity of water which flooded all the roads. We were obliged to halt till the 31st, as the rains had so much flooded the river that the boat could not hold its own against the swift current of the water, because they did not understand how to stretch ropes across the river. Besides which it required some time to enable the horses which the King of Persia was sending to the King of Golkonda to cross over; they were then reduced to fifty, five of them having died at sea.[6] They were being taken to Mīr Jumla, who was the Nawāb or Grand Wazīr,[7] because anything which he has not seen, or has not been approved by him, is not shown to the King, who buys nothing and receives no present except with the advice of his Prime Minister, who consequently must have the first view; and this, as I have said, was the reason which compelled us to go to the Nawāb at Gandikota.[8]

During the stay we made at Bezwādā[9] we visited many

[1] Nidumulu (see p. 141 *n.*).
[2] Uyyuru (see p. 141 *n.*).
[3] One of the mouths of the Kistnā.
[4] Patamata, 3 miles ESE. of Bezwāda.
[5] Bezouart here, in the original (cf. p. 141 *n.*).
[6] Ball was told by a Calcutta horsedealer that the intelligent Arab horses adapt themselves much better to the sea-passage to India than do the rough and often unbroken Australian horses, which sometimes arrive in a very wretched condition, while in rough weather many are lost owing to injuries inflicted on one another in their excitement.
[7] i. e. of Golkonda. This was before his desertion of the King and his appointment as imperial Wazīr-i A'zam or secretary, which took place in 1657, when he presented to Shāhjahān the diamond now known as the Koh-i-nūr (Manucci, i. 237.)
[8] The preceding paragraph is omitted in John Phillips' translation of 1684.
[9] Bezwādā is noted for its antiquities, both of the Buddhistic and

pagodas, the country being full of them, there being more there than in any other part of India, because, with the exception of the Governors of the place and some of their servants, who are Musalmāns, all the people are idolaters. The pagoda in the town of Bezwādā is very fine, but it is not enclosed by walls. Fifty-two columns of 20 feet in height or thereabouts support a flat floor of large cut stones. They are ornamented by many figures in relief, which represent fearful demons and numerous animals—some of them being figures of demons with four horns, others with many legs and many tails, others which protrude their tongues, and others again in more ridiculous attitudes. There are similar figures carved in the stones of the floor, and in the intervals between each pair of columns the images of the gods are elevated on pedestals. The pagoda is in the middle of a large court, longer than it is wide, and the court is surrounded by walls which are enriched, inside and out, with the same figures as those on the pagoda. A gallery supported by sixty-six pillars, like a sort of cloister, runs all round the wall inside. This court is entered by a large gate, above which there are two great niches, one over the other, the first of which is supported by twelve pillars, and the second by eight. At the base of the columns of the pagoda there are old Indian inscriptions, which the priests of these idolaters have much difficulty in deciphering.

We went to see another pagoda, built on an elevation, and it is ascended by a staircase with 193 steps, each being 1 foot high.[1] The pagoda is square, with a dome on top; there are figures in relief around the wall like those in the Bezwādā pagoda. There is an idol seated in the middle, after the manner of the country, with crossed legs, and in this position it is about 4 feet in height. Its head is covered by a triple crown, from whence proceed four horns, and it

Hindu periods, the former consisting of rock-cut temples, and the latter of pagodas. By some authorities it is identified with the Dhanāka of Hiuen Thsiang, which others place at Amarāvatī. (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, viii. 18 f.; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii. 221 ff.; *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., xii. 98 ff.)

[1] There are remains on the east and west hills, but this building cannot be clearly identified (Gordon Mackenzie, *Kistna Manual*, 1883, p. 218).

has the face of a man turned towards the east. The pilgrims who come to worship at these pagodas, when entering, join their hands together and carry them to their foreheads, then they approach the idol waving them and repeating many times (the words) Rām ! Rām ! i.e. God ! God ! When close to it they sound a bell thrice, which is suspended from the idol itself, different parts of the face and body of which have previously been smeared with various colours. Some carry bottles of oil, with which they anoint the idol, and they make offerings to it of sugar, oil, and other articles of food—the richest adding money. There are sixty priests in attendance at this pagoda, who live with their wives and children on the offerings brought to the idol. But that the pilgrims may believe the god takes them, the priests leave them before the image for two days, and on the evening of the third appropriate them. When a pilgrim goes to the pagoda to be cured of some malady, he takes, according to his means, a representation in gold, silver, or copper, of the diseased member, which he presents to his god ;[1] he then begins to sing, this all the others do also after their offerings. In front of the door of the pagoda there is a flat roof supported by sixteen pillars, and opposite is another supported by four, where food is cooked for the priests of the pagoda. Towards the south a great platform has been cut in the mountain, where shade is afforded by numerous beautiful trees, and there is also a very fine well there. The pilgrims come from great distances, and if there are any poor among them the priests feed them from the alms which they receive from the rich who come there

[1] In Gujarāt women offer to the smallpox goddess a tiny model of an umbrella, the sign of royalty, or a silver eye, when delivered from ophthalmia (Mrs. S. Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, 307). In Haidarābād Bhīls offer at Hanmant Nāik's tomb little wooden legs and arms to cure an aching limb (Bilgrami & Willmott, *Hist. Sketch*, i. 324). In Madras, if the eye, nose, ear, or any other organ be afflicted, they offer to the idols an image of it in gold or silver (Dubois, 600). In the Central Provinces, if a man kills a cat he offers a gold image of it to a Brāhman, and silver eyes are offered to the goddess Devī to save those of persons attacked by smallpox (Russell, *Tribes and Castes*, i. 121). Compare 1 Samuel, vi. 4 ; Hastings, *Encyl. Religion and Ethics*, vii. 112, xi. 97 ; Frazer, *The Golden Bough, The Magic Art*, i. 77 ; *Pausanias*, ii. 238, iii. 248 ff. ; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii. 406.

to pay their devotions. The principal festival of this pagoda is held in the month of October, at which time there is a great assemblage of people from all quarters. When we were there we found a woman who had been three days in the temple without once leaving it, asking the idol from time to time, as she had lost her husband, how she should bring up her children and support them. We inquired from one of the priests why this woman had received no reply, and if she would receive one. He said that it was necessary that she should await the will of their god, and that he would then answer what she asked. I immediately suspected some deception, and, in order to discover what it was, resolved to enter the pagoda, especially as all the priests were absent, at their dinner, there being only one at the door, of whom I freed myself by asking him to go to fetch me some water at a fountain, which was situated two or three musket shots away from the place. I then entered the temple, when the woman, on catching a glimpse of me, redoubled her cries, for, as no light entered the pagoda except by the door, it was very dark inside. I entered, feeling my way in order to ascertain what took place behind the statue, where I found there was a hole through which a man could enter, and where, without doubt, the priest concealed himself and made the idol speak by his mouth.[1] I was not able to accomplish this before the priest whom I had begged to go to obtain water for me returned and found me still in the pagoda. He cursed me because I had profaned, as he said, his temple, but we soon became friends by means of two rupees which I placed in his hands, and at the same time he offered me betel.[2]

On the 31st we left Bezwādā and crossed the river,[3] which goes to the mine of Gani or Kollūr.[4] It was then nearly half a league wide, on account of the heavy rains which had fallen during eight or nine days. After having travelled

[1] Compare Bel and the Dragon, 1–22. The poet Sa'dī saw at Somnāth an image which could be moved by a hidden priest (*Bombay Gazetteer*, i, pt. 1, 189); cf. Bernier, 305; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii. 171.

[2] Betlé in the original. The leaf of *Piper betel*, together with chopped areca nut and lime, constitutes what is here called betlé, for chewing. (See p. 229.)

[3] i. e. the Kistnā.

[4] See, for explanation of Gani or Kollūr, p. 139 above; also vol. ii, p. 73,

3 leagues on the other side of the river, we found a large pagoda built on a platform which is ascended by fifteen or twenty steps. There was an image there of a cow [1] in black marble, and numerous idols of 4 or 5 feet in height, which were all deformed, one having many heads, another many arms and many legs, another many horns, and the most hideous are the most adored and receive most offerings. At a quarter of a league's distance from this pagoda there is a large village. On this day we marched 3 leagues farther, and slept at another village called Kah Kali,[2] near which there is a small pagoda where there are five or six idols of marble fairly well made.

The first day of August, after a march of seven hours, we arrived at Condevir,[3] a large town with a double ditch, the bottom of which is lined with cut stone. It is entered by a road enclosed on both sides by strong walls, where at intervals there are round towers which afford but small defence. This town on the east impinges upon a mountain which is about a league in circuit, and surrounded above by high walls. At every 150 paces there is, as it were, a half moon; and within, in the walled enclosure, there are three fortresses, which have not been kept in repair.

On the 2nd [August] we travelled only 6 leagues, and halted at a village called Copenour.[4] On the 3rd [August], after having made 8 leagues, we reached Adanquige,[5] a fairly good village, where there is a very grand pagoda, with numerous chambers originally made for the priests of the Banians, but

[1] Siva's bull, Nandi.

[2] This is Kākānī, about 4 miles north of Guntūr, and 16 from Bezwādā. It is also mentioned on p. 141, being on the route from Golkonda to Masulipatam via the mine at Coulour (i. e. Kollūr).

[3] Kondavīdu or Kondavīr, 12 miles W. by S. of Guntūr. The fort, which is at an elevation of 1050 feet on a ridge of hills, is described by Mr. Boswell in the *Indian Antiquary*, i. 182. The town was built in the twelfth century by the Orissa Rājās. (*Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. 207.)

[4] Mr. F. W. Robertson suggests Kopporam, a village about 22 miles WSW. from Kondavīd, or Kondakavur; the identification is uncertain and there was no need for such a detour.

[5] Addanki, an important town, on the Gundla-Kamma river, 38 miles SSW. of Kondavīd (*Imperial Gazetteer*, v. 9).

to-day all is in ruins. There are still some idols in the pagoda, but all are mutilated, still these poor people do not cease to worship them. On the 4th [August] we made 8 leagues, and slept at the village of Nosdrepar.[1] Half a league on this side there is a large river, which contained but little water—the rains not having then commenced. On the 5th [August], after traversing 8 leagues of road, we slept at the village of Condecour.[2]

On the 6th [August] we marched seven hours and halted at another village called Dakijé.[3] On the 7th [August], after having travelled 3 leagues, we came to a town called Nelour,[4] where there are many pagodas, and having crossed a large river a quarter of a league farther on, we marched for 6 leagues and came to a village called Gandaron.[5] On the 8th [August], after a march of eight hours, we slept at Serepelé,[6] which is only a small village. On the 9th [August] we travelled 9 leagues, and slept at a good village called Ponter.[7] On the 10th [August] we marched eleven hours and halted at Senepgond,[8] another good village.

On the 11th [August] we only went as far as Palicate,[9]

[1] Nernūrupād, Kandukūr taluk, Nellore District, a mile south of the Musi, the large river referred to in the text.

[2] Kandukūr, headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Nellore District (*ibid.*, xiv. 379).

[3] Zakkepalli-Gūdūr, locally called Dakkipalli.

[4] Nellore. There is a temple on a hill near the town called Narasinha Kondu. Nellore is on the south bank of the Penner River, which, therefore, must have been crossed before the town was reached (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xix. 23 f.).

[5] Mr. Bateman would place this before Nellore, and identify it with Gandavaram, a large village in Kovūr taluk, Nellore District.

[6] Sarvēpale, a village in the Nellore taluk, 12 miles S. of Nellore, but, if so, the distances are wrong.

[7] Pūdēru, a village in the Pōlūr division, about 6 miles SE. of Naidupet railway station.

[8] Sunnapagunta, a large village in the Ponnēri taluk, Chingleput District, about 3 miles E. of Elāvūr railway station.

[9] Pulicat, in the Chingleput District of Madras. The town is on an island which separates the sea from a considerable lagoon or salt lake. It was the site of the first Dutch settlement on the mainland of India. In 1609 the fort referred to by Tavernier was built. The town was subsequently transferred to the English and back to the Dutch several times in succession. Orme gives a plan of this as well as of many of

which is but 4 leagues from Senepgond, and of these 4 leagues we marched more than one in the sea, our horses in many places having the water nearly to the saddle. There is also another road, but it is longer by 2 or 3 leagues. Pulicat is a fort belonging to the Dutch, who occupy the whole length of the coast of Coromandel; it is here they have their factory, and here the Chief of all those who live in the territory of the King of Golkonda resides. There are generally about 200 soldiers in garrison in this fort, besides many merchants who reside there for trade, and other persons who, after having served the Company for their full term, have retired to this place. Some natives of the country have by degrees also congregated here, so that Pulicat is to-day like a small town. Between the town and the fort a large open space is left, so that the fort is not incommoded by the town. The bastions are furnished with good guns, and the sea washes at the foot, but there is no port, and it is only a roadstead. We remained in the town till the evening of the following day, and the Governor would not allow us to dine elsewhere but at his table. He was the Sieur Pite,[1] a German of the town of Bremen. We received all kinds of attention from him, and he took us three times round the fort on the walls, where one could easily walk. The manner in which the inhabitants procure water for drinking is somewhat remarkable. When the tide is out they go on the sand as close to the sea as possible, and on making holes there, they find sweet water, which is excellent.[2]

On the 12th [August] at sunset we left Pulicat, and on the following day, at 10 o'clock A.M., arrived at Madras, otherwise called Fort St. George, which belongs to the English, and of which I have elsewhere spoken [3]—having travelled only

the other forts and towns mentioned by Tavernier (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xx. 241 f.). For a full note on Pulicat see Dames, *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. ii., 1921, 129 ff.

[1] The French edition of 1713 has Pitre, but Laurens Pit (the elder) must be meant. Councillor Extraord. 1657–61 and Ordinary 1660–78.

[2] This method of obtaining fresh water is still followed in certain parts of the coast of India, and in the Persian Gulf by diving down to a considerable depth and then filling corked bottles. (See vol. ii, p. 84; Chardin, iv, p. 69; and *Persian Travels*, ed. 1676, p. 233.)

[3] Madras, see p. 176, 22 miles from Pulicat.

7 or 8 leagues this day. We went to stay at the Convent of the Capuchins, where we found the Rev. Father Ephraim of Nevers and the Rev. Father Zenon of Baugé, of whom I have also spoken in preceding chapters.[1] On the 14th [August] we went to the fort to visit the English President,[2] and we dined with him.

On the 15th [August] M. du Jardin[3] and I left in the morning to go to St. Thomé,[4] which, as I have said, is only a good half league from Madras. We first called on the Governor, who received us with much civility and kept us to dinner. The time after dinner was spent in visiting the Churches of the Augustin Fathers and the Jesuit Fathers; in the first there is the head of a lance, which is regarded as that with which St. Thomas[5] was martyred; and we also visited some Portuguese, who received us very well. In the cool of the evening we returned to Madras.

On the 16th [August] the Governor of St. Thomé and the Portuguese whom we had visited sent us a quantity of presents—hams, ox tongues, sausages, fish, water melons, and other fruits of the country. It took nine or ten men to carry these presents, and as we lodged with the Capuchins it was always believed that M. du Jardin was a bishop, and that, not wishing to make himself known, he had come to see the country in disguise. What confirmed them in this belief was that they knew that the Governor of Pulicat had treated us with great civility, and that he of Madras had done no less. Moreover, six months after our departure, no one could eradicate this belief, so strongly was it engrafted. On the 17th and 18th [August] we again went to dine with the

[1] See pp. 168, 178 ff., 202, above.

[2] Sir W. Foster states that the President at this time was Henry Greenhill (*English Factories in India, 1651–1654*, p. xxxix).

[3] See p. 206 above.

[4] St. Thomé, now a suburb of Madras (see p. 177 *n*, where the distance has been shown to be 8 miles. Tavernier doubtless meant 'a good league and a half').

[5] For a full discussion of this tradition, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, ii. 5 *n.*, 288; Linschoten, i. 83 ff.; Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii. 290 ff.; Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 126; Dames, *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. ii. 126 ff.

English President, and we passed the time with all the amusements which he could devise to remove from our bodies and minds the pains and fatigues we had incurred during so troublesome a journey. On the 19th [August] we visited some native Christians who dwell at Madras and live in tolerable comfort. They received us very well, and we heard that they are very generous to the Reverend Capuchin Fathers. On the 20th [August] the Christians whom we had visited also sent presents of some fruits of the country. On the 21st [August] we went to take leave of the English President and the chiefs of that nation, who had regaled us so well.

On the 22nd [August], in the morning, we left Madras, and, after having travelled 6 leagues, arrived at a large village called Serravaron.[1] On the 23rd [August], having travelled 7 leagues, we came to Oudecot.[2] This is a day's march through a flat and somewhat sandy country. On both sides there are groves of bamboo.[3] It is a kind of cane which is very tall, sometimes equalling in height our loftiest forest trees. Some of these forests are so thick that it is impossible for a man to enter them, and an enormous number of monkeys are found in them. Those on one side of the road are so hostile to those on the other, that none can venture to pass from one side to the other without running the risk of being at once strangled. While at Pulicat, the Governor told us that when we passed through these woods we should enjoy the opportunity, as he had done, of making the monkeys fight,[4] and this is the way which is employed to bring it about. Throughout all this country at every league the road is closed by gates and barricades, where a strict watch is kept, and all passers by are questioned whence they come and whither they are going, so that a traveller can without danger and in perfect safety carry his gold in his hand. In

[1] Chōlavaram, in the Chingleput District, where there is an old Saiva temple (*Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. 180).

[2] Ūttukkōttai, on the N. bank of the Arani river, 20 miles WSW. of Chōlavaram, in Ponnēri taluk, Chingleput District.

[3] Bambou in the original.

[4] A remarkable account of a battle between two troops of Langūr or Hanumān monkeys, which was witnessed by Mr. T. W. H. Hughes, F.G.S., will be found in the *Proc. As. Society Bengal*, for September 1884, p. 147; W. T. Blanford, *Mammalia of British India*, 29.

all these places rice can be bought, and those who wish to enjoy the amusement of making the monkeys fight place five or six baskets of rice in the road at forty or fifty paces distant the one from the other, and close to each five or six sticks, two feet long and an inch thick. The baskets being thus placed and uncovered, every one withdraws a short distance, and immediately the monkeys are to be seen on both sides descending from the bamboos and leaving the jungle to approach the baskets full of rice. They spend half an hour showing their teeth at one another before approaching the baskets; sometimes they advance, sometimes they retire, fearing to come to close quarters. At length the females, particularly those having young ones, which they carry in their arms as a woman carries her child, which are bolder than the males, approach the baskets, and when about to stretch out their heads to eat, the males of the other side of the jungle immediately advance to prevent them and bite them. Those of the other side then advance, and both parties becoming furious they take up the sticks near the baskets, and immediately a fierce combat ensues. The weakest being at length compelled to give way, withdraw into the jungle, some with broken heads, others maimed in some member, while those who remain masters of the field eat their fill of rice. It is true, however, that when they begin to be satisfied they allow some of the females of the other party to come and eat with them.

On the 24th [August], after having accomplished 9 leagues by a road similar to that of the preceding day, we arrived at Naraveron.[1] On the 25th [August], after a march of eight hours in a country of the same kind, finding gates at every two leagues, we arrived in the evening at Gazel.[2]

On the 26th [August] we travelled 9 leagues, and halted at Courua,[3] but could get no supplies, either for the men or

[1] Nārāyanavanam, 3 miles ESE. of Puttūr station, Madras–Bombay Railway, and 24 miles by road from Ūttukkōttai.

[2] Gāzulamandiyam, 3 miles SE. of Rēnigunta railway station, Madras-Bombay main line, 14 miles by road from Nārāyanavanam.

[3] The rock called Kuruva-bandalu, about a mile to N. of Settiguntа-Bāhapalle. There is a forest Bungalow on the rock, which is in the Cuddapah District.

the mounts, whether oxen or horses, and ours had to content themselves with a little grass which was cut for them. Courua is renowned for its pagoda, and on arrival there we saw several companies of military marching, some with handpikes, others with guns, and others with sticks, going to join one of the principal captains of Mīr Jumla's army, on a hill near Courua, where he had pitched his tent. The place is very pleasant, and derives its coolness from numerous trees and fountains. As soon as we learnt that this officer was so near at hand, we set out in order to salute him, and found him in his tent with many nobles, chiefs of the country, all idolaters. After having saluted him and made him a present of a pair of pocket pistols decorated with silver, and two yards of Dutch flame-coloured cloth, he asked why we had come into the country, and we replied that we came to see Mīr Jumla, Commander-in-Chief of the King of Golkonda, to transact some business with him. At this reply he treated us kindly and having observed that he supposed us to be Dutchmen, we told him we were not of that country, but were Frenchmen. The captain, not having any previous knowledge of our nation, detained us a long time to acquaint himself with our forms of government, and the greatness of our King. While he kept us in this way the sufra [1] was spread, and then all the idolatrous nobles withdrew, as they do not eat anything cooked by Musalmāns. Having found that we had not the same scruples, he invited us to supper, but we declined, because it was late, and we wished to rejoin our people. But we had scarcely arrived at our tent when we saw three men, each with a large dish of pulāo [2] on his head, which the captain had sent us. Before leaving him he invited us to remain for the following day to enjoy elephant-hunting, but as we did not wish to lose time we excused ourselves, and told him that our business compelled us to proceed. Six or seven days previously they had captured five elephants, three of which had escaped, and it was these which they were

[1] *Sofra* in the original: = tablecloth (see vol. ii. 4). It is generally called Dastarkhān or Dastārkhwān; Pers. *dastār*, a fine muslin cloth, *khwān*, a tray

[2] Pulāo (see p. 125.)

pursuing, and ten or twelve of the poor peasants who assisted in capturing them had been killed. We informed ourselves of the manner in which they hunt, and this is what we ascertained. Certain passages are cut in the jungle, in which holes are excavated and covered with branches with a little earth on top. The hunters, with shouts and the noise of drums, to which they add fire-darts, drive the elephant into these passages, when coming on the holes it falls in and is unable to get out again.[2] The hunters then place ropes and chains on it, which they pass under the belly, and bind the trunk and the legs, afterwards employing special machines to hoist the animal up. Nevertheless, out of five which had been taken three escaped, as I have said, although they had still some chains and cords about their bodies, and even on their legs. These people told us an astonishing thing, which is wonderful if one could believe it. It is, that elephants which have once been caught and have escaped, if driven into the jungle are always on their guard, and tear off a large branch of a tree with their trunks, with which they go along sounding everywhere before putting down their feet, to see if there are any holes, so as not to be caught a second time. It was this which made the hunters, who gave us this description, despair of being able to recapture the three elephants which had escaped. If we had been certain of witnessing this wonderful precaution of the elephant, no matter how pressing our business, we should have willingly waited for two or three days. This captain who had received us so well was a sort of Brigadier, and commanded 3,000 or 4,000 men who were stationed half a league off.

On the 27th [August], having marched two hours, we came to a large village, where we saw the two elephants

[1] This mode of capturing elephants is employed in Travancore (V. Nagam Aiya, *State Manual*, iii. 541), and in Bengal (F. Buchanan, Martin, *Eastern India*, ii. 502). In Malabar the system of catching elephants is to dig groups of pitfalls on their paths, or a little distance from them, a tree being felled to induce the animals to go round it, but a cautious old female will often suspect the trap (W. Logan, *District Manual Malabar*, i. 59). See Sir S. W. Baker, *Wild Beasts and their Ways*, 58; T. Williamson, *Oriental Field Sports*, ed. 1808, i. 151; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 8.

which had been captured. Each of these wild elephants was between two tame ones, and around the wild ones there were six men with fire-darts, who spoke to the animals when feeding them, saying in their language, 'Take that and eat it.' They gave them small wisps of hay, pieces of black sugar, rice cooked in water, and pounded peppercorns. When the wild elephant would not do what was ordered, the men told the tame elephants to beat him; this they immediately did, one striking him on the forehead and head with his trunk, and if he attempted to revenge himself, the other struck him from his side, so that the poor elephant knew not where to turn; this taught him to obey.

As I have insensibly drifted into a history of elephants, I shall add here some other remarks which I have made on the nature of these animals. Although the elephant does not approach the female after having been captured,[1] it happens nevertheless that he becomes in season sometimes. One day when Shāhjahān was out hunting on his elephant with one of his sons, who sat with him fanning him, the elephant became so much in heat that the driver was unable to control it, and he told the Emperor that to arrest the rage of the elephant, which might crush them among the trees, it was necessary that one of the three who were on the elephant should offer himself, and that with all his heart he sacrificed his life for the Emperor and his son, begging His Majesty to take care of his three children. Having said this, he threw himself under the elephant, and immediately the animal took him with his trunk, and crushing him under his feet, then became mild and tractable as before. The Emperor,

[1] This is still widely believed, but is not true; not only are there well-authenticated instances of the birth of elephants in India, both the parents having been in captivity, but recently elephants appear to have been successfully bred in America (Blanford, *Mammalia of India*, 466). Some of the Indian instances just referred to are given in the *Asian* for the 5th of June 1883, and a case of congress was not only witnessed by a number of officers at Thaetmyo in Burmah, but was actually photographed. A lithograph taken from this photograph will be found in the manual of *The Elephant*, by Mr. J. H. Steel, V. S., Madras, 1885. Manucci (ii. 364) says that the Mughal Emperors held it to be unlucky that elephants should breed in captivity.

for this wonderful escape, gave 200,000 rupees to the poor, and promoted at court each of the sons of the man who had so generously given his life for the safety of his Prince.

I have to remark still that, although the skin of the elephant is very hard during life, when dead it feels like bird-lime in the hands.

Elephants come from many places in Asia—from the island of Ceylon, where they are the smallest, but the most courageous of all; from the island of Sumatra, the Kingdom of Cochin, the Kingdom of Siam, and the frontiers of the Kingdom of Bhutān towards Great Tartary. They come also from the coast of Malinda,[1] on the East coast of Africa, where they must be very abundant, according to a report which was made to me at Goa by a Portuguese captain who came from that region to make some complaint against the Governor of Mozambique. He told me that throughout that coast there are many enclosures fenced with elephants' tusks only,[2] and that some of them are more than a league in circuit. He added that the blacks of the country hunt the elephants, and eat the flesh, but for each elephant which they slay they have to give one of the tusks to their Chief.

I have described how elephants are captured in the territory of the King of Golkonda; the following is the method practised in the island of Ceylon for the capture of these animals. A long passage, enclosed on both sides, is prepared, so that when an elephant has entered he cannot turn either to the right or to the left. This passage is wide to begin with, but narrows gradually to the end, where there is only room for a female elephant, which is in season, to lie down. Although tame she is nevertheless bound with chains and strong cords, and by her cries she attracts the male, who comes to her

[1] This statement is of special interest if intended to mean that the African elephant was domesticated and exported to India. See vol. ii. 248; but Tavernier's statement does not seem necessarily to mean that they were imported from East Africa to India. On the use of elephants by the Greeks and Romans see Sir J. Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 105 ff.

[2] Ball refers to a statement by a comparatively recent African traveller that elephants' tusks are known to have been formerly so used for fences. (See vol. ii, p. 127.)

along the passage up to where it becomes narrow; and when he has passed that point, the men who are concealed close that portion of the passage by a strong barricade which they have in readiness; and when the elephant has advanced a short distance farther, and is close to the female, another barricade closes the passage in that direction. Then, with chains and ropes, thrown on the elephant, they bind his trunk and legs, and trap him so that he cannot escape. A nearly identical method is followed in the Kingdoms of Siam and Pegu, the only difference being that the peasants mount the female and go to the forests in search of the male. When they have found him, they tie up the female in the most convenient place they can find, after which they lay snares for the elephant, who approaches slowly on hearing her cries.

It is especially remarkable in the case of the female elephant that at certain seasons she collects all kinds of leaves and grass, with which she makes for herself a bed with a kind of bolster, elevated 4 or 5 feet from the ground, where, contrary to the nature of all other beasts, she lies to await the male, whom she calls by her cries.[1]

It is, moreover, peculiar to the elephants of Ceylon that only the first male produced by the female has tusks.[2] It is to be remarked also that the ivory from the islands of Ceylon and Achīn[3] has the peculiarity when it is worked that it never becomes yellow like that from the Peninsula and the

[1] This is a fable, repeated by Linschoten (ii. 4), though there appears to be some foundation for the belief that natural inequalities in the ground are availed of during the act of congress.

[2] 'While in Africa and India both sexes have tusks, with some slight disproportion in the size of those of the females, not one elephant in a hundred is found with tusks in Ceylon, and the few that possess them are exclusively males.' (Sir E. Tennent, *Nat. Hist. of Ceylon*, p. 78; *Ceylon*, ii. 273 f.). The same authority states that the desire for ivory is so great in Ceylon that when a tusker is known to be in a herd he is hunted till shot. This may have been going on for a very long period, and may account for the tuskless character of the breed. Thus the action of man may have prevented the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, as those having tusks would otherwise hold possession of the herds of females.

[3] Achen in the original; it here stands for Sumatra. For the value of the different varieties of ivory see *Ency. Brit.*, xv. 92; T. P. Ellis, *Monograph on Ivory-work in the Panjab*, sect. 11.

West (*sic*) Indies ;[1] this causes it to be more esteemed and dearer than the other.

When merchants are taking elephants anywhere to sell, it is amusing to see them pass. As there are generally both old and young, when the former have passed the children run after the little ones which follow behind, playing with them and giving them something to eat. Whilst these young elephants, which are then alone, are occupied in taking what is given, the children jump upon them, and it is then that the fun begins. The young elephants which remain behind to eat while their mothers have marched away, feeling themselves deserted, double their pace in order to rejoin them, flourish their trunks, and often dismount the children from their backs, without doing them any harm. This does not disperse this little crowd, which continues to follow them for some time, offering them food as before.

Notwithstanding all the research which I have made with much care, I have never been able to ascertain very exactly how long an elephant lives, and this is all the information that can be obtained from those who tend these animals. They cannot say more than that such an elephant has been in the charge of their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and by estimating the time that these people may have lived, it is found that an elephant's age sometimes amounts to 120 or 130 years.[2]

I observe that the majority of those who have written accounts of India say boldly that the Great Mogul keeps 3,000 or 4,000 elephants. When at Jahānābād, where the Emperor at present resides, I often inquired from the person

[1] Tavernier makes a slip if he alludes to elephant ivory, as there are no elephants in the West Indies.

