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JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

At the age of 74

1676

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TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH EDITION OF 1676

WITH A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR,
NOTES, APPENDICES, ETC.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK
1889

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PREFACE

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,

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and such elucidation of obscure points, as have been possible under the circumstances.

As will be explained more particularly in the biographical sketch, the chief faults in Tavernier's encyclopædic 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 recognise 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 abridgment, 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

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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 connection 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 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 acknowledgments of his advice which are made in the footnotes by no means cover the extent of

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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 connection with the second volume.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

LIFE OF J. B. TAVERNIER

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER was born in Paris in the year 1605. This has been ascertained from the 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

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

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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[1] 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 here, as none of them are conclusive. Melchior, like his uncle, became distinguished as a chartographer; 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

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

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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.

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

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

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six weeks at Aleppo he left it on the 27th December[1] with a caravan, and passing through Meshed, Bassora, and Shiraz, reached Ispahan at the end of April or beginning of May 1639. Here he visited the King, Sháh Safvi, grandson of Sháh Abbás. Our next record of him shows him to have been in Hindustan 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 Ispahan 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 1640-41. In 1641 he tells us that he was at Burhánpur 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* Burhánpur, was probably made by the Ahmadábád route which is described on pp. 66-89. At Agra he found Sháh Jahán enjoying a peaceable reign. From Goa he appears to have visited Golconda 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 Ahmadábád, 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 Abbás.

THIRD VOYAGE. — We do not know when he reached Paris nor what route he followed; but we find

[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.)

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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 Ispahan on the 3d of May, where M. Joret considers he must have remained for some months, reaching Surat in January 1645, most probably by the Bandar Abbás route. On the 19th of January he started *via* Daulatábád and Nánder for Golconda, 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 Ramulkota, 18 miles south of Karnúl, he appears to have returned to Golconda and afterwards proceeded to the mine which he called Gani or Coulour; this, it will be seen, stands for Kán-i-Kollur on the Kistná, at seven days' journey eastwards, or more correctly south-eastwards, from Golconda. (See p. 172.) How the remainder of this year and the whole of 1646 were employed we cannot say. In connection with the descriptions of the above-named mines he also describes one at Soumelpour (see Book II, chap. xvii), which was situated on the Koel river, an affluent of the Sone, in the District of Lohárdagá 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 Ispahan 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

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Surat in the Dutch vessel called *Mæstricht*. 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 Philippe 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 the discovery of a new port in Africa which had been made 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 Point 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 22d 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

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well treated. Subsequently, however, he was involved in tedious investigations in reference to his relations with M. Constant, the Commander at Bandar Abbás, 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 very 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 circumstances he, perhaps naturally enough, became a bitter enemy of the Dutch, and availed

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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 failed 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, etc., 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

[1] See his *Histoire de la Conduite des Hollandois in Asia.*

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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 forwards till the 11th of May, when he embarked at Bandar Abbás on a ship belonging to the King of Golconda, which was bound for the port of Masulipatam, on the east coast of India. After narrowly escaping shipwreck he reached Masulipatam on the 2d of July—or perhaps for 2d 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 22d of the same month he started by the valley of the Pennair 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 Mir Jumlá, on behalf of the King of Golconda, had just taken possession of. As Mir Jumlá was not only the General of the troops but also Prime Minister, Tavernier

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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 Mir Jumlá 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 Golconda court. His march northwards lasted till the 2d of October, when he reached Golconda. 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 Golconda 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 or five days journey less than by the Aurangábád 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,[2] died, and Tavernier then set out for Ahmadábád, where he had been invited to bring his jewels by Sháistá Khán, who was then Governor of Gujarát. Thence he returned to Surat, and set out for Golconda on the 6th of March 1653 by the Aurangábád route, arriving at Golconda on the 1st of April.

[1] In Book I, chapter ix, p. 147, he says, however, twenty-seven days.

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

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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 Golconda to Surat, encountered a troop of pilgrims. He says M. d'Ardilliere 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 despatched 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 Abbás, arriving there on the 7th of March. Tavernier then started for Ispahan, visiting Kerman *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

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embarked was chased by pirates, and was compelled to take refuge in a port near Toulon, from 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 some pearls in Constantinople, 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 Erivan and Tabriz to Ispahan, without any event happening worthy of particular record. Owing to the accounts which reached him of the disturbed condition of India, in connection with the usurpation by Aurangzeb of his father's throne, Tavernier appears to have prolonged his stay in Ispahan till the beginning of 1659; but before starting for Surat, which his letter addressed to Sháistá Khán proves him to have reached in May of that year, he despatched 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 Sháistá Khán in Europe. Sháistá

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Khán's reply to his letter was an invitation to visit him at Jahánábád, 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 Burhánpur, and then to Aurangábád. When he went to take leave of the Governor of Surat, named Mirzá 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 Sháistá Khán, 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 Sháistá Khàn laying siege to Sholápur (Choupar) in the Deccan. As will be seen on pp. 31 and 409, 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 Golconda again, from whence probably he returned to Surat about the end of 1660 or beginning of 1661. 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 Madeline Goisse, a daughter of Jean Goisse, a jeweller, with whom he had had some business transactions, and who was a connection by marriage of his brother Melchior.

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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 up 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, etc., was valued at 400,000 *livres*, which at 1s. 6d. 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 Tabriz. After three months' marching the caravan reached Erivan on the 14th of September, and Tabriz on the 9th of November, where two of the attendants, one a watchmaker and the other a goldsmith, died of sickness brought on by the fatigues of the journey. Here also Tavernier left his nephew Pierre in the charge of the Superior of the Capuchin Convent. On the 22d of November, having beforehand despatched his principal goods, he left with a small party for Ispahan, and arrived there on the 14th of December. Three days afterwards the King, Sháh Abbás 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 Sháh first in-

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quired 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 Sháistá Khán, 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 Sháh 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 Shàh being well pleased, however, Tavernier besought his protection for his nephew, and 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 *Recueil*, published in 1679, and reproduced in Vol. ii, represents him clothed in this robe, with the addition of the mantle which was further conferred upon him by the express order of the Sháh. The total value of the sales made on this occasion was 3900 *tomans*, or £13,455, allowing £3 : 9s. for the *toman*. The Sháh 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 Ispahan for India on the 24th of February 1665, and reached Bandar Abbás about the end of the first week of April, having made several halts on the road. On the 5th of May we find

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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 Sháh 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 Sháistá Khán 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 Jahánábád, travelling prob-

[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."

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ably by Burhánpur, Sironj, Gwalior, and Agra, and arriving at Jahánábád 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 Mogul Aurangzeb a number of his most precious stones; and Zafar Khán, the Mogul's uncle, also 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 Sháistá Khán, who was then in Dacca, but with him too it became the subject of a serious dispute.

Tavernier remained two months at Jahánábád, 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 Allahabad on the 7th of December, where they found Claude Maillé of Bourges installed as physician and surgeon to the Governor, but no hint

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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 Mir Jumlá. 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 Sone to Rohtas 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 stay at Patna, 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 Rajmahál on the 4th of January 1666. On the 6th M. Bernier left him to go to Kásimbázár, while he proceeded to Dacca, which he reached on the 13th, and on the following day went to visit the Nawáb, Sháistá Khán, 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 Kásimbázár, 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 Sháistá Khán's instructions, offered to pay him the debt, less by 20,000 rupees. Tavernier enlarges on the causes which led

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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. Thevenot, who was returning from Madras and Golconda, 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 Abbás, where he met, among other Europeans, the famous traveller Chardin. At Ispahan 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.

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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 orientalised 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. The statement attributed to Chappuzeau by Bayle, that the only written portions were by Father Gabriel, 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

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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 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, and is here reproduced, as also are the dedicatory verses by

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

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Boileau printed underneath it. The other is a full figure representing Tavernier in the robe of honour given him by the Sháh 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 Thevenot, 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 they are either silent about him, or, like Chardin, mention him only to abuse him.

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

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the reach of elucidation or confirmation. Gemelli Careri[1] 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 of the countries. Thus, probably, is to be explained the resemblance noted by Dr. Hyde[2] 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; and in discussing the published biographies of Tavernier he points out that

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

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

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they are all founded on the erroneous and amplified statements of Henrick van Quellenburgh,[1] Jurieau,[2] Chappuzeau,[3] Bayle, and others. M. Joret asserts that the article on Tavernier in the *English Cyclopædia*, 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 colonisation 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

[1] *Vindicia Batavica ofte Refutatie van het Tractact van J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Amsterdam, 1684. 4to.

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

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

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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 towns in Germany, Holland, etc., 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 3000 *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 realise 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

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in Switzerland had been sold. At upwards of eighty years of age his commercial instincts had led him to intrust a valuable cargo for India, worth 222,000 *francs*, to his nephew, Pierre Tavernier, son of the goldsmith of Uzes, who we have seen was left by him at Tabriz in the year 1664 in the 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 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, "*Le 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.

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M. Joret concludes 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 Cyclopædia* 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.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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.

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

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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 ecuyer Baron* | *d'Aubonne* | *A Paris* | *chez Olivier de Varennes* | MDCLXXV | 4to.

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

2. **1676.**—*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'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'interieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur,* etc. Amsterdam. J. Van Someren. 12mo. (Brunét and M. Joret.)