[2] Mr. Sanderson says (*Thirteen Years among Wild Beasts in India*, 56), 'My own opinion is that the elephant attains at least to 150 years'. See Blanford, *Mammalia of British India*, 466. Sir Emerson Tennent gives evidence regarding a particular elephant, that it was found in the stables in Ceylon by the Dutch when they expelled the Portuguese in 1656, that it served the Dutch for upwards of 140 years, and passed into the hands of the British in 1799 (*Ceylon*, ii. 398). See also Sir S. W. Baker, *Wild Beasts and their Ways*, 20. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (i. 117 ff.) gives the natural duration of an elephant's life at 120 years.

who has charge of them, and who shows much friendship for the Franks, the number of elephants in his charge for the Emperor's service and he assured me that he had only 500,[1] called elephants of the household, because they are employed only to carry the women and the tents with all the rest of the baggage, and for war only 80 or at most 90. The most courageous of the latter has to be supported by the eldest son of the Emperor, and is allotted, both for food and for all other necessary expenses, 500 rupees a month, which amount to 750 livres. Some have only 50, others but 40, others 30, others 20 rupees; but the elephants which have 100 or 200 or 300 or 400 rupees a month have under them their horsemen to support, who share this pay, besides two, three, and up to six young elephants, who have to fan them during the great heat of the day. All these elephants do not remain in the town, as the majority go every morning to the country, where those who tend them take them into the jungles, where they eat branches of trees, sugar-canes, and millet, from which the poor peasants suffer much loss. This is profitable to those who tend these animals, because the more they eat in the country, the less food they consume in the town—the saving going into the pockets of the keepers.

This same day, the 27th of August, we travelled 6 leagues farther, and slept at a large town called Ragiapeta.[2] On the 28th, after having made 8 leagues, we came to Oudecour.[3]

On the 29th, after a march of nine hours, we arrived at

[1] The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* does not mention the number of elephants kept by the Great Mogul, but it gives a marvellous amount of details as to the classification, food, harness, capacities, and characteristics of the elephants in the establishment kept by Akbar, and states that he had 101 for his own use (i. 120). Pyrard de Laval (ii. 346) gives 30,000; Fitch (p. 95) 1,000; Bernier (p. 221) 800 or 900 at Delhi and Agra; Ovington (p. 191) 400 or 500. The number of elephants naturally varied from time to time, and was affected by their employment in campaigns or with the provincial governors.

[2] This is probably Anantarājupeta, a village about 4 miles NNW. of Kōdūru, on the way to Vontimitta on the railway line. There are several places called Rājupeta in its vicinity.

[3] Ūtukūr, about 2 miles SE. of Rājampet, the headquarters of the Pullampet tāluk, Cuddapah District.

Outemeda,[1] where there is one of the grandest pagodas in the whole of India. It is built of large cut stones, and has three towers whereon are many deformed figures cut in relief. It is surrounded by many small chambers for the dwellings of the priests of the pagoda, and 500 paces off there is a great tank, upon the borders of which there are many small pagodas of 8 or 10 feet square, and in each of them an idol in the form of a demon, with a Brahman,[2] who takes care that any stranger who is not of their faith does not come to bathe or draw water from the tank. If a stranger wants water some is given him in earthen pots, and if by chance the pot touches the vessel of the stranger the pot is broken. I am told, also, as I have elsewhere remarked, that if any one not of their faith bathes in the tank it becomes necessary to let out all the water which is then in it.[3] As for charity, they are very liberal, for to every traveller who is in want and asks alms, they give to eat and drink of whatever they may happen to have. You meet many women on these roads, some of whom always keep fire to light the tobacco of travellers, and to those who have no tobacco they even lend a pipe. Others go there to cook rice with quicheri,[4] which is a grain like our hemp-seed ; others, too, cook beans, because the water in which they are cooked never causes pleurisy to those who are overheated. There are among these women some who have vowed to perform this charity for travellers during a period of seven or eight years ; others for more or less time according to their convenience, and they give each traveller bean water and rice water to drink, and two or three handfuls of this cooked rice to eat. Other

[1] Vontimitta, an important place on the railway, 19 miles from Ūtukūr ; see *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, i. 237. There is a pagoda dedicated to Kodanandarā Swāmi, which, according to inscriptions at Gandikota, was built by a member of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the 14th century.

[2] Bramere in the original, Brahman.

[3] See p. 203 above.

[4] For khichari, Hind., a term applied to a dish of boiled rice and dāl, a kind of pulse (*Cajanus indicus*), flavoured with spices and onions ; it is therefore not the name of a seed itself. (See p. 311 below, and Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921, p. 320 f.)

women are to be seen on the high roads and in the fields following horses, oxen, and cows; these have vowed to eat nothing but what they find undigested in these animals' droppings.[1] As neither barley[2] nor oats are to be had in this country, the cattle are fed on certain large and hard peas,[3] which are first crushed between two grindstones and then allowed to steep for half an hour, for they are very hard and consequently difficult of digestion. The horses are given some of these peas every evening, and in the morning they receive about two pounds of coarse black sugar, which resembles wax, kneaded with an equal weight of flour and a pound of butter, of which mixture the grooms make pellets or small balls, and force them down the horses' throats; otherwise they would not eat them. Afterwards their mouths are washed, especially the teeth, which are covered with the paste, because this gives them a dislike to this kind of food. During the daytime the horses are given some grass which is torn up in the fields, roots and all, and is most carefully washed so that no earth remains.[4]

On the 30th [August] we made 8 leagues, and halted at Goulapali.[5] On the 31st, after a march of nine hours, we

[1] The Chief of Idar, in Akbar's time, used to feed on grain collected from the droppings of his cattle, 'a sustenance held in much esteem by the Brāhmans' (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii. 241). At a more recent time the custom prevailed in western India (J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 2nd ed., i. 51.) In the Central Provinces a sub-caste of Chamārs are called Gobardhua (*gobar*, cowdung) because they collect the droppings of cattle on the threshing-floors, and wash out and eat the undigested grain; in some places they fight for this perquisite (Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, ii. 407 f., 422).

[2] Barley was known in the Vedic age, and it is now largely grown in India, but to a very small extent in Madras (Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii. 187; Watt, *Commercial Products*, 643).

[3] Bengal gram, the seed of Cicer arietinum, Linn., and horse gram of Dolichos biflorus, Lam., the former little grown in Madras and replaced by the latter (Watt, 300.)

[4] Dūb grass (Cynodon dactylon) is the kind of fodder still given to horses in India, but the clay is generally removed by beating not by washing. The daily preparation of this is the principal duty of the second attendant on a horse—the Ghasiyārā or grasscutter.

[5] This is probably Gollapalle, near the Gangyapalle railway station, about 13 miles NW. of Cuddapah, 5 miles W. of Chennūr, 22 miles by road from Vontimitta.

stopped at Gogeron.[1] On the first day of September we made only 6 leagues, and halted at Gandikota.[2] Only eight days had passed since the Nawāb had taken this town after a three months' siege, and he would not have taken it but for the aid of some Frenchmen who had quitted the Dutch service on account of the treatment they had received. He also had many English and Dutch gunners, with two or three Italians, who gave him great aid in the capture of the place.

Gandikota is one of the fortified towns in the Kingdom of Carnatic.[3] It is built on the summit of a high mountain, and the sole means of access to it is by a very difficult road, which is only 20 or 25 feet wide, and in certain parts only 7 or 8; the Nawāb was then commencing to improve it. On the right of the road, which is cut in the mountain, there is a fearful precipice, at the base of which runs a large river.[4] On the top of the mountain there is a small plain about a quarter of a league wide and half a league long. It is cultivated with rice and millet, and watered by many small springs. At the level of the plain to the south, where the town is built on a point, the limits are formed by precipices, with two rivers which bound the point at the base; so that, for access to the town, there is but one gate on the plain side, and it is fortified in that direction with three good walls of cut stone, the ditches at their bases being faced with the same stone. Consequently, during the siege, the inhabitants

[1] Possibly Goriganūr, a village on the N. bank of the Penner river, about 3 miles SE. of Jammalamadugu.

[2] Gandikota, a fort at an elevation of 1,670 feet above the sea in the Yerramalai Mountains of the Kadapa (Cuddapah) District, Lat. 14° 47′ N., Long. 78° 16′ E. According to Ferishta it was built in 1589. It was captured by the British under Captain Little in the first war with Tipu in 1791, and was thus again proved not to have been impregnable, having first yielded, as here related, to Mīr Jumla (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xii. 127). There is some doubt regarding the duration of the siege: W. Foster, *English Factories in India, 1651–1654*, p. 22 f. See also Grant Duff, *Hist. Mahrattas*, ed. 1921, i. 266.

[3] The Carnatic or Karnatic embraced Mysore and parts of Telingānā, and corresponded with the kingdom of Vijayanagar. (See p. 207 *n.* and, for use of the name at various periods, Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 164.)

[4] The Penner river.

had to guard a space of only 400 or 500 paces wide. They had only two iron guns—one a 12-pounder, the other 7 to 8; the first was placed on the gate, and the other on the point of a kind of bastion. Until the Nawāb found means to mount guns above he lost many men from the frequent sorties made by the besieged. The Rājā who was in the town was considered to be one of the best and bravest commanders among the idolaters, and the Nawāb, seeing at length that the place could not be taken unless guns were carried up to the heights, ordered all the Franks who were in the King's service as gunners to come to him, and promised each four months' wages in addition to their ordinary pay if they could find some means of conveying guns up to the heights. In this they were successful. They mounted four guns, with which they bombarded the place, and were so fortunate as to direct them against the gun mounted on the gate, which they soon rendered useless. When they had battered down half the gate of the town the besieged capitulated and evacuated the place under honourable conditions. On the day we arrived the whole army was encamped at the base of the mountain in a plain, where there is a very fine river,[1] and the Nawāb was just ending the review of the cavalry, which were very smart. An English gunner, with his comrade, an Italian, seeing M. du Jardin [2] and myself pass, and recognizing us to be Franks, as it was late, politely came to meet us, and invited us to spend the night with them. It was from them we heard that there was a French gunner then in the town, named Claude Maillé of Bourges,[3] and that he was engaged in casting some cannon which the Nawāb wished to leave in the fort.

On the following day, the 2nd of the month, we ascended to the town and stopped at the house of Maillé, whom I had known at Batavia, where he was in the Dutch service, being employed as gardener to the General. He received us with much joy, and having first notified our arrival to the Nawāb, he ordered them to provide immediately for lodging and

[1] The Penner. [2] See p. 206.

[3] For further particulars regarding this gun-founder and surgeon, see pp. 95 and 231.

necessary food, not only for ourselves, but also for our horses and oxen, during the stay that we were going to make at Gandikota.

On the 3rd [September] we went to call upon the Nawāb, who had caused his tents to be pitched on the summit of the mountain, in the quarter bordering the road cut in the rock. He received us kindly, asking us if we were comfortably housed, and whether we had been supplied with the food which he had ordered for ourselves and horses. Then he inquired the cause of our visit, and we replied that we had brought some goods sufficiently choice for the King, but that we had not gone to His Majesty before showing them to him—well knowing that the King bought nothing of high price without his advice, and that, in any case, we considered such deference to be due to him. The Nawāb assured us that our compliment had not displeased him, and after he had ordered betlé [1] to be presented to us we took our leave and returned to the town. We found all the gunners awaiting us, and we assembled at Maillé's house for supper, where the Nawāb sent us two bottles of wine—one Spanish, the other of Shīrāz—which is rare in this country.[2] As for brandy, they have no lack of it, for they make it of rice and also sugar, of which there is an abundance in all these parts of India.

On the 4th we again visited the Nawāb, and showed him the jewels which we hoped to sell to the King. They consisted of some pear-shaped pearls [3] of a weight, beauty, and size which were unusual—the least exceeding 24 carats. After having examined them well, and shown them to a number of nobles who were present with him, he asked us the price; which having heard, he returned them to us, and at the same time said he would consider it. He made

[1] Betlé, Port. The leaf of *Piper betel*, used as a masticatory together with areca nut and lime. In some parts of India, and by Europeans in India generally, it is called pawn (pān). See p. 211.

[2] For Shīrāz wine see Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 100 f., 504 ff., and for a graphic account of its manufacture, Wills, *Land of the Lion and the Sun*, 227 ff.

[3] The principal pearl was afterwards sold to Shāista Khān (see *ante*, p. 17).

us dine with him, and after the repast we returned to the town, where we remained till the 10th without seeing the Nawāb.

On the morning of the 10th [September] he sent to summon us, and as soon as we were seated in his tent, close to him, the attendants brought him five small bags full of diamonds, and each bag contained about as many as one could hold in the hand. They were all lasques,[1] but of very dark water and very small, and most of them were only 1 carat or half a carat in weight, but otherwise very clear. There were very few of them which weighed 2 carats. The Nawāb, showing us these stones, asked if such goods were saleable in our country. We replied that they might be sold provided the water was white, because in Europe we do not esteem diamonds if they are not clear and white, and we make no account of other kinds of water. When he first began to contemplate the conquest of this Kingdom for the King of Golkonda, he was told that it contained diamond mines, and he sent 12,000 men to work them, but in the space of a year they found only those which he had in the five bags. The Nawāb, seeing that they found only stones of very brown water, tending much more to black than white, rightly considered that it was loss of trouble, and, forbidding further mining, sent all these poor people back to tillage.[2] After the Nawāb had closed up his diamonds again, and we had dined with him, he mounted his horse, accompanied by many nobles, to go hunting, and desired to take us with him; but we begged him to excuse us, and we left without his speaking to us of our pearls.

[1] Lasques, a term applied by jewellers to flat and oval stones, such as are used in Indian jewellery, and derived from Pers. *lashk*, 'a bit, piece'. The 'table' was the original form in which diamonds were cut. The technical name of this is 'lasque', and small slabs in this form are still used for covering miniatures, and are then called portrait stones (Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, 283).

[2] The exact position of these mines (or washings ?) is unknown, but they were probably situated in the neighbourhood of the Penner river. The nearest of the Kadapa (Cuddapah) sites known in modern times was at Jammalamadugu, which is only 5 or 6 miles E. of Gandikota. There are a number of mines near Kadapa (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 9). In vol. ii. 67, Tavernier says there were six of them. The mine at Wajrā-Karūr, in Bellary, was also taken by Mīr Jumla.

On the 11th [September] all the Frank gunners went to the Nawāb's tent, crying out that they had not been paid the four months' wages which had been promised, and that if they were not paid they would go to take service elsewhere, upon which the Nawāb put them off till the following day. On the 12th, the gunners having assembled at the tent of the Nawāb, he ordered them to be paid for three months, and promised to pay them the fourth at the close of the current month. They had no sooner received this money than they treated one another, and the baladines [1] received more than half of it.

On the 13th the Nawāb went to the town to inspect the foundry which Maillé had erected by his orders. Maillé, as I have said, was from Bourges, and enlisted at Amsterdam for India. When he arrived at Batavia, the General, perceiving that he was skilful and very intelligent, kept him in his personal service to make some grottoes and fountains in his garden. But Maillé, being neither satisfied with this employment nor with the rough treatment of the General, found means to attach himself to the suite of M. Cheteur,[2] who was sent from Batavia to the Nawāb, then engaged in the siege of Gandikota. This Envoy having finished his business with the Nawāb, and Maillé knowing that he would be leaving on the following day, took possession of the case and box of ointments belonging to the Ambassador's surgeon, and concealed himself until the Envoy had departed, without being able to find Maillé, in spite of all the search he could make, which had delayed his departure for some days. As soon as Maillé heard that the Envoy was gone, he was appointed to the service of the Nawāb as surgeon; and some time afterwards, having informed him that he was a good gunner and founder, he entered his service in that capacity. The Nawāb having taken Gandikota, and desiring to mount some cannon inside the fort, where it was very difficult to carry them, proposed to Maillé [3] to cast twenty pieces—ten

[1] Dancing-girls (see p. 71).

[2] The name of the ambassador was M. Steur, as Sir W. Foster points out.

[3] In 1665 Tavernier met a man with the same name installed as physician to the Governor at Allahabad, but does not allude to him

48-pounders, and ten 24-pounders; this Maillé undertook to do. He was supplied with copper for this purpose from all quarters, and the Nawāb collected a quantity of idols which had been removed from the pagodas which his army had visited. There is in Gandikota a pagoda [1] considered to be one of the principal in India, where there are many idols, some of gold and others of silver. Among these idols there were six of copper, three of which were seated on their heels, and the three others were about 10 feet high. After Maillé had made all preparations to melt the metals and the idols brought from different places, he accomplished the melting of all except the six large idols of the famous pagoda of Gandikota.[2] He was unable to melt them, no matter how much the Nawāb expended; and the latter went so far as to threaten the priests of the pagoda, whom he accused of having bewitched the idols. In short, Maillé did not succeed in making a single cannon, one being split, another incomplete; and so he relinquished all the work he had undertaken, and some time afterwards quitted the service of the Nawāb.

On the 14th we went to the Nawāb's tent to take leave and to hear what he had to say regarding the goods which we had shown him. But we were told that he was engaged examining a number of criminals, who had been brought before him for immediate punishment. It is the custom in this country not to keep a man in prison; but immediately an accused person is arrested he is examined, sentence is pronounced on him, and it is then executed without any delay. If the accused is found to be innocent he is released at once; and whatever the nature of the case may be, it is promptly concluded. We were told, moreover, that it would be difficult for us to see the Nawāb that day, because he intended to go down to the plain to review the greater part

expressly as being the same person, as he probably was. (See p. 95.)

[1] There are a fine mosque and two Hindu temples now in the fort (*Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. 334).

[2] Possibly these idols were made of iron and not of copper; this would account for the difficulty in melting them. Cast-iron was known in India in early times. The story may, however, be mythical.

of his army. We did not omit, however, to meet him at the door of his tent in the evening, where we dismounted. M. du Jardin and I saluted him, and he invited us to call upon him early on the following day.

On the 15th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we went to the Nawāb, and immediately we were announced he invited us to enter his tent, where he was seated with two of his secretaries by him. According to the custom of the country—where one goes with naked feet in slippers, without stockings, because wherever you enter you walk on a carpet, and sit in this country as in Turkey, and as our tailors do here—the Nawāb had the intervals between his toes full of letters, and he also held many between the fingers of his left hand. He drew them sometimes from his feet, sometimes from his hand, and sent replies through his two secretaries, writing some also himself. After the secretaries had finished the letters, he made them read them; and he then took them and affixed his seal himself, giving some to foot messengers, others to horsemen. But it should be remarked that in India all the letters which Kings, Generals of Armies, and Governors of Provinces send by footmen[1] go much faster than by horsemen, the reason being that at every two leagues there are small huts, where two or three runners are posted, and immediately when the carrier of a letter arrives at one of these huts he throws it to the others sitting at the entrance, and one of them takes it up and at once starts to run. It is considered unlucky to give a letter into the hand of the messenger; it is therefore thrown at his feet, and he must lift it up.[2] It is also to be remarked that throughout India the sides of most of the roads are planted with avenues of trees, and where there are no trees planted, at every 500 paces small pieces of stone are fixed, which the inhabitants of the nearest villages are bound to whiten from time to time, so that the letter carriers can distinguish the road on

[1] The Pattamārs (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 687). For Akbar's post, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 252; on Persian couriers see Herodotus, viii. 98, with Rawlinson's note: *Encyl. Biblica*, iii. 3813.

[2] This was done because the courier was an outcaste, and merely touching him would convey pollution.

dark and rainy nights.[1] While we were with the Nawāb he was informed that four prisoners, who were then at the door of the tent, had arrived. He remained more than half an hour without replying, writing continually and making his secretaries write, but at length he suddenly ordered the criminals to be brought in; and after having questioned them, and made them confess with their own mouths the crime of which they were accused,[2] he remained nearly an hour without saying anything, continuing to write and to make his secretaries write. Then there entered into his tent many officers of the army who came to pay their respects with great humility, and to whose salute he replied only by an inclination of the head.

Among these four prisoners who were brought into his presence was one who had entered a house and had slain a mother and her three infants. He was condemned forthwith to have his feet and hands cut off, and to be thrown into a field near the high road to end his days. Another had stolen on the high road, and the Nawāb ordered him to have his stomach slit open and to be flung in a drain. I could not ascertain what the others had done, but both their heads were cut off. While all this passed dinner was served, for the Nawāb generally eats at ten o'clock, and he made us dine with him. The sufra[3] having been removed, we took leave of the majority of the nobles who had also eaten with the Nawāb; and when only two or three persons remained with him, we inquired through his interpreter if he had any commands for us, and whether he thought that our goods should be shown to the King. He replied that we might

[1] The Great Kaan used to plant trees along the roads, to show the way at night, and also because the astrologers told him that whoever planted trees lived long; where trees would not grow he had landmarks, pillars or stones, erected, to show the way (Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 394). Asoka planted trees and dug wells along the highways (Smith, *Asoka*, 3rd ed., 91). Akbar planted trees on the great northern road for 400 miles, and Coryat and Terry describe the avenue, which is marked in Bernier's map. (*Id.*, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, 2nd ed., 413.)

[2] The criminal law of Islam is not satisfied until the accused makes confession of the crime.

[3] Sufra, Pers., tablecloth, see p. 218 above. The word properly means 'the food of the journey' (*safar*).

go to Golkonda, where he would communicate with his son on our behalf, and that his letter would arrive before us. He ordered sixteen horsemen to conduct us, and provide for us on the road whatever we required, up to a river 13 leagues from Gandikota, which no one is allowed to cross who does not bear the Nawāb's passport, so that the soldiers may not be able to desert.

CHAPTER XIX

Route from Gandikota to Golkonda

On the morning of the 16th [September 1652] we left Gandikota, accompanied by most of the gunners, who came with us to the first halt, carrying plenty of food with them; and this day we only made 7 leagues, and slept at Cotepali.[1]

On the 17th, after breakfasting with the gunners, who then returned to Gandikota, we pursued our way with the sixteen horsemen of the Nawāb, and having travelled 6 leagues we slept at a village named Coteen,[2] beyond the river, which was then very full. As soon as we had crossed it the sixteen horsemen took leave of us; and though we offered their chief some rupees to buy tobacco and betel, we could not induce him to accept anything. The boats employed in crossing this river are like large baskets,[3] covered outside with ox hides, at the bottom of which some faggots are placed, upon which carpets are spread to support the baggage and goods, lest they

[1] Cottapilly in A.S. No. 76; it is, however, 24 miles from Gandikota. Cotalpully and Gopalpilly are about 4 miles nearer.

[2] Not identified on the map. The exact route followed by Tavernier from Gandikota up to Gudimitta is very uncertain.

[3] Coracles, made of wicker-work and covered with bitumen, which are called Gufa or Kufa, are used on the Tigris and Euphrates (L. W. King, *Hist. of Babylon*, 178 ff.; Herodotus, i. 192; G. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 615). Jahāngīr, in his *Memoirs*, describes rafts made of bamboos and grass resting on inflated skins (Elliot & Dowson, *Hist. of India*, vi. 313). Such skin-rafts, called Senai, are still used on the Indus (F. St. J. Gore, *Lights and Shades of Hill Life*, 122). The Harigōlu, or coracles, used on the Kāvērī in Mysore, are circular baskets of stout wicker-work, composed of interlaced bamboo laths and covered with buffalo hides; similar coracles are used on the Haidarābād river (B. L. Rice, *Mysore*, 2nd ed., i. 6; Bilgrami & Willmott, *Descriptive Sketch*, i. 8).

should get wet. As for the coaches and carts, they are tied by the pole and wheels between two of these baskets, but the horses are made to swim across, a man driving his horse from behind with a whip, and another in the basket holding it by the halter. As for the oxen, which, according to the custom of the country, carry the baggage, as soon as they reach the bank of the river and have been unloaded, they are driven in, and cross the water without assistance. There are four men to each basket, one at each corner, who stand and row with paddles. Should one of them fail to keep equal stroke with the others, or if all do not keep time, the basket turns three or four times round, and, the current carrying it down, it descends much lower than the spot where it was intended to land.

On the 18th [September], after a march of five hours, we arrived at Morimol.[1] On the 19th we made 9 leagues, and halted at Santesela.[2] On the 20th we made 9 leagues more, and slept at Goremeda.[3] On the 21st, after six hours of marching, we passed the night at Kaman.[4] It was a frontier town of the Kingdom of Golkonda, before the conquest of the Carnatic by the army of Mīr Jumla, of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter.

On the 22nd we travelled 7 leagues, and slept at Emelipata.[5] About half-way we met more than 4,000 persons, men and women, and more than twenty pallankeens, each of which contained an idol. They were ornamented with gold, brocade of gold and velvet, with fringes of gold and silver, and some of these pallankeens were carried by four men, others by eight, and others by twelve, according to the size and weight of the idols. On each side of the pallankeens was a man with a large round fan about 5 feet in diameter, made of beautiful ostrich and peacock feathers of different colours. The handles of these fans were 5 or 6 feet long, and covered with gold and silver

[1] Recent inquiries show that Morimol is Poraimāmilla.

[2] Santesela is almost certainly Sancherla, in Cumbum tāluk, Karnūl District.

[3] Gudimitta.

[4] Kumbam, or Cumbum, 12 miles NW. of Gudimitta, an important town, headquarters of the tāluk of the same name.

[5] Vemulakota, in Mārkāpur tāluk, Karnūl District, 14 miles NW. of Kumbam.

nearly as thick as a French crown (écu). Every one strove to carry these fans in order to serve the idol by fanning it and preventing the flies alighting on its face. Another fan, somewhat larger, and without a handle, was carried like a shield. It was ornamented with feathers of different colours, ranged round little gold and silver bells. The person carrying it walked close to the pallankeen, on the sunny side, in order to shade the idol, for to close the curtains of the pallankeen would have made it too hot. From time to time the bearer of the shield shook it in order to ring the bells, so that the idol might be amused. All these people with their idols came from Burhānpur and its neighbourhood, and were going to visit their great Rām Rām, i.e. their great god, who is in a pagoda in the territory of the King of Carnatic. They had been fully thirty days on the road, and had to march fourteen or fifteen more before reaching the pagoda.[1] One of my attendants who came from Burhānpur, and belonged to the tribe of these same people, asked me to give him a holiday to go with them to accompany his gods, saying that a long time ago he had vowed to make this pilgrimage. I was obliged to give him leave, well knowing that if I did not give him the holiday he would take it himself, as he had many relatives in the troop. About two months later he rejoined me at Surat, and as he had served M. du Jardin and myself faithfully, I made no difficulty about re-employing him. When I asked him some questions about the pilgrimage which he had just made, he told me a story difficult to believe, but which happened, as he said, in this manner. Six days after having left me, all the pilgrims intended sleeping at a village; and before reaching it they had to cross a river, which during

[1] Tavernier (vol. ii. 191 below) describes meeting at Daulatābād a similar procession of 2,000 persons on their way to Tirupati pagoda from Tatta, in Sind. But all the details are different. Ball disagrees with M. Joret (*J.-B. Tavernier*, p. 131) in his identification of the two occasions, and does not see any difficulty in regarding each account as being distinct. Processions carrying idols, seldom seen in north India, but common in the Deccan and Madras, are a survival of Jainism, once powerful in these regions. Similar processions are described by Barbosa (ed. Dames, ii. 36) among Malabar Brāhmans, who carry their idol round a temple, and a procession, like that seen by Tavernier, by P. della Valle (ii. 279 ff.). The image of Mahāsū is carried in procession in the lower Himālaya.

the summer contains but little water and may be forded anywhere. But when it rains in India the water falls like a deluge, and in less than an hour or two small streams rise 2 or 3 feet in depth. The rain having surprised these pilgrims, this river increased so quickly that it was impossible to cross it that day. It is not necessary that those who travel in India should provide themselves with food beforehand, —especially is this the case with the idolaters, who do not eat anything which has had life—because even in the smallest villages rice, flour, butter, milk, beans, and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid, can be procured in abundance. This multitude of people, who had no food with them, were much astonished on reaching the bank of this river to see it so high and swollen, and at not being able to cross it to the village, which was on the other side, where they intended to make their halt. They had nothing to give their children to eat, and nothing was to be heard save lamentations among the crowd. In this extremity their chief priest sat down in the middle of them, and, causing himself to be covered with a large sheet, began to call those who wished for food to approach him. He asked each what he wanted, whether rice or flour, and for how many persons ; and lifting the corner of the sheet, with a large ladle which he held he gave to all whatever they had asked for ; so that this large number of people of 4,000 souls was satisfied.[1]

It was not only my servant who related this history, but having subsequently made many journeys to Burhānpur, where I was known to the principal persons of the town, I made inquiry of many who had been on this pilgrimage, and

[1] It is perhaps not too much to say, that with the people of India the more *prima facie* incredibility there is in a story like this, the more likely is it to obtain their credence. Its resemblance to a certain Christian miracle is remarkable. In this connexion we may appropriately quote General Sleeman's remarks (*Rambles and Recollections*, 337) : 'The miracles of Christianity exercise no influence on the imaginations of the Hindus, who can always tell of greater ones.' We may call to mind also the alleged miracles performed by sundry modern theosophists, and believed in by their disciples. The story is a variant of the well-known folk-tale of the inexhaustible pot or purse (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India*, i. 214 f.).

all swore to me by their Rām Rām that it was true, which I nevertheless could not believe.

On the 23rd [September] we arrived at Doupar,[1] after having travelled 8 leagues, and crossed many torrents. On the 24th we made only 4 leagues, and came to Tripanté,[2] where there is a grand pagoda on a hill, the whole circuit of which forms a staircase and is faced with cut stone. The smallest stone of this staircase is 10 feet long and 3 feet wide, and in the pagoda there are many figures of demons. There is one, among others, which resembles a Venus standing upright, with many demons who surround her in lascivious attitudes, and this Venus and the demons are cut out of a single piece of marble, but the carving is very coarse. On the 25th we travelled 8 leagues, and halted at Mamli.[3] On the 26th we also travelled 8 leagues, and slept at Macheli.[4]

On the 27th we made only 3 leagues, because we had to cross a large river in baskets; this generally occupies half a day.[5] When we reached the margin of the water we saw neither basket nor any other means of crossing. A man came, with whom we bargained for our passage; and to test whether the money we offered him was good he made a large fire, and threw it into it.[6] He did the same with that of all the passengers. If amongst the money which he received he found a rupee which turned somewhat black, they had to give him another, which he also heated; then after he had proved that the money was good he called out to his comrades to bring the basket, which is generally concealed in some spot on the opposite side of the river. For these people are cunning, and seeing from afar off from which side the travellers are coming they send the basket to the other bank so as not to be

[1] Dūpād, a village in Mārkāpur taluk, about 20 miles N. of Vernulakota in the valley of the Gundhakamma river.

[2] Tripurāntakham, 7 miles NE. of Dūpād. It is the Tripparanticum of the Atlas Sheet.

[3] Marrivēmula, about 17 miles midway between Tripurāntakham and Mācherla.

[4] Mācherla, an important village in Gurujāla taluk, popularly called Palnād, in Guntūr District.

[5] The Kistnā, on which coracles are still used.

[6] See p. 25 above.

compelled to take any one across without being first paid. The money having been counted, and the man who had received it having called his comrades, they carry the basket on their shoulders to the edge of the water, and having launched it come across to fetch those waiting on the other side.

On the 28th, having made 5 leagues, we halted at a place called Dabir-pinta.[1] On the 29th, after a march of 12 hours, we slept at Holcora.[2] On the 30th we made 8 leagues, and passed the night at Peridera.[3] On Monday, the 1st day of October, after having made 10 leagues, we slept at Atenara.[4] It is one of the pleasure houses built by the Queen, mother of the King who reigns at present. It has many rooms for the accommodation of travellers, opening on a grand square in front of the house.

It should be remarked that in all the countries we have just passed through, both in the Kingdom of Carnatic and the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bījāpur, there are hardly any physicians except those in the service of the Kings and Princes. As for the commonalty, when the rains have fallen and it is the season for collecting plants, mothers of families may be seen going out in the mornings from the towns and villages to collect the simples which they know to be specifics for domestic diseases. It is true that in good towns there are generally one or two men who have some knowledge of medicine, who seat themselves each morning in the market-place or at a corner of the street and administer remedies, either potions or plasters, to those who come to ask for them. They first feel the pulse, and when giving the medicine, for which they take only the value of two farthings, they mumble some words between their teeth.[5]

On the 2nd of October we were only 4 leagues distance from Golkonda. We halted at the house of a young Dutch surgeon

[1] Dabir-pinta appears to be the Debir Lake of Orme's map, but has not been clearly identified.

[2] Holcora, Huaticoor of Orme.

[3] Paraida.

[4] Atenara or Tenara is Sarūrnagar : see Mr. Yazdani's note, p. 139–40 above.

[5] See the account of the methods of the Vaidyas, or native physicians of the Deccan, *Bombay Gazetteer*, xviii, pt. 3, p. 69 ff.

of the King, named Pitre de Lan, whom M. Cheteur, the Batavian Envoy, had left at Golkonda—the King having asked for him very earnestly.[1] This Prince suffered from a chronic pain in the head, and the physicians had ordered him to be bled under the tongue in four places ; but he could not find any one willing to undertake it—because, as for surgery, the people of the country understand nothing about it.

Before de Lan entered the King's service he was asked whether he could bleed well, to which he replied that it was the least difficult operation in surgery. It was with great reluctance that the Batavian Envoy consented to leave him. But he did not like to disoblige the King, and de Lan received 800 pagodas as salary. Some days after the Envoy's departure the King summoned the surgeon and told him that he wished him to bleed him on the following day in four places under the tongue, as his physicians had directed, but that he should take care not to draw more than eight ounces. De Lan returned to the Court on the following day, was conducted into a room by two or three eunuchs, and four old women came to conduct him to a bath, where they undressed and washed him well, especially his hands, and anointed him with drugs and aromatics ; in place of his own clothes, which were of European make, they gave him a garment made according to the fashion of the country. They then took him to the King, and brought basins of gold which the physicians who were present weighed ; these were to receive the blood. He then bled the King under the tongue in four places, and he did it so skilfully that, on weighing the blood with the basins, he found that he had drawn eight ounces exactly.[2] The King was so satisfied with this operation that he gave him 300 pagodas, which are equal to nearly 700 écus. The young Queen and the Queen-dowager having heard of it, desired that he would bleed them also,

[1] Called Pieter de Lange in *Histoire générale des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 35. According to Valentyn he did good service to his country as their representative at the Court of Golkonda till 1656. He was succeeded by another surgeon, who died in 1660, after which the Dutch established a factory at Golkonda. On p. 231 we have been told that Claude Maillé of Bourges deserted M. Cheteur and set up as surgeon to Mīr Jumla.

[2] He was, therefore, successful under conditions somewhat similar to those from which Shylock recoiled.

but I believe it was more from the curiosity they had to see him than for any need they had to be bled, for he was a young and well-made man, and probably in their lives they had not seen a stranger at close quarters—for from a distance this is not impossible, since from the place where they stay they are able to see without being themselves seen. De Lan was then brought into a chamber, where the same women who had taken him to the bath before he had bled the King uncovered his arms, washed them well, and especially his hands, and anointed him with scented oil, as they had done when he went to bleed the King. That being done, they drew a curtain, and the young Queen putting out an arm through a hole, the surgeon bled her, and he afterwards did the same for the Queen mother. The former gave him a fee of 50, and the latter of 30 pagodas,[1] with some pieces of gold brocade.

Two days after our arrival we went to salute the son of the Nawāb, and were told that we could not speak to him that day. Next day we returned, and as the same thing occurred, some one told us that we might amuse ourselves in that manner for a long time, as he was a young noble who scarcely ever left the King's presence, and on leaving the palace he used to shut himself up in his harem with his women.[2] The surgeon, de Lan, seeing that our business might be delayed, offered to mention it to the first physician of the King, who was in his confidence, had shown much friendship for the Batavian Envoy and for de Lan himself, and could easily find an opportunity for obliging us. In short, as soon as de Lan had spoken to him he sent for us, to inquire what service he could render us. After he had saluted us, he caressed us a thousand times, invited us to be seated, and ordered some fruits of the country to be brought. He then inquired whence we had come, and upon what subject we desired to speak to the King ; we told him that we had some choice pearls which

[1] About £25 and £15. See the accounts by Manucci (ii. 355, iv. 224) and Fryer (i. 326) of their experiences when they were called in to bleed or prescribe for Musalmān ladies.

[2] Muhammad Amīn Khān, son of Mīr Jumla, was an ill-conditioned, dissipated young man (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzib*, iii. 77 ; Bilgrami & Willmott, *Hist. Sketch*,i i. 481 481) ; Bernier (p. 80) calls him Mahmet Emir-Kan.

we wished to show to His Majesty, and he asked us to show them to him the following day—this we did. After he had seen them, he told us to replace them in their little bags, desiring us to close them with our seal, because all things presented to the King should be sealed with the merchant's seal and when the King has seen it he affixes his, in order that there may be no fraud. Thus we left the whole sealed packet in his hands, and he promised to show it to the King, and render us a good account of the service which he had undertaken thus in order to oblige us.

The following morning, very early, we went to hunt with de Lan, and returning, at eight or nine o'clock a.m., we went to the river's bank to see how the elephants of the King and the great nobles are bathed. The elephant enters the water up to the belly, and lying down on one side takes water from time to time in its trunk, throws it upon the uncovered portion of its body and washes it well. The keeper then takes a kind of pumice-stone, rubs the skin and cleans it of all the dirt which has accumulated upon it. Some believe that when this animal lies on the ground it cannot get up by itself;[1] this is quite contrary to what I have seen, for as soon as the keeper has rubbed it well on one side he orders it to turn on the other, which the elephant promptly does, and after it is well washed on both sides it leaves the river and remains for some time on the bank to dry itself. Then the keeper brings a pot full of red or yellow paint, and paints lines on its forehead, around the eyes, on the chest, and on the back, afterwards rubbing it with coco-nut oil to strengthen the nerves, some keepers finally marking the forehead with false tinsel.[2]

On the 15th[3] [October] the chief physician sent for us at

[1] This old fable, though discountenanced by many writers, has had a wonderfully persistent existence (Sir T. Browne, *Works*, ed. 1880, i. 219 ff.; Blandford, *Mammalia of British India*, 466; Tennent, *Ceylon*, ii. 293).

[2] This sort of decoration, like the washing, is practised in India at the present day. Cf. Bernier, 261; J. L. Kipling, *Beast and Man in India*, 1892, p. 251, gives a good drawing of a decorated elephant.

[3] Thus in the edition of 1676, but in other editions this date is given as the 25th. M. Joret (*J.-B. Tavernier*, p. 130) concludes from the latter that Tavernier left for Surat on the 26th. But it appears probable that the

two o'clock p.m., and returned our pearls, carefully sealed with the King's seal, which His Majesty had ordered to be placed upon them after he had seen them. He asked us the price of each, which we told him, and, as he had a eunuch with him who noted all down, the latter, astonished at seeing pearls of such a price, remarked that we supposed the people of the court of the King of Golkonda to be without judgement or knowledge, and that he daily saw other precious things which were brought to the King. I replied sharply to the eunuch that I could well believe he knew the price of a female slave better than that of a jewel, and so saying we shut up our pearls, and taking leave of the physician, returned to our lodging. We had no sooner arrived there than we sent to hire two coaches, each of us having already a riding horse, and, on the following day, in the morning, we left Golkonda, but were not able to travel more than a league and a half that day, because the Portuguese, English, and Dutch gunners in the service of the King escorted us, and we spent our time in enjoying ourselves.

There is no need to repeat here what I have said at the beginning of this volume, as we returned from Golkonda to Surat by the same route as that from Surat to Golkonda, there being no other,—I have nothing to say except that, having left Golkonda immediately after the reply which I made to the eunuch, the King, who did not hear of it for two days after our departure, sent four or five horsemen after us with orders to bring us back to court if they found us. We had already made five marches from Golkonda, one of them being in the territories of the Great Mogul, when one of these horsemen came to us at sunset, while his companions remained on the frontier of the two kingdoms, rightly believing that as we had crossed the boundary we would be unwilling to return. This horseman showed us the order which he had received from the King, his master, who had told him that he would buy our pearls, and that he thought it very strange that we had left without saying anything. As we were no longer in the territory of Golkonda the horse-

25th is a misprint for the earlier date, i.e. the 15th. Hence his departure for Surat would have been on the 16th of October.

man could only urge us to return with him, giving us all possible assurances that we should be satisfied, and M. du Jardin almost yielded ; but I, knowing the atmosphere of the country better, told the horseman frankly that it was impossible, and after he had left I made my companion comprehend my reasons for being unwilling to return to Golkonda.

On arriving at Surat,[1] where a few days afterwards M. du Jardin died of an effusion of bile, as I have related in my account of Persia, I made arrangements to go to Agra to visit Shāhjahān, who was then on the throne. But the Nawāb Shāista Khān, the King's brother-in-law,[2] and Governor of the Province of Gujarāt, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, sent to me from Ahmadābād, where he resided, one of the principal officers of his household, to tell me that having heard I had some beautiful jewels to sell he would be much pleased if I went to him, assuring me that he would pay for them as liberally as the Emperor. I received this message during the illness of M. du Jardin, who died on the ninth day ; and after we had rendered him our last duties at Surat, I went to Ahmadābād, where I at once transacted some business with the Nawāb. As he understood all kinds of jewels well, we were at once agreed, and there was no difference between us save as to the nature of the payment. He gave me a choice of coins, and stipulated only that I should take golden or silver rupees ; but the Prince gave me to understand that he did not wish that so large a sum should be seen leaving his house, and suggested that I should take my payment in golden rupees, which would appear less. I agreed to what he

[1] As he left Golkonda on the 16th of October, and the journey from Surat took from twenty-one to twenty-six days, according to the route travelled, he should have reached Surat either on the 7th or the 12th of November. As stated in the previous note, M. Joret has been misled by a misprint to the conclusion that Tavernier started for Surat on the 26th. Further, he seems to mistake this record of the death of M. du Jardin for that of M. d'Ardilière his son. Tavernier's reference to the latter as being alive in 1653 is, therefore, not inconsistent, and further we have mention (*Persian Travels*, bk. ii, ch. x) of a Baron d'Ardilière being in Marseilles with our author in 1657, but Ball cannot say that he was the same person. See *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, by Joret, pp. 114 and 131.

[2] Shāista Khān was son of 'Āsaf Khān Wazīr, and brother of Shāh jahān's wife, Mumtāz Maha ll(Bernier, 56 ; Manucci, i. 218.)

advised, and he showed me some very fine gold, namely, old rupees which apparently had not seen the light for a long time. But as the current price of the golden rupee is only 14 silver rupees,[1] and he wished to pass his for 14½, or at the least for 14¼, this almost ended the transaction, as I made him understand that upon so large a sum I could not consent to lose a quarter upon every golden rupee. Finally, in order to satisfy him, I was obliged to take them at 14⅛ rupees of silver; for the Prince, who was otherwise magnificent and generous, showed himself a stern economist in matters of purchase.[2]

During my residence at Ahmadābād he sent me every day, to the Dutch house where I lodged, four silver dishes from his table containing pulāo and choice meats, and one day when the Emperor sent him ten or twelve men bearing apples, which had been received from Persia by way of Kandahār, he presented me with two dishes of them, which would have been worth at Ahmadābād, on account of their scarcity, 300 or 400 rupees. I gave a part of these fine fruits to the Dutch and to the ladies, and we amused ourselves well during my sojourn there. Moreover, Shāista Khān gave me a khil'at[3] complete, with sword and khanjar;[4] this was worth more than 1,000 rupees; and desiring to make me a further present of a horse, he asked me what kind I wished for. I replied that since he was pleased to give me my choice, I preferred a fresh and lively horse rather than an aged one. He gave me one from his stud, which I mounted forthwith and took to the Dutch house, but not without difficulty, for it only went by jumps, and was so fiery, that on my allowing a young Dutchman to mount it, he, who thought he could ride it better than I, found himself promptly out of the saddle, as he was unable to manage

[1] From this proportion, with the rupee at 2*s.* 3*d.*, the gold mohur was worth 31*s.* 6*d.* (See Appendix.)

[2] This transaction has already been described, with some difference in the details, on pp. 15 ff. In a paper, apparently written by Tavernier, which forms Appendix XLV of Raphael's *Estat de la Perse*, by Schefer (p. 352), the writer says that he took with him on one occasion five pear-shaped pearls to Ahmadābād, which he had purchased for 23,000 livres at Antwerp. He sold them to Shāista Khān for 64,000 livres.

[3] Khil'at (see p. 18.)

[4] Khanjar, i.e. dagger (see p. 82, ii. 281).

the horse. I told Shāista Khān that an older one would be more suitable for me, so he ordered his master of the horse to give me one which, although it had belonged to his father, was still fit for service, and had cost formerly more than 3,000 écus.[1] As I did not require it I sold it for 400 rupees to a Frenchman, whom at the same time I was able to place in the service of the Prince, where he might have saved much money if he had not squandered it in debauchery.

From Ahmadābād I returned to Surat, and from Surat I travelled [2] to Golkonda, and thence to the mine to make my purchase of diamonds. On my arrival at Surat I arranged to go to Persia, but experienced great difficulties, which were followed by a voyage in which I was exposed to dangers I might have foreseen, but did little to avoid, never having feared such dangers as travellers have to run both on sea and land, whenever it has been actually necessary for me to proceed forward.

CHAPTER XX

Return from Surat to Hormuz, and how the author found himself engaged in a very severe and dangerous naval combat, from which he escaped without accident.

WHILE on my return to Surat from my visit to the diamond mine, I learned that war had been declared between the English and Dutch,[3] and that the latter would not send any more vessels to Persia. The English also said the same, as they had already sent four which they expected to return every hour, and consequently I found the sea closed for my passage to Hormuz. I might have taken the land journey by Agra and Kandahār; but the road was very long, and it was impossible, or at the least very difficult, to travel by it on

[1] £675. See p. 18 for another account of this transaction, which, as there pointed out in the footnote, varies the details.

[2] This was on the 6th March 1653. (See Introduction.)

[3] This was in the year 1654. War was proclaimed between England and Holland on 8th June 1652, and, on Dutch defeats at sea, ended in the peace of 1654.

account of the Kandahār war, and because the armies of Persia and India were in the field.[1] While afraid that I should be obliged to spend a long time in a place where I had no occupation, there arrived at Surat on the 2nd of January five large Dutch vessels from Batavia ; this rejoiced me exceedingly, as I was certain to obtain all I wanted from the Dutch Commander, who was a friend of mine. I may say, in passing, that in all my journeys there has never been one of these commanders—it is thus they call the chiefs of these settlements—who has not showed consideration for me, and has not been pleased at having an opportunity of doing me kindness. I have also sought on all occasions to serve them, especially when I went to the mine, by purchasing diamonds for them with private money of which they did not wish the Company to know anything, because they are forbidden to embark in private trade, and moreover they understood little about the purchase of precious stones. But although these small services which they asked me to render them had been without profit, that did not save me from being subjected later on, on account of one of them, to some unpleasantness at Batavia, from which I did not escape without trouble, as I shall describe hereafter in the sequel of my history.[2] I have also been very careful in all the places where the Dutch have settlements, and where I made any sojourn, to contribute as far as possible to the amusement of their ladies. As I never came from Persia to India without bringing good wine and fine fruits, and always had some one with me who understood cooking better than the Dutch in India, and knew how to make good soup and bake, I entertained them often with collations, where pigeons in pyramids, flavoured with pistachios, were not lacking. The amusements of the country, which I have sufficiently described, followed these small collations ; and the ladies gave me to understand that they were much pleased with these parties, to which I invited them with their husbands.

The Commander of Surat being, as I have said, a friend of

[1] Kandahār surrendered to the Persians in 1649, and was three times besieged ineffectually by the Mughals in 1649, 1652, 1653 (Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 402 f.).

[2] See ii. 254 ff.

mine, offered me a passage upon one of the five vessels, whichever I pleased, which had arrived from Batavia ; but, on the other hand, he pointed out the risk I would run of meeting the English, and of being engaged, in that event, in a combat, which would be unavoidable. My friends also begged me to consider the great danger to which I exposed myself. But all that they could say to me was of no avail, and rather than lose the time uselessly at Surat, where I had nothing to do, I was firmly resolved to embark. As the Dutch vessels were men-of-war rather than merchant craft, the Commander ordered three to be unloaded as quickly as possible, and sent them in advance with instructions to seek the four English vessels which he knew ought to be on their return from Persia, laden with goods, and consequently less in a condition to fight than vessels which were empty. The two others followed three or four days afterwards, this interval being required by them in order to ship supplies for all five.

I embarked in one of the two vessels which left last, and having set sail on the 8th of January,[1] we arrived on the 12th before Diu,[2] where we found the three other vessels which had preceded us. Immediately a council of war was held to consider what direction we should take to meet the English, who we believed had already reached Persia ; but they had gone but a short distance, having left Diu only two days before the arrival of the three first Dutch vessels. It was settled that we should go to Sindi,[3] and that, with anchors up, each vessel, approaching Diu as near as it could, should fire off all its cannon at the town. As soon as the inhabitants perceived that we were sailing towards the town they took flight, only daring to fire two shots at us. After the discharge of all the guns, we set our course for Sindi, where we arrived on the 20th of the same month, and a boat was at once sent on shore, the English and Dutch each having a house there. Our Admiral was informed that the four English vessels, which were to embark about 200 bales of goods then ready on the seashore were expected daily ; and upon these tidings it was resolved to remain at anchor there till the 10th of February ; but that,

[1] This was in 1654. (See Introduction.)
[2] See p. 5.
[3] Scimdi in the original for Sindi (see p. 9).

if by that time they did not appear, we should put to sea again and seek for them in Persia.

On the 2nd of February, at break of day, we perceived some sails, but owing to their great distance were unable to make them out, and still less to go to meet them, the wind being contrary.[1] Some believed at first that they were fishing-boats, but little by little, as they approached, having the wind astern, we recognized that they were the English vessels, which advanced to attack us, upon the information they had received, as we subsequently learned, from some fishermen, that the Dutch vessels were simple frigates, of which they expected to make an easy capture. It is true they had not before seen such small Dutch vessels, and as they had been built expressly for fighting, they had not high bulwarks, and so appeared small externally, but were otherwise of great strength. Our 'Admiral' had forty-eight pieces of cannon, and in case of necessity was able to accommodate up to sixty, and had more than 120 men on board. Towards nine o'clock—the English, who advanced with all sails set, not being far off—in order not to lose time in raising the anchors, we cut cables and each one set himself to do his duty. But the wind, as I have said, being directly contrary, we could not approach the enemy. As they had thereby all the advantage of the wind, they came on in good order, and always stem on; and their Admiral and Vice-Admiral[2] at length came so close to the side of the Dutch Admiral that the English Admiral[3] was fouled by an anchor on the side of our Admiral. To tell the truth, our Admiral showed but little courage in this encounter, for instead of boarding then and there, the occasion being so favourable, he cut the cable in order to free his vessel. All the ports were

[1] See the account of this engagement in Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in Western India*, 115 ff.; W. Foster, *English Factories in India, 1651–1654*, Introd., xvii ff., 249 ff. The English squadron consisted of the *Endeavour*, *Welcome*, *Falcon*, and *Dove*. The *Falcon* was set on fire, as Tavernier says, by his lucky shot; the *Endeavour* holed, captured, and sunk. the *Dove* and *Welcome* sheered off in a disgraceful manner, and the Dutch towed the half-burnt *Falcon* in triumph to Surat.

[2] These terms are used both for the ships themselves and their commanders.

[3] The *Falcon*.

so well closed that from outside no one could say how many cannon she carried. But after the English had made their first discharge, and our Admiral had returned it, which was much more effective, the English, seeing the number of his guns and the crowd which appeared on deck, began to lose heart, and the wind proving favourable, drew off. However, the English Vice-Admiral having reloaded his guns, came skilfully against the vessel on which I was a passenger. Our Captain reserved his fire until we were nearly alongside one another, notwithstanding the loss of ten men which we had sustained. When we were not more than a pistol-shot off we let him have a discharge from all our guns, which broke his foremast. The two vessels coming in contact, our Captain was the first to board, being accompanied by many brave men with hatchets, who cut all the ropes. While the two vessels were close to one another the sub-pilot and I fired a cannon-shot so effectively into the cabin of the English Captain that the bullet set fire to some powder cartridges which had been placed there. This unforeseen fire caused the English to fear that the increasing conflagration would envelop all their vessel; and our Captain, who feared the same, commanded his crew to return into our vessel, where he ordered the English to follow ten by ten, and then immediately drew off. The courage of the crew being restored, they managed to extinguish the fire on the English vessel, in which ten or twelve of our sailors were left; but our Captain, who had acquired much glory in this action, died of his wounds after two or three days.

In the meantime another of our vessels had vigorously attacked a large English ship of about 30 guns [1] which held aloof, and had already damaged it badly, when the vessel on which I was went to assist in sending it to the bottom, by giving it a whole broadside, which completely disabled it from further defence. The English Captain, seeing himself lost, immediately ran up the white flag and asked for quarter, which was granted. The carpenters did their best to close up the holes made by the cannon, the vessel having been pierced in many places; but seeing themselves deserted by the sailors who rather than aid them preferred to drink the Shīrāz wine,

[1] The *Endeavour*.

of which there was a quantity in the bottom of the hold, before being taken by the Dutch, they left their work and went to drink with them. The Dutch, to the number of thirty or forty, manned their boats in order to take possession of the English vessel, and not seeing any one on deck, went below, where they found the sailors, who, not expecting death, which was closer than they supposed, drank each other's health. The Dutch being no wiser, and not knowing the condition of the vessel, which was on the point of foundering, began to drink with them, and some moments afterwards the vessel went to the bottom. All perished miserably together, both the victors and the vanquished, without any one being saved except the English Captain and two French Capuchins, who, seizing the opportunity while these brutes made themselves drunk, descended into a boat, and cutting the rope by which it was attached to the vessel, came to the one in which I was, where they were well received. Our master pilot then took charge, the Captain, as I have said, having been badly wounded, and he at once sent these prisoners to the Admiral, to dispose of them as might seem good to him. The following day the Admiral sent to invite me to his vessel, where all the Captains had to assemble to render thanks to God for the victory they had achieved over their enemies. We afterwards dined with him, and the Capuchin Fathers being of the company, he told me that, as they were of my country, they might, if they preferred it, go to the vessel in which I was, and he would issue orders that they should be well treated; this was done, and I took them with me the same evening, giving them, as far as I was able, whatever was necessary for their comfort.

The vessels which go from Persia to India are generally laden with wine and money, and that which went to the bottom carried more than the others; this was the reason why it held aloof, and did not join in the fray. This was a great loss, which might have been avoided if the Dutch had had more courage and more prevision; and the English Admiral, seeing the misfortune which had happened to one of his vessels, took flight with a second ship. For indeed, to say the truth, the want of enterprise on the part of the Dutch Admiral and the other Captains caused them to miss the certain capture of

these fugitives, as it would have been an easy victory if they had known how to profit by their opportunities.

This combat was not finished without my life having been in jeopardy, more particularly from a cannon-shot which struck two Dutchmen who were close to me, and a splinter of the vessel cut open the head of another and carried away a part of my coat, so that I was covered with the blood of the Dutchmen who were slain at my side. The combat being over, we returned to the anchorage at Sindi; but a strong wind arose, and the sea being very high, we were obliged to go to moorings six leagues higher on the eastern coast, where we remained till the 20th of the same month;[1] we occupied this time in the care of the sick, and many of the English died of their wounds there. At length we reached the anchorage at Sindi, both to obtain water and some stores, and also for the purpose of raising the anchors which we had left behind, and we remained there till the 28th, landing at Gombroon, after a pleasant cruise, on the 7th of March.

My first care when I was out of the vessel was to return thanks to God for having delivered me from this danger, and from many others which I had undergone in my previous travels, and I still offer Him my daily thanksgivings for the same.

[1] February 1654.

BOOK II

Historical and Political description of the Empire of the Great Mogul.

CHAPTER I

Account of the last wars in Hindostān, in which the present condition of the Empire and of the Great Mogul's Court is set forth.

I WRITE this history [1] without any commentary, and without describing how I became aware that these things happened during the sojourn which I made in the country.[2] I leave it to the reader, according to his pleasure, to make his own moral and political reflections. It is sufficient for me to give a faithful picture of the powerful Empire of the Moguls, in accordance with the sketch of it which I have taken on the spot, not wishing to increase this volume by any useless discussion.

This great and vast Empire, which forms the larger part of Hindostān,[3] and extends from the mountains upon this side of the river Indus to the other side of the Ganges, touches on the east the Kingdoms of Arakan, Tipperah, and Assam ;[4] on the west Persia and Tartary of the Usbegs ; on the south the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bījāpur ; and on the north it reaches to the Caucasus, having on the north-east the Kingdom of Bhutān, from whence musk is brought, and to the north-west the country of Chegathay,[5] or the Usbegs.

[1] With reference to the historical chapters contained in this Book, there can be no attempt to correct or criticize all the author's statements, which occasionally conflict with those of other authorities. The story is fully told by Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 407 ff.

[2] There is so much similarity between this account and that by Bernier in his *History of the late Rebellion in the States of the Great Mogul*, Oxford 1914, that it cannot but be supposed that that author supplied Tavernier with information, either when they were fellow-travellers or after Bernier had published his *History*.

[3] Here Hindostān, in the original Indostan, is used in the European sense as synonymous with India, not as the people of India use it, i. e. the country north of the river Nerbudda.

[4] Aracan, Tipra, and Assen in the original.

[5] Cathay originally meant Northern China ; subsequently, in the sixteenth century, it came to be regarded as a separate country north of China (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 174). In the time of Kublai Khan 'the

As many persons have written about India itself, and of the genius of the Indians, I pass to subjects of more importance, but less well known, and I shall first speak of the family of the Kings of India, commonly known as the Moguls, that is to say whites, because the men who formerly conquered the country were white,[1] the native born Indians being brown or olive-coloured.

Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is the eleventh in direct line of the descendants of the great Temurleng, commonly called Tamerlane, who by the extent and renown of his conquests from China to Poland surpassed the glory of the most renowned captains of previous ages. His successors succeeded in conquering the whole of India, between the two rivers,[2] thereby destroying many Kings, and Aurangzeb has to-day under his authority the Kingdoms of Gujarāt, Deccan, Delhi, Multān, Lahore, Kashmīr, Bengal, and many other countries, without mentioning many Rājās or Kinglets, who are his vassals and pay him tribute. The following is the succession of these Kings from Tamerlane to Aurangzeb, who reigns at present: I. Temur-leng,[3] named 'the cripple', because he had one leg shorter than the other, is buried at Samarkand in the country of Chegathay or Tartary of the Usbegs; it is also the place where he was born; II. Mīrān Shāh,[4] son of Temur-leng; III. Sultān Muhammad, son of Mīrān Shāh; IV. Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā,[5] son of Muhammad; V. 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā,[6] son of Sultān Abū Sa'īd; VI. Sultān

Chagatai Khanate, or Middle Empire of the Tartars, with its capital at Almalik, included the modern Dsungaria, part of Chinese Turkestan, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan' (Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither*, Introduction, p. cxxi).

[1] Mughal is the same word as Mongol, meaning 'brave' (Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, i. 27). 'These armies are composed either of natives, or of genuine Mogols and people who, though less esteemed, are called Mogols, because white men, foreigners, and Mahometans' (Bernier, 209).

[2] i. e. the Indus and Ganges.

[3] Commonly called Tamerlane, but Tavernier's rendering is closer to the real name, viz. Tīmūr-lang, i. e. Tīmūr the lame. See a full genealogy of the Houses of Tīmūr, N. Elias & E. D. Ross, *Hist. of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 1898, p. 50.

[4] Miram-Cha in the original.

[5] Abousaïd-Mirza in the original.

[6] Hameth Schek in the original.

Bābur,[1] i. e. 'the brave Prince', son of 'Umar Shaikh, and the first of the Moguls who made himself all powerful in India. He died in the year 1532; VII. Humāyūn, which means 'happy', son of Sultān Bābur, died in the year 1552;[2] VIII. Ābu'l Fath[3] Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad, commonly called Akbar, that is to say, 'the mighty', son of Humāyūn, reigned fifty-four years, and died A. H. 1014, A. D. 1605; IX. Sultān Salīm, otherwise called Jahāngīr Pādishāh, i. e. Conqueror of the World, succeeded Akbar, his father, and died in the year 1627. He had four sons, the first named Sultān Khusrū, the second Sultān Khurram, the third Sultān Parwez, fourth Shāh Dāniyāl;[4] X. Sultān Khurram, the second of the four sons, succeeded Jahāngīr, his father, and was recognized as sovereign by the nobles of the Empire in the fortress of Agra, under the name of Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad, but he preferred to be called Shāhjahān, i. e. King of the World; XI. Aurangzeb, i. e. 'the Ornament of the Throne', is the Emperor who reigns at present.

The accompanying figure[5] shows the form of the coins which the Emperors cause to be thrown to the people when they ascend the throne. They bear the arms or seals of the Emperors whom I have just named. The largest seal, in the middle, is that of Shāhjahān, the tenth Emperor, for Aurangzeb, since he became Emperor, has not had any of these pieces

[1] Mīrzā Zāhir-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābur, born 15th February 1483. He invaded India in the winter of 1525, and died in 1530, not 1532 as above stated. The name Bābur has no connexion with the Persian *babur*, 'lion' or 'tiger', but has the same meaning.

[2] Humāyūn died in 1556. [3] Abdul Feta in original.

[4] The sons of Jahāngīr were, in order: Khusrū; Parwīz; Khurram, who reigned under the title of Shāhjahān; Jahāndār; Shahriyār. Dāniyāl was a son of Akbar and brother of Jahāngīr.

[5] Tavernier's beautifully executed plate of these tokens is not reproduced. 'Among the coins of the Moghul Emperors, from Jahāngīr onwards, certain pieces of small size, bear the word *nisār*, which means "scattering". These coins were struck for the purpose of distribution among the crowd on the occasion of certain festivities, such as marriages, or progresses of state, and the like. They were in fact a species of Maundy Money. The custom is common in certain countries and survives to the present day.' (Stanley Lane-Poole, *The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan illustrated by their Coins*, lxxxv ff.).

of bounty coined—these coins are nearly all of silver, a few only being of gold.