5. **1678.**—*Les Six* | *Voyages* | *de* | *Jean Baptiste Tavernier* | *Ecuyer baron d'Aubonne* | *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)

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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.**—*Recueil* | *de Plusieurs* | *Relations* | *et* | *Traitez singuliers et curieux* | *De* | *J. B. Tavernier* | *Escuyer Baron d'Aubonne* | *Qui n'ont point este mis dans ses six premiers Voyages* | *Divise en cinq Parties*, etc. *A Paris chez Gervaise 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 a 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 Recueil 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. a Paris*, 1703. Small 8vo, as Part I. Part (Vol.) III, *Recueil de plusieurs . . . avec la relation de l'interieur du serail suivant la copie imp. a Paris*, 1702. Small 8vo.

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13. **1713.**—*Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, etc. Nouvelle ed., 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 Generale des Voyages*, by M. l'Abbe 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 refondu corrigée accompagnée d'eclaircissements, 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.

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23. **1882.**—*Les six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier en Perse et dans les Indes pendant quarante annes. Et par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir, Racontés par lui meme, Reduits 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. **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* [1]*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.

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*[2] *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.

[1] 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.

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

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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.

This contains a preface by Edmund Everard, who says that "*In this work was employed the Help of another Worthy Gentleman,*[1] *who labour'd in the first Volum of Tavernier's Translation;*

[1] 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.

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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 Relations, 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. 235-257), 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 Turkey Persien und Indien nebenst der Beschreibung des Turkischen serails und der Kronung 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.

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3. The *Nouv. Biog. Genérale* 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. Genérale.*

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.

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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 païs ; 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.

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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

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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 *caravansardis* 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.

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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

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

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one day's distance from Nuremburg when I met a colonel 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

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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 commissson 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

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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 Strasburg, 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

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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 9000 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 Ratisbone 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 Ratisbone. 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

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it to that one of the ladies of the Court for whom he had the most esteem.

There came then to Ratisbone 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 Ratisbone, who was his correspondent, with an order to place them in the hands of his son. This young man on his arrival at Ratisbone 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 Ratisbone, 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, 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

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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 judgment 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 Ratisbone 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 Ratisbone 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 Ratisbone 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'Abbe de Chapes, brother of the late M. le Mareschal d'Aumont, and M. de St. 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

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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'Abbe 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'Abbe de Chapes caused one to be brought which did not appear to

[1] The famous green vaults.

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be large, and M. de Saint Liebau asked for another which held a little more. But l'Abbe 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. le 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

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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, 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 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 mouths 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

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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 *caravansarái*, 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* 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 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

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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 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 sole 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*. It is pleasantly situated at the mouths of three rivers,

[1] Pasha of Roumelia.

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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 one sees 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 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 St. 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 was 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* 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

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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 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 St. 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 Ispahan. 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 *cortége* 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 Ispahan, 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

[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.

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different routes, the whole 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 Cæsar Frederick before 1570, Methold before 1622, and also some others.

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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.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 16, note 2, *for* Assen *read* Asen.

,, 92, omit note 3.

,, 143 and 144 *n*, *for* Kurum *read* Khurram.

,, 184, note 2, *for* Cardamons *read* Cardamoms.

,, 203 and 269, *for* Augustines *read* Augustins.

,, 205, headline, *for* Mascaregnas *read* Mascarehnas.

,, 217, *for* elephants' teeth *read* tusks.

,, 250 *n* and 280 *n*, *for* Tennant *read* Tennent.

,, 251, line 2, *for* which *read* whom.

,, 288 *n*, *for* Jalmudugu *read* Jamalmudugu.

,, 326, line 6, *for* Roushenárá *read* Raushenárá.

,, 400 *n*, *for* p. 372 *n*, *read* Vol. ii, p. 129.

,, 415, last paragraph, for *Tun* read *Tonne*.

,, 416, line 26, *for* $133\frac{1}{2}$ *read* $133\frac{1}{3}$.

,, 416 and 417, for corrected values of carat and *rati*, see Index.

,, 417, note 1, *for* 1.27 *read* 0.127.

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BOOK I

Concerning routes which one may take to go from ISPAHAN to AGRA, and from AGRA to DELHI and JAHÁNÁBÁD,[1] where the Court of the GREAT MOGUL is at present; as also to the Court of the King of GOLCONDA and to that of the King of BIJAPUR,[2] and to several other places in INDIA.

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[1] Dehly and Gehanabat in the original. Sháh Jahán rebuilt Delhi, and called the new city Sháhjahánábád, 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 Bijapur (Vijáyapura). It is the principal town of what is now the Kaládgi District of the Bombay Presidency. An account of its buildings is given in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

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TRAVELS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

Route from ISPAHAN *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 have observed in that of my Persian travels, and I shall commence with the description of the routes by which one can go from ISPAHAN to DELHI and JAHÁNÁBÁD, where the GREAT MOGUL at present resides.

Although INDIA presents a frontier towards PERSIA of more than 400 leagues, extending from the ocean up 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

[1] Gomron in the original, for Gombroon, the modern Bandar Abbás, in the Persian Gulf.

[2] Ormus in the original, the modern Hormuz, more properly Hurmúz, formerly a city and kingdom near the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

[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

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many ways for passing from PERSIA into INDIA as there are for passing from TURKEY into PERSIA, because between PERSIA and INDIA there are only sands and vast deserts where one finds no water at all. Thus, in order to go from ISPAHAN 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 CANDAHAR. 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, and it is necessary to take the proper season, outside the limits of 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 one embarks at HORMUZ for SURAT, and at SURAT for HORMUZ: with this difference, however, that one rarely leaves SURAT later than the end of February,[2] but for leaving HORMUZ one may wait till the end of March,

Taurus of Asia Minor, the Persian Elbruz, the Hindu Kush, and the Himalayas. "The boundaries of India on the north, from Ariana to the Eastern Sea, are the extremities of Taurus, to the several parts of which the natives give, besides others, the names of Paropamisus, Emodus, and Imaus (Himalaya); but the Macedonians call them Caucasus;" etc. (Strabo, Bk. xv, c. i, § 11; Bohn's ed., trans. by Falconer and Hamilton, vol. iii, p. 78.)

[1] Book V, chaps. xx, xxi, xxii, p. 653 *et seq.* The second route up to Candahar is described in Book V, chap. xxiv, p. 693, *Persian Travels*, Paris edition of 1676.

[2] This indication of the periods of the monsoons is of interest. It is availed of by M. 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.

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and even till the 15th of April, because then the western wind which brings the rains to INDIA begins to blow. During the first four months a wind from the north-east prevails with which one may sail from SURAT to HORMUZ in fifteen or twenty days; afterwards, veering by degrees to the north, it serves equally the vessels which go to SURAT and those which are coming from it, and during this period the merchants generally reckon on spending thirty or thirty-five days at sea; but when you wish to go from HORMUZ to SURAT in fourteen or fifteen days, you must embark in the month of March or at the beginning of April, because then you have the western wind astern all the way.

Vessels leaving HORMUZ steer for MUSCAT,[1] on the coast of ARABIA, in order not to approach too near to that of PERSIA, and to give it a wide berth. Those which are coming from SURAT do the same, in order to find the entrance to the gulf, but neither the one nor the other ever touch at MUSCAT, because custom dues have to be paid to the Arabian Prince who took this place from the Portuguese.

MUSCAT is a town on the sea-coast, opposite to 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[2] are the three places in the East where the heat is most unbearable. Formerly the English and Dutch monopolised this navigation; but for some years past the

[1] Mascaté in the original, the modern Muscat, or more properly Măskăt, the capital of Oman, in North-East Arabia.

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

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Armenians, Muhammadans of INDIA, and *Banians*[1] also have vessels, upon which, however, one does not feel so safe as on those of the *Franks*,[2] because necessarily the Indians do not understand the sea so well, and have not such good pilots.

Vessels sailing for SURAT, which is the only port in the whole empire of the GREAT MOGUL, steer for DIU and POINT ST. JEAN,[3] and then anchor in the roads at SUWÁLI,[4] which is only four leagues distant from SURAT, and but two from the mouth of the river, bearing from it northwards. They carry the merchandise from one place to the other either by cart or by boat, because large vessels cannot enter the river at SURAT, until after they are unloaded, on account of the sandbanks which are at the mouth. The Dutch return after having landed their goods at SUWÁLÍ, and the English did the same, neither being permitted to enter into the SURAT river; but since, some time back, the King has granted to the latter a place to winter[5] in during the rainy season.

SURAT is a city of moderate size, with a poor fortress, which you must pass, whether approaching it by water or by land. It has four towers at its four

[1] *Banianes* in the original, see Book III, chap. iii, and Index.

[2] Francs in the original, and Franguis on p. 59, names in the East for all Europeans except Greeks; Pers. *Farangi*.

[3] Diu and Point St. Jean. Diu is on an island (from which fact the name is derived—*dvipa*, Sanskrit for an island) off the southern extremity of Gujarát. It occupies an important position in the history of the Portuguese, and still belongs to them. St. Jean is the port in Gujarát called Saján or Sanján, the Sindán of Arab writers, corrupted by the Portuguese into San Gens and the English into St. John's. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, *s. v.* St. John's, p. 591.)

[4] Souali in original, a roadstead near the mouth of the Tápti (*op. c.*, p. 671).

[5] The term winter (*hiver*) is used by several early writers on India to indicate the rainy season, viz. June to October.

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angles; and as the walls are not terraced, the guns are placed upon scaffoldings. The Governor of the fortress merely commands 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. The walls of the city are of earth, and the houses of private persons are merely barns, being built 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 that which is done inside. In the whole of SURAT there are only nine or ten well-built houses, and the *Sháh-bandar*,[1] or chief of the merchants, has two or three of them. The others belong to the Muhammadan merchants, and those of the English and Dutch are not the least fine, every president and commander taking care to keep them in repair, the cost of which they charge against the accounts of their companies. These dwellings are, nevertheless, only hired houses, the King not permitting any *Frank* to possess a house of his own, fearing that he would have that of which he might make 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; but the purchase had to be made under the name of a Maronite merchant of ALEPPO[2] named CHELEBI, of whom I have spoken in my account of PERSIA.

[1] *Cha-bander* in original, *Sháh-bandar*, *i.e.* Governor of the port or harbour and customs master.

[2] Alep in original, for Aleppo, described Book II, cap. ii, p. 134, of the *Persian Travels*, Paris, 1876.

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CHAPTER II

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

IN order to avoid repetition, which one cannot escape 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. They are very strict and search persons with great care. Private individuals pay as much as 4 and 5 per cent duty on all their goods; but as for the English Company and the Dutch Company, they pay less. But I believe likewise that, taking into account what it costs them in deputations and in presents, which they are obliged to make every year at court, the goods cost them scarcely less than they do private persons.

Gold and silver pay 2 per cent, and as soon as they have been counted at the custom-house the Mintmaster[1] comes to take them, and coins them into money of the

[1] The Mintmaster was called *Darogha* (of the mint); the assays were made by the *Sairafi;* other officials in the mints were the *Amin*, who was a kind of spy on the others; the *Mushrif*, to keep the accounts, etc. (See *Áín-i-Akbári*, Blochmann's transl., vol. i, p. 18.)

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country, which he hands over to you, in proportion to the amount and standard of your silver. You settle with him, according to the nature of the amount, a day when he is to give 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 silver 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, they say, to pass through so many hands without some diminution.

You may carry all sorts of silver 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 all the gold and silver in INDIA, by order of the King, and it is coined into money of the country. Bar silver, or old silver plate which has been bought without payment for the workmanship, is that which has the least to lose, for on coined silver one cannot avoid the loss on coinage. Sales are in general conditional on payment being made in money coined during the current year; and if one pays in old pieces it is necessary to submit to loss, according to the time they have been coined, as I have said above. In all places at a distance from towns, where the common people do not understand silver well, and where there are no Changers, they will not receive a piece of silver till they put it into the fire to ascertain

[1] The method of assaying which was practised in India is described in the *Áín-i-Akbárí*, and upon it there are some important remarks and explanatory notes to be found in Percy's *Metallurgy of Gold and Silver*

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if it is good; and this is practised especially at the river crossings.[1] As their boats are made of osiers, covered only with oxhide, and are consequently very light,[2] they keep them in the woods, and will not take them on their shoulders for crossing the water before they have received their payment.

In so far 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. They do all they can to evade paying the customs, especially as they have not so much risk to run as in the custom-houses of EUROPE. For in those of INDIA, when any one is detected in fraud, he is let off with paying double, 10 per cent instead of 5, the King comparing the venture of the merchant to a game of hazard, where one plays double or quits. However, for some time back this is somewhat changed, and it is to-day difficult to settle with the customs' officers on that condition. The King has conceded to the English Captains that they shall not be searched when they leave their vessels to come on shore; but one day an English Captain, going to TATTA,[3] one of the largest towns of INDIA, a little above SINDI,[4] which is at the mouth of the river INDUS,[5] when

[1] Only a few years ago I 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.

[2] Coracles. See Book I, chap. xviii, and Index for further references to them.

[3] Tata in the original, the modern Tatta, in Sind (see p. 17), a *taluk* in the Karáchi District.

[4] Scimdi in the original, sometimes written Simdi by Tavernier—*e.g.* p. 17—for Sindi, the Province of Sind, derived from the River Sind, *i.e.* Indus.

[5] River of Indou in the original, *i.e. Hindú* or *Sindú*—the Indus river.

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about to pass, was arrested by the customs' guards, from whom he could not defend himself, and who searched him in spite of anything he could say. They found gold on him, he having already conveyed some in sundry journeys between his vessel and the town; he was 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 jocose manner. He caused 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 it with him to the town, anticipating exactly that which would happen. As he passed in front of the custom-house, where the Governor of the town, the *Sháh-bandar*, and the Master of the mint were seated in a divan, they did not fail to stop him, and, the slave still advancing with his covered plate, they said to the master that he must needs go to the custom-house, and that they should see what he carried. The more the Englishman protested that the slave carried nothing which should pay 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 *Sháh-bandar* asked him forthwith, in a sharp tone, why he was unwilling to obey orders, and the Englishman, on his part, replying in a rage that what he carried was not liable to duty, rudely threw the plate in front of them, so that the sucking-pig and the grease soiled the whole place, and splashed on their garments. As the pig is an abomination to the Muhammadans, and since by their law they regard as defiled whatever is touched by it, it became necessary for them to change their garments,

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to remove the carpet from the divan, and to make a new structure, without daring to say anything to the Englishman, because the *Sháh-bandar* and the Master of the mint have to be particular with the Company, from which the country derives so much profit. As for the Chiefs of the Companies, both English and Dutch, and their associates, they have so much respect for them that they never search them when they come from the vessels; but they, for their part, do not attempt to convey gold in secret as the private merchants do, considering it beneath them to do so. The commerce of TATTA, which was formerly considerable, is beginning to decrease rapidly, because the entrance to the river becomes worse from day to day, and the sands which accumulate almost close the passage.

The English, seeing that they had adopted the custom of searching them, had recourse to little stratagems in order to pass the gold, and the fashion of wearing wigs having come to them from EUROPE, they bethought themselves of concealing the Jacobuses, rose nobles, and ducats in the nets of their wigs every time that they left their vessels in order to go on shore.[1] There was a merchant who desired to take into SURAT some boxes of coral without its coming to the knowledge of the customs officers. The vessel being ready to enter the river, he had the boxes tied to the stern, and being two or three feet under the water, those who came to examine the goods on the vessel were unable to see them. Several days passed before the goods

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

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were unladen, and before it became possible to convey the boxes in safety into the town without the customs' officers having wind of it. The thing was at length cleverly accomplished, but the merchant had cause to repent of it, and he found himself on the wrong side of the account; for, since the river at SURAT is always disturbed and thick, there attached itself to the coral, which had been a long time in the water, a sort of slime like a crust, and a white skin, which they had much trouble to remove, and after it was cleaned the loss to the merchant exceeded 12 per cent.

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

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

If you take coined gold, the best pieces are rose nobles,[1] old Jacobuses,[2] Albertuses,[3] 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 all these old pieces there is always some

[1] Rose nobles: a noble was an English coin, worth 6s. 8d.

[2] Jacobus, an English coin of James I, worth about 25s.

[3] Albertuses. The Alberts Dutch dollar, a silver coin, was worth in exchange something less than the rix-dollar, or 4s. 6d.; I have failed to identify any gold coin with the above name.

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profit for the merchant. Among the good gold coins which one may carry to INDIA all the ducats of Germany, both those of princes and those of imperial towns, as also the ducats of POLAND, HUNGARY, SWEDEN, and DENMARK must be included; and all these kinds of ducats are taken 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*[1] more than all the others; but, since twelve years or thereabouts, it seems that they altered them, so that they are not valued now save at the same price as the others. There are still the ducats which the GRAND SEIGNEUR coins at CAIRO,[2] and those of SALEE[3] and MOROCCO,[4] 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 *tola*, which amounts to 9 *deniers* 8 *grains* of our weight.[5] When one has a quantity of gold or silver to sell, the Indians have brass weights, with the King's stamp, to avoid fraud; and with these weights they weigh all the gold or silver at a time, provided it does not exceed one hundred *tolas*. For all the weights of the Changers only range from one *tola* up to one hundred, and these hundred *tolas* are equivalent in our weight to 38 *onces* 21 *deniers* 8 *grains*. As for the gold or silver which

[1] 5 sols = 4½d. (See Appendix.)

[2] Caire in the original.

[3] Salé in the original, the ancient Sala and modern Salee, on the north-west coast of Africa.

[4] Maroc in the original.

[5] *Tolla* in the original. Tola therefore = 224 French grs. = 187.5 grains Troy. The present British tola = 180 grains Troy, *i.e.* the weight of the rupee.

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is not coined, if there is much, they put it to the test, and the test having been applied, they bid for it as highly as they can, out of jealousy of one another.

As there are merchants who have sometimes up to forty and fifty thousand ducats[1] and more, the Indians weigh them with a weight which is exactly that of one hundred ducats, and also bears the King's stamp. And should it happen that the hundred ducats weigh less than this weight, they add small stones till the weights are equal, and when the whole amount is weighed you make good to the Changer the value of the weights of these same stones. But before weighing these golden coins, be they ducats or be they other coins, they place the whole in a large charcoal fire, where the pieces become red-hot, after which they put out the fire by throwing on water, and then they withdraw them. This is done for the purpose of ascertaining which of them are false, and in order to burn the wax or gum which they sometimes attach adroitly, in order that they may weigh more. But since some of the pieces are so well forged that they cannot detect them even after they have been in the fire, in order to discover such the Changers take them one after the other, to bend them, and by bending them they know if the coin is good, and they cut all those which are not. After having seen all, they cause to be refined those which they believe to be not good; and for so much of good that they have found in this refining they pay as for good ducats. Of all this gold they make coins, which they call golden rupees,[2] with the exception of

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

[2] Golden rupees (*mohur Hin*). These were of different values; but those with which Tavernier had to do averaged, as will be seen further

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the ducats which have a face on one side; these they seldom melt, because they sell them to the merchants who come from TARTARY and the other countries of the North, as the kingdoms of BHUTÁN,[1] ASSAM,[2] and others more distant. It is of this kind of ducat that the women in these countries make their principal ornament: they hang them in their hair, and they rest on their foreheads. As for the other ducats which are without faces, they are not esteemed by the merchants of the North.