The Great Mogul is certainly the most powerful and the richest monarch in Asia ; all the Kingdoms which he possesses are his domain, he being absolute master of all the country, of which he receives the whole revenue. In the territories of this Prince, the nobles are but Royal Receivers, who render account of the revenues to the Governors of Provinces, and they to the Treasurers General and Ministers of Finance, so that this grand King of India, whose territories are so rich, fertile, and populous, has no power near him equal to his own.

CHAPTER II

Concerning the sickness and supposed death of Shāhjahān, King of India, and the rebellion of the Princes, his sons.

THE revolutions which took place in the Empire of the Great Mogul on account of the supposed death of Shāhjahān are full of so many important and memorable incidents, that they deserve to be known throughout the whole world. This great monarch reigned more than forty [1] years, less as an Emperor over his subjects than as a father of a family over his house and children ; to such an extent was this the case that, during his reign, the police system was so strict in all things, and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity to execute a man for having committed theft.[2] In his old age he committed an indiscretion ; and, moreover, used some drugs of so stringent a character that they brought on a malady which nearly sent him to the grave. This necessitated his shutting himself up for two or three months in his harem with his women, and during that time he showed himself to his people but rarely, and at long intervals ; this caused them to believe that he was dead. For custom requires these Kings to show themselves in public

[1] 30 years.

[2] This account of Shāhjahān's government is much too favourable. See the summary of Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 415 ff.

three times every week, or, at the very least, every fifteen days.[1]

Shāhjahān had six children, four sons and two daughters. The eldest of the sons was called Dārā Shāh; the second Sultān Shujā'; the third Aurangzeb, who reigns at present; and the last Murād Bakhsh. The elder of the two daughters was called Begam Sāhib, and the younger Raushanārā Begam.[2] All these names, in the language of the country, are titles of honour, as 'the wise', 'the brave', 'the accomplished', &c.; and we practise nearly the same in Europe by the use of the surnames which we give to our Princes, of 'just', 'bold', and 'affable', with this difference only, that these surnames are not given at birth, but after certain proof has been shown of the possession of the virtues which merit that their memories should pass to posterity under such fine names. Shāhjahān loved his four sons equally well, and had established them as Governors or Viceroys of four of his most considerable Provinces, or, if you prefer it, his four principal Kingdoms. Dārā Shikoh,[3] the eldest, remained near the person of the Emperor in the Empire of Delhi, and had the Government of Sindi,[4] where he placed a lieutenant in his absence; Sultān Shujā' had for his district the Kingdom of Bengal; Aurangzeb was sent to the Kingdom of Deccan; and Murād Bakhsh to that of Gujarāt. But much as Shāhjahān sought to give equal contentment to his four sons, their ambition was not satisfied by this allotment, and it overthrew all the projects that the good father had made to preserve peace between his children.

Shāhjahān having fallen sick, retired into the women's quarter without showing himself for many days. So the rumour spread that he was dead, and that Dārā Shikoh concealed his death in order to arrange his affairs and secure

[1] The Darshan or daily appearance at a Jharokhā, a window or balcony, was the custom of the Emperors (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 156 f.; Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 383). Aurangzeb abolished it because it savoured of the homage paid by Hindus to the image of their tutelary deity before beginning the day's work (Jadunath Sarkar, iii. 101).

[2] Called Rauchenara Begum in the original. Begam Sāhib. Jahānārā.

[3] Dara Cha (Shāh) in original. Dārā Shikoh: 'in majesty like Darius'.

[4] Sind. He was Viceroy of the Punjāb, and other provinces on the north and west, which he administered through deputies.

for himself the whole of the Empire. It is certain that the Emperor, believing that he was about to die and was near his last hour, ordered Dārā Shikoh to assemble all the Omrahs [1] or nobles of the Empire, and seat himself on the throne, which belonged to him as the eldest of all the brothers. He also told him that if God prolonged his life for some days he desired to see him, before he died, in the peaceable possession of his Empire ; and his intention that his eldest son should succeed to the throne was undoubtedly right, because he had for some time observed that the three other Princes showed much less respect and affection for their father than Dārā Shikoh did. At this conversation with his son, Dārā Shikoh who honoured his father extremely and loved him tenderly, replied that he prayed to God for the life of His Majesty, which he hoped would be long, and that while God preserved it he would never dream of ascending the throne, but would consider himself always happy in being his subject. Indeed, this Prince did not absent himself for a moment from the presence of his father, so that he might be at hand to attend upon him during his sickness ; and, wishing to be present at all times, he slept at night close to the Emperor's bed on a carpet spread on the floor.

However, upon the false report of the death of Shāhjahān, his three other sons straightway stirred themselves, and each laid claim to their father's throne. Murād Bakhsh, the youngest, who held the Government of the Province of Gujarāt, immediately sent troops to lay siege to Surat, the largest and most frequented port in all India. The city, which was without protection, made no resistance, for it has only weak fortifications, which are open in many places ; but the citadel, where the treasure was stored, was defended vigorously ; and this young, ambitious Prince, who had need of money, used all his powers to become master of it. Shāhbāz Khān,[2] one of his eunuchs, an industrious and energetic man, General of his army, conducted the siege with all the skill of an old commander.

[1] See p. 79.

[2] Chabas Kan in the original. See the account of the attack on Surat by Jadunath Sarkar, i. 323 ff. It occurred in November, 1657, not 1659, as in the original text.

Finding that he was unable to carry the place by storm, he ordered two mines to be excavated by a European. This plan was at once successful, and when the first mine was fired on the 29th of December 1657, it brought down a large portion of the walls, which filled the moat, and caused great alarm to the besieged. But they quickly plucked up courage, and, although they were few in number, defended themselves bravely for the space of more than forty days, during which time they did much injury to the army of Murād Bakhsh, and slew many of his soldiers. Shāhbāz Khān, irritated by this vigorous resistance, caused search to be made for the women and children, and relatives and friends of the artillerymen in the fortress, intending to place them in front of his soldiers during the attack; and he also sent one of the brothers of the Governor of the city to parley with him, and to make an advantageous offer, if he would deliver it into his hands. But the Governor, a good servant of the Emperor, who had not received certain tidings of his death, replied that he recognized no other master than Shāhjahān, who had entrusted the place to him, and that he would not relinquish it save to the Emperor himself, or to whomsoever he pleased to order; that he honoured Murād Bakhsh as Prince and son of the Emperor his master, but he refused to surrender the place even to him without receiving an express order from the Emperor.

The eunuch seeing the resolution of the Governor, made the most stringent threats to the besieged, swearing that he would kill all their relatives, their women, and their children, if they did not deliver themselves up to him on the following day. But these menaces had not, and could not have, any effect on the besieged; and it was only the state of the breach, which they could not defend on account of the smallness of their numbers, and the fear of the second mine, that at length obliged the Governor to surrender under honourable conditions; these were faithfully kept by Shāhbāz Khān, who seized the treasure, and carried it off to Ahmadābād, where Murād Bakhsh was occupied in oppressing the people in order to raise money.[1]

[1] The commander of the fort was Sayyid Tayyib. The keys reached Murād Bakhsh at Ahmadābād on 26th December 1657.

When the news of the capture of Surat reached the Prince, he immediately had a throne prepared, and having seated himself upon it on the day appointed for the ceremony, proclaimed himself Emperor not only of Gujarāt, but of all the dominions of Shāhjahān, his father. At the same time he had money coined, and dispatched new Governors to all the towns. But as his throne is badly founded it must quickly fall; and the Prince, the youngest of his brothers, is destined to end his days in prison because he claimed the succession to which he was not lawfully entitled.

Prince Dārā Shikoh was anxious to relieve Surat, but it was impossible for him to do so, for not only was he occupied in attending the Emperor, his father, during his sickness, but he had to watch his second brother, Sultān Shujā', who was much more powerful than Murād Bakhsh, and caused him far more trouble. He had already advanced into the Kingdom of Lahore,[1] and had entirely subjected that of Bengal. All that Dārā Shikoh was able to do was to dispatch with speed his eldest son, Sulaimān Shikoh,[2] with a powerful army against Sultān Shujā'. In the end, this young Prince defeated his uncle, drove him into the Province of Bengal, the frontiers of which he secured by strong garrisons, and then returned to Dārā Shikoh his father. In the meantime Murād Bakhsh, already recognized as King[3] in the Kingdom of Gujarāt, aspired to secure the Empire of India, to destroy his brothers, and establish his throne either in Agra or Jahānābād.

Meanwhile, Aurangzeb, as ambitious and more cunning than his brothers, allowed them to expend their energies, and concealed his designs from them, which he intended to develop and to destroy them before long. He pretended to have no claims to the Empire, announcing that he had abandoned the world, and would live the life of a Darvish, or solitary devotee.[4] In order to play this part with greater success he informed

[1] Lahore is here a mistake for Behār. He could not have reached Lahore, and if he had, it would not have served his purpose.

[2] Soliman Cheko in the original. He was accompanied by Rājā Jai Singh. The engagement took place at Bahādurpur near Benares in February 1658. [3] Tavernier means 'as Pādirhāh', i. e. Emperor.

[4] Aurangzeb did not turn hermit in a fit of religious devotion: his motive was political, not spiritual (Jadunath Sarkar, i. 76, 78).

his younger brother, Murād Bakhsh, that he perceived that he was desirous of reigning, and wished to aid him in his object, and that as he deserved the throne on account of his bravery, he would assist him with his armies and money to vanquish Dārā Shikoh, who was an obstacle in the way. The young Prince, having little judgement, and blinded by the prospect of his good fortune, was only too ready to believe Aurangzeb, and joining forces with him,[1] agreed to advance with him on Agra to take possession of it. Dārā Shikoh marched against them, and the battle was commenced, with the result as unfortunate for him as it was auspicious for the two brothers. The Prince, trusting too much to the principal officers in his army, and contrary to the advice of the General in command, who was his Prime Minister, and faithful to him, believed himself to be able to secure victory by attacking his brothers first, without giving them time to rest.[2] The first shock was rough and bloody, and Murād Bakhsh, full of fire and courage, fighting like a lion, received five arrows in his body, and the elephant upon which he was mounted was covered with them. Victory tending to the side of Dārā Shikoh, Aurangzeb retired; but quickly turned his face when he saw the traitors in Dārā Shikoh's army coming to his aid, who had basely abandoned him after he had lost his best officers and their General. Immediately Aurangzeb took courage, and returning to the combat with Dārā Shikoh, the latter Prince, seeing that he was betrayed, and had no longer anything to hope for from the few adherents remaining with him, immediately beat his retreat, and returned to Agra, to the Emperor his father, who had already begun to amend. He advised his son to withdraw into the fortress of Delhi, and carry with him the treasure deposited in Agra;[3] this he did without loss of time,

[1] This junction took place near Ujjain in Mālwā, whither Aurangzeb had marched from Burhānpur.

[2] The battle was fought at Dharmat, 114 miles SSW. of Ujjain on 15th April 1658. 'The disaster was due partly to the evils of divided command and jealousy between the Rājputs and the Musalmāns, and partly to the bad choice of ground made and the erroneous tactics pursued by Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwār', the general mentioned in the text (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 410).

[3] According to Bernier (p. 223), Shāhjahān's treasure never amounted

accompanied by his most faithful attendants. Thus the victory of Aurangzeb and Murād Bakhsh was complete, and the latter before the end of the battle, weakened by loss of blood, retired to his tent to have his wounds dressed. It was easy for Aurangzeb to gain over these traitors, not only by means of the enormous treasure he had acquired, but because the Indians are ever inconstant and ungrateful. Moreover, the chiefs are generally emigrants from Persia, people of no birth and of little heart, who attach themselves to those who give most.[1]

Shāista Khān, son of 'Āsaf Khān,[2] who had betrayed the Prince Bulākī, as I shall relate, in order to obtain the throne for Shāhjahān, his brother-in-law—Shāista Khān, I say, uncle of the four Princes whose mother was his own sister, ranged himself on Aurangzeb's side, with the greater number of the principal officers of Dārā Shikoh and Murād Bakhsh, who abandoned their masters. Murād Bakhsh at last began to realize the mistake he had made in trusting Aurangzeb, who, seeing himself favoured by fortune, lost no time in carrying out his plans. Murād Bakhsh, who with reason entertained doubts as to his brother's loyalty to him demanded half the treasure which had been seized, that he might retire into Gujarāt, while Aurangzeb, in reply, assured him that he desired to aid him in ascending the throne, and that on that account he wished to consult with him. Murād Bakhsh, finding his wounds somewhat healed, visited his brother Aurangzeb, who received him kindly and praised his courage, which deserved, he said, the first Empire in the world.

The young Prince allowed himself to be deceived by these soft words; but his eunuch, Shāhbāz Khān, who had

to as much as 6 crores of rupees, which, at the rate of 2*s.* 3*d.*, would be about £6,750,000. This was exclusive of the precious stones and throne.

[1] 'The Omrahs mostly consist of adventurers from different nations who entice one another to the Court; and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education. The Mogul raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice' (Bernier, 212).

[2] 'Āsaf Khān was the brother of the famous Nūrjahān, wife of Jahāngīr; see p. 15 *n.*

conquered for him the best part of the Kingdom of Gujarāt, tried to excite his distrust, and make him realize the trap which had been set for him. But when Murād Bakhsh wished to profit by the advice of his eunuch it was then too late, as Aurangzeb had already taken measures to ruin him. He invited Murād Bakhsh to a feast, and the more he excused himself the more he was pressed to come. The young Prince, unable to refuse any longer, resolved to go in order that he might conceal his mistrust, although he feared that the day was to be the last of his life, and that some deadly poison had been prepared for him. He was mistaken, however, for Aurangzeb did not then aim at his life, and contented himself with securing his person ; so, in place of aiding him to ascend the throne, as he had promised, he sent him under safe custody to the fortress of Gwalior, to give him time to be cured of his wounds, and to take measures for the accomplishment of his designs.[1]

CHAPTER III

Concerning Shāhjahān's prison, and how he was punished by Aurangzeb, his third son, for the injustice he had done to Prince Bulākī,[2] his nephew, grandson of Jahāngīr, to whom, since he was the son of the eldest son, the Empire of the Moguls belonged.

JAHĀNGĪR, King of India, son of Akbar, and grandson of Humāyūn, enjoyed a very peaceable reign for the space of nearly twenty-three years, equally beloved by his subjects and his neighbours.[3] But his life was too long to suit the ambition of two of his sons, already advanced in years. The eldest[4] raised a powerful army at Lahore, with the object of surprising his father Jahāngīr, and seating himself by violence on the

[1] See the account of the betrayal of Murād Bakhsh in Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 91 ff.

[2] Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrū, was called Bulākī because, probably to avoid the Evil Eye, a ring (*bulāq*) was inserted in the septum of his nose, in order to disguise him as a girl, who is believed not to be liable to fascination (R. C. Temple, *Proper Names of Panjābīs*, 28).

[3] For the correct view of his character see Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 387.

[4] Namely, Khusrū.

throne. The Emperor, becoming aware of the insolence of his son, resolved to chastise him, opposed him with a large army, and took him prisoner, with many of the chief nobles who followed him. But Jahāngīr, a generous Prince, who dearly loved his son, although he had him in his power was unwilling to sentence him to the death which he deserved; and contented himself with destroying his sight, by ordering a hot iron to be passed over his eyes [1] in the manner which, as I have described, is followed in Persia. The Emperor resolved ever after to keep this blind son about his person, intending that his eldest son, Sultān Bulāki, should some day reign; this Prince had already several other sons, all being under age. But Sultān Khurram,[2] who afterwards took the name of Shāhjahān, thinking that, as second son of Jahāngīr, he should be preferred to his nephew, resolved to use every effort to keep him from the throne, and to seat himself upon it, without waiting for the death of the Emperor. He, however, dissimulated, kept his real purpose concealed, and appeared at first entirely submissive to the will of his father, who always kept the children of his eldest son beside him. It was by this submission that Shāhjahān more easily attained his ends; in this manner he gained the goodwill of his father, and obtained permission from him to take with him the blind Prince his elder brother to his Government in the Kingdom of Deccan. He represented to the Emperor that it was advisable to remove from his sight an object which had become distressing to him, that the Prince, deprived of his eyes, would not in the future be other than a charge and trouble to him, and that he would pass the rest of his life with greater comfort in the Deccan. The Emperor, not penetrating the designs of Khurram, consented without difficulty to what he asked,

[1] Chardin relates how it came to pass, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II, that the custom of destroying the sight of Princes by means of a red-hot blade of copper passed over the eyes was replaced by the actual removal of the eyeballs themselves, in consequence of some of the Princes who had been operated on having been found to possess partial sight (*Voyages*, Amsterdam ed., 1711, vol. vi, p. 27). The eyes were destroyed either by piercing the eyes with a lancet, or using a heated plate or pencil of brass or iron (Erskine, *Hist. of India*, ii. 14).

[2] Courōm in the original.

but as soon as he had this poor Prince in his power he knew how to rid himself of him by the most secret means, and used the most plausible pretexts to conceal his crime from the view of men, not considering that he was unable to conceal it from the eyes of God, who did not leave this action unpunished, as we shall shortly see.[1]

After the death of the blind Prince, Sultān Khurram assumed the title of Shāhjahān, i. e. King of the World, and in order to support it raised an army to finish the task which his brother had begun, namely the dethronement of his father Jahāngīr and his succession to the Empire. The Emperor, much irritated by the death of his son and the outrage against his own person, sent considerable forces to chastise Khurram for so criminal an enterprise, and the rebel Prince, feeling himself too weak to resist them, quitted the Kingdom of Deccan, and wandered with some vagabonds who followed him, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, until he arrived in Bengal, where he raised an army to give battle to the Emperor. Having crossed the Ganges, he directed his steps towards the Kingdom of Lahore,[2] and the Emperor in person confronted him with a more numerous and stronger army. But Jahāngīr, old and distressed by the troubles caused by his two sons, died on the road,[3] and left Shāhjahān free to pursue his designs. However, before he died this good Emperor had time to commend the care of his grandson, Sultān Bulākī,[4] to ʻĀṣaf Khān, Commander-in-Chief of his armies and Prime Minister of State, who governed the whole Empire. He ordered all his officers to recognize Bulākī as Emperor and legitimate heir after his death, declaring Sultān Khurram a rebel, and incapable of succeeding him on the throne.

Moreover, he made ʻĀṣaf Khān swear in particular that he would never suffer Bulākī to be killed, whatever the results

[1] Dāwar Bakhsh was permitted to escape to Persia, where he lived as a pensioner of the Shāh (Smith, *Oxford Hist.* 392 and pp. 271–2 below).

[2] As on p. 264, Lahore is here also a mistake for Behār. Smith, *op. cit.*, 386.)

[3] Jahāngīr died on the 28th October 1627. Tavernier's account is incorrect, as he died on his return journey from Kashmīr to Lahore at Chingiz Hatlī at the foot of the hills.

[4] Prince Dāwar Bakhsh, nicknamed Bulākī.

might be ; this oath 'Āsaf Khān swore upon his thigh,[1] which bound him by his religion to save his life, but not to establish him on the throne, where he wished to place Shāhjahān, to whom he had given his eldest daughter in marriage. She was mother of the four Princes and the two Princesses to whom I have referred in the preceding chapter.

When the news of the Emperor's death was reported at Court, all appeared to be sorely afflicted, and immediately the nobles of the Empire proceeded to give effect to the will by recognizing Sultān Bulākī, still a youth, as Emperor. This Prince had two first cousins [2] who, with the King's consent, had become Christians, and had made public profession of the faith. The two young Princes, who were kind-hearted, observed that Āsaf Khān, father-in-law of Shāhjahān, and father of Shāista Khān, of whom I have often spoken, had evil designs against the new Emperor, to whom they speedily gave warning, and this warning cost them their lives and the Emperor the loss of his dominions. The young Emperor, who did not yet possess that prudence which can only be acquired by age, ingenuously told 'Āsaf Khān what the two young Christian Princes, his cousins, had said to him in private, and asked him if it was true that he, as they had assured him, designed to make his uncle, Sultān Khurram, Emperor. 'Āsaf Khān took care not to tell him the truth; on the contrary, he accused those who had made the report of falseness and insolence, and protested that he would be faithful to his Emperor all his life, and that, in order to maintain him on the throne, he would shed his blood to the very last drop. Sultān Bulākī understood this to refer to himself, but 'Āsaf Khān, when he promised to be faithful to his Emperor, really meant his own son-in-law, Shāhjahān, whom he desired to elevate to the throne—the consideration of affinity prevailing over that of justice. Seeing that his perfidy had been discovered, he averted the punishment which he began to apprehend, and obtaining possession of the two Princes, had them forthwith

[1] For swearing on the thigh compare Genesis xxiv. 2 ff., xlvii. 29.

[2] These were sons of Shāh Dāniyāl, named Tahmūras and Hoshang (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 309 f.). These seem to be the nephews of Akbar who became Christians (Bernier, 287).

murdered. As he was all-powerful both in the army and in the Empire, he had already secured, in the interests of Shāhjahān, the greater number of the officers and nobility of the Court; and the better to conceal his intention and to lull the suspicion of the young Emperor, who understood these affairs but imperfectly, he spread the report that Shāhjahān was dead, and that, as he desired to be interred near Jahāngīr, his father, his body was to be brought to Agra.[1] The stratagem was adroitly conducted. 'Āsaf Khān himself told the Emperor of this pretended death, and assured him that etiquette required that His Majesty should go from Agra to meet the body, when it came within a league or two of the city, such honour being rightly due to a Prince of the blood of the Moguls who was the brother of his father, and son of Jahāngīr. Accordingly Shāhjahān approached incognito, and when he was in sight of the army, near Agra, he got into a bier, where there was sufficient air for respiration. The bier was carried into a tent, and all the principal chiefs, who were in concert with 'Āsaf Khān, came as though to do honour to the dead Prince, the young Emperor, on his part, having left Agra to be present at the meeting. It was then that 'Āsaf Khān saw that the time had arrived for the execution of his design; he had the bier opened, and Shāhjahān raised himself and appeared before the eyes of all the army; he was saluted as Emperor by the generals and other officers, who took their cue, and at the same moment the name of Shāhjahān as Emperor was passed from mouth to mouth; the proclamation was made public, and the Empire of the Moguls was assured to him. The young Emperor hearing this news on the road, was so upset by it that he thought of nothing but flight, as he saw himself deserted by almost every one; and Shāhjahān, not thinking it prudent to pursue him, allowed him to wander for a long time in India as a sort of *Fakīr*. But at length, wearied with that kind of life, he took refuge in Persia, where he was magnificently received by Shāh Safavī,[2] who bestowed

[1] Jahāngīr was buried at Shāhdara, Lahore (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xvi. 108).

[2] Cha Sefi in the original. Shāh Safī, grandson of Shāh 'Abbās, King of Persia, whom he succeeded in 1629, after a reign characterized by cruelty, died in May, 1642 (Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed. i. 381 ff.).

upon him a pension worthy of a great Prince. He enjoys it still, and I had an opportunity of conversing with him during my travels in Persia, and drank and ate with him.[1]

Shāhjahān having usurped the throne in this way,[2] in order to secure himself and to stifle all the factions which might arise on behalf of the legitimate heir, whom he had unjustly despoiled of his Empire, by degrees murdered all those who showed affection for his nephew, and had made themselves suspects; thus the early years of his reign were marked by cruelties which have much tarnished his memory. The end of his reign was in like manner unhappy, and as he had unjustly stolen the Empire from the legitimate heir to whom it belonged, so he was, during his lifetime, deprived of it by his own son Aurangzeb, who kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Agra; and this, in a few words, is how it came to pass.

After Dārā Shikoh had lost the battle against his two brothers Aurangzeb and Murād Bakhsh, in the plain of Samonguir,[3] and was basely deserted by the principal officers of his army, he retired to the Kingdom of Lahore with as much of the royal treasure as he had been able to take in the confusion of his affairs. The Emperor, in the hope of resisting the impetuosity of his victorious sons, whose only thoughts were of reigning by depriving him of his throne, and possibly also of his life, shut himself up in the fortress of Agra to avoid arrest, and to see to what limits his sons would carry their insolence. Aurangzeb secured the person of Murād Bakhsh, as I have related in the preceding chapter, entered Agra and pretended to believe that Shāhjahān was dead, as an excuse for entering the fortress, which, as he said, was in possession of one of the Omrahs. The more Aurangzeb published the report that Shāhjahān was dead, the more Shāhjahān strove to publish the fact that he was alive; but at length the Emperor perceived that he was no longer able to resist Aurangzeb, who had all the power and all the good luck on his side,

[1] He was seen also, according to Olearius (*Voyages and Travels*, &c., Eng. ed., p. 190), by the Holstein Ambassadors in 1633, and Dow's statement as to his murder by 'Āsaf Khān is incorrect.

[2] Shāhjahān ascended the throne on the 4th February, 1628.

[3] On the 29th May, 1658. Samūgarh, 8 miles east of Agra Fort.

and as the wells of the Agra fortress were dried up, he was compelled to provide himself with river water by a small postern which was the weakest part of the fortifications, and this Aurangzeb had already reconnoitred. He therefore sent Fāzil Khān,[1] the Grand Chamberlain, to assure Aurangzeb that he was alive, so that he should no longer pretend to be ignorant of the fact. Fāzil Khān was instructed to tell the Prince that the Emperor, his father, ordered him to return to the Kingdom of Deccan, the seat of his Government, without causing any more trouble, and that by showing this sign of obedience he would enable him to forget all that had passed. Aurangzeb, still firm in his resolve, replied to Fāzil Khān that he was convinced that the Emperor, his father, was dead, and that upon that ground he had fought for the throne, which he believed he deserved equally with his brothers, who naturally had no more right to it than he had; that if the Emperor was alive he had too much respect for him to have the least idea of doing anything to displease him, but that he might be convinced that he was not dead he desired to see him, and to kiss his feet, after which he would retire to his own Government, and obey his orders implicitly.

Fāzil Khān conveyed this reply to the Emperor, who answered that he was willing to see his son, and sent Fāzil Khān to say he would be welcome. But Aurangzeb, more astute than Shāhjahān, assured Fāzil Khān that he would not venture into the fortress till the garrison which was in it was replaced by his own troops. The Prince feared, with good reason too, that if he entered except as master he might be served an evil turn and his person seized, and the Emperor when he knew his resolution, not being able to do any better, consented to all that his son demanded. Accordingly the garrison of Shāhjahān went out of the fortress, and that of Aurangzeb entered under command of Sultān Muhammād, the eldest of his sons, to whom he gave a command to secure the person of the Emperor his father. However, he postponed

[1] Fāzil Khān, Alāu-l-mulk, Tūnī, a Persian, native of Tūn in Khurāsān, a poet and of unblemished character, was Aurangzeb's first Wazīr; but he too enjoyed his new dignity only sixteen days, dying in June, 1663 (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzīb*, iii. 73; *Studies in Mughal India*, 52; Bernier, 200). [Cf. *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, p. 40.]

the visit from day to day, awaiting an auspicious hour for this interview, and his astrologers not finding one, he withdrew to a country house 2 or 3 leagues distant from Agra; this displeased the people much, as they awaited with impatience the fortunate hour, which, by the visit of the son to the father, would terminate their disputes.

But Aurangzeb had no desire for this interview, but took the strange resolution to control his father's personal expenditure, and assume possession of all the treasures which Dārā Shīkoh had been unable to carry off in his precipitate flight.[1] He also caused the Begam Sāhib, his sister, to be confined in the fortress, that she might keep company with the King, whom she dearly loved.[2] And he also took possession of all the wealth which she had received from her father's liberality.

Shāhjahān, incensed at being treated in this manner by his own son, made some efforts to escape, and slew some of the guards who dared to oppose him; this caused Aurangzeb to order him into closer confinement. It is a most surprising thing, however, that not one of the servants of this great Emperor offered to assist him; that all his subjects abandoned him, and that they turned their eyes to the rising sun, recognizing no one as Emperor but Aurangzeb—Shāhjahān, although still living, having passed from their memories. If perchance there were any who felt touched by his misfortunes, fear made them silent, and caused them basely to abandon an Emperor who had governed them like a father, and with a mildness which is not common with sovereigns. For although he was severe enough to the nobles when they failed to perform their duties, he arranged all things for the comfort of the people, by whom he was much beloved, though they gave no signs of it at this crisis. Thus this great Emperor ended his days sadly in prison, and died in the Agra fort about the end of the year 1666,[3]

[1] For an interesting account of Muhammad Sultān, see Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, 72 ff. He died on 5th December, 1676, in the fort of Gwalior, where he had been imprisoned by his father, and was buried near the tomb of Qutbu-d-dīn, at Delhi. [2] See p. 276 below.

[3] 22nd January 1666. The estimate in the text is much too favourable as regards the character of Shāhjahān (Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 415 f.).

during my last journey in India. During his reign he had commenced building the city of Jahānābād, which was not yet completed, and he wished to see it once more before he died. But for this purpose it was necessary to obtain the consent of Aurangzeb, his son, who held him prisoner, and he was quite willing to allow him to make the journey, and even to remain at Jahānābād as long as he wished, shut up in the castle, as he was in Agra, provided that he consented to travel up the river by boat, and return in one of the small painted and ornamented frigates which lie on the Jumna at the palace of Jahānābād. For Aurangzeb was unwilling to permit him to travel on his elephant by land, as he feared lest his father's appearance to the people might immediately raise a party in his favour, and that if he placed himself at their head, as people are inconstant, he might find means to recover the throne. Shāhjahān, perceiving the severity of his son, who wished to injure him in this way, gave up the idea of the journey, and the great displeasure he felt at such cruel treatment hastened his death.[1] As soon as Aurangzeb had news of it he came to Agra and seized all the jewels of the late King, his father, which he had not secured during his life. The Begam Sāhib also had a quantity of precious stones,[2] which he had not taken from her when he placed her in the fortress, as he was then satisfied with securing the gold and silver with which her chests were full. These jewels confirmed Aurangzeb's suspicions, the Princess, his sister, having already been suspected of having had improper relations with Shāhjahān and he found means to obtain them in a manner which appeared honest and reasonable, by treating the Begam Sāhib with much honour and attention; but he removed her to Jahānābād,[3] and I saw the elephant pass upon which she was mounted when she left Agra with the court, as I was entering it on my return from Bengal. In a short time after news was spread of the death of this Princess, and

[1] On 22nd January 1666.

[2] The delivery of the precious stones by the Begam Sāhib to Aurangzeb is described on p. 295 below.

[3] Here Jehanabad is in the original, though elsewhere generally Gehanabat. In the 1713 edition by a misprint it is Jehanabab.

all the world believed that it had been hastened by poison.[1] Let us now see what has become of Dārā Shikoh, and what has been the result of the war between the sons of the unfortunate Shāhjahān.