With reference to all the other gold coins, they sell many to the goldsmiths, to the gold-drawers, and in general to all those who employ gold in their work. For if they can dispose of them without making them into rupees, they do not coin them; this indeed they seldom do, except when they place the kings on the throne, in order to make *largesse* of them to the people, together with silver rupees, and in order to sell them to the Governors of Provinces who require quantities, as also to the other nobles of the kingdom, to present to the King on the day when he enters into possession of his territories. For they do not always find jewels or other things worthy to be presented to him, not only on this day, but also at the grand ceremonial, of which I shall speak elsewhere, when they weigh the King every year. They are, I say, very glad to obtain golden rupees on these occasions, and they require

on, from 14 to 14½ silver rupees in value, say 31s. 6d. to 32s. (See p. 19 *n.*)

[1] Boutan in the original. But the limits of the region referred to by Tavernier, extended far beyond those of the modern Bhután. (See Index for further references.)

[2] Assam. *Assen* in the original appears to be an unusual spelling of Assam. (See Index for further references.)

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them also in order to make presents to the courtiers, by whose interest they hope to obtain higher appointments and more considerable offices of government.

In one of my journeys I saw by an example, which I had before my eyes, wherein the virtue of these golden rupees lay. SHÁH-JAHÁN,[1] 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.[2] 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 King allowed him to govern the Province for close on four years, after which he recalled him. All the people of TATTA rejoiced, supposing that the King had only recalled him to put him to death. But it happened quite otherwise, for he was well received by the King, who conferred upon him the government of ALLAHABAD,[3] much more considerable than that of TATTA which he had just quitted. This good reception which he received from the King arose from this, that before he arrived at AGRA he sent to him secretly as a present 50,000 golden rupees, which amount to 105,000[4] of our *livres*, and about 20,000 more golden rupees, both for the BEGUM SAHIB, who then governed the whole kingdom, and for other ladies, and for some courtiers who were able to aid him with their support. All these

[1] Cha Gehan in the original.

[2] Tatta and Sindi (see p. 10 *n.*). The chief town was known as Dewal or Diul Sindi, a name sometimes transferred in later days to Larry Bunder (Lári bandar), etc. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary.*)

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

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

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courtiers are very glad to obtain in that way plenty of gold, not only because it occupies small space, and they are able to conceal it easily, but also because they hold it honourable to leave to their wives and children, at their deaths, large sums, of which the King could not have any knowledge: for, as I shall say further on, when a great noble dies the King inherits his property, and his wife only remains mistress of her jewels.

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 equal to 21 *livres* of our money, at 30 *sols* to the rupee,[1] and that these golden rupees are scarcely ever to be met with save in the houses of the nobles, still when it happens that they 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 cannot make his profit. SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,[2] uncle of the King, to whom I sold commodities for 96,000 rupees,[3] when it came to the question of payment, asked me in what money I wished that he should make it to me, whether in gold or silver coin. Before I replied, he added that if I would believe him I would take it in golden rupees, and that he did not give this advice but under the belief that it would turn to his own advantage. I told

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

[2] Cha Est Kan in the original, Sháistá Khán, for a long time Subadár of Bengal.

[3] This was at Ahmadábád, at the end of 1652. (See Book I, chap. xix.) A second sale to Sháistá Khán took place in 1660, at Choupar (Sholápúr) in the Deccan (see p. 31); and a third at Dacca in 1666. (See Book I, chap. viii.)

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him that I would follow his advice, and he immediately ordered them to count out golden rupees to the amount which was due to me; but he claimed to give the golden rupee for $14\frac{1}{2}$ of silver,[1] although among the merchants they only pass for fourteen. I was not ignorant of that, but I thought it would answer better to receive my payment as this Prince wished to make it to me, in the hope of recompensing myself otherwise to the extent of what he wished to make me to lose, or at least of a part of it. I allowed two days to pass, after which I went to see him in order to say that I had endeavoured to dispose of these rupees for the price at which I had received them, but that I had done so unavailingly; and that accordingly, upon the payment which he had made me of 96,000 rupees, I should lose $3428\frac{3}{16}$, the golden rupee which he wished me to take at $14\frac{1}{2}$ rupees not being worth more than fourteen; whereupon he flew into a passion, and told me that he would give so many strokes of the slipper to the Dutch Changer or Broker, which he would remember (for in India they never speak of blows with a stick), believing that he was the cause of what I had come to say to him, for not having been willing to take the golden rupees at the price which he had given them to me, and that he would teach these people to understand money, and that these were all old rupees, and that they were worth $\frac{1}{16}$th of a silver rupee more than those that were made then. As I knew 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,

[1] If we take the gold mohur at 31s. 6d., the value of the rupee at 14 would be 2s. 3d., and at $14\frac{1}{2}$ would be 2s. 2d. (See pp. 16 *n.* and 18 *n.*)

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I asked him to permit me to bring back on the following day the amount which he had caused to be counted out to me, or 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 regarded me askance for some time without saying a word to me, and then he asked me whether I had with me that pearl which he had not been willing 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; this had prevented him from taking it before.

After I had given it to him, "Say no more about it," said he. "In a word, how much do you want for this pearl." I asked him 7000 rupees for it, and it is true that rather than carry it back to FRANCE I would have taken 3000. "If I give you," he replied, "5000[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 5000 rupees. I desire that you should 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. I accordingly received, on the following day,

[1] In Book I, chap. xix, alluding to the same transaction, he says he received them at $14\frac{1}{8}$th rupees. M. Joret, p. 158 *n.*, has, I think, mixed up this transaction with the one which took place at Sholápúr, as mentioned on p. 18 *n.*, in the year 1660. (See also p. 31.)

[2] In the earliest edition this figure is by an obvious misprint given as 7000. In the 1679 edition it is 5000, which is adopted here.

[3] *Calaat* in the original, for *killut*, properly *khil'at*, Hin., a robe of honour.

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as he had promised, the robe, mantle, two waistbands, and the turban, which constitute, as I have elsewhere remarked, the complete suit which these princes are accustomed to give to those whom they desire to honour. The mantle and the robe were of gold brocade, the two waistbands 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 it had silver coins attached in some parts. I believe the horse had never been mounted, for as soon as it had arrived at the house of the Dutch, where I lodged on this occasion, a young man having mounted it, it began to jump in so strange a manner and to shake him so that having fallen in jumping over the roof of a hut which was in the court, the Dutchman barely escaped being killed. Having seen that this impetuous steed was not suitable for me, I returned it to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, and telling him what had happened, I added that I believed that he did not wish me to return to my country, as he had asked me to do, in order to bring him some rarity. During my discourse he only laughed, and having ceased, he ordered them to bring the horse which his father used to ride. It was a large Persian horse, which had formerly cost 5000 *écus*[1] when young, but it was then more than twenty-eight years old.[2] They brought it, ready saddled

[1] £1125, at 4s. 6d. the *écu*.

[2] Here there are irreconcilable discrepancies between this account of the transaction and that in Book I, chap. xix, as our author gives the original cost of the horse there at upwards of 3000 *écus*, and states that he sold it for 400 rupees, as he did not require it for his journey, to a Frenchman, whom he at the same time placed in Sháistá Khán's service.

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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 SHÁH JAHÁN had sent him, and which had come from the kingdom of KASHMIR,[1] and there was also in the basket a large Persian melon. All taken together might be value for 100 rupees, and I presented it to the wife of the Dutch Commander. As for the horse, I took it to GOLCONDA, where I sold it for 500 rupees, old as it was, 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 to India neither Louis d'or, Spanish nor Italian pistoles, nor other gold pieces coined of late years, because there is too much to be lost by them. The Indians, who have no knowledge of them as yet, refine all, and it is upon this refining that they make their profit. For the rest, each strives to pass his gold without the master of the customs knowing it; and when the merchant has skill sufficient to conceal it, it gains for him the value of five or six of our *sols* on every ducat.

I come to the silver coins, which it is necessary to distinguish as coins of the country and foreign coins, and I shall speak first of the latter.

The foreign silver coins which they take to INDIA

[1] Kachemir in the original.

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are German *rix dalers*[1] and Spanish *reals*.[2] 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 EUROPE. All the merchants strive to pass their silver through PERSIA without being discovered, because, if the customs' officers have wind of it, it would be necessary that the silver should be carried to the masters of the mint to be coined into *abâsis*[3] which is the coinage of the King, and these *abâsis* on arrival in INDIA are again coined into rupees, in 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 must pay in PERSIA.

In order to know in a few words how one loses this 10¼ per cent between PERSIA and INDIA, and sometimes more, according to the nature of the *reals* which are generally taken to PERSIA, it is necessary to remember what I have said of the coins and exchange of PERSIA in the preceding volume.[4] I have remarked that the *real* in PERSIA passes for 13 *shâhis*,[5] which

[1] *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 4s. 7d. Tavernier's equivalent of 100 = 216 rupees gives, with the rupee at 2s. 3d., a value of 4s. 10¼d. As in other cases, the sterling value may have been somewhat less than the exchange value; hence the difference.

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

[3] *Abassis* in the original, for *'abâsis* = from 1s. 5d. to 1s. 6d.

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

[5] *Chaez* in the original, for *shâhi*, Pers. = 4d. to 4½d. At present about 2⅛d. only.

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are equal to $3\frac{1}{4}$ *abásis*, and that sometimes, when silver is scarce, they give half a *sháhi* more; that the *abási* is worth 4 *sháhis*, and the *toman*[1] 50 *abásis* or 200 *sháhis*. Thus, the *real* passing for 13 *sháhis*, you receive $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* for 100 *reals*. If you take $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* to INDIA you receive for each *toman* $29\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and, consequently, for $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* $191\frac{3}{4}$ 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* $10\frac{1}{4}$ *reals*, and on the Sevillians you make a profit up to 11 per cent.

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

The Spanish *real* should weigh 3 *gros*[2] and $7\frac{1}{2}$

[1] *Toman.* In Fryer's time (1677) = £3 : 6 : 8. P. Della Valle's estimate, sixty years earlier, was about £4 : 10s.; Sir T. Herbert's valuation, £3 : 8 : 4; at present only worth 7s. 6d. (Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary.*) Fifty *abásís*, as above, equal £3 : 10s. to £3 : 15s. Forty-six *livres* and $1\frac{1}{5}$ *denier* (at 1s. 6d.), the equivalent given by Tavernier in Book III, chap. xxix = £3 : 9s., while $29\frac{1}{2}$ rupees at 2s. 3d. = £3 : 6 : $6\frac{1}{2}$ only, and 15 *écus* at 4s. 6d. = £3 : 7 : 6. 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.)

[2] The *gros* = 60.285 grains Troy, and the French *grain* = .837 grs. Troy ∴ 3 *gros* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *grs.* = 187 grains Troy. The weight of the *piastre*, or Seville piece of eight, was 17 dw. 12 grs., and that of two rupees, both, according to Sir Isaac Newton, = 14 dw. 20 grs., the difference being, therefore, 2 dw. 16 grs. or 64 grs.; I therefore conclude that the

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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 *vals* you receive 4½ *mahmúdis*, and a *mahmúdi* is worth 20 *paisá*, and thus for the Spanish *real* you receive 90 *paisá*, but they must be good,[1] and, as I have said, weighing 73 *vals;* 81 *vals*[2] making an ounce, and the *val* being of 7 *deniers* (standard).

As for the German *rix dalers*, as they are heavier than the *reals*, you give for 100 up to 116[3] rupees; upon which it should be remarked that, in giving for the 100 *reals* and the 100 *rix 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 counts the cost of carriage of the silver

3 *gros* above must either be a misprint for 1, or that the value given to the *gros* is three times too great; however the 62½ grs. so deduced as the difference is slightly less than the 64 grs. deduced from Sir Isaac Newton. The absolute weight of the *real* is given by Tavernier at 73 *vals*, or say 438 grs. Troy; and the weight of two rupees, according to him also, was 18 *deniers* 2 *grs.* = 454 French *grs.* = 380 Troy grs., and the difference = 58 grs., also too little.

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

[2] *Val.* The French "*once*," being equal to 482.312 grs. Troy, would give a value of nearly 5.95 grs. to the *val*. The *tola* is said, on p. 34, to be = 32 *vals*, and therefore the *val* = 7 French *grs.* = 5.86 grs. Troy. Thevenot gives the value at 3 *gongy* (*ghúnchi*), and this with the *ghúnchi* at 1.79 grs. = 5.37 grs. Troy. See Appendix to this volume.

[3] This must be a misprint for 216.

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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 stones as when they weigh gold, as I shall presently relate. But, in order that the merchant obtains 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 *mahmúdi*,[4] but it is only current in SURAT and in the province of GUJARÁT.[5]

The small coin of INDIA is of copper, and is called *paisá*, which is worth about two of our *liards*. There

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

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

[3] The 509 grs. 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 grs. more than Sir Isaac Newton's figure in preceding note.

[4] *Mamoudi* in the original, for *mahmúdi* = 20 *paisá*, or two-fifths of a rupee ∴ = 10.8d., the rupee being 2s. 3d. Other relations given by our author in his account of Persian money give a less value for the *mahmúdi*, namely, one-sixteenth of the Venetian *sequin*, and one-eighth of the Spanish dollar, or 7d. and 6½d. The value as deduced from the *abásí* would seem, however, to be the mean of these, or from 8½d. to 9d. nearly. Several writers give to the Surat *mahmúdi* a value of one shilling. It was subject to constant variation.

[5] Guzerate in the original.

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are some of them of a half *paisá*, of two *paisá*, and of four. According to the province you are in, you receive for the silver rupee more or fewer of these *paisá*. On my last journey the rupee at SURAT was at 49 *paisá*, but there are times when it is worth 50, and others when it falls to 46.[1] At AGRA and at JAHÁNÁBÁD it is worth 55 and 56 *paisá*, and the reason of that is, that the nearer you approach to the copper mines[2] the more *paisá* you receive for the rupee. As for the *mahmúdi*, it is always at 20 *paisá*. There are still two other kinds of small money in the empire of the GREAT MOGUL: these are small bitter almonds and shells. In the province of GUJARÁT alone they use as small change these bitter almonds, which they bring from PERSIA, as I have remarked in the first part of my history. They grow in dry and arid places between rocks, and the tree which produces them closely resembles our broom. They call these almonds *badám*,[3] and they are so bitter that colocynth is not more so, and there is no need for fearing that children will amuse themselves by eating them. They sometimes give 35, sometimes 40, of them for the *paisá*.[4]

The other small money consists of shells called cowries, which have the edges inverted, and they are

[1] Fifty *paisá* at .54d. (see p. 25) = 2s. 3d. Thevenot, although he says that the rupee = 29-30 sols, adds that it equalled 32½ to 33½ *paisá* 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 Singhána and other localities in Rajputana. Full accounts of the ancient mines there will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 259.

[3] Baden in the original, for *badám* (Pers. and Hin.), fruit of *Amygdalus communis*, L., var. *amara*, D.C.

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

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not found in any other part of the world save only in the MALDIVE ISLANDS.[1] It is the principal source of revenue of the King of these Islands, for they export them to all the States of the GREAT MOGUL, to the kingdoms of BIJAPUR and GOLCONDA, and even to the islands of AMERICA,[2] to serve as money. Close to the sea they give up to 80 for the *paisá*, and that diminishes as you leave the sea, on account of carriage; so that at AGRA you receive but 50 or 55 for the *paisá*. Finally, according to the manner of counting by the Indians—

100,000 rupees make a *lekke*,[3]
100,000 *lekkes* ,, *kraur*,[4]
100,000 *kraurs* ,, *padan*,[5]
100,000 *padans* ,, *nil*.

In INDIA a village must be very small if it has not a money-changer, whom they call *Shroff*,[6] 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 at their will for *paisá* and the *paisá*

[1] This is incorrect, as money cowries (*Cypræa 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.

[2] A trade in these cowries to the West Coast of Africa and the West Indies still exists, I believe.

[3] *Lack* or *Lákh*, Hin.

[4] A *crore*, or more properly *karor* (Hin.), is 100 *lakhs*, or 10,000,000 (ten millions). Tavernier is wrong in stating it to be one thousand times more. However, Thevenot makes a similar statement (*Voyage*, 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, etc. Comp. *Aín-i-Akbári*, Gladwin, ed. 1800, vol. ii, p. 391.

[5] The value of the *padam* is variously given as 10 to 1000 billions.

[6] For *Cheraf* in the original, *Shroff*, from Ar. *Sarráf*, a money-changer or banker.

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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.[1]

[*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 one makes a payment in that coin. They say that the longer time that a rupee of silver has been coined the less is it worth than those coined at the time, or which have been coined a short time, because the old ones having often passed by hand, it wears them, and they are in consequence lighter. Thus, when you make a sale, it is necessary to say that you require to be paid in SHÁH-JAHÁNI[2] rupees, *i.e.* in new silver, otherwise they will pay you in rupees coined fifteen or twenty years or more, in which there may be up to 4 per cent of loss. For, for those which have not been coined within two years they already demand $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, or at least $\frac{1}{8}$th; and the poor people who do not know how to read the year when they coined these rupees or *paisá* are subject to be cheated, because they always deduct something from them, one *paisá* or half a *paisá* on a rupee, and on the *paisá* 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 they hear

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

[2] Cha Jenni in the original, *i.e.* coined in the reign of Sháh Jahán.

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of it one has to run some risk, the order of the King being that you must return the bag to him who has given it, and it goes thence from one to another until they are able to discover the false coiner, and when one is detected, for sole punishment they merely lop off a finger. If it happens that they are unable to find the false coiner, and that they pronounce him who has given the silver to be not guilty, he is freed on payment of some fine. It is this which yields such large profits to the Changers, for when one receives or when one makes any payment he shows them the silver, and they receive for their commission $\frac{1}{16}$th of a rupee per cent.