CHAPTER IV

Concerning the flight of Dārā Shikoh to the Kingdoms of Sind and Gujarāt; of his second battle with Aurangzeb; of his capture and death.

DĀRĀ SHIKOH having, on the advice of his father, carried off in haste some of the gold and silver which was in the fortress of Agra, retired to the Kingdom of Lahore, hoping to be able to place on foot, in a short time, a second army, to attack his brother Aurangzeb. His most faithful servants and friends had always accompanied him in his misfortunes, and his eldest son Sulaimān Shikoh was with Rājā Rūp[2] in his kingdom endeavouring to raise troops, having with him five millions of rupees (5,000,000),[3] which amount to seven million five hundred thousand (7,500,000) livres of our money, as an

[1] Jahānārā Begam died on 16th September, 1681. The rumour that she was poisoned is probably mere court gossip, spread by the partizans of Aurangzeb, as are also the tales of her relations with her father and other accounts of her licentiousness given by Bernier and other writers (Manucci, i. 217, ii. 255 f.; Bernier, 11 f.). She lies in the enclosure of the mausoleum of the Saint Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya at Delhi, and her tomb bears the inscription: 'Let green grass only conceal my grave; grass is the best covering of the grave of the meek' (Fanshawe, *Delhi Past and Present*, 539; Sleeman, *Rambles*, 510). Tavernier's statement that she died 'a short time after' is incorrect.

[2] Roup in the original. Rājā Rūp Singh, a daughter of whom, although a Hindu, was married to Aurangzeb's son Mu'azzam, afterwards the Emperor Bahādur Shāh, in the year 1661. His mother was also a Hindu lady (Tod, *Annals*, i. 464). Rājā Rūp Singh was a landowner in the hills of Jammū in Kashmīr, who at first joined Dārā Shikoh when he was making military preparations at Lahore. Afterwards Aurangzeb induced him by promises to desert Dārā (Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, ii. 104, 111). The late Mr. W. Irvine supplied Ball with a translation of a passage in the *Ma'āsiru-l-umara* (printed texts, ii. 477) giving a full account of these transactions.

[3] £562,500.

inducement to attract soldiers more rapidly. But this large sum soon aroused Rājā Rūp's avarice, and he seized it for himself by a base and infamous act of treason. Sulaimān Shikoh fearing he would go further and seize his person also, withdrew promptly to the Kingdom of Srīnagar, under the protection of Rājā Nakti-Rānī,[1] who, by a still blacker act of treason, delivered him over to Aurangzeb some time afterwards.

Dārā Shikoh, having had notice of Rājā Rūp's treason and seeing all his friends abandoning him to join Aurangzeb, left Lahore intending to retire into the Kingdom of Sind. Before leaving the fortress he ordered all the gold, silver, and jewels in the treasury to be embarked on the river in the care of a strong escort, and sent them to Bukkur,[2] which is in the middle of the river Indus, where he took possession of a fort. He left there, as governor and guardian of his wealth, a faithful eunuch [3] and six thousand soldiers, and all the munitions necessary to sustain a siege, after which he went to Sind, where he left many heavy guns. He then went into the country of the King of Kachnagana,[4] who made him magnificent promises which came to no results; next he entered the

[1] Sireneguer in the original: in the French edition of 1713, Serenager, Srīnagar, in Pargana Dewalgarh, Garhwāl District, United Provinces. The Rājā of which place, with whom Sulaimān Shikoh took refuge, was Prithī Sāh (E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Districts of the N.W. Provinces* ii. 563 f., iii. 691 ff.; *Imperial Gazetteer*, xxiii. 105; Bernier, 59, 92; Elliot & Dowson, *Hist. of India*, vii. 230). His wife gained her title of Nāk-katī Rānī, 'the nose-cutting' Queen from her habit of cutting off the noses of her rebellious subjects, a custom infrequent in northern India, except when practised by jealous husbands on their unfaithful wives, but a common punishment inflicted in former days on enemies in southern India (Manucci, i. 216 *n.*, iv. 99, 460; L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 130). The principal deity of Bilāspur in the Central Provinces is Naktī Devī, the noseless goddess (Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, ii. 231).

[2] Baker in the original, Bukkur or Bakhar. For the history of this island-fortress, which has always been a position of strategical importance, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, ix. 46 ff. It was the principal British arsenal during the Sind and Afghān campaigns.

[3] Basant Mewātī, whom Manucci calls Primavera, 'Spring' (i. 352, ii. 458), and see Bernier, 75.

[4] Cutch (or Kachchh).

Kingdom of Gujarāt, where he was received by the people with great acclamation as the legitimate Emperor and heir of Shāhjahān. He issued his commands in all the cities, and especially in Surat, where he established a Governor; but the Governor of the fortress, who had been appointed by Murād Bakhsh and was a Rājā, would not submit to Dārā Shikoh.[1] He protested that he would not give over charge of the place into the hands of any one except on the express order of Murād Bakhsh; and as he continued firm in this resolve, he was allowed to remain peaceably in the fortress, without, on his part, causing any trouble to the Governor of the town.

In the meantime, Dārā Shikoh got news at Ahmadābād that Jaswant Singh,[2] one of the most powerful Rājās in all India, had detached himself from Aurangzeb, and wished to join him. He was even invited by this Rājā to advance with his army, which was not large, and did not exceed 30,000 men when he arrived at Ahmadābād. Dārā Shikoh, confiding in his promise, followed his counsel, and went to Ajmer,[3] the appointed rendezvous, where he hoped to find him. But Jaswant Singh, who had been won by the arguments of the Rājā Jai Singh,[4] who was more powerful than he, and was wholly devoted to the interests of Aurangzeb, did not come to Ajmer on the day he promised, and only got there at the last moment, for the purpose of betraying this poor Prince. The armies of the two brothers met, the combat commenced, and the battle lasted for three days; but during the course of the engagement Jaswant Singh, with manifest treachery, passed over to the side of Aurangzeb, and when Dārā Shikoh's soldiers saw him, they lost courage and took to flight.[5] There

[1] As already explained on page 6 the governorship of the fort at Surat was a distinct post from that of the governor of the town. One of Dārā Shikoh's officers took peacefu lpossession of Surat from Aurangzeb's governor (Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 165).

[2] Jaswant Singh—Jessomseing in the original. He was Rājā of Jodhpur or Mārwār, and died in 1678. [3] Emir in the original.

[4] Jesseing in the original, Mīrzā Rājā of Jaipur.

[5] The battle was fought at the Pass of Deorāī, south of Ajmer, 12–14th April, 1659. See Jadunath Sarkar (*History of Aurangzīb*, ii. 171 ff.), who gives 11–12th March as the date of the battle.

had been much bloodshed on both sides ; Shāh Nawāz Khān,[1] father-in-law of Aurangzeb, was left on the field, and there were on both sides 8000 or 9000 men slain, without counting the wounded, the number of whom was still greater. Dārā Shikoh had no other resources, and fortune had been against him in all his enterprises ; so fearing lest he should fall into the hands of his enemies, he took flight in a pitiable conveyance with his wives, some of his children, and his most faithful followers. As he approached Ahmadābād, Monsieur Bernier,[2] a French physician, on his way to Agra to visit the Court of the Great Mogul, and well known to all the world as much by his personal merit as by the charming accounts of his travels, was of great assistance to one of the wives of this Prince who was attacked with erysipelas in one leg. Dārā Shikoh, learning that an accomplished European physician was at hand, sent immediately for him, and Monsieur Bernier went to his tent, where he saw this lady and examined her ailment, for which he gave a remedy and quick relief. The poor Prince, much pleased with Monsieur Bernier, strongly pressed him to remain in his service, and he might have accepted the offer if Dārā Shikoh had not received news the same night that the Governor whom he had left at Ahmadābād had refused to allow his quarter-master to enter the town, and had declared for Aurangzeb. This compelled Dārā Shikoh to decamp quickly in the darkness of the night, and take the road to Sind, fearing some new treachery, which he could not defend himself from in the unhappy condition into which he had fallen.

Dārā Shikoh arrived in Sind, intending to pass into Persia, where Shāh 'Abbās II awaited him with a magnificent outfit, and was resolved to aid him with men and money. But the Prince unwilling to entrust himself to the sea, and fearing that the uncertainty of a voyage would subject him to some new reverse of fortune, believed that by going by land he would secure greater safety for himself, his women and children. However, he deceived himself, for when passing through the country of the Pathāns, on the road to Kandahār,

[1] Chanavas Kan in the original. See Bernier, 73.

[2] François Bernier. See his *Travels*, p. 90, where he says that the lady had a bad wound in her leg.

he was again shamefully betrayed by one of the chieftains of the country named Juin Khān,[1] who had been an officer of the Emperor his father, and having been condemned to death by them for his crimes, and sentenced to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, obtained forgiveness through the intercession of Dārā Shikoh, to whom, therefore, he owed his life. To augment his affliction Dārā Shikoh, before reaching the house of Juin Khān, received by a foot messenger the sad intelligence of the death of his most beloved wife who had accompanied him during all his misfortunes. He heard that she had died of heat and thirst, not being able to find a drop of water in the country to assuage her thirst.[2] The Prince was so affected by this news that he fell as though he were dead, and when, by the assistance of those who were with him, he came to himself, in the excess of his grief he rent his garments; this is a custom of great antiquity in the East, as David rent his at the news of the death of Absalom, his son.

The unhappy Prince had always appeared to be unmoved by evil fortune, but this grief overwhelmed him, and he refused all the consolation offered by his friends. He clad himself in mourning garments, and in place of a turban (sesse) he wrapped a piece of coarse cloth round his head.[3] It was in this miserable costume that he entered the house of the traitor Juin Khān, where he lay on a camp-bed to rest, only to wake to learn of fresh misfortunes. Juin Khān attempted to seize Sipihr Shikoh,[4] the second son of Dārā Shikoh, but the young Prince, though but a child, resisted the traitor with courage, and with his bow and arrow laid three men low on the ground. But being alone he was unable to resist the traitors, who

[1] This was Malik Jīwan Aiyūb, whose real name was Jiand, an Afghān of Dādar, near the Bolān Pass, who, for his treachery, received the honorific title of Bakhtyār ('fortunate') Khān. (Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 206; Manucci, iv. 427; Elliot & Dowson, *Hist.*, vi. 245 f.; Bernier, 95.)

[2] Dārā Shikoh's wife, Nādirā Begam, died from diarrhoea on the way to Dādar (Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 206).

[3] Orthodox Musalmāns do not, as a rule, make any alteration in their dress in time of mourning (E. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed. ii. 271). But Dārā Shikoh was admittedly unorthodox.

[4] Sepper Chekour in the original, third son of Dārā Shikoh, who was imprisoned at Gwalior, where he died in 1708.

secured the doors of the house, and did not allow any one of those who might have aided him to enter. Dārā Shikoh, awakened by the noise which these ruffians made when they seized the little Prince, then saw before his eyes his son, whom they brought in with his hands tied behind his back. The unhappy father, unable to doubt any longer the black treason of his host, could not restrain himself from launching these words against the traitor Juin Khān: 'Finish, finish,' said he, 'ungrateful and infamous wretch that thou art, finish that which thou hast commenced; we are the victims of evil fortune and the unjust passion of Aurangzeb, but remember that I do not merit death except for having saved thy life, and remember that a Prince of the royal blood never had his hands tied behind his back.' Juin Khān being to some extent moved by these words, ordered the little Prince to be released, and merely placed guards over Dārā Shikoh and his son. At the same time he sent an express to Rājā Jaswant Singh and to 'Abdullah Khān to inform them that he had captured Dārā Shikoh and his followers.[1] On receipt of this intelligence they hastened to share in the spoliation of the Prince, but before they arrived Juin Khān had time to seize Dārā Shikoh's most precious possessions, and he also treated his wives and children with the greatest barbarity. When the Rājā and 'Abdullah Khān arrived, they made Dārā Shikoh and his son travel on one elephant, and his wives and children on others; and with this equipage, very different from that with which they had before appeared at Jahānābād, they travelled thither, and entered the city on the 9th of September. All the people hastened to witness this spectacle, desiring to see the Prince whom they had wished to be their Emperor. Aurangzeb ordered him to be taken through the principal streets, and all the bazars of Jahānābād, so that no one might entertain any doubt as to his capture, and as though he himself were glorified by the treachery he had

[1] Jai Singh, the Kachhwāhā Rājā of Jaipur, not Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, and Bahādur Khan were the officers to whom Dārā Shikoh surrendered. They brought him to Delhi on 23rd August 1659, and he was paraded through the city on the 29th (Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 211; Bernier, 98).

shown towards his brother, to whom he allotted the fortress of Asser [1] as a prison. But of all those who crowded to see this Prince, and were not ignorant of the fact that he was really their legitimate Emperor, and even then desired to see him on the throne, not one had the courage to aid him. There were only some generous soldiers formerly in the Prince's service who, as they had received many benefits, thought themselves bound on this occasion to give him some mark of their fidelity. Unable to deliver their legitimate Prince from the hands of those who held him captive, they flung themselves with fury on the traitor Juin Khān,[2] who was indeed delivered from them for the moment, but in a short time afterwards he suffered the penalty due to his crime, and was slain while traversing a forest on his return to his own country.

Aurangzeb, however, being a good politician and an extraordinary dissembler, caused it to be noised abroad that he had not ordered the seizure of the person of Dārā Shikoh, but only that he should be persuaded to depart out of the Empire. As Dārā had been unwilling to do so, Juin Khān had, without authority, unworthily seized his person, and instead of honouring the royal blood, had shamefully tied behind his back the hands of the young Prince, Sipihr Shikoh, son of Dārā Shikoh. That this criminal action, which was an offence against His Majesty, deserved a severe punishment, and that it had in part been avenged by the death of Juin Khān and his accomplices. But this story which Aurangzeb ordered to be spread among the people was only for the purpose of deception ; for if he truly had such consideration for the royal blood and any love for his elder brother, he would not have ordered his head to be cut off, as was immediately done in the following manner.

Dārā Shikoh, left Jahānābād with his guards to go to the place of his imprisonment, and when he had reached a pleasant spot where he thought he was to sleep, his tent in which he was to lose his head was prepared.[3] After he had eaten, Saif

[1] Asser. Asīrgarh in the Nīmār District, Central Provinces. Bernier (p. 97) says it was proposed to send him to Gwalior ; but the Council called by Aurangzeb decided that he should die.

[2] Bernier, 99 ; Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 216.

[3] The murder took place in Dārā Shikoh's prison at Khizrābād, in Old Delhi.

Khān,[1] who had been in his service, came to announce to him the order for his death. Dārā Shikoh, seeing him enter, welcomed him and said that he was rejoiced to see one of his most faithful servants. Saif Khān replied that it was true that he had formerly been in his service, but that he was now the slave of Aurangzeb, who had commanded him to return with his head. 'Am I to die then?' said Dārā Shikoh. 'It is the order of the Emperor,' replied Saif Khān, 'and I am here to carry it out.' Sipihr Shikoh, who was sleeping in an antechamber of the tent, awakened by this conversation, endeavoured to seize some weapons which had been taken from him, and made an effort to aid his father, but he was prevented by those who accompanied Saif Khān. Dārā Shikoh also tried to resist, but perceiving it would be useless, merely asked time for prayer, which was granted. In the meantime Sipihr Shikoh was drawn aside, and, whilst they amused him, a slave cut off Dārā Shikoh's head; and Saif Khān took it to Aurangzeb, who thought that by the death of his brother he would establish his throne. After this bloody tragedy the afflicted Sipihr Shikoh was conveyed to the fortress of Gwalior to keep company with his uncle, Murād Bakhsh.[2] As for the wives and daughters of Dārā Shikoh, they were given quarters in the harem of Aurangzeb, who, in order to fix himself firmly on the throne of the Moguls, now thought only of the destruction of his other brother, Sultān Shujā', who was in Bengal. There he was assembling forces to come to the release of the Emperor his father, who still lived in the fortress at Agra, where Aurangzeb kept him a prisoner.

[1] Seif Kan in the original.

[2] This was in July, 1659. According to Bernier (p. 101) the murderer of Dārā Shikoh was Nazar Beg, a slave, who acted under Saif Khān's orders. In the 16th year of his reign Aurangzeb released Sipihr Shikoh from the prison of Gwalior, and married him to his daughter, Badru-n-nissa.

CHAPTER V

How Aurangzeb seated himself upon the throne and had himself declared Emperor; and concerning the flight of Sultān Shujā'.

It was not difficult for Aurangzeb, after the imprisonment of his father Shāhjahān and of his brother Murād Bakhsh, and his eldest brother's cruel execution, to whom by right the Empire belonged, to resolve to have himself declared Emperor, especially as fortune favoured it and all the nobles of his dominions approved. As it is the custom, at this ceremony, to sit upon the throne, not much time was required to prepare it, since Shāhjahān, before he was imprisoned, had completed the throne which the great Tamerlane had commenced; it is the richest and most superb throne which has ever been seen in the world. But as it was necessary that the Grand Kāzī[1] or Chief Officer of the Law should proclaim the new Emperor, it was in this direction that Aurangzeb encountered the first obstacle. The Grand Kāzī openly opposed his design, and said that the Law of Muhammad and the law of nature equally prevented him from proclaiming him Emperor during the lifetime of his father; added to which, in order to ascend the throne, he had murdered his eldest brother, to whom the Empire belonged after the death of Shāhjahān, their father. This vigorous resistance of the Kāzī troubled Aurangzeb, and in order not to appear unjust, he assembled the doctors of the Law, to whom he represented that his father was incapable of reigning on account of his great age and the infirmities with which he had been overwhelmed; and as for Dārā Shikoh, his brother, he had put him to death because he was not zealous in obeying the Law; that he drank wine, and favoured infidels. These reasons, mingled with menaces, caused his 'Council of Conscience' to pronounce that he merited the Empire, and that he ought to be proclaimed Emperor—to which, nevertheless, the Grand Kāzī persistently objected. There was, therefore, no other remedy but to depose

[1] Cadi in the original.

him from his office as a disturber of the public peace, and elect another who would be zealous for the honour of the Law and the good of the Empire. This was forthwith done. The person selected by the Council was afterwards appointed by Aurangzeb, and in recognition of this act of grace, he proclaimed him Emperor on the 20th of October 1660.[1] This proclamation having been made in the Mosque, Aurangzeb seated himself on the throne, where he received the homage of all the nobles of the Empire, and there were great rejoicings that day in Jahānābād. At the same time orders were sent throughout the Empire to celebrate his accession to the throne. This was carried out with great splendour, and lasted for many days.

Aurangzeb did not consider his throne secure nor his Empire well established so long as Sultān Shujā', his brother, was engaged in raising a powerful army in Bengal with the design of setting Shāhjahān at liberty. He thought that it behoved him to anticipate him, and sent considerable forces against him under the command of Sultān Muhammad, his eldest son, to whom he gave as lieutenant Mīr Jumla,[2] one of the greatest captains who had ever migrated from Persia to India. His good judgement and courage would have made him revered by posterity if he had only been faithful to the Princes whom he served. But he first betrayed the King of Golkonda,[3] with whom he made his fortune, and afterwards Shāhjahān, whose protection had so maintained it that there was scarcely

[1] Aurangzeb was crowned twice; once, informally, on 21st July 1658; the formal coronation took place on 5th June 1659 (Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 107, 289 ff.). The account of the resistance of the Grand Kāzī is not confirmed from other sources (Khāfī Khān, in Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 229; Manucci, ii. 3 f.)

[2] Although previously called Mir Jimola or Mir Gimola, his name is here given in the nearly correct form of Emir Jemla. For an estimate of his character see Jadunath Sarkar, iii. 71, 203, 206; for his influence, W. Foster, *English Factories in India, 1651–1654*, p. 12.

[3] His desertion of the King of Golkonda seems to have been justified by the action of that King, as described by Tavernier on pages 134 *et seq.*, or due to his desire to quit a dynasty, then in decay; but his son, Muhammad Amīn, brought the family into disgrace by his imprudence and misconduct at the King's Court. See Jadunath Sarkar, iii. 71, 77: Elliot & Dowson, *Hist.* vii. 108 f.

another noble in the whole of India more powerful or richer than he was.

Moreover, he was both feared and beloved by the army, and he thoroughly understood the art of war as it is carried on in this country. Having then deserted the interests of Shāh-jahān, he attached himself to the side of Aurangzeb, and if Sultān Shujā' had not been opposed by so brave and able a commander he would, no doubt, have given more trouble to his brother, and might possibly have conquered him. The two armies met several times, victory was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; Sultān Muhammad, assisted by the advice of his lieutenant, seeing that this war was protracted, resolved to change his methods and to combine ruse with force in order to accomplish the destruction of Sultān Shujā'. He treated secretly with the majority of the officers of his uncle's army, and made them magnificent promises, urging them so strongly to follow Aurangzeb—whom he called the pillar and protector of the Muhammadan Law—that he secured the principals, to whom he afterwards made considerable presents, to assure himself better of their support. This was a mortal stroke against Sultān Shujā', which he was unable to parry; for those who followed him being mercenaries, and of that kind of people who declare for those who give most, they concluded that they had nothing more to hope from the Prince, whose finances were expended, and they would find it more profitable to declare for Aurangzeb, whom fortune favoured in every way, and who was master of all the treasures. Thus it was easy for Aurangzeb to bribe the whole army of his brother, who in the last battle which was fought found himself deserted by all and compelled to fly with his wives and children. The traitors, ashamed of their baseness, did not pursue the unfortunate Prince, as they might have done; and, like mean folk, as soon as he had taken flight busied themselves with the destruction of his tents, and the pillage of his baggage. They were allowed to do this by Mīr Jumla as a reward for their treachery. Sultān Shujā' having embarked with his family in boats, crossed the Ganges, and some time afterwards withdrew to the Kingdom of Arakan, on the confines of Bengal, where we must leave him

to take breath, in order to discuss the doings of Sultān Muhammad, eldest son of Aurangzeb, and Sultān Sulaimān Shikoh eldest son of Dārā Shikoh, who still caused trouble to Aurangzeb.[1]

CHAPTER VI

Concerning the prison of Sultān Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb, and of Sultān Sulaimān Shikoh, eldest son of Dārā Shikoh.

ALTHOUGH Aurangzeb was considered a great politician, and was so in fact, still he allowed himself to be deceived in entrusting a powerful army to his son under the conduct of a great captain, but one whose betrayal, as I have said, of two Kings, his masters,[2] ought to have made Aurangzeb fear similar treatment. This Prince, who had mounted the throne by means of many crimes, and had supplanted his father, whom he held a prisoner, and also his two brothers, one of whom he had executed, and the other he had put to flight, was always justly alarmed lest Heaven should inspire his own son to avenge his grandfather. As it had been reported to him that Sultān Muhammad was extraordinarily pensive and melancholy, he firmly believed that he was meditating plans to ruin him, and in this belief he sought to draw some explanation from Mīr Jumla. He wrote to him that having heard that Sultān Muhammad had had some secret communications with his uncle, Sultān Shujā', it was advisable that he should arrest him and send him to court. The letter was accidentally seized by Sultān Muhammad's guards, and brought to the Prince; he being a man of sense, concealed the matter from Mīr Jumla, fearing that he might have received other more precise orders from his father concerning his life. So he resolved to cross the Ganges, and throw himself into the arms of his uncle Sultān Shujā', from whom he hoped for more kindness than from his father.[3] With this resolve he pretended to go fishing, and,

[1] For the campaign against Shujā' see Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 237 ff.

[2] Namely, the King of Golkonda and Shāhjahān.

[3] The real object of his affection, and possibly the cause of his going over, was Sultān Shujā'ʿs daughter Gulrukh Bānū, 'Lady Rose-cheek' to whom he was soon after married (Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 260 ff.).

having speedily prepared boats on the Ganges, crossed with many of his officers to the camp of Sultān Shujā', who was on the other side of the river, and who had found means for assembling some troops during the time he had been meditating his retreat to the King of Arakān. Sultān Muhammad on reaching his uncle's presence, threw himself at his feet, and asked his pardon for having taken up arms against him, a course to which he had been forced by his father, adding that he was not ignorant of the injustice with which the latter had seized the throne. Although Sultān Shujā' might have thought that the arrival of Muhammad in his camp was only a ruse of Aurangzeb, who had possibly sent him to spy out his condition and discover his weakness, nevertheless, being a good and generous Prince, and seeing his nephew at his knees, he immediately raised him, and embracing him, assured him of his protection against Aurangzeb. Some days afterwards the two Princes made an attempt, recrossed the Ganges, and made a long detour to surprise the army of the enemy, who did not expect them. They attacked with vigour, and slew many; but when they saw that the enemy began to recover from this sudden attack, they contented themselves with the advantage gained, and recrossed the Ganges, being afraid of being surrounded, and of not being able to withdraw when they wished.

Mīr Jumla had already informed Aurangzeb of the flight of his son, at which the Emperor displayed considerable displeasure, though he dared not show it to the Mīr, lest it might cause him to do likewise, and betray him as he had betrayed Shāhjahān, his father, and the King of Golkonda. Aurangzeb merely wrote to him that he confided entirely in his prudence, and delicate tact to restore to his duty Sultān Muhammad, who was still young; and that this escapade was due only to his youthful enthusiasm and love of change. The confidence Aurangzeb showed towards Mīr Jumla induced that general to use all possible means to withdraw Muhammad from the hands of Sultān Shujā'. He informed the Prince that the Emperor, his father, had the best intentions regarding him, and was always ready to receive him with open arms, provided he would make good use of his refuge with Sultān

Shujā', which he might make serviceable to Aurangzeb, who would love him the more, and would have an opportunity of praising his prudence and affection. The Prince allowed himself to be easily persuaded; and by the same way that he went to the camp of his uncle Sultān Shujā', he returned to that of his father Aurangzeb, where Mīr Jumla received him with honour, and great demonstrations of joy.[1] He advised him to tell his father as soon as he saw him, that he went to Sultān Shujā' merely for the purpose of spying out his forces and the condition of his army, and that he would repair with speed to Aurangzeb, to tell him what he had done in his service, and receive his reward. It was also the command of Aurangzeb that his son should be sent to him; and Muhammad, whether willingly or by compulsion, set out for Jahānābād, where he arrived accompanied by the guards Mīr Jumla had sent with him. Their commander having announced to the Emperor the arrival of his son, His Majesty assigned a lodging for him outside his palace, and would not allow him to come to kiss his hands. He ordered him to be told he was indisposed; and whilst this lodging served him as a prison until he was transferred to the fortress of Gwalior,[2] let us see what happened to Sultān Sulaimān Shikoh, eldest son of the unfortunate Dārā Shikoh, whose head Aurangzeb had cut off.

Sultān Sulaimān Shikoh, having been betrayed by Rājā Rūp, as I have above related,[3] remained in the country of Srīnagar,[4] under the protection of Naktī Rānī,[5] its ruler. The Prince, who was courageous as well as unfortunate, was compelled to pass a wild life in the mountains in order not to fall into the hands of Aurangzeb, who with all his forces was unable to harm him there. On the other hand, Naktī Rānī assured him by an oath, accompanied by all the ceremonies which could render it solemn and inviolable, that he would lose his kingdom rather than allow Aurangzeb to do any violence

[1] Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 275.

[2] Sultān Muhammad died 5th (or 3rd, cf. p. 133 *n.*) December, 1676, in his 38th year. His wife, the daughter of Shujā', was with him in prison.

[3] See pp. 276–7.

[4] Serenaguer in the original, Srīnagar, in Garhwāl.

[5] For Naktī Rānī see p. 277.

to a suppliant under his protection. He went for this purpose to a river which runs through his country, to bathe as a testimony of the purity of his soul; and being thus purified, he made his promise to Sulaimān Shikoh never to abandon him, took his gods as witnesses to the purity of his intentions, and gave the Prince no ground for doubting his promises. Sulaimān Shikoh, after that, thought of nothing but amusing himself and his followers with the chase, and they, on their part, tried to amuse him to the utmost of their power, while he devoted himself entirely to pleasure.

Aurangzeb ordered troops to advance towards the mountains of Srīnagar to compel Rājā Naktī Rānī to surrender Sulaimān Shikoh. But the Rājā being able with 1000 men to defend all the passes to his country, which are narrow and difficult, against 100,000, this rendered all Aurangzeb's efforts futile, and he thereupon had recourse to treachery, seeing that force availed nothing. He sought at first to treat with the Rājā, but in vain, for the Rājā would not violate his oath; and moreover his priests assured him that Aurangzeb would be deprived of the Empire, and that Sulaimān Shikoh would reign in a short time; this made him treat the Prince with all possible kindness.

Aurangzeb seeing that his army was unable to advance into the country of the Rājā, set himself to make war of another kind in order to secure the son of Dārā Shikoh. He forbade commerce between his subjects and those of the Rājā; this was very prejudicial to the latter, who inhabit a country of mountains and rocks, and are constrained to import from outside whatever they want. They immediately began to murmur at the protection given to Sultān Sulaiman Shikoh and cried out that it was to the prejudice of the public welfare. Their priests also began to doubt the truth of their oracles, and to believe that it was desirable to interpret them otherwise. At last they began to arrange for the ruin of the poor Prince; and what completed it was that Rājā Jaswant Singh,[1] who had betrayed Dārā Shikoh, as I have above related, sent to Rājā Naktī Rānī secretly to advise him that it was for his own safety and that of his country to yield to the will of Aurangzeb, and

[1] Rājā Jai Singh of Jaipur.

give up his nephew into his hands. This advice of Jaswant Singh sorely embarrassed the Rājā, for on the one side he had made a solemn oath, and sworn by *Rām Rām* to protect Sulaimān Shikoh at the risk of his country and his life, on the other he feared a revolt in his kingdom and the prospect of losing it.

Uncertain what to do, he consulted the Brahmans, who pronounced that he was bound to protect his people and his faith, which would be destroyed if the country became subject to Aurangzeb, who was a Musalmān, rather than to protect a Prince from whom he could never receive any benefit. These councils having been held without Sulaimān Shikoh's knowledge, his destruction was settled at a time when he believed himself to be in the greatest safety. The Rājā Naktī Rānī thinking to shield his honour and conscience, replied to Jaswant Singh's messenger that he was unable to bring himself to betray the Prince, but that Aurangzeb might seize him, and so save his reputation; and that Sulaimān Shikoh was in the habit of going to hunt in certain mountains in his country, taking only a few people with him, and that it would be easy for Jaswant Singh to send a number of soldiers to take him prisoner, and hand him over to Aurangzeb.