As for the silver which goes out from the *sarquet*[1] or treasury of the King, there is never anything base in it, for all that goes into it is carefully examined by the Changers of the King, and the great nobles also have their own. Before the silver goes into the treasury they throw it into a large charcoal fire, and when the rupees are red they extinguish the fire by means of water, after which they withdraw them. If any one is found which is not perfectly white, and has the slightest trace of alloy, it is immediately cut. Whenever these rupees enter the treasury they strike them with a punch, which makes a small hole without piercing; and there are some of them which have seven or eight holes of this kind, *i.e.* which have entered the treasury seven or eight times. 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 in this that the profit consists which the treasurers

[1] *Sarquet*, possibly for *zakhira*, Hin., *i.e.* treasure or treasury, but it more probably represents *sarkár*, an abbreviation for *mál-i-sarkar*, or *khazána-i-sarkár*, *i.e.* the Government Treasury.

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make, both those of the King and those of the nobles of the kingdom. When one makes a sale it is in new rupees, coined in the same year; but when one comes to receive payment the treasurers desire to make it in old rupees, by which one stands to lose up to 6 per cent; and if one wishes to have new silver, he must resolve to compound with them. On my fifth journey I went to see SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,[1] as I had promised him to do so on the preceding occasion, having pledged myself that he would be the first who should see what 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[2] to which he had laid siege. Having reached him in a short time, I sold him with but few words the greater part of what I had brought from EUROPE, and he told me that he awaited from day to day the money which they should send him from SURAT to pay the army and to pay me at the same time for that which he had bought from me. I was unable to believe, however, that this Prince was with so large an army without having much money with him, and I rather thought that he desired 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 thing happened as I had foreseen; but for my sustenance and that of my people and cattle, he ordered that they should bring me food

[1] Sháistá Khán. See p. 18 *n.*

[2] In Book II, chap. xi, this place is spelt Choupar. It was probably Sholápúr, in the Deccan. The sale was made in 1660, during Tavernier's fifth visit to India. In his *Persian Travels*, he states (Book IV, p. 467) that on his sixth journey, when at Ispahan, in 1664, he told the King that he had sold the jewels, which he had shown to him on the previous occasion, to Sháistá Khán for 120,000 rupees.

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in abundance, both evening and morning, and on most days he sent to invite me to eat with him. Ten or twelve days passed, during which I heard no mention 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 pay all his subjects when they have not had 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 those coming from MOCHA." 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 AURANGÁBÁD. At which I was very glad, because it was a place through which I had to pass in order to go to GOLCONDA,[1] and which, moreover, spared me carriage and the 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 go

[1] 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 Golconda and the return to Surat, embarking for Bandar Abbas at the end of the same year or the beginning of 1661.

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and see him; which I did on my sixth and last journey.[1] When I arrived at SURAT he was in BENGAL, where I went to seek him, and he bought from me the residue of my 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 AURANGÁBÁD, I went to seek the Grand Treasurer, who had never previously seen me, but he told me that he knew wherefore 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.[2] When all the bags required for my payment had been brought, I caused one of them to be 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 SHÁISTÁ KHÁN and ask him to order that I should 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 tell the Treasurer that since I had no news from the Prince I was going myself to take back what I had sold. I believe that he had already received instructions as to what he should do, for seeing that I was resolved to start he said he would be grieved by the trouble I was taking, and it would be better that

[1] In 1666. (See Book I, chap. viii.)

[2] Elsewhere (Book II, chap. xi) he says the payment was made at Dultabat (Daulatábád) 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.

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we should agree with one another. In short, after several discussions concerning the 2 per cent which they desired I should lose, I obtained 1 per cent of it; and I would have lost the other except for the fortunate meeting with a *Shroff* who had to receive payment of a letter of exchange on GOLCONDA; for this *Shroff*, not having money at hand, was very glad to accommodate himself with mine, causing me to receive the same sum in new silver at GOLCONDA at fifteen days' sight.

Finally, these Changers, in order to test silver, make use of thirteen small pieces, one half of copper and the other of silver, which are the "touches."[1]

These thirteen pieces, 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 they carry it to the refiner. All this silver is bought by the weight called *tola*, which weighs 9 *deniers* and 8 *grains*, or 32 *vals*, and 81 *vals* make, as I have said, one *once*;[2] so that 100 *tolas* makes 38 *onces* 21 *deniers* and 8 *grains*.

The following are the different values of the 13 *standards of silver.*

The first and lowest standard they take at 15 *paisá* the *tola*, which make of our money . . 9 *sols* 2 *deniers*.[3]
The 2d at 18 *paisá*, which are equal to 10 „ 2 „
3d „ 20 „ „ „ 12 „ 6 „
4th „ 23 „ „ „ 14 „ 6 „

[1] The French original contains a figure of the touchstones. A description of them will be also found in the *Aín-i-Akbári*.

[2] See p. 25.

[3] As the *sol* was the sixtieth part of the *écu* of 4s. 6d., its value was .9 of a penny, and the ordinary *paisá* of Tavernier was consequently worth .54 of a penny. See p. 25 *n.* and Appendix.

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The 5th at 26 *paisá*, which are equal to 15 *sols* 10 *deniers*.

6th	„ 29	„	„	„	17 „ 6	„
7th	„ 33	„	„	„	19 „ 2	„
8th	„ 35	„	„	„	20 „ 10	„
9th	„ 38	„	„	„	22 „ 6	„
10th	„ 40	„	„	„	24 „ 2	„
11th	„ 43	„	„	„	25 „ 10	„
12th	„ 46	„	„	„	27 „ 6	„
13th	„ 49	„	„	„	29 „ 2	„

I must not forget to remark here on the extreme parsimony both of these *Shroffs*, or Changers, and of all Indians in general; and it will suffice to give an example of it which is very special, and of which Europeans are not as yet aware. It is, that of all the gold which remains on the touchstone when 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 all by means of a ball, made half of black pitch, and half of wax, with which they rub the stone which carries the gold, and at the end of some years they burn the ball and find the gold which it has accumulated. This ball is about the size of our tennis-court balls, and the stone is like those which our goldsmiths commonly use.

This is all that I have been able to remark of special importance with regard to the customs and coins of INDIA, and there 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 Kingdom of GOLCONDA and the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, reach SURAT to be exported by sea to different places of

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ASIA and EUROPE, when one leaves SURAT to go for the purchase of these goods in the towns from whence they are obtained, as at LAHOR, AGRA, AMADABAT, SERONGE, BRAMPOUR, DACA, PATNA, BANAROU, GOLCONDA, DECAN, VISAPOUR, and DULTABAD,[1] one takes silver from SURAT and disposes of it at the places where one goes, giving coin for coin at *par*. But when it happens that the merchant finds himself short of money in these same places, and that he has need of it to enable him to pay for the goods which he has bought, it is necessary for him to meet it at SURAT, when the bill is due, which is at two months, and by paying a high rate of exchange.

At LAHORE on SURAT the exchange goes up to 6¼ per cent.

At AGRA from 4¼ to 5.

At AHMADÁBÁD from 1 to 1½.

At SIRONJ to 3.

At BURHÁNPUR from 2½ to 3.

At DACCA to 10.

At PATNA from 7 to 8.

At BENARES to 6.

At these three last places they only give letters of exchange on AGRA, and at AGRA they give others on SURAT, the whole only amounting to the sum I have stated.

At GOLCONDA from 4 to 5.

And on GOA the same.

At DECCAN to 3.

At BIJAPUR to 3.

At DAULATÁBÁD from 1 to 1½.

[1] Lahore, Agra, Ahmadábád, Sironj, Berhámpur or Burhánpur, Dacca, Benares, Golconda, Deccan, Bijapur, and Daulatábád. These spellings will be used on subsequent pages.

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In some years the exchange rises from 1 to 2 per cent, when there are *Rajas*, or petty tributary Princes, who interfere with trade, each claiming that the goods ought to traverse his territory and pay him custom. There are two in particular between AGRA and AHMADÁBÁD, one of whom is the *Raja* of ANTIVAR,[1] and the other the *Raja* of BERGAM,[2] who disturb 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 BURHÁNPUR[3]; 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 pass until two months after the rainy season. It is for this reason that the merchants who have to be at SURAT in the season for going to sea, generally take their way through the country of these two *Rajas*, because they are able to traverse it at all seasons, even in the time of the rains, which consolidate the sand with which nearly the whole country is covered.

Besides, it is not to be wondered at that the exchange is so high, for those who lend the money run, for their part, the risk that if the goods are stolen the money is lost to them.

When you arrive at SURAT, to embark, you find there also plenty of money. For it is the principal trade of the nobles of INDIA to place their money in vessels in speculations for HORMUZ, BASSORA, and

[1] A misprint, probably, for Dantivar (see Book I, chap. v), *i.e.* Danta, or Dantawár, a State in Gujarát.

[2] Probably the Bargant of Book I, chap. v. In the edition of 1713 it is given as Bergant. The proper name is possibly Wungáon.

[3] For description of Sironj and Burhánpur see chap. iv.

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MOCHA, and even for BANTAM, ACHIN, 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 Malabaris,[1] 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 5th part of the ell of AGRA, and the 4th of the ell of AHMADÁBÁD and SURAT. As for the weights, the ordinary *mand* is 69 *livres*, and the *livre* is of 16 *onces;* but the *mand*, which is used to weigh indigo, is only 53 *livres*. At SURAT you speak of a *seer*, which is $1\frac{3}{4}$ *livres*,[2] and the *livre* is 16 *onces*.

[1] Malavares in the original.

[2] This must mean *one* $\frac{3}{4}$ths of a *livre*, as elsewhere in this volume; that is about the relation, roughly speaking, namely, 12 French *onces*. The present authorised British weights are—

80 tolas (or rupee's weight) = 1 seer = $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Troy.
40 seers = 1 *mand* or maund = . 100 „ „

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CHAPTER III

Concerning carriages and the manner of travelling in INDIA

BEFORE setting out for AGRA, it is appropriate to speak of the carriages and of the manner of travelling in INDIA, which, in my opinion, is not less convenient than all that they have been able to invent in order that one may be carried in comfort either in FRANCE or in ITALY. Different from (the custom in) PERSIA, one does not employ in INDIA in caravans or journeys either asses, mules, or horses, all being carried there on oxen or by waggon, as the country is sufficiently level.[1] If any merchant takes a horse from PERSIA he only does it 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*, and it is an astonishing sight to behold caravans numbering 10,000 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 corn only grows, and corn to where rice only grows,

[1] 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!"

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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 have the goods quickly at 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 it is which is 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 among them possess 100 oxen, others have more or fewer, and they all have a Chief, who acts as a prince, and who always has a chain of pearls suspended 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 one day 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 had 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

[1] The well-known Brinjárás perform most of this carrying trade in India at present. In the Central Provinces, South-Western Bengal, and the northern districts of Madras, I have met with large numbers of them; and in Sambalpur I have seen their fixed *depôts*, 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.

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any more when they met, presented each of them with a *lakh*, or 100,000 rupees,[1] and a chain of pearls.

In order to enable the reader to understand this manner of carrying in INDIA, it should be remarked that among the idolaters of this country there are four tribes, whom they call *Manaris*,[2] 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 gray gum, with grains of millet, and also on the shoulders, but without placing grains there. 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.

[1] See p. 28 *n.*

[2] *Manaris*; ? Mundaris or Mundas, with whom, however, the Brinjárás or Lúbhánás cannot be identified. See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 333.

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All have in general 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. 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 do their children, especially when they have none of the latter.[1]

The dress of the women is but a simple cloth, white or coloured, which makes five or six turns like a petticoat from the waist downwards, as if they had three or four one above the other. From the waist upwards they tatoo their skin with flowers, like as when one applies cupping glasses, and they paint these flowers divers colours with the juice of roots,[2] 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 elevate, 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,[3] and each one in file 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 allocated for that purpose.

The caravans of waggons do not ordinarily consist of more than one hundred or two hundred at the most.

[1] Tavernier here seems to perpetrate something very like a "bull."

[2] The English translation of John Phillips has it juice of "grapes;" but the original word is *racines*, not *raisins*.

[3] This cannot fail to suggest the brazen serpent which Moses lifted up in the wilderness. Here the allusion is to *nág*, or snake worship.

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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 there are two cords 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 cords tight, and prevent it turning over.

All the waggons which come to SURAT from AGRA or from other places in the Empire, and which return by AGRA and JAHÁNÁBÁD,[1] are compelled to carry lime, which comes from BROACH, and which, as soon as it is used, becomes as hard as marble.[2] It is a great source of profit to the King, 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 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. These oxen allow themselves to be driven like our horses, and have for sole bridle 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

[1] Janabat in the original.

[2] Coral or shell lime probably, which make the best *chunám*.

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we attach our oxen by the horns; those of INDIA have a large hump on the neck,[1] 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 contain two persons;[2] but usually one travels alone, in order to be more comfortable, being then able to have his clothes with him; the canteen of wine and some small requisites for the journey having their place under the carriage, to which they harness a pair of oxen only. These carriages, which are 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.[3] 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,

[1] 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," etc. 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.

[2] The vehicle known as a *tonga* in India.

[3] I believe 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 realised.

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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 GOLCONDA 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 *pallankeen*,[1] in which they travel very comfortably. It is a kind of bed, of 6 or 7 feet long and 3 feet wide, with a small rail all round. A sort of cane, called bamboo,[2] which they bend when young, in order to cause it to take the form of a bow in the middle, sustains the cover of the *pallankeen*, which is of satin or brocade; and when the sun shines on one side, an attendant, who walks near the *pallankeen*, 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 to promptly shelter the occupant of the *pallankeen* from the heat of the sun when it turns and strikes him on the face.[3] The two ends of the bamboo are attached on both sides to the body of the *pallankeen* between two poles, joined together in a *saltier*, or St. Andrew's Cross, and each of these poles is 5 or 6 feet

[1] Pallanquin in the original. Palki and Pallankeen are the terms now used in India.

[2] Bambouc in the original. Bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*, etc.) 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, I believe.

[3] The English translation of 1684 says, "when he turns and lies on his face."

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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 two ends, to carry the *pallankeen* on the shoulder, the 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 up to 13 or 14 leagues a day, you take 12 men to carry the *pallankeen*, so that they may relieve one another from time to time. You pay each, for everything, only 4 rupees a month, but you pay up to 5 rupees when the journey is long, and when it is required to travel for more than sixty days.

Whether by carriage or *pallankeen* he who desires to travel with honour in INDIA 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 to those who carry the *pallankeen*. 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 in the 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.[1]

In the large villages there is generally a Muhammadan Governor, and there you find sheep, fowl, and pigeons for sale; but in the places where there

[1] A custom still common in India.

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are only *Banians*, you only find flour, rice, vegetables, and milk.

The great heats of INDIA compel 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 night being come, and the gates 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 King'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 the hour 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 JAHÁNÁBÁD, in order to see what is remarkable on that route.

[1] The *gos*, or *gau*, is equal to about 8 miles in Southern India, but in Ceylon, according to Sir Emerson Tennent, it is only from $3\frac{1}{3}$ to 4 miles.

[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, Thevenot says the *coss* was only half a league. The old French "*lieue de poste*" = 2 miles 743 yards, and Akbar's *coss* = 2 miles 1038 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 4000 cubits or 2000 yards = 1 m. 1 f. 3 p. $3\frac{1}{2}$ y. (See Appendix to this volume.)

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CHAPTER IV

Route from SURAT *to* AGRA *by* BURHÁNPUR *and* SIRONJ

ALL the routes by which one can travel to 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 ISPAHAN, I have made double the number from ISPAHAN 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 for him the times at which I have made them, it will suffice to give him an exact description of each route.

There are but two roads from SURAT to AGRA, one by BURHÁNPUR and SIRONJ, and the other by AHMAD-ÁBÁD, and the first will form the subject of this chapter.

From SURAT to BARNOLY (BARDOLI[1]), 14 *coss*.

BARDOLI 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.

[1] Bardoli, or Panoli of some maps. The distance from Surat as the crow flies is only about 18 miles. In chap. ix. it is said to be 12 *coss* only.

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From BARNOLY to BALOR (BALLOR), 10 *coss.*

BALLOR is also a large village, and is situated on a tank which has about a league in circuit, upon the edge of which you see a good fort, which, however, they neglect to keep in repair. Three-quarters of a league on this 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 are liable to overturn a carriage. You travel this second day nearly altogether in woods.

From BALOR to KERKOA,[1] or, as they now call it, the Begum's *caravansarái*, 3 *coss.*

This *caravansarái* is large and spacious, and it is BEGUM-SAHIB, the daughter of SHÁH JAHÁN, who caused it to be built as a work of charity. For formerly the stage from BALLOR to NAWAPURÁ was too long, and this place being on the frontier of the country of those *Rajas* who are generally unwilling to recognise the GREAT MOGUL, whose vassals they are, scarcely a caravan passed there which was not ill-treated; moreover, it is a forest country. Between the *caravansarái* and NAWAPURÁ you pass a river by a ford, and another close to NAWAPURÁ.[2]

From KERKOA to NAVAPOURA (NAWAPURÁ), 15 *coss.*[3]

NAWAPURÁ 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 excel-

[1] The site of Kerkoa, or the Begum's *caravansera* (*sic* in orig.), is probably near Behánd. (See Book I, chap. ix.)

[2] These rivers are tributaries of the Tapti.

[3] From Bardoli (Panoli) to Nawapúrá the distance as the crow flies is 42 miles; here it is given as 30 *coss*, and in chap. ix. as 28 *coss*. This and the preceding stage indicate a value of something less than 1½ mile for the *coss*. (See Book I, chap. ix.)

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lent, 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. When you wish to make an acceptable present to any one in PERSIA, you take him a sack of this rice. It is the river which passes KERKOA, and the others of which I have spoken, which combine to form the SURAT river.[1]

From NAVAPOURA to NASARBAR (NANDURBÁR) 9 *coss.*
,, NASARBAR to DOL-MEDAN (?) . . 14 ,,
,, DOL-MEDAN to SENQUERA (SINDKEIR) 7 ,,
,, SENQUERA to TALLENER (TÁLNEIR) . 10 ,,

At TÁLNEIR you cross the river which goes to BROACH, where it is very wide, and from thence it flows into the Gulf of CAMBAY.[2]

From TALLENER to CHOUPRE (CHOPRÁ) . 15 *coss.*
,, CHOUPRE to SENQUELIS (SANKLI) . 13 ,,
,, SENQUELIS to NABIR (RÁVER?) . 10 ,,
,, NABIR to BALDELPOURA (BALLEDÁ) 9[3] ,,

It is at BALLEDÁ that loaded carts pay the BURHÁNPUR customs dues, but the carts which only carry passengers pay nothing. Between NAWAPURÁ and BURHÁNPUR it is all a good country for wheat, rice, and indigo.