Immediately on receipt of this reply, Jaswant Singh gave orders to his son [1] to execute the design as it had been arranged, so that when on a certain day Sulaimān Shikoh on going to hunt at the usual place, was attacked by a strong party in ambuscade, he at once saw that he was betrayed, and put himself in a position of defence with his followers, who were all slain on the spot. The Prince defended himself bravely, and with his own hand slew nine of his assailants; but he was borne down by numbers, and was carried to Jahānābād. When he came into Aurangzeb's presence, the Emperor asked him how he felt. 'As your prisoner,' replied the Prince, 'who does not expect from you different treatment from that which my father has received.' The Emperor replied that he had nothing to fear, that he would not put him to death, but only assure himself of his person. Aurangzeb then inquired what had become of the treasures he had carried away; he replied

[1] This was Kunwar Rām Singh, son of Rājā Jai Singh.

that he had employed a portion to raise troops to make war against him and destroy him, if good fortune had been on his side; that another portion had been retained by Rājā Rūp, whose avarice and perfidy were sufficiently well known; and that the traitor Rājā Naktī Rānī had seized the remainder when delivering him treacherously to his enemies, despite his promise and pledged honour. Aurangzeb was surprised and much moved by the noble courage of his nephew, but ambition closed his eyes and stifled in him all the sentiments of justice which a true remorse of conscience might arouse; and in order to secure his throne he directed that Sultān Muhammad, his son, and Sulaimān Shikoh, his nephew, should be conducted to the fortress of Gwalior, to keep company with their uncle, Murād Bakhsh and some other Princes who were in prison. This was done on the 30th of January 1661.[1]

Sultān Shujā', who still lived, although in a miserable condition, was the last thorn which remained in the foot of Aurangzeb, and it was the King of Arakan, with whom he had been compelled to take refuge, who extracted it, and relieved him of this unfortunate Prince whom he had still reason to fear. As Shujā' saw that there was now no more hope of aid for him, he resolved to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and thence to travel into Persia to seek an asylum with the King. For this purpose he hoped to obtain a ship from the King of Arakan or of Pegu to take him to Mocha, but he was unaware that neither of these Kings had other than long and narrow much decorated demi-galleys, which they use on their rivers, and that they had no vessels capable of traversing the ocean. Consequently Sultān Shujā' was obliged to remain with the King of Arakan, who is an idolater, and in order the better to secure his protection, asked for one of his daughters in marriage; his request was granted, and he had a son by her. But this, which should have been a strong bond of friendship between father and son-in-law, soon became a cause of division and hatred; and some nobles of the country, who had already shown jealousy towards Sultān Shujā', caused

[1] For another account of this interview, which occurred on 5th January, 1661, see Bernier, 105 f.; Manucci, i. 380. Sulaimān Shikoh was dosed with pōst, or infusion of poppy-heads, and died in May 1662, aged 30.

him to be regarded with suspicion by the King of Arakan, as though he desired, in consequence of his marriage with his daughter, and of the son which he had by her, to depose him from his throne.[1] This pagan King, in whose country several Musalmāns were settled, easily believed what was told him, namely, that this Musalmān Prince might readily induce all who were in his country, under the pretext of zeal for religion, to form a conspiracy, and place himself on the throne of Arakan, in exchange for that which his younger brother had seized. These doubts were not altogether ill-founded, for in truth Sultān Shujā', who still had quantities of golden rupees and many jewels, easily bribed a number of these Musalmāns of the Kingdom of Arakan, and with about 200 men who remained of those who had followed him from Bengal after the defeat of his army, he planned an enterprise of much boldness, and at the same time less an indication of bravery than of despair.

He appointed a day with his own party for forcing an entry into the palace, when, after he had put to death all the royal family, he intended to have himself forthwith proclaimed King of Arakan. But this great plot having been discovered the day before it was to have been executed, Sultān Shujā' and Sultān Bangue, his son, had no other resource left but to take flight, hoping to escape to the Kingdom of Pegu.[2] But the high, nearly inaccessible mountains, and the thick jungles full of tigers and lions[3] through which they had to travel, and where there was scarcely any road, made their flight useless, in addition to which the enemy gave them but little

[1] Bernier (p. 109 ff.) does not say that Shujā' married the daughter of the King of Arakan, but that the latter demanded to receive a daughter of the former as his wife, and was exasperated by Shujā''s refusal.

[2] There is some doubt as to the identity of Sultān 'Bangue', whom Bernier calls 'Banque' (p. 109), and says he was eldest son of Shujā'. The two sons of Shujā' who accompanied him to Arakan were his younger sons, Buland Akhtar and Zainu-l-ābidīn. The former of these may have been nick-named 'Bang' or Bangālī, in consequence of Shujā''s connexion with that province. (Manucci, i. 309, iv. 427; Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 279.)

[3] There are no lions in these regions, nor is there the slightest reason for supposing that they ever ranged so far to the east as Arakan, it being beyond the limits of their so far ascertained geographical distribution in prehistorical, as well as in historical times.

time to get away before they followed on their tracks. Sultān Bangue, who marched last, to resist those whom he believed the King would surely send to seize them, and to give his father, and his family who accompanied him, a chance to escape, defended himself bravely against the first assailants, but at length he was overcome by numbers, thrown down, and carried off together with his two younger brothers, his mother, and sisters. All the members of this unhappy family were placed in prison, where they were at first treated with great harshness ; but some time afterwards, the King being inclined to marry the eldest sister of Sultān Bangue, they were given a little more liberty. They would have enjoyed it longer, but for the impatience of the young Prince, who, having an active and ambitious spirit, made a new plot against the King, which proved to be the cause of their total ruin. For the plot having been precipitated without success, the King, roused to anger, commanded that the whole family should be straightway exterminated, even including the young Princess whom he had espoused, although she was enceinte.

As for the end of Sultān Shujā', who was the foremost in the flight, the accounts of his fate vary so much that one does not know which to believe. But, if all vary in the circumstances, they agree so far in the fact that he is no longer alive, and that he died either by the hands of the soldiers who were sent to seize his person, or that he was torn to pieces by tigers or lions, which abound in the jungles of these countries.[1]

This, then, is what I have been able to ascertain concerning this famous war which lasted six years, and I have not met with any other version of it at Surat, Agra, Jahānābād, or in Bengal, where I was precisely informed by those who were present at the principal events, having been myself a witness of a portion of them, as I have related in this account. Let us now see what were the first acts of the reign of Aurangzeb, and what was the fate of his father Shāhjahān.

[1] He is said by some writers to have been taken out in the river in a canoe, which was scuttled ; his captors, escaping in another canoe, left him to drown. It is possible that he was killed by the Magh tribe as recorded by the Dutch authorities ; the Muhammadan records give no definite information (Manucci, i. 374 ff. ; Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 286 ff.).

CHAPTER VII

Concerning the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, and the death of his father, Shāhjahān.

I HAVE mentioned in the fifth chapter that Aurangzeb ascended the throne [1] as soon as he had disposed of his brother, Dārā Shikoh, and I shall add here some details which preceded this ceremony, and are sufficiently worthy of record. Some days previously Aurangzeb boldly sent to present his compliments to his father, Shāhjahān, which he well knew would be displeasing to him. He begged him, as he was about to ascend the throne in a few days, to have the kindness to send some of his jewels to be used on that day, so that he might appear before his people with the same magnificence as the other Emperors, his predecessors, had done. Shāhjahān became so enraged at this demand of Aurangzeb, which he regarded as an insult levelled at him in his prison by his son, that for some days he was like a madman, and he even nearly died. In the excess of his passion he frequently called for a pestle and mortar, saying that he would pound up all his precious stones and pearls, so that Aurangzeb might never possess them.[2] But the Begam Sāhib, his eldest daughter, who had never left him, threw herself at his feet, and besought him not to proceed to such an extremity, and as she had full power over him in consequence of the intimate relations which existed between them, she appeased him, rather with the object of keeping the precious stones for herself than to give pleasure to her brother, her mortal enemy

[1] See p. 285 *n*.

[2] Shāhjahān appears to have subsequently relented, though it is not so stated by Tavernier; but Bernier says, 'that of his own accord he sent some of those jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder, the first time he should again ask for them' (pp. 127, 166). Ultimately, on Shāhjahān's death in 1666 when Aurangzeb entered the Seraglio at Agra, the Begam Sāhib presented him with a large golden basin full of jewels (*Vide ante*, p. 275, p. 317 below, and Bernier, 198 f.). Thévenot relates the same story as Bernier, and adds that the Peacock throne was in Shāhjahān's possession in prison, but this latter statement is incorrect (*Voyages des Indes*, p. 101).

who might one day become their possessor. Thus, when Aurangzeb ascended the throne he had only one jewel on his cap (*toque*);[1] but if he had desired more he did not lack them, as I have elsewhere said, and he asked for the stones from his father only with the intention of retaining them permanently. This cap, as I have related in my account of Persia, cannot be called a crown, neither, consequently, can the ceremony be called a coronation.[2]

From the moment that Aurangzeb took possession of the throne, he would eat neither wheaten bread, flesh, nor fish. He sustained himself with barley bread, vegetables, and sweetmeats, and would not drink any strong liquor. This was a penance which he imposed on himself for the many crimes he had committed; but his ambition and the desire to reign are still strong, so much so that he is resolved not to renounce the throne during his life.[3]

When Aurangzeb was settled on the throne, and all Asia had heard the news, there arrived at different times at Jahānābād many ambassadors, who came to salute the new Emperor on the part of their masters, to offer him their service and ask for his friendship. The Usbeg Tartars were the first,[4] afterwards the Cherif[5] of Mecca, the King of Hyeman,[6] or

[1] Possibly the topaz referred to at pp. 318, ii. 102, 348, and also by Bernier, who says, 'The King appeared seated upon his throne at one extremity of the great hall of the 'Ām khās splendidly attired, his garment being of white flowered satin embroidered, his turband of gold cloth having an egret worked upon it, the feet of which were studded with diamonds of extraordinary lustre and value, and in the centre was a beautiful Oriental topaz of matchless size and splendour shining like a little sun.' (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 268.)

[2] This very trivial point as to whether the term coronation was strictly applicable or not, was the subject of some sharp controversy between Chardin and our author. (See Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam edition, 1711, vol. ix, p. 85, and *Persian Travels*, bk. v, ch. i, p. 524.)

[3] On the puritanical habits of Aurangzeb see Manucci, ii. 332; Jadunath Sarkar, iii. 98 ff.; Smith, *Oxford Hist. of India*, 445.

[4] A previous embassy from the Usbeg Tartars to Shāhjahān brought him boxes of choice lapis lazuli, camels, fruit, &c. Lapis lazuli is a product of Badakhshān. (See Bernier, 133, who says that the first embassy which arrived was that of the Sharīf.)

[5] Sharīf, Arab., a descendant of Muhammad. On the Sharīfs of Mecca see *Ency. Brit.*, ii. 267, xvii. 952.

[6] The province of Yemen, S.W. corner of Arabia.

Arabia Felix, the Prince of Bassora, and the King of Ethiopia sent theirs. The Dutch also sent M. Adrican,[1] Commander-in-Chief of the factory at Surat, who was very well treated, and was quickly received out of respect for the European nation. For these Emperors of India consider that it enhances their dignity if foreigners remain at Court for a considerable time. All these Ambassadors, according to custom, made presents to Aurangzeb, of whatever was most rare in their respective countries, and this Prince, who desired from the first to spread a good reputation for himself throughout Asia, took care to send them back well satisfied.

Some months before the death of Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb sent an Ambassador to Persia, who was at first magnificently received,[2] as I have stated in the first part of my travels. When he arrived the talk for a month was all of feasts and hunting parties, and every night he was entertained with fireworks. The day upon which he was to make the present on behalf of the Great Mogul, the King of Persia appeared upon his throne, superbly clad, accepted what the Ambassador had to give and contemptuously distributed the whole of it among the officers of his house, retaining for himself only a diamond weighing nearly 60 carats. Some days afterwards he sent for the Ambassador, and asked him, after some conversation, whether he was a Sunni[3]—that is to say, of the

[1] Dirk van Adrichem, chief of the Dutch factory at Surat, 1662–65 (Bernier, 127, 138). [The ed. of 1678 has 'Commandeur ou Chef.'] Cf. also *Eng. Factories, 1661–64*, p. 121.

[2] The results of Aurangzeb's embassy to Shāh 'Abbās, under Tarbīyat Khān, in 1663, are described by Manucci, ii. 128 ff. The ambassador sent by Shāh 'Abbās in 1661 was Budāq Beg (Jadunath Sarkar, iii. 121 ff.). Chardin says that Negef Coulibec (Najaf Quli Beg) was sent by the King of Persia as Ambassador in the year 1664, simply in order to report the safe arrival of the Mogul's Ambassador in Persia, and to convey a present of melons and other fruits. The Great Mogul received him well, and sent him back with presents; but news having arrived, two days after his departure, of the bad treatment of the Mogul's Ambassador by the King of Persia, the Mogul had Najaf brought back, and ordered all the fruit to be flung into the house where he lodged (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam edition, 1711, vol. viii, p. 213).

[3] Sonnis in the original. The distinctive characteristics of the Sunnis and Shī'as are set forth in bk. iv, ch. vii, of the Persian Travels. (See also vol. ii, pp. 137–9 ff.; Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, 14; Hughes, *Dict. Islām*, s.vv. *Shī'ah*, *Sunnī*.)

sect of the Turks; the meaning of this has been sufficiently explained elsewhere. The Ambassador in reply having allowed some smart remark to escape him against the Prophet 'Alī, whom the Persians revere, the King again asked him his name. He replied that his Majesty Shāhjahān had given him the name of Baobhāk Khān,[1] *i.e.* lord of a free heart, that he had received great bounties from him, and had been honoured by one of the first officers in his Court. 'Thou art then a villain', said the King with an angry countenance, 'to have abandoned, after so many favours, thy Emperor in his need and to serve a tyrant who keeps his father in prison, and has murdered his brothers and nephews. How is it', continued the King, 'that he dares to assume the stately titles of 'Alamgīr Aurang Shāh,[2] the King who holds the universe in his hand, since he has as yet conquered nothing, and all he possesses is derived from murders and treason? Is it possible', added the Prince, 'that thou art one of those who have counselled him to shed so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers, and to hold his father in prison; thou who hast acknowledged having received so much honour and so many benefits? Thou art not worthy', said the King, 'to possess the beard that thou wearest', and straightway he ordered him to be shaved, which is the greatest affront that can be done to a man in that country.[3] The Ambassador, who little expected to be so treated, at the same time received orders from the King of Persia to return, and the King gave him as a present for Aurangzeb, his master, 150 beautiful horses, with a quantity of gold and silver carpets, pieces of gold brocade, rich sashes, and other beautiful stuffs; this

[1] In the original 'Baubec Kan'. Various suggestions have been made to account for the name Būbāk, in Persian 'an old dotard', or Bebāk, 'fearless'. But the true explanation has been recently suggested by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar; that Tavernier confounded Tarbīyat Khān, Shāhjahān's ambassador to the Persian court, with Budāq Khān, the Persian ambassador to Shāhjahān; see *Hist. of Aurangzīb*, iii. 121 ff.

[2] 'Ālamgīr, 'world-conquering'; Aurangzeb, 'ornament of the throne.'

[3] On the respect Orientals pay to the beard see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed., i. 35; Ja'far Sharif, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921, p. 304; 2 Samuel x. 4.

was worth much more than the present which Aurangzeb had sent him, although that was valued at near two millions.[1]

When Baobhāk Khān returned to Agra, where the King was staying, Aurangzeb, enraged at the affront done to himself by the King of Persia, in the person of his Ambassador, ordered the 150 horses to be taken, some to the centre of the city, and others to the corners of the streets, and had it proclaimed throughout the city that the followers of 'Alī could not mount these horses without becoming Nagis,[2] *i.e.* unclean, since they came from a King who did not observe the true Law, and with whom they could have no communion. This done, he ordered the 150 horses to be slain, and all the rest of the present to be burned, while he used most abusive language towards the King of Persia, by whom he considered himself to be mortally insulted.

At length when Shāhjahān died in the Agra fort towards the end of 1666,[3] Aurangzeb had no longer before his eyes a troublesome object which reproached him constantly with his tyranny, and he began to enjoy more fully the pleasure of reigning. He received the Begam Sāhib, his sister, into his favour soon afterwards, restoring all her governments to her, and commanding, moreover, that she should bear the title of Princess Queen.[4] It is true that she has notable qualities, and is capable of governing the whole Empire. If, at the commencement of the war, her father and her brothers had only trusted her, Aurangzeb had never been Emperor, and affairs would have worn a totally different aspect. As for Raushanārā Begam, his sister, she had always supported Aurangzeb, and when she heard that he had taken up arms she immediately sent him all the gold and silver she possessed. He promised her, in recognition of her good services, that when he became Emperor he would give her

[1] The coin not being mentioned, whether rupees, livres, or some Persian coin, the statement is vague. In the English translation of 1684 the passage is judiciously rendered 'to a vast value'.

[2] *Najis*, Persian for 'unclean'. (See Vambéry, *Life*, p. 57, for an example of its use.)

[3] Shāhjahān died on 22nd January O.S., 1666.

[4] Bādshāh Begam (Manucci, ii. 127).

the title of Shāh Begam, and would seat her on a throne.[1] He kept his word, and they were always much attached. Nevertheless, the last time I was at Jahānābād I heard that their friendship had somewhat cooled. The cause, as I was assured, was that the Princess had conveyed into her apartments a handsome young man, and wishing to get rid of him at the end of fifteen or twenty days, when she was tired of him, the thing could not be accomplished without the news reaching the Emperor. The Princess, in order to anticipate the disgrace and reproach which she feared, hastened with assumed terror to the Emperor, and told him that a man had entered the harem, even her own chamber, that she was certain his intention was either to slay or rob her, that such a thing had never before been seen, that the safety of his royal person was involved, and that His Majesty should severely punish all the eunuchs who were on guard that night. The Emperor himself, with a number of eunuchs, immediately hastened to the spot, and in this extremity the poor young man could not do otherwise than leap from the window into the river which flows below.[2] Thereupon a crowd assembled from all quarters to seize him, the Emperor calling out to them to do him no injury, but take him to the Chief Judge. Since then no more has been heard of the matter, and it is not difficult to imagine that strange things take place in the enclosure where these women and girls are shut up.

[1] Some writers consider that this amounted to a promise that he would marry her himself, although she was his sister. Whatever truth there may be in the reputed incest of Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb was not guilty of that crime. The scandalous tales told about her by Bernier (132 f.) and Manucci (ii. 189 f.) are discredited by Jadunath Sarkar (iii. 68). In later years she fell into the background, and died on 11th September, 1671, aged 56.

[2] Bernier (p. 132) says that the eunuchs hurled him from the top of the palace walls.

CHAPTER VIII

Concerning the preparations which are made for the festival of the Great Mogul, when he is solemnly weighed every year. Of the splendour of his thrones and the magnificence of his Court.

After finishing all my business with the Emperor, as I have related in the first Book,[1] when I went to take leave of His Majesty on the first of November 1665, he told me he was unwilling that I should depart without having witnessed his fête, which was then at hand, and that afterwards he would give orders that all his jewels should be shown to me.[2] I accepted, as in duty bound, the honour he conferred on me; and thus I was a spectator of this grand festival, which commenced on the fourth of November and lasted five days. It is on the anniversary of the Emperor's birthday that they are in the habit of weighing him,[3] and if he should weigh more than in the preceding year, the rejoicing is so much the greater. When he has been weighed, he seats himself on the richest of the thrones, of which I shall speak presently, and then all the nobility of the kingdom come to salute him and offer presents. The ladies of the court also

[1] See p. 112. [2] See p. 314.

[3] Aurangzeb evaded the custom of distributing his weight in money, and did not have tokens coined, like his predecessors, to celebrate the occasion of his coronation. Sir T. Roe describes in rather contemptuous terms the scramble for thin pieces of silver, made to resemble different fruits. The Mogul, Jahāngīr, presented to him a basin full of them; but while he held them in his cloak the nobles snatched most of them from him. He estimates that the amount distributed did not exceed £100 in value (ed. Foster, i. 252, ii. 411 f.). Terry, his chaplain, also describes the scene (*Voyage*, ed. London 1777, p. 376; Bernier, 270; Ovington, 178 f.). For Akbar's practice see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 266 f.; Hindu Rājās adopted the practice (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vii. 202 ff.). For further references to the custom see J. Fryer, *New Account of East India and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, i. 206; iii. 194; Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, 191. Sivajī having been weighed against gold, the amount of which was distributed to Brāhmans, obtained a high rank among Rājputs, from whom the Brāhmans tried to prove his descent (Grant Duff, *Hist. Mahrattas*, ed. 1921, i. 207).

send gifts and he receives others from the Governors of Provinces and other exalted personages. In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold and silver, as well as rich carpets, brocades of gold and silver, and other stuffs, elephants, camels, and horses, the Emperor receives in presents on this day to the value of more than 30,000,000 livres.[1]

Preparations for this festival which lasts five days commence on the 7th of September, about two months before the event; and the reader should remember the description which I have given of the palace of Jahānābād in the sixth chapter of Book I.[2] The first thing done is to cover in two large courts of the palace from the middle of each up to the hall, which is open on three sides. The awnings covering this great space are of red velvet embroidered with gold, and so heavy that the poles which are erected to support them are of the size of a ship's mast, and some of them are 35 to 40 feet in height; there are thirty-eight for the tent of the first court, and those near the hall are covered with plates of gold of the thickness of a ducat. The others are covered with silver of the same thickness, and the cords which sustain these poles are of cotton of different colours, some of them of the thickness of a good cable. The first court is, as I have elsewhere said, surrounded by porticoes with small rooms connected with them, and here it is that the Omrahs stay while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the Omrahs mounts guard every week.[3] He disposes, both in the court as also about the Emperor's palace or tent when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, and many elephants. During this week the Omrah on guard receives his food from the Emperor's kitchen, and when he sees from afar the food which is being brought to him, he makes three obeisances in succession, which consist in placing the hand three times on the ground, and as often on the head,[4] at the same time praying to God to preserve the Emperor's health, and that He will give him long life and power to vanquish his enemies. All these Omrahs, who

[1] 30,000,000 livres, at 1*s.* 6*d.* to the livre = £2,250,000.
[2] See p. 79. [3] Sir T. Roe, i. 172; Bernier, 214.
[4] The Taslīm (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 158; Bernier, 214).

are the nobility of the kingdom and Princes of the blood royal, regard it as a great honour to guard the Emperor; and when mounting or leaving guard, they don their best clothes; their horses, elephants, and camels are also richly clad, and some of the camels carry a swivel-gun with a man seated behind to fire it. The least of these Omrahs commands 2,000 horse, but, when a Prince of the blood royal is on guard, he commands up to 6,000.[1]

It should be stated that the Great Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls.[2] The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court, resembles in form and size our camp beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large balass[3] ruby, cut en cabuchon, with four emeralds round it, forming a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars

[1] Bernier, 212. [2] *Ibid.*, 269.

[3] Balet in the original, for balass, &c. Ball has elsewhere referred to this word as being probably derived from Balakhshān, a form of the name Badakhshān (see *Economic Geology of India*, 430). Yule (*Hobson Jobson*, 52, and Marco Polo, i. 149, 152, ii. 298) however, establishes this view beyond question of doubt by quotations from Ibn Batuta, iii. 59, 394, Barbosa, &c. The stones from this locality, which is on the banks of the Shignān, a tributary of the Oxus, are not, however, rubies, but spinelles; at the same time it would appear that according to some authorities the term balass has been transferred to true rubies of a particular shade of colour—hence a considerable degree of confusion has arisen in this branch of the nomenclature of precious stones. After Ibn Batuta's testimony, derivations from Balūchistān and Baluchin—an old name for Pegu?—need perhaps only be mentioned in order to be dismissed; but with reference to the latter, Chardin, *Voyages*, tome iv, p. 70, Amsterdam ed. of 1711, says:—'On l'appelle aussi Balacchani, Pierre de Balacchan, qui est le Pegou, d'où je juge qu'est venu le nom de Balays qu'on donne aux Rubis couleur de rose.'

there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four balass rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the Emperor's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others placed at his sides are flat. Moreover, a sword, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, are suspended from this throne, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and of the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones respectively is enriched.[1]

I counted the large balass rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all cabuchons, the least of which weighs 100 carats,[2] but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds,[3] there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats, and the least 30 carats. I counted about 116; thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, con-

[1] V. p. 80 above.

[2] Rubies of good quality weighing 100 carats would be worth more than diamonds of equal weight, but it is probable that these were not perfect in every respect. See Linschoten, ii. 151 ff.

[3] For the source whence the emeralds were obtained, see bk. ii, ch. xix, in vol. ii. 81 f.

sisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne opposite the court there is a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the Emperor is seated he has this jewel in full view. But in my opinion the most costly point about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At 4 feet distance from the throne two umbrellas are fixed, on either side, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by Tamerlane and completed by Shāhjahān; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of the cost of this great work, have assured me that it amounts to 107,000 lakhs of rupees,[1] which amount to 160,500,000 livres of our money.

[1] There is certainly some mistake here; the figure should stand at 107,000,000, namely, 1070 lakhs, which at two-thirds of the rupee to the livre would be equal to 160,500,000 livres, or £12,037,500, the rupee being 2*s.* 3*d.*, and the livre 1*s.* 6*d.* Thévenot says that the throne was reported to be worth 20,000,000 in 'gold' (mohurs ?), but he adds that a true estimate could only be arrived at by a careful examination of the precious stones with which it was adorned (*Voyages*, Paris ed., 1684, p. 123). Bernier says 4 crores of rupees, or about 60,000,000 French livres, say £4,500,000 (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 268). Elsewhere (p. 223) he fixes the value at 3 crores. A recent estimate of the value of this throne as it stands in the Shāh's palace at Teherān at present is 13,000,000 dollars, say £2,600,000 (S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia*, 73). More is now known about the Peacock Throne than when the first edition of this work was prepared. Lord Curzon, who inspected it at Teherān, writes: 'The Takht-i-Taous [Peacock Throne] is not an Indian work at all. It was constructed by Mohammed Husein Khan, Sadr [High Priest, if that term may be used of Musalmāns] of Ispahan, for Fath Ali Shah [1793-1847] when the latter married an Ispahani young lady, whose popular sobriquet, for some unexplained reason, was Taous Khanum, or the Peacock Lady. The King is further said to have been so much delighted with the throne that it was made a remarkably prominent feature in the ceremonies that commonly ensue upon marriage. . . . The original Peacock Throne of Nadir Shah (i. e. the survivor of the

Behind this grand and magnificent throne a smaller one stands, in the form of a bathing-tub. It is of oval shape, about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy.

In the first court, on the right hand, there is a special tent under which, during the Emperor's festival, the principal baladines of the town are obliged to attend to sing and dance while the Emperor is seated on his throne.[1] To the left there is another place, also covered by a tent, where the principal officers of the army and other officers of the guard and of the Emperor's household are in attendance.

In the same quarter, during the time the Emperor remains seated on his throne, thirty horses are kept, all bridled, fifteen on one side and fifteen on the other, each held by two men.[2] The bridles are very narrow, and for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, while some have only small gold coins. Each horse has upon its head, between the ears, a bunch of beautiful feathers, and a small cushion on the back with the surcingle, the whole embroidered with gold; and suspended from the neck

two facsimiles) was discovered in a broken-down and piecemeal condition by Agha Mohammed Shah [Āghā Muhammad Khān Qājār, 1785–97] who extracted it, with many of the conqueror's jewels, by brutal torture from his blind grandson Shah Rukh at Meshed, and then had the recovered portions of it made up into the throne of modern shape and style, which now stands in the palace at Teheran. . . . In this chair, therefore are to be found the sole surviving remnants of the Great Mogul's Peacock Throne' (*Persia*, i. 321 f.). See for an account of the present so-called Peacock Throne, *ibid.*, i. 317 ff., with an illustration, p. 319; and for the duplicates of it made by Nādir Shāh, *ibid.*, i. 320 f. In 1919 a rumour spread that the Great Mogul's Peacock Throne was at Constantinople, and might be purchased from the Turks and sent to Delhi. Lord Curzon, in a letter to *The Times*, 10th September 1919, repeated the above facts, adding that when the Turks attacked the Persians, two years before the murder of Nādir Shāh, they suffered a crushing defeat, and could not have gained possession of this trophy. It is impossible to reconcile the accounts of the cost of the throne. An account of the throne based on Indian contemporary authorities will be found in Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, 18 ff.

[1] Aurangzeb prohibited singing and dancing at the Court (Elliot & Dowson, *Hist.*, vii. 283; Jadunath Sarkar, iii. 95).

[2] Bernier, 363.

there is a fine jewel, either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The least valuable of these horses costs from 3,000 to 5,000 écus, and there are some worth 20,000 rupees, i. e. 10,000 écus.[1] The Prince, who was then only seven or eight years old, rode a small horse, the height of which did not exceed that of a large greyhound, but it was a very well-made animal.[2]

Half an hour, or, at the most, one hour after the Emperor is seated on his throne, seven of the bravest elephants, which are trained to war, are brought for his inspection. One of the seven has its howdah ready on its back, in case the Emperor wishes to mount; the others are covered with housings of brocade, with chains of gold and silver about their necks, and there are four which carry the royal standard upon their backs; it is attached to a hand pike which a man holds erect. They are brought, one after the other, to within forty or fifty paces of the Emperor, and when the elephant is opposite the throne it salutes His Majesty by placing its trunk on the ground and then elevating it above its head three times. On each occasion it trumpets aloud, and then, turning its back towards the Emperor, one of the men riding upon it raises the housing in order that the Emperor may see whether the animal is in good condition or not, and has been well fed. Each has its own silken cord, which is stretched round its body in order to measure whether it has increased in girth since the previous year. The principal of these elephants, of which the Emperor is very fond, is a large and fierce animal which has 500 rupees *per mensem* for its expenses.[3] It is fed with the best food and quantities

[1] The écu being equal to 4*s.* 6*d.* the prices of the horses would be £875 to £1,125 and £2,250. Pyrard de Laval says that Arab horses were worth about £104 or £112 each at Goa; while Linschoten doubles this estimate.

[2] The Prince, aged 7, was Muhammad Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzeb, He was born on 11th September 1657 (O. S.); as he lost his mother, Dilras Bānū, when he was a month old, he was much petted by his father, and other members of the family (Jadunath Sarkar, *Hist. of Aurangzīb*, iii. 58 f.; *Studies in Mughal India*, 91 ff.).

[3] £56. The ordinary Government allowance for all expenses connected with the keep of an elephant is, or was a few years ago, about 30 rupees a month in Northern India. Saunderson gives it at only 24 rupees in Bengal, and 48 rupees in Madras (*Thirteen Years, &c.*, 100).

of sugar, and is given spirits to drink. I have elsewhere spoken of the number of elephants kept by the Emperor,[1] to which I add here that when he rides out on his elephant the Omrahs follow him on horseback, and when he rides a horse the Omrahs follow on foot. After the Emperor has inspected his elephants he rises, and accompanied by three or four of his eunuchs enters his harem by a small door which is behind the oval-shaped throne.

The other five thrones are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered with diamonds, without any coloured stones. I shall not give a minute description of them for fear of wearying the reader, not forgetting that one may become disgusted with the most beautiful things when they are too often before the eyes. These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they form a cross, four making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat nearer to the two which are placed furthest away from the people.

After the Emperor has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs to seat himself in the middle one of the five thrones, and during the five days of the festival, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is done with much magnificence, and with surroundings worthy of the greatest monarch in the East, the Great Mogul being in power and wealth in Asia what the King of France is in Europe, but having nothing comparable with him in might if he waged war with a valiant and clever people like our Europeans.[2]

For the food given by Akbar to his elephants see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. 124. Commissariat elephants in India get daily 15 lbs. of flour, 600 lbs. green fodder, and 1 lb. ghī or butter, with coarse sugar and salt. Sir S. W. Baker doubled the allowance of flour for elephants employed in sport (*Wild Beasts and their Ways*, 24).

[1] See p. 223 above.

[2] On the inferiority of Indian as compared with European armies, see Bernier, 55, and p. 311 below.

CHAPTER IX

Concerning other details of the Great Mogul's Court.

SINCE Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has occupied the throne of the Moguls, which he usurped from his father and brothers, he has imposed on himself, as I have said, a severe form of penance, and eats nothing which has enjoyed life. As he lives upon vegetables and sweetmeats only, he has become thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet of the year ——,[1] which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzeb drank only a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him, and since that time has never enjoyed perfect health.[2]

I remember seeing the Emperor drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne. He had brought to him on a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, a large cup of rock-crystal,[3] all round and smooth,

[1] This comet, if, as we may suppose, it appeared in 1665, was first seen in Europe at Aix, on the 27th of March of that year. It lasted four weeks, and had a tail 25° long. Its orbit was computed by Halley (*vide* Chambers's *Astronomy*, 'Catalogue of Comets', No. 64). Terry refers to two great comets which appeared while he was at the Mogul's Court in the month of November 1618. They were followed by drought and famine. (See *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, p. 393.) For Newton's comet of 1680, see Fryer, iii. 174.

[2] At one period this Emperor subsisted on the proceeds of the sale of caps which he had embroidered with his own hands. He also wrote and sold extracts from the Korān for his daily bread. (See Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 91.) He is said on one occasion, when urged to found hospitals, to have replied that he would make the country so prosperous that there would be no more mendicants to be seen in it. (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam, ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 86.).

[3] Vessels made of rock-crystal were much esteemed by the Emperors. Ball saw some very fine examples of large size which were found in the palace at the capture of Delhi after the Mutiny. Possibly some of the fine specimens preserved in the Green Vaults at Dresden came from India. See Watt, *Commercial Products*, 561: *Ency. Brit.*, xxiii. 433.

the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the Emperor eat except his womenkind and eunuchs, and it is very rarely that he goes to dine at the house of any of his subjects, whether it belongs to a Prince or to one of his own relatives. While I was on my last journey, Ja'far Khān, who was his Grand Wazīr, and moreover, his uncle on his wife's side, invited the Emperor to visit him and inspect the new palace which he had had built for himself. This being the greatest honour His Majesty could do him, Ja'far Khān and his wife, in testimony of their gratitude, made him a present of jewels, elephants, camels, horses, and other things, to the value of seven lakhs of rupees (700,000), which amount to one million and fifty thousand (1,050,000) livres of our money.[1] This wife of Ja'far Khān is the most magnificent and the most liberal woman in the whole of India, and she alone expends more than all the wives and daughters of the Emperor put together; it is on this account that her family is always in debt, although her husband is practically master of the whole Empire. She had ordered a grand banquet to be prepared for the Emperor, but His Majesty, as he did not wish to dine at Ja'far Khān's house, returned to the palace, and the Princess sent after him the dishes she had destined for him. The Emperor found all the dishes so much to his taste that he gave 500 rupees to the eunuch who brought them, and double that amount to the cooks.

When the Emperor goes to the mosque in his pallankeen one of his sons follows on horseback, and all the Princes and officers of the household on foot.[2] Those who are Musalmāns wait for him upon the top of the steps to the mosque, and when he comes out they precede him to the gate of the palace. Eight elephants march in front of him, four carrying two men each, one to guide the elephant, and the other,

Some splendid examples of modern work in rock-crystal are illustrated in *Country Life*, 16th April 1921, p. lxxii.

[1] £78,750. See vol. ii. 100. The wife of Ja'far Khān, sister of Shāista Khān, was a notable woman: see the anecdotes regarding her told by Manucci (iii. 418) and Jadunath Sarkar (iv. 88). She is mentioned below, p. 313.

[2] Cf. Bernier, 280.

seated on its back, bearing a standard attached to a hand pike. Each of the four other elephants carries a seat or kind of throne[1] on its back, one of which is square, another round, one covered, and another closed with glass of many kinds. When the Emperor goes out he has generally 500 or 600 men with him for his bodyguard, each man armed with a kind of hand pike. Fireworks are attached to the iron blade; these consist of two rockets crossed, each of the thickness of the arm, and a foot in length; when ignited they will carry the hand pike 500 yards.[2] The Emperor is also followed by 300 or 400 matchlock men, who are timid and unskilful in firing, and a number of cavalry of no greater merit. One hundred of our European soldiers would scarcely have any difficulty in vanquishing 1,000 of these Indian soldiers;[3] but it is true, on the other hand, that they would have much difficulty in accustoming themselves to such an abstemious life. For the horseman as well as the infantry soldier supports himself with a little flour kneaded with water and black sugar, of which they make small balls; and in the evening, whenever they have the necessaries, they make khichari,[4] which consists of rice cooked with a grain of the above name in water with a little salt. When eating it they first dip the ends of their fingers in melted butter, for such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and poor people. To which it should be added that the heat would kill our soldiers, who would be unable to remain exposed to the glare of the sun throughout the day as these Indians do. I should say en passant that the peasants have for their sole garment a scrap of cloth to cover those parts which natural modesty requires should be concealed; and that they are

[1] Howdah.

[2] Rockets were used, and often proved most effective, in battle. It is said that the cause of Dārā Shikoh's descending from his elephant at the critical moment when engaged at Samūgarh with Murād Bakhsh and Aurangzeb (p. 265) was that the elephant had been struck by a rocket, which rendered it unmanageable. See Jadunath Sarkar, ii. 58.

[3] See p. 308 above.

[4] See p. 225. Khicharī is the term for rice boiled with pulse (*dāl*), usually that of arhar, *Cajanus indicus*; See Ja'far Sharīf, *Islām in India*, 320 f.

reduced to great poverty, because if the Governors become aware that they possess any property they seize it straightway by right or by force.[1] You may see in India whole provinces like deserts, from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppression of the Governors. Under cover of the fact that they are themselves Musalmāns, they persecute these poor idolaters to the utmost, and if any of the latter become Musalmāns it is in order to escape work; they become soldiers or Fakīrs, or people who make profession of having renounced the world, and live upon alms; but in reality they are all great rascals. It is estimated that there are in India 800,000 Musalmān Fakīrs, and 1,200,000 among the idolaters, of whom I shall speak further on.[2]

Once a fortnight the Emperor goes out to hunt, and while *en route*, and also while the chase lasts, he is always mounted on his elephant. All the animals which he shoots are driven within musket range of his elephant. Ordinarily these are lions, tigers, deer, and gazelles—because, as for wild boars, he as a good Musalmān does not wish to see them. On his return he uses a pallankeen, and there is the same guard and the same order as when he goes to the mosque, save that during the chase there are 200 or 300 horsemen who ride before him in confused ranks.[3]

The Princesses, whether they are the Emperor's wives, his daughters, or his sisters, never leave the palace except when they go to the country for a few days' change of air and scene. Some of them go, but rarely, to visit the ladies of the nobles, as for example the wife of Ja'far Khān, who is the Emperor's aunt. This is not done except by the Emperor's special permission. The custom here differs from that in Persia where the Princesses make their visits only at night, accompanied by a great number of eunuchs, who drive away all persons whom they meet on the road.[4] But at the court of the Great Mogul the ladies generally go out at nine o'clock in the morning, and have only three or four eunuchs to accompany them, and ten or twelve female slaves who act as ladies

[1] See Bernier, 225 ff.; Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 418.
[2] See Bernier, 316 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, 374 f.
[4] This was known as the Qurq, see Fryer, iii. 41.

of honour. The Princesses are carried in pallankeens covered with embroidered tapestries, and every pallankeen is followed by a small carriage which contains only one person. It is drawn by two men, and the wheels are not more than a foot in diameter. The object in taking these carriages is, that when the Princesses arrive at the houses they are going to visit, the men who carry the pallankeens are allowed to go only to the first gate, where the eunuchs compel them to retire; the Princesses then change into the carriages, and are drawn by the ladies of honour to the women's apartments. For, as I have elsewhere remarked, in the houses of the nobles the women's apartments are in the centre, and it is generally necessary to traverse two or three large courts and a garden or two before reaching them.

When the Princesses are married to nobles of the Court they become the rulers of their husbands, who, if they do not live as they desire, and do not act according to their commands, as they possess the power of approaching the Emperor whenever they wish, they persuade him to do what they please, to the disadvantage of their husbands; most frequently asking that they be deprived of their offices.[1] As it is the custom that the firstborn, although he be the son of a slave, succeeds to the throne, when the Princesses in the imperial harem become aware that there is one among them with child, they immediately use all conceivable methods to cause a miscarriage. When I was at Patna in the year 1666, Shāista Khān's surgeon, who is a half-caste (mestice) Portuguese, assured me that the Princess, wife of Shāista Khān, in one month had caused miscarriages to eight women of his harem, as she would not permit any children but her own to survive.[2]

[1] Bernier says that the princesses were rarely married, 'no man being considered worthy of royal alliance; an apprehension being entertained that the husband might thereby be rendered powerful, and induced perhaps to aspire to the throne' (p. 12). 'The Great Mogoll's or King's daughters are never supposed to marry' (Mundy, ii. 202 f.). For marriages of Aurangzeb's daughters see Jadunath Sarkar, iii. 69.

[2] On the frequency of abortion in India see N. Chevers, *A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence in India*, 712 ff.

CHAPTER X[1]

The Great Mogul orders all his jewels to be shown to the Author.

On the first day of November 1665 I went to the palace to take leave of the Emperor, but he said that he did not wish me to depart without having seen his jewels, and witnessing the splendour of his fête.[2]

Early in the morning of the next day five or six of the Emperor's officers and others on behalf of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, announced that the Emperor wished to see me. Immediately on my arrival at the Court the two custodians of the royal jewels, of whom I have elsewhere spoken,[3] accompanied me into the presence of His Majesty; and after I had made him the customary salutation, they conducted me into a small apartment, which is at one of the ends of the hall where the Emperor was seated on his throne, and whence he was able to see us. I found in this apartment 'Ākil Khān,[4] chief of the jewel treasury, who, when he saw us, commanded four of the imperial eunuchs to bring the jewels, which were carried in two large wooden trays lacquered with gold leaf, and covered with small cloths made expressly for the purpose—one of red and the other of green brocaded velvet. After these trays were uncovered, and all the pieces had been counted three times over, a list was prepared by three scribes who were present. For the Indians do everything with great circumspection and patience, and when they see any one who acts with precipitation, or becomes angry, they gaze at him without saying anything, and smile as if he were a madman.

[1] This very important chapter and the next are altogether omitted in the English translation by John Phillips, 1684.

[2] Joret (*J.-B. Tavernier*, p. 190) sees an inconsistency between this statement and that at the beginning of chap. viii, p. 301. The words as he quotes them support this view, but they are not Tavernier's. Ball, as he understands Tavernier, sees no inconsistency. Prof. Joret quotes, it should be added, as from chap. ix, but that is a misprint for chap. x.

[3] See p. 110 above.

[4] *Ibid.*

The first piece which 'Ākil Khān placed in my hands was the great diamond, which is a round rose, very high at one side.[1] At the basal margin it has a small notch and flaw inside. Its water is beautiful, and it weighs 319½ ratis, which are equal to 280 of our carats—the rati being ⅞th of our carat. When Mīr Jumla, who betrayed the King of Golkonda, his master, presented this stone to Shāhjahān, to whose side he attached himself,[2] it was then in the rough, and weighed 900 ratis, which are equivalent to 787½ carats; and it had several flaws.

If this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down. It was the Sieur Hortensio Borgio,[3] a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly rewarded; for when it was cut he was reproached with having spoilt the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight; and instead of paying him for his work, the Emperor fined him 10,000 rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the Sieur Hortensio had understood his trade, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the Emperor's jewel, and without having had so much trouble in

[1] A résumé of all the information regarding this important stone, the so-called 'Great Mogul', will be found in an appendix. Ball has proved that this was the Koh-i-Nūr. It may be mentioned here that this allusion to the form of the stone as a 'rose' appears to have given rise to the erroneous idea with one author, and those who have followed him, that it had a roseate tinge.

[2] Bernier's reference to this incident (p. 22) is as follows: 'At first he (Mīr Jumla) presented to him (Shāhjahān) that great diamond which is esteemed matchless, giving him to understand that the precious stones of Golkonda were surely more deserving of his consideration than the rocks of Kandahār, whither the Mogul was about to lead an army: his military operations in that Kingdom ought not to cease, he said, until the conquest of his arms extended to Cape Comory.'

[3] Bernier (ed. Constable, 269) mentions but does not name a jeweller who took refuge at the Mogul's Court after having cheated all the monarchs of Europe with his 'doublets'. He was, however, a Frenchman, said to be La Grange, while Hortensio was an Italian, and therefore King is probably mistaken when he suggests their identity. [The ed. of 1678 has Borgis, but Ortencio Bronzoni had espoused Suzana, widow of Nicolao Borges: Manucci, iii, 214.]

grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter.[1]

After I had fully examined this splendid stone, and returned it into the hands of 'Ākil Khān, he showed me another stone, pear-shaped, of good form and fine water, and also three other table diamonds, two clear, and the other with some little black spots. Each weighed 55 to 60 ratis, and the pear 62½. Subsequently he showed me a jewel set with twelve diamonds, each stone of 15 to 16 ratis, and all roses. In the middle a heart-shaped rose of good water, but with three small flaws, and this rose weighed about 35 or 40 ratis. Also a jewel set with seventeen diamonds, half of them table and half rose, the largest of which could not weigh more than 7 or 8 ratis, with the exception of the one in the middle, which weighed about 16. All these stones are of first-class water, clean and of good form, and the most beautiful ever found. Also two grand pear-shaped pearls, one weighing about 70 ratis, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form. Also a pearl button, which might weigh from 55 to 60 ratis, of good form and good water. Also a round pearl of great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs 56 ratis. I ascertained this to be the precise weight, and that Shāh 'Abbās II, King of Persia, sent it as a present to the Great Mogul. Also three other round pearls, each of 25 to 28 ratis, or thereabouts, but their water tends to yellow.

[1] Ball remarks that he cannot understand this statement in the light that Mr. King seems to have done, namely, that Hortensio might have defrauded the Mogul by taking off a large piece. It simply means, he thinks, that Hortensio might with advantage have cleaved the stone instead of grinding it; the pieces so cleaved would then have been the property of the Mogul, not the perquisite of Hortensio. (See *Natural History of Precious Stones*, Bohn's ed., 1870, p. 78 *n.*) In an appendix Ball has dealt with the stories which, to have any reasonable possibility, must have referred to the breaking up of the original large stone, as, after Tavernier's time, the stone of 280 carats could not, as is often stated, have been made to break up into three whose united weights were equal to more than twice that amount; but the statement in the text here is clearly against the supposition that the large stone was otherwise treated than by grinding down from 787½ to 280 carats. That the Indians knew how to cleave diamonds is abundantly proved in ii. 45, where Tavernier says they understood the art better than Europeans.

Also a perfectly round pearl of 36½ ratis, of a lively white, and perfect in every respect. It is the only jewel which Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has himself purchased on account of its beauty, for the rest either came to him from Dārā Shikoh, his eldest brother, he having appropriated them after he had caused his head to be cut off,[1] or they were presents made to him after he ascended the throne. I have elsewhere remarked that the Emperor has no great regard for jewels, priding himself only on being a great zealot of the law of Muhammad.[2]

'Ākil Khān also placed in my hands, for he allowed me to examine all at my ease, two other pearls, perfectly round and equal, each of which weighed 25¼ ratis. One is slightly yellow, but the other is of a very lively water, and the most beautiful that can be seen. It is true, as I have elsewhere said, that the Prince of Arabia, who has taken Maskat from the Portuguese, possesses a pearl which surpasses in beauty all others in the world; for it is perfectly round, and so white and lively that it looks as though it was transparent, but it only weighs 14 carats. There is not a single monarch in

[1] This statement is important, as we know that Shāhjahān, who was still alive at this time in prison, had with him a great number of his precious stones, which were not handed over to Aurangzeb till after Shāhjahān's death, when Jahānārā Begam presented him with a gold basin full of them (see pp. 274 and 275). According to Bernier, however, some had been previously given to Aurangzeb by Shāhjahān during his lifetime. Moreover, Aurangzeb, in a letter written to Shāhjahān at the time when he arrested him, acknowledged the gift (!) of Dārā Shikoh's jewels by letter. Dārā Shikoh was left about £4,000,000 worth of gold and jewels by his grandfather, Āsaf Khān, who passed over his own sons Shāista Khān and Nawāz Khān—perhaps because the Mogul, according to custom, might have declared himself the heir, so that they would have derived no benefit. But Āsaf Khān consoled himself with the reflection that he left his sons in good and highly lucrative positions, which was a better provision for them (Bernier, 70, 127; Manucci, i. 310, 326, 354). 'Besides the mansion which he had built in Lahore, and on which he expended twenty lacs of rupees, he [Āsaf Khān] left money and valuables to the amount of two krors and fifty lacs of rupees. There were 30 lacs of rupees in jewels, besides other property.' (Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 68 f.).

[2] On the prohibition by the Law of Islām against the wearing of ornaments by men see T. P. Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 448.

Asia who has not asked the Prince of Arabia to sell him this pearl.[1] Also two chains, one of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls; the other of pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round and of diverse waters, and from 10 to 12 ratis each in weight. In the middle of the chain of rubies there is a large emerald of the 'old rock',[2] cut into a rectangle, and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about 30 ratis. In the middle of the chain of emeralds there is an oriental amethyst,[3] a long table, weighing about 40 ratis, and the perfection of beauty. Also a balass[4] ruby cut en cabochon, of fine colour and clean pierced at the apex, and weighing 17 melscals.[5] Six melscals make one once (French). Also another cabochon ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs 12 melscals. Also an oriental topaz[6] of very

[1] See below (ii. p. 86).

[2] Precious stones were denominated 'of the old rock' (*rocca velha*), when they exhibited more or less perfect crystalline forms, being considered more developed than those with amorphous forms. (Linschoten, ii. 137; Fryer, i. 96; Bernier, 148).

[3] The 'oriental' amethyst is a purple sapphire, and when perfect is of great beauty.

[4] Balet in the original. (See p. 303, *n.*)

[5] Melscals = mishkāls. (See Appendix, p. 333.) In 1836, when Baron Charles v. Hügel visited Ranjīt Singh at Lahore, the pommel of one of the Mahārāja's saddles was decorated with a ruby two inches square, bearing the name of Jahāngīr. Nūrjahān objected to the injury to the stone, but Jahāngīr replied: 'This jewel will assuredly hand down my name to posterity more than any written history. The house of Tīmūr may fall, but as long as there is a King, this jewel will have its price.' Ahmad Shāh, who had found it on the Peacock Throne, also inscribed his name on it. It had been stolen from Tīmūr in 1398 and repurchased by Jahāngīr (*Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, 1845, p. 303.) Shāh Rukh of Persia refused to deliver the famous ruby of Aurangzeb to the brutal eunuch, Āghā Muhammad, until a circle of paste had been fixed on his head and molten lead poured on it (Sir P. Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, 2nd ed. ii. 294.)

[6] The oriental topaz is a yellow sapphire (corundum). According to Strabo (xvi. 770) it was found only in the Ophiodes island off the Troglodytic shore of the Red Sea. It was probably this topaz which Aurangzeb wore at his coronation. (See p. 296 and ii. 102 *n.*) It is also mentioned by Bernier (p. 268). Its weight, as given on page 102, vol. ii, was $181\frac{1}{8}$ ratis, or $157\frac{1}{4}$ carats (should be $158\frac{1}{2}$ carats), hence these should = 6 melscals, and the melscal = $30\frac{3}{16}$ ratis, or $26\frac{5}{12}$ carats. To the mishkāl of Babur

high colour cut in eight panels, which weighs 6 melscals, but on one side it has a small white fog within.

These, then, are the jewels of the Great Mogul, which he ordered to be shown to me as a special favour which he has never manifested to any other Frank; and I have held them all in my hand, and examined them with sufficient attention and leisure to be enabled to assure the reader that the description which I have just given is very exact and faithful, as is that of the thrones, which I have also had sufficient time to contemplate thoroughly.

CHAPTER XI[1]

Terms of the passport which the Nawāb Shāista Khān sent to the Author, with some letters which he wrote to him, and the replies to them, in which the style of these countries manifests itself.

I COME now to the passport which the Nawāb Shāista Khān gave me, and the letters which I wrote to him in reference to my affairs, as both by these letters and by the replies to them the reader will be enable to comprehend the style and manner of writing among the Indians. I also received a passport from the Emperor himself, which His Majesty had already given me through Ja'far Khān,[2] his uncle, to whom I returned it after having read it, because it was not couched

a weight of 40 ratis is attributed, so that either Babur's mishkāl must have weighed absolutely one-third more than Tavernier's, or Tavernier's rati must have exceeded Babur's by one-third. The latter will be shown to be the case. (See Appendix.) Ball believed that this topaz is probably that figured, together with the Koh-i-nūr, by Miss Eden, and mentioned also by Osborne as being in the possession of Ranjīt Singh.

[1] This chapter is omitted in the English translation by John Phillips, 1684.

[2] Giafer Kan in the original. He was brother of Arjumand Begam, afterwards called Mumtāz-i-Mahall, the lady for whom the Tāj was built by her husband, Shāhjahān. There is frequent mention of Ja'far Khān in these pages, though he is not often referred to in other histories of India.

in the language I approved. I desired it to be without restriction, equally full and in the same style as that which I had received from the King of Persia, in virtue of which I had been exempt from all dues both in going and coming, whether I sold or did not sell; because the passport offered me on the part of the Great Mogul was limited, and in the event of sale it required that I should pay custom dues on whatever I had sold. Although Ja'far Khān assured me that it was the most favourable passport of the kind which the Emperor had ever given, and that according to custom it could not be otherwise, nevertheless I was unwilling to accept it, and contented myself with that which I had held for some years from Shāista Khān, which sufficed for me, and was as much esteemed as that of the Emperor, or more so. It is true that the Emperor did not require me to pay any duty on account of what I sold to him, and that the matter was done graciously.

Copy of the letter which the Author wrote to Shāista Khān, uncle of the Great Mogul, on the 29th of May 1659.

The least of the servants of your Highness, who prays to God for the prosperity of your Greatness, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, a Frenchman, presents a request to your liberal bounty. You who are the Lieutenant of the Emperor, who govern as his kinsman all the Kingdoms which are subject to the rule of His Majesty, who has placed under your direction the most important affairs of his Crown, the Prince invincible, Shāista Khān, whom may God keep in his care.

It is now some years since I had the honour of presenting to your Highness, then Governor of the Kingdom of Gujarāt, and residing in Ahmadābād, some large pearls and other rarities, which were deemed worthy of your treasury, for which I received a just payment and magnificent liberality. At the same time I received your instructions to return to Europe, to search for other rarities and bring them to you:[1] this I have done during the five or six years which I have spent traversing many European countries, where I have met with many beautiful objects and rare curiosities, which are

[1] These commands were given in 1654.

worthy of being presented to your Highness. And as I heard, when at the Court of the King of Persia, that wars were in progress in India, I sent by one of my servants the aforesaid effects and rarities by way of Masulipatam; and when I reached Surat some days ago, I received intelligence of the safe arrival of all.[1] If his Highness is willing to buy the aforesaid rarities, and desires that I should bring them into his presence, I beg to be given an order by which I shall be able to travel to him without any one causing me trouble *en route*. But if your Highness does not wish me to go to you I shall proceed elsewhere. However, I await your orders at Surat, praying God that He will keep you always in all kinds of prosperity.

Translation of the first letter which Shāista Khān wrote to the Author in reply to the above.

GREAT GOD—[2]

To the beloved of fortune, support of virtue, Monsieur Tavernier, Frenchman, my dear friend, know that your letter has been delivered to me, by which I have learnt of your return to Surat, and that you have brought with you what I asked. I have carefully considered all that you have written to me, with which I am much contented; wherefore, on receiving this, you should arrange to come to me, with those things which you have brought; and be assured that I will render you all possible courtesy, and all the aid and profit that it is possible for you to wish for. Moreover, I send you the passport you have asked from me, recommending

[1] What the postal arrangements could have been between places so distant as Masulipatam and Surat we can only guess—probably letters between the factories were conveyed mainly by sea. Tavernier sent the letters by his own servants. 'The Indians in sending their letters abroad have not learnt the conveniences of the quick Dispatches of our Posts: A Pattamar, i. e. a Foot Messenger, is generally employ'd to carry them to the remotest Bounds of the Empire. So that whenever the English are under a necessity of writing to Bengal, Maderas, or any other part of Indostan, a Person is sent on purpose upon the Errand' (Ovington, 251). Special runners were employed by the Indian Princes.

[2] Shāista Khān used at the beginning of his letter the usual Musulmān formula: *B'-ism 'Illāhi 'r-rahmāni 'r-rahīm*: 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!'

you to come quickly in order that I may see the things described in your letter. The quicker you are able to come the better, wherefore write more? The 11th of Chouval,[1] in the year of Muhammad 1069 [A. D. 1661].

This which follows is written in Shāista Khān's own hand :—

The chosen one among my most beloved, your request has been delivered to me. God bless you and reward you for having held to your word and kept your promise. Come quickly to me, and be assured that you will receive all sorts of contentment and profit from me.

This which follows is contained round his seal :—

The Prince of Princes, the servant of the Emperor, victorious Aurangzeb.

Translation of the passport which Shāista Khān sent to the Author.

GREAT GOD—[2]

To all the agents and officers of the customs and tolls, to all the guardians of the roads, both great and small, between the port of Surat and the Court of Jahānābād. As Monsieur Tavernier, Frenchman, the most exalted and beloved of us, who is a servant of my household, comes to me from the port of Surat, let no one, whosoever he may be, or on any pretext, interrupt his way or his journey, or cause him inconvenience or trouble, but permit him to pass in all safety, so that he may be able to come into my presence with comfort; and let each of the abovenamed see that he is accompanied through their respective jurisdictions, so as to facilitate his journey. I charge you specially with this matter, and let no one act otherwise. Done the 11th of Chouval,[3] in the year of Muhammad 1069.

Translation of the second letter written by Shāista Khān to the Author.

To the most expert of engineers and the cream of good fellows, Monsieur Tavernier, Frenchman, know that I regard

[1] Shawwāl, the tenth month. [2] See p. 321 *n.* 2, above.
[3] See note 1 above.

you as one of my dearest favourites and well beloved. As I have before written to you to come to Jahānābād and to bring with you the rarities which you have for me, now, by the favour and grace of the Emperor, I have been appointed his Viceroy and Governor in the Kingdom of Deccan.[1] Immediately on the receipt of his Majesty's orders I set out, on the 25th of the month of Chouval; for this reason it is no longer desirable that you should come to Jahānābād, but rather that you should make your way as soon as possible to Burhānpur, where, with God's assistance, I shall arrive in the course of two months or thereabouts. I trust you will act in accordance with what I now write to you.

Reply of the Author to this second letter.

He who prays to God for your Highness, and for the increase of your greatness and prosperity, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Frenchman, &c. [as in the first letter]. I have received the honour of the commands which your Highness has deigned to bestow on the least of your servants. Salutation to the Nawāb, the Prince of Princes. I gave myself the honour some days past to write by the messenger of your Highness, that after the rains I should not fail to go to your presence at Jahānābād. Now that you direct that our meeting is to be at Burhānpur, I shall follow your orders and carry with me all the rarities which I have destined for your Highness's service. Done the 10th of the month Huge.[2]

Translation of the third letter written by Shāista Khān to the Author.

The most beloved of my favourites, Monsieur Tavernier, Frenchman, know that I keep you fresh in my memory. The letter which you wrote me by my messenger has been received, and I have read it word by word. You write that the rains and bad roads have prevented your coming, and that after the winter you will come to seek me. Now that

[1] Shāista was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in July, 1659, relieving Muhammad Mu'azzam, afterwards the Emperor Bahādur Shāh I, second son of Aurangzeb.

[2] Zī-l-hajja, the last month of the Musalmān year.

the rains are over,[1] and that I hope that in twenty-five or twenty-six days I shall be at Aurangābād, on receipt of this hasten to come to me. I believe you will not fail. Done the 5th of Sefer,[2] in the first year of the reign of Aurangzeb.[3]

This which follows was in the hand of the Nawāb :—

Dear friend, you will not fail to act according as I have written.

Reply of the Author to this third letter.

The least of the servants of your Highness, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Frenchman, prays God for the prosperity of your person, you who are the Lieutenant of the Emperor, the channel by which his favours are distributed, of whom the title is venerable and full of respect, who are the near relative of the Emperor, the Governor-General of his Kingdoms, to whom he refers the accomplishment of all matters of importance. To you who are the Prince of Princes, I the servant of your Highness present this petition. Having arrived in this country in obedience to your orders, I have wholly trusted in your favour ; and when I believed myself to be most laden with your bounty, I fell into the nets of Mīrzā Arab, Governor of Surat, for, having received the latest orders of your Highness, I went to take leave of him to go to make my salutation to you. He replied that he had written to the Emperor in reference to my person [and that in consequence he could not give me permission to depart till he had received the reply of His Majesty. I represented to him that, having nothing with me, and at my arrival in this port not having been found possessed of any merchandise of importance passing through the customs, I was astonished

[1] i.e. the rainy season or south-east monsoon.

[2] The month Sefar or Safer, is the second month of the Persian lunar year.

[3] Tavernier (p. 285 above) says Aurangzeb ascended the throne in 1660, and hence Prof. Joret remarks that consequently he would have remained in Surat on this occasion more than fifteen months, which is inadmissible, as on p. 325 he says six months. This, adds Prof. Joret, is an almost insoluble difficulty. There is, however, a simple solution, namely, that Tavernier was in error in giving 1660 as the year of Aurangzeb's coronation, it having in fact been 1659.

that he had written to the Emperor in reference to my person].[1] He disregarded all my arguments, did not alter his decision, and refused to give me permission to leave Surat. Now all is in the hands of your Highness, to whom it is due that I should obey his commands, and that a person like Mīrzā Arab should not be able to oppose his wishes with so formal a resistance.

Besides, not having my effects with me, as I have written to your Highness, my delay in Surat causes me considerable loss, which must give you displeasure. Moreover, it will prevent merchants from coming to this port, and that will inflict considerable injury on the Empire. As for myself, I am resolved to burn my effects or throw them into the sea rather than allow any one but your Highness to see them. I trust that the great authority of your Highness will relieve me speedily from my trouble, and will enable me to go to pay you my respects. And I hope that the news of the favours which I have received from your Highness, when it shall reach France, will cause many great merchants to do business in this country, and then India will know that the rare goods of the French and their precious curiosities put to shame all that has hitherto appeared in the country. This is what I deemed it necessary to write to your Highness. Dated at Surat the 25th of the month Rabi and Auel.[2]

All these letters and replies explain the reason why I delayed nearly six months[3] at Surat. At length there came an express order from the Nawāb to the Governor of the town to allow me to depart, or otherwise he would have to resign his office. The Governor of Surat was so much annoyed at being baffled that when I took leave of him he did not deign to look at me, of which I willingly absolved him.

In consequence of the news which I had received that the Nawāb had departed from Aurangābād, I found him

[1] The portion between brackets is omitted in the edition of 1713, though given in those of 1676 and 1679.

[2] Rabī'ul-awwal, the third Musalmān month.

[3] Tavernier's account of this same visit on p. 27 seems somewhat inconsistent with this, as he implies there that no delay occurred, while the contents of these letters bear out his specific statement here of six months spent at Surat.

with the army in Deccan, where he had besieged Chākan,[1] one of the towns of Rājā Sivājī. I sold him what I had intended for him, and during the time I remained with him he gave orders that I should lack nothing, neither for my own mouth nor the feed of my horses. Every day four trays of meat and two of fruit and sweetmeats were brought to me; these for the most part fell to the share of my servants, because I was seldom permitted to eat in my tent.

The Nawāb gave orders that five or six Rājās or idolatrous Princes who were in his army should entertain me in their own manner. But their rice and vegetables, which constitute, as I have said, all their dishes, were so full of pepper, ginger, and other spices that it was impossible for me to eat them, and I left the repast with a very good appetite.

During this time the Nawāb fired a mine, which so much alarmed the inhabitants of Chākan that they yielded by agreement, on which account the soldiers, who thought to take the town by assault, were much annoyed, seeing themselves deprived of the hope of the loot which they had anticipated. On my departure the Nawāb wanted to pay me, but I represented to him that I had to pass through a disturbed country, and had to fear the followers of both armies, so I asked him to allow me to draw the money at Daulatābād;[2] this he willingly granted, and on an order which he gave me I was paid on the day following my arrival in that town. The treasurer who counted out the money to me said that he had received the advice four days previously by express, and that the Nawāb had commanded him to pay me promptly; this shows the great precision of the Indians in matters of trade to satisfy debts without delay.[3]

[1] Choupar in the original, on p. 26 written Choupart. It is Chākan, 18 miles north of Poona: not Sholāpur, as suggested by Ball.

[2] Dultabat in the original, for Daulatābād, also called Deogir (see p. 130). Bernier describes this town as the capital of Deccan.

[3] According to the statement on p. 28, this payment was made at Aurangābād, and by no means promptly, or with satisfaction to Tavernier. This is but another inconsistency in the narrative.

APPENDIX

On the values of Coins, Weights, and Measures referred to by Tavernier.

I LIMIT myself here mainly to an interpretation of the values given by our author, not having space for any wider discussion of the question. He has been quoted as an authority, not always correctly, as I believe, in support of particular views, especially as to the value of the rupee. I think it can be demonstrated from the numerous relations which he gives between Indian coins and various European ones that it cannot have had a less average value than 2*s.* 3*d.* Sometimes, however, the evidence tends in the direction of a greater and sometimes of a less value.

The discrepancies are in part due to the varying values of coins bearing the same names in different provinces, and partly to the fact that European coins in Oriental countries, and Oriental coins in countries not their own, had two values—one the intrinsic, which was ascertained at the mints, and sometimes by actual conversion into the coin of the country, and the other the exchange value of the coins themselves when used as a means of purchasing in the marts.

This Appendix is supplementary to the foot-notes, but is at the same time intended to give a general and connected view of the subject.

French Money.

12 Deniers (money of account)	=1 Sol (Sous Tournois).
20 Sols	=1 Livre (money of account).
60 ,, or 3 Livres	=1 Écu.

2 Louis d'or, old=16*s.* 9*d.*, new=£1 0*s.* 6*d.* ; both according to Sir Isaac Newton. (*Assays, &c., of Coins at London Mint, before 1717.*)

It is of the utmost importance to establish beyond question of doubt the value of the above as they were employed by Tavernier. Sir Isaac Newton's estimate of the value of the écu in 1717 was 4*s.* 6*d.*, and the very frequent relations given between it and various other European coins by Tavernier clearly indicate, as will be apparent in speaking of them, and as has been shown already in the foot-notes, that a less value cannot be ascribed to it. Whence it follows that what Tavernier understood as the livre, or ⅓*d* of an écu, had a value of 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the same value is indicated by its relations to other well-known coins—as, for instance, the Dutch guilder

(florin). From this again we obtain the deduction that the sol, as he uses it, which, from its small value, gives that of other coins with great nicety, was worth 0·9 of a penny; in other words, 10 sols=9*d.*[1]

Spanish Money.

The piastre and reale or real, as determined by Sir Isaac Newton, and as valued by Tavernier, were of equal value with the écu, being therefore worth 4*s.* 6*d.* Tavernier states that the former was equal to two rupees (*Persian Travels*, p. 238), i.e. 4*s.* 6*d.* also. The double pistole or Frederic d'or was worth from £1 12*s.* 6½*d.* to £1 13*s.* 3*d.*, the latter being Sir Isaac Newton's estimate. The single pistole he valued at 16*s.* 9*d.*

Portuguese Money.

Crusado.—According to Sir Isaac Newton, in 1717, the crusado = 2*s.* 10*d.* Other authors place its value as low as 2*s.* 3*d.*, and there are various intermediate valuations. For its value in 1518 see *Barbosa*, ed. Dames, i. 65, 118, who estimates it to be worth about 10*s.*

Italian Money.

Croisart of Genoa and Sequin of Venice. The croisart is once mentioned by Tavernier, p. 157 above; its value seems to have been about 6*s.* 6*d.* The sequin, according to Sir Isaac Newton, was worth 9*s.* 5·7*d.*, and according to Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 193, 111*d.*, or 9*s.* 3*d.*

German Money.

Gulden, Rixdollars,[2] properly Reichsthalers (Richedales of Tavernier, p. 19 above), and Ducats. The gulden, of which there were several different kinds, ranged from about 2*s.* 2*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.*, the double gulden being equal to about twice that amount. The rixdollars, of which there were many kinds, averaged, according to Sir Isaac Newton, about 4*s.* 7*d.* in intrinsic value; being, therefore, worth slightly more than the écu, or French crown. The ducats averaged about 4*s.* 9*d.*

Dutch Money.

Gulden (gulde of Tavernier, vol. ii) or florin.—Its value in currency seems to have been about 1*s.* 9*d.* to 1*s.* 9½*d.*, and to the livre it bore the proportion of 5 to 6, which gives a value for the latter of very nearly 1*s.* 6*d.*

[1] The above computations, as well as those of the values of Indian and Persian coins, although made independently, agree exactly with those which are given in a table in the English translation of Tavernier, by J. Phillips, dated 1684.

[2] The rixdollar was also a money of account in several different countries.

Indian Money.

50–80 Cowrie (corie of Tavernier, p. 23 above), shells (*Cypraea moneta*),=1 paisā.

35–40 Bādām (baden of Tavernier, p. 23 above), bitter almonds (*Amygdalus communis*, var. *amara*)=1 paisā.

46–56 Paisā (pecha of Tavernier)=1 rupee (p. 23) above.

14–14¼ Rupees=1 gold rupee or gold mohur.

Also

Fanam (fano of Tavernier, vol. ii, 118)=4½*d.*; but some, of which six only went to the écu, were worth double, or 9*d.*

Pardao=27 sols.

Pagoda, new=3½ rupees; old=4½ rupees and 2⅓ écus.

Passing the bitter almonds and cowries, we come to the paisā (or pecha of Tavernier). He says that it was worth about 2 French liards, but that there were coins of half a paisā, 2 and 4 paisā. At Surat 49 to 50, and sometimes only 46, paisā went to the rupee; and at Agra, nearer the copper mines, 55 to 56. Taking it at the average of 50, therefore, this coin was worth the 50th part of the rupee,[1] and it was also worth the 20th part of the mahmūdī. If the rupee, as shown below, was worth 2*s.* 3*d.*, then Tavernier's paisā was worth 0·54 of a penny; but with the mahmūdī at 9*d.* its value would be only 0·45*d.* The former appears to be the safer figure to adopt, owing to the various relations given by Tavernier from which we can determine the value of the rupee.

The Rupee.—The simplest of these relations (pp. 22, 305 above) is 2 rupees=1 écu, or 4*s.* 6*d.*[2] ∴ 1 rupee=2*s.* 3*d.* Tavernier frequently repeats his calculations in rupees, separately also in livres; these always indicate a ratio of 2 to 3, and, as we have shown his livre to have been equal to 1*s.* 6*d.*, the rupee would again be 2*s.* 3*d.*[3]

In terms of the Spanish reale, 100 of which=213 to 215 rupees, the latter must have had the intrinsic value of at least 2*s.* 1½*d.*, and in terms of the rixdollar or reichsthaler, 2*s.* 1½*d.* These alone prove an absolute intrinsic value of upwards of 2*s.* 1*d.* The relations with Persian coins, to which reference has been made in the foot-notes, and the values of which are discussed below, support the ascription of values of from 2*s.* 1*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* for the rupee.

[1] Thévenot and Mandelslo make somewhat similar statements, but contradict themselves in other passages.

[2] Bernier (p. 200) says the same.

[3] Terry gives the value of 2s. 3d. for ordinary rupees, and 2s. 9d. for the best (*Voyage, &c.*, London, 1777, pp. 67, 113, 167). Fryer and Mandelslo also give the value at 2s. 3d. Mr. Keene's ascription of only 1s. 3d. to the rupee seems to be based on an incorrect valuation of the livre, for which Tavernier cannot be held responsible. (See *History of Hindustan*, p. 211).

The gold rupee, or gold mohur.—All the evidence goes to show that this coin, as known to Tavernier, was worth at least from 31*s.* 6*d.* to 32*s.*; its equivalent was 14 to 14¼ rupees, hence we may again deduce a value of at least 2*s.* 3*d.* for the rupee.

The fanam is of no importance in so far as Tavernier's calculations are concerned.[1]

Pardao.—In two places (pp. 155 above, and vol. ii. 109) Tavernier gives for the pardao the value of 27 sols=2*s.* 0·3*d.*; this is less than what is ascribed to it about this period in Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 672 ff.) namely, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Pagoda.—Tavernier gives a number of different values for this coin. Thus, New P.=3½ rupees, say 7*s.* 10½*d.* (vol. ii. 101); Old P.=4½ rupees (vol. ii. 71), say 10*s.* 1½*d.*; also=7½ livres)=11*s.* 9*d.*, or 2⅓ écus (p. 241 above)=10*s.* 6*d.* In the table in the English translation referred to in p. 328 *n.* the pagoda=the demi-pistol, or 8*s.* 3*d.* The average value was therefore about 9*s.*[2]

Persian Money.

2 shāhīs=1 mahmūdī.
2 mahmūdīs=1 'abbāsī.
5 'abbāsīs=1 ' or ' ? (money of account).
50 'abbāsīs=1 tomān (money of account).

Shāhī (chaez of Tavernier).—According to Tavernier (p. 20 above), 200 shāhīs=29½ rupees, so that with the rupee at 2*s.* 3*d.* the value of one shāhī would be 3·98*d.*, say 4*d.* As he elsewhere states the relation to French money to be 10 shāhīs =46 sols and 1 liard, ∴ 1 shāhī=4½*d.*, and Mandelslo (*Voyages*, English translation, p. 8) gives the value of one shāhī to be nearly 5*d.*, I conclude, although the value is given at only 2⅛*d.* by Kelly in the *Universal Cambist*, that in Tavernier's time its value was from 4*d.* to 5*d.*, say 4½*d.*

Mahmūdī (mamoudi of Tavernier, p. 21 above).—Hence the mahmūdī would be worth between 8*d.* and 9*d.* Both Tavernier and Fryer represent it, however, as being worth ⅖ of a rupee, so that with the latter at 2*s.* 3*d.* its value would be 10⅕*d.*; and Mandelslo (English ed., pp. 13 and 68) gives it the value of 1*s.*, which would make the rupee 2*s.* 6*d.* Its range in value, therefore, was from 8*d.* to 1*s.*

'Abbāsī.—Tavernier, in his account of Persian money, says 1 'abbāsī=18 sols 6 deniers, which would be about 1*s.* 4·65*d.* Mandelslo (p. 8) says 3=1 écu, and as we must give a value of at least 4*s.* 6*d.* to the écu, the 'abbāsī would be worth 1*s.* 6*d.*;

[1] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 348.

[2] For a full account of the various kinds of pagodas and their values see *Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. 643.

so confirming the intermediate values of the shāhī (chaez) (4½*d.*) and of the mahmūdī (9*d.*) above given.

In his *Persian Travels*, 1st ed., 1676, p. 122, Tavernier states that 1 or=5 'abbāsīs, or about 6*s.* 11¼*d.* with the 'abbāsī at 1*s.* 4·65*d.*, or 7*s.* 6*d.* with the 'abbāsī at 1*s.* 6*d.* The or may have been a name used by the Franks much as we use the slang term 'tin'; it corresponded to the Persian zar, which simply means money,[1] but Tavernier here gives it a definite value.

Tomān.—Though generally regarded as a money of account, it is sometimes spoken of as though it had actually been a coin. At 50 'abbāsīs, as above, its value was £3 15*s.*; but Tavernier states that in India its value was 29½ rupees, which at 2*s.* 3*d.* would be only £3 6*s.* 4½*d.* Tavernier also states that the tomān=46 livres, which at 1*s.* 6*d.*=£3 9*s.* Mandelslo gives it as=5 pistoles, i.e. about £4 3*s.* 9*d.* Fryer says £3 6*s.* 8*d.*; and Tavernier, in his *Persian Travels*, p. 122, says it=15 écus, which at 4*s.* 6*d.*=£3 7*s.* 6*d.* Probably about £3 9*s.* would be a fair average estimate, In 1821, according to Kelly (*Universal Cambist*), it only represented a value of £1 16*s.*

Tonne of Gold.—According to Tavernier (vol. ii, 320), the tonne was equal to 100,000 gulden (or Dutch florins), or 120,000 livres; and as these were worth 1*s.* 9*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* respectively, the value of the tonne would be about £9,000. The ton or tonne of gold equalled 100,000 gulden.[2]

It is unnecessary to describe other Persian coins here, as they are not mentioned by our author in the Indian portion of his travels.

Chinese Money.

A money of account=600 livres=£45 (see vol. ii. 111, 238, and *Persian Travels*) is referred to by Tavernier as a pain, i.e. a loaf or cake; probably it was represented in bullion by an ingot, to which the English applied the term 'shoe' (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 830; N. Elias & E. D. Ross, *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 256, note 3).

Weights.

French Weights.

1 grain =·819 of a grain troy.
24 grains=1 denier.
72 ,, (=3 deniers)=1 gros.
579 ,, =1 once=472·187 grs. troy.
16 onces =1 livre=1 lb. 4 oz. 1 dwt. 13 gr. troy, or 1 lb. 1 oz. 10⅕ dr. av.

[1] Comp. Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam, 1711, vol. iv, 277.
[2] Bernier, Introd., xxix.

Indian Weights.

Ghungchi (gongy).—The name of the seed of *Abrus precatorius*. 3=1 vāl ∴ 1=1·91 to 1·94 grs. troy (see vāl); but this value is too high for the ordinary rati, and too low for Tavernier's rati (see under rati on next page).

Carat.—In order to determine the value of Tavernier's carat, we may have recourse to one particular diamond of which he makes mention, namely, that belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which he figures and states weighed 139½ carats. From the foot-notes in bk. II, ch. xxii, it will be seen that it is practically certain that this stone is the same as the one now known as the 'Austrian Yellow', which weighs, according to Schrauf, 133½ Vienna carats, or 133⅗ modern French carats, the latter differing very slightly from English carats. Hence we deduce that Tavernier's carats were about 4 per cent. lighter than the modern French carat.

If we could be quite sure that the melscal of Tavernier was the orthodox Persian mishkāl, weighing about 74 grains troy, we should also have a means of testing the value of his carat, because he gives the weight of Aurangzeb's celebrated topaz in one place as 6 melscals, and in another as 181⅛ ratis, or 157¼ carats (more properly, as the proportion of 8 to 7, it should be 158½ carats), the equivalent of which would be 72·187 grs. troy, and a rati consequently would be equal to 2·66 troy grains, and a carat to 2·98 troy grains, or ·19 less than the modern carat. Tavernier's melscal, however, seems to have been equal to from 78·698 to 80·5 grs. troy (see below), and the carat calculated from the latter equals 3·05 grs. troy—a very close approximation indeed to the modern Florentine carat. From both the above we may conclude that Tavernier's carat differed but slightly, if at all, from the Florentine carat of to-day.

The Rati.—Tavernier, however, further says that 6 melscals =1 once, and, therefore, as the French once=472·687 grs. troy, the rati would be 2·66 grs. troy,[1] which is an approximation to its value (see bk. II, ch. xviii), and a still closer approximation, namely 2·74, if we regard, as above, Tavernier's carat as being 4 per cent. less than the modern carat. The average of these three gives a value of 2·72, which I conclude may have been about the value of the rati uniformly used by Tavernier, but I shall employ the 2·66 grs. as a definitely arrived at sum in future calculations. This was the pearl rati, equal, as he himself tells us, to the 'abbās (see bk. II, ch. xxi, and *Persian Travels*, p. 238), which was used in Persia for weighing pearls. The value of the 'abbās, as given by Kelly

[1] The carat, calculated in the same way, would be similarly enhanced, and would amount to 3·043 troy grains, or within ·127 of the modern value.

in the *Universal Cambist*, is 3·66 diamond, or 2·25 troy grains. This proportion is, I think, incorrect, as 3·66 diamond grs. = 2·9 troy grains, or 1 diamond grain = ·7925 gr. troy.

The ordinary rati (the seed of the *Abrus precatorius*) varied from 1·75 up to 1·9375, the mean of which is 1·843 grs. troy. Mr. Thomas [1] has finally adopted 1·75 in his calculations. The above mean is identical with the value derived from the tolā of Bābur of 177 grs. = 96 ratis. From the mishkāl of Bābur Prof. Maskelyne has deduced values of 1·8425 to 1·85 grs. troy for the rati. General Cunningham [2] and Mr. Laidlay, by weighment of the seeds, obtained 1·823 and 1·825 grs. troy,[3] or only about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the rati of Tavernier. Another weighment by Mr. Blackie in the Bellary District gave an average of 2·142 grs.—the seeds in the south being larger.[4]

Mangelin.—Seed of *Adenanthera pavonina*, L.; it varied as follows:

		If Florentine carat grains.	If ordinary French grains.
In Ramalakota (Raolconda)	= 7 gr.	= 5·38 gr. troy	5·73 gr. troy.
,, Golkonda and Bījāpur	= $5\frac{1}{2}$,,	4·18 ,,	4·5 ,,
,, Goa	= 5 ,,	3·8 ,,	4·095 ,,

Yule, (see *Hobson-Jobson*, 776 f.), gives the average result of the weighment of 50 seeds of *Adenanthera pavonina* as 4·13 grs. troy; selected seeds gave 5·02 to 5·03 grs. troy.

Vāl (from Sanskrit valla) = 3 seeds of *Abrus precatorius*.
32 vāls = 1 tolā (tole) ∴ 1 = 5·733 grs. troy nearly (see tola).
81 ,, = 1 once Fr. ∴ 1 vāl = 5·83 grs. troy.

Melscal of Tavernier.[5] Arabic mithkāl (or mitskāl).

1 melscal = $\frac{1}{6}$ of an once, or 78·698 grs. troy.
6 ,, = $181\frac{1}{8}$ ratis, or $157\frac{1}{4}$ (rather $158\frac{1}{2}$) carats.
∴ 1 ,, = $30\frac{3}{16}$ ratis, or $26\frac{5}{12}$ carats.
$30\frac{3}{16} \times 2{\cdot}66 = 80{\cdot}2$ grs. troy; $26\frac{5}{12} \times 3{\cdot}05 = 80{\cdot}5$ grs. troy.

The average of these, say 83·7 grs. troy, is considerably in excess of the ordinary Persian miskhāl of from 73·69 to 74 grs. troy; but it must nevertheless be accepted as representing approximately the melscal known to Tavernier.

Tolā (tole of Tavernier).—1 tole = 9 deniers 8 grains = 224 French grains = 183·456 troy grains.

[1] *Numismata Orientalia*, new ed., Pt. I, pp. 13–14.
[2] Royal Institution of Great Britain, March, 1860. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Part I, 1884, p. 147.
[3] *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiii, N.S., 1873, pp. 196–7.
[4] *Proceed. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1887, p. 222. Further inquiry caused Ball to modify his views regarding his value of the rati and carat; see vol. ii, p. 347.
[5] See Barbosa, ed. Dames, i. 157.

The modern British Indian tolā = 180 grs. troy.

Seer or Ser (serre of Tavernier).

In Surat	42 seers	= 34½ livres, bk. II, ch. xii.	
,,	40 ,,	= 34 ,, ,,	
,,	1 seer	= ¾ livre, bk. I, ch. ii.	
Agra	60 seers	= 51¾ livres, bk. II, ch. xii.	
Bengal	1 ,,	= 72 ,,	bk. III, ch. xv.
,,	1 ,,	= for amber, &c. = 9 oz.	

From the above indications of the value of the Surat ser, we may conclude that it averaged nearly 13 French onces, and that the Agra ser was equal to 13·6 French onces. In reference to the Bengal ser, the value 72 livres is possibly a copyist's mistake, and is certainly a blunder (see notes in bk. III, ch. xv). The small Patna ser of 9 onces is probably right.

Thévenot, p. 52, gives the equivalent of the Surat ser at 14 onces, or 35 tolās ; and Mandelslo, English ed., p. 67, says 40 sers = 30½ livres, therefore 1 = 12·2 onces. To the Agra seer Thévenot gives the value of 28 onces.

Maund, man, Hind. (mein and men of Tavernier).

Tavernier's ordinary maund		= 69 livres.
Indigo	,,	53 ,,
Surat	,,	42 sers.
,,	,,	40 ,,
,,	(Mandelslo)	40 ,,
,,	(Thevenot)	40 ,,
,,	(Fryer)	42 pounds.

We may therefore conclude that the Surat maund contained about 40 sers, at about 13 French onces to the ser, or 35·5 English pounds avoirdupois.

The maund of Agra contained 60 sers of 13·6 onces, or about 57 lb. av. English, which corresponds approximately with a value of 55 lb. given by Hawkins in 1610.

Measures of Length.

French.

The French lieue is generally given by Tavernier as the equivalent of the coss, but as he recognizes the variability of the latter, it must be considered that the adoption of the European term was determined rather by convenience than by any positive identity having been established by actual measurement. The old lieue de poste of France was equal to 2 miles and 743 yards.

Indian Measures.

The Indian measures which we have to investigate are the tasū (tassot of Tavernier), cubit, coss, and gos.

24 tasūs (tassots)	= 1 cubit (aune of Tavernier).
(5000 ?) cubits	= 1 coss (cosse [1] of Tavernier).
4 coss	= 1 gow (gos of Tavernier).

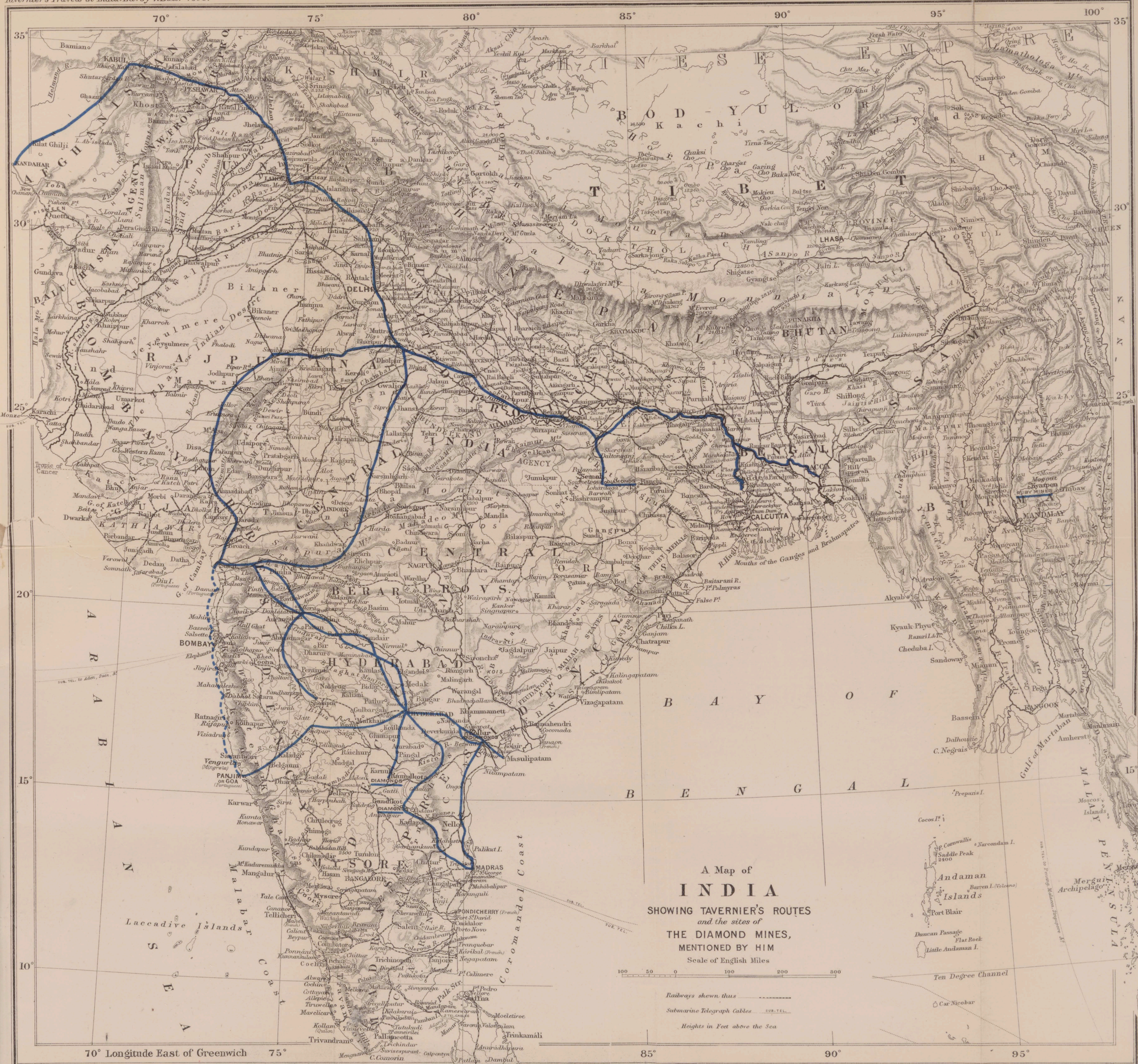
The tasū (tassot) of Surat, as graphically represented in bk. II, ch. xii, and in *Observations sur le Commerce, &c.*, in the 'Recueil', is exactly equal to $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. English. The cubit of Surat was equal to 24 times that amount, in other words to 27 in. In bk. I, ch. ii (see p 32), the $\frac{1}{8}$ of a Surat cubit as represented would indicate a cubit of about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch less, but the same figure is said to be equal to only $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Agra cubit, which would therefore be about $32\frac{3}{4}$ in. This is very near the Ilāhī gaz of Akbar, namely 33 in. The tasū of Agra was, therefore, about $1\frac{1}{3}$ in. English.

The Coss.—As stated above, Tavernier regarded the coss and the lieue as equivalent values, frequent illustrations of which are pointed out in the foot-notes. In bk. I, ch. iv, he speaks of the coss between Surat and Burhānpur as short, a cart being able to traverse one in an hour; but between the latter and Sironj the coss were longer, a cart taking up to five quarters of an hour; between Sironj and Agra they were common coss, of which there were 106; the true distance is about 220 miles. In general, I have found that the true distances indicate a value of 2 miles, approximately, for Tavernier's coss. Thus, between Golkonda and Masulipatam the distance is given as 100 coss, the true distance being about 210 miles. Thévenot speaks of the coss as being equal to half a league; but his lieue must have been a double one, since, in the particular instance just quoted, he represents the distance as being 53 lieues.[2]

The Gos of Tavernier appears to have been the same as the gow (Hind. gau) of some other authors, and this term is at present in use locally both in parts of India and Ceylon; but in the latter country it represents a smaller value than it does in the Peninsula, as stated in the note on page 39. In three different places, bk. II, chap, xii, and in bk. II, ch. xviii, the value of the gos is stated to be 4 lieues; in other words, 4 coss, or say from 8 to 9 miles, which is the value of the gau in S. India at present. According to Tavernier it was the unit of measurement between Surat and Goa, and was also used between Golkonda and the Diamond Mines.

[1] Misprinted coste for cosse in Tavernier's first edition of 1676, and repeated in other editions, but corrected in the errata.

[2] 'They told us the way to the City was seven *Cos* or *Corù* (for 'tis all one) and every *Cos* or *Corrù* is half a *Fersegna*, or league of *Persia*; so that it answers to little less than two English Miles' (P. della Valle, i. 23). Actual measurements between pillars or Kos-minār, near Delhi, gave a mean of 2 miles, 4 furlongs, 158 yards to the Kos (Bernier, 289).


A Map of
INDIA
SHOWING TAVERNIER'S ROUTES
and the sites of
THE DIAMOND MINES,
MENTIONED BY HIM
Scale of English Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300
Railways shewn thus
Submarine Telegraph Cables
Heights in Feet above the Sea
70° Longitude East of Greenwich
Tavernier's routes in blue
Stanford's Geog. Estab.t, London.
CHINESE EMPIRE
BOD-YUL OR TIBET
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA
BHUTAN
BENGAL
ASSAM
BURMA
CENTRAL INDIA
CENTRAL PROVS.
BERAR
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
MADRAS
BOMBAY
CALCUTTA
DELHI
LAHORE
KABUL
PESHAWAR
KANDAHAR
LHASA
MANDALAY
RANGOON
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
Laccadive Islands
Malabar Coast
Coromandel Coast
Andaman Islands
Ten Degree Channel
Gulf of Martaban
MALAY PENINSULA
Mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra
Tropic of Cancer