From BALDELPOURA to BRAMPOUR[4] (BURHÁNPUR), 5 *coss.*

[1] The Tápti.

[2] This is a mistake, as the river at Tálneir is the Tápti. It is the Narbadá which goes to Broach.

[3] These distances appear to be too great.

[4] Burhánpur or Berhampur, now a station on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway.

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BURHÁNPUR is a large, much-ruined town, of which the houses are for the most part covered with thatch. It has a large castle still standing in the middle of the town, and it is there that the Governor resides. The government of this province is so important that it is conferred only upon a son or an uncle of the King, and AURANGZEB, who now reigns, was for a long time Governor of BURHÁNPUR during the reign of his father. But since they have realised what can be yielded by the province of BENGAL, which formerly bore the title of kingdom, as I shall elsewhere indicate, its government is now the most considerable in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL. There is a large trade in this town, and both at BURHÁNPUR 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 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 they allow to remain white, with a stripe or two of gold or silver 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, whereof 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 the least, three or four inches of gold or silver, or if this gold and silver become black when crossing the ocean between SURAT and

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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 damp cannot enter: 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, and such pieces are 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. Those which are only about two ells long serve ladies of rank for the purpose of making scarfs and the veils which they wear on their heads, and they are sold in abundance in PERSIA and in TURKEY. They make, besides, at BURHÁNPUR other kinds of fabrics, and there is hardly another province in the whole of INDIA which has a greater abundance of cotton.

In leaving the town of BURHÁNPUR there is another river to be crossed besides the large one[3] of which I have above spoken; as it has no bridge, when the water is low you cross by a ford, and by boat in the rainy season.

The distance from SURAT to BURHÁNPUR is 132 *coss*, and these *coss* are the smallest in India, a cart being able to traverse one in less than an hour.

I remember here a strange commotion which arose at BURHÁNPUR in the year 1641,[4] when I was returning

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

[2] *Ornis*. This word may perhaps represent *orhní*. Hind., a woman's mantle. In Book II, chaps. xii and xiv, it is spelt *ormis*, and in the 1679 edition *ormus*.

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

[4] 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

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from AGRA to SURAT. In a few words, the origin of it was as follows. The Governor of the Province, who was the nephew of the King on his mother's side, had among 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 he was about to commit an offence, stabbed him three times in the stomach, and slew him before he could open his lips to cry aloud. This being done, the page left the palace without allowing any sign of emotion to appear on his face, and the guards at the gate thought that the Governor had sent him on some message. The *Dervish* having learnt from his brother how the affair had passed, in order to preserve him from the fury of the people, and to disclose at the same time the infamy of the Governor, caused all the other *Dervishes*, his comrades, to seize the banners of MUHAMMAD which were planted about the mosque, and at the same time they cried out that all the *Dervishes* and *Fakirs* and others, who were good Muhammadans, should 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 to us that infamous person in order that dogs may eat*

was at Ispahan, till he turns up thus in India in 1641. Towards the end of the same year he says he went to Goa (Book I, ch. xii). It is probable, M. Joret adds, that he spent the winter of 1640-41 at Agra, and in the same journey paid his first visit to Dacca in Bengal, which he revisited in 1666-67. In Book 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.)

[1] *Deruich* in original, for Dervish.

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him after his death, as he is not worthy to be interred amongst Mussulmans." The guard of the palace was not in a condition to resist such a multitude, and would have yielded to them, if the *Darogha*[1] of the town with five or six nobles had not found an opportunity of making themselves heard, and of appeasing them, by representing to them that they should have some respect for a nephew of the King, and by obliging them to withdraw. The same night the body of the Governor was carried to AGRA, together with his harem, and SHÁH JAHÁN, who reigned then, having heard the news, was not in the least distressed, because he inherited the property of all his subjects, and he even bestowed on the page a small appointment in BENGAL.

From BRAMPOUR to PIOMBI-SERA (?), 5 *coss.*

Before proceeding further, it should be remarked that throughout, wherever the word *sera* occurs, it means that it is a great enclosure of walls or hedges, within which are arranged all round 50 or 60 huts covered with thatch. There are some men and women there who sell flour, rice, butter, and vegetables, and who take care to prepare bread and cook rice. If by chance any Muhammadan should come there, he goes to the village to seek for a piece of mutton or a fowl, and those who supply the food to the traveller clean out for him the house that he wishes to take, and place in it a small bed of girths,[2] upon which he spreads the mattress that he carries on the road.

From PIOMBI-SERA to PANDER (MANDWA) . 3 *coss.*

[1] *Deroga* in original.

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

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From PANDER to BALKI-SERA (BALWÁRÁ ?) . 6 *coss.*
,, BALKI-SERI to NEVELKI-SERA (?) . 5 ,,
,, NEVELKI-SERA to COUSEMBA (?) . 5 ,,
,, COUSEMBA to CHENIPOUR (CHAINPUR) 3 ,,
,, CHENIPOUR to CHAROÜA (CHARWÁ) . 8 ,,
,, CHAROÜA to BICH-OLA (BICHOLÁ) . 8 ,,
,, BICH-OLA to ANDY (HINDIÁ) . . 4 ,,

At HINDIÁ[1] you cross a river which discharges itself into the GANGES between BENARES and PATNA.

From ANDY to ONQUENAS (?) . . . 4 *coss.*
,, ONQUENAS to TIQUERY (?) . . 5 ,,
,, TIQUERY to TOOLMEDEN (?) . . 4 ,,
,, TOOLMEDEN to NOVA-SERA (?) . . 4 ,,
,, NOVA-SERA to ICHAVOUR (ICHÁWAR) . 4 ,,
,, ICHAVOUR to SIGNOR (SEHORE) . 5 ,,
,, SIGNOR to CHEKAIPOUR[2] (SHEIKHPURÁ) 3 ,,
,, CHEKAIPOUR to DOUR-AY (DURÁHÁ) . 3 ,,
,, DOUR-AY to ATER-KAIRA (HATIÁKHERÁ) 3 ,,
,, ATER-KAIRA to TELOR (DILOD) . 4 ,,

[1] Andy. Owing to the position of this place being given as on a river which joined the Ganges, I endeavoured to see if it could possibly be identified with Chándiá on the Sone, but its position is quite off the route, and the distance is too great, while the distance to Hindiá, or Handiá, on the Narbadá, in the Hoshangábád District, is right; and as I find Rennell has suggested the same conclusion, we must accept the consequence that Tavernier was thinking of the course of the Sone when he was writing of the Narbadá, as the latter was often crossed by him, and he must have known its course well. Under the rule of Akbar, Hindiá, as a fortified position on the route from Agra to Surat and Golconda, was of considerable importance; to some extent this is testified by the ruins. In confirmation of the above, I have just observed on a map dated 1752, in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, that both Chandiá on the Sone and Hindiá on the Narbadá are called Andi, which, therefore, explains the confusion and mistake of Tavernier.

[2] Chekaipour can scarcely have been Shikárpur, as it lies to the south of Sihore and to the east of Icháwar. It appears to have been an unimportant village called Sheikhpurá, which is on the line of route.

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From TELOR to SAN-KAIRA (SINGATORIÁ ?) 3 *coss.*
„ SAN-KAIRA to SERONGE (SIRONJ)[1] . 12 „

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*, with which all the common people of PERSIA and TURKEY are clad, and which are used in several other countries for bedcovers and tablecloths. 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[2] passes here, of which the water possesses the property of giving this vivacity to the colours; and during the rainy season, which lasts four months, the workers print their calicoes according as the foreign merchants have given them patterns, because, as soon as the rains have ceased, the water of the river is more disturbed, and the sooner the calicoes are washed the better the colours hold, and become more lively.[3]

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

[1] Sironj is a town in the State of Tonk, Rajputana. It is now much diminished from its former importance, which was largely due to the muslins and *chites* or chintzes which were produced there. Whether San-Kaira be rightly identified with Singatoriá or not, the distance from Dilod to Sironj is understated at 3 + 12 = 15 *coss*, as it amounts to upwards of 51 miles.

[2] A tributary of the Betwah river.

[3] See Book II, chap. xiii.

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

From BURHÁNPUR to SIRONJ there are 101 *coss*, which are greater than those between SURAT and BURHÁNPUR, for a cart takes an hour, and sometimes up to five quarters of an hour, to travel one of these *coss*. In these 100 leagues[1] of country you march for whole days among fertile fields of wheat and rice, which strongly resemble our fields at BEAUSSE,[2] 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 (MOGUL-SARÁI)[3]	. . . . .	6 *coss*.
,, MAGALKI-SERA to PAULKI-SERA (?)	.	2 ,,
,, PAULKI-SERA to KASARIKI-SERA (KACHNER)	. . . .	3 ,,
,, KASARIKI-SERA to CHADOLKI-SERA (SHÁDORÁ)	. . . . .	6 ,,
,, CHADOLKI-SERA to CALLABAS (KÁLÁ-BÁGH)	. . . . .	6 ,,

[1] Here, as elsewhere, the league is used as the equivalent of the *coss*, and the fact pointed out on p. 52 and in the Appendix that the *coss* near Surat is a short one is referred to.

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

[3] Mogulsarái, or Moghal Sarái, in Tonk State, about 14 miles from Sironj, is not to be mistaken for a place of the same name on the E.I. Railway, near Benares.

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KÁLÁBÁGH is a large town, where formerly a great *Rája* 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 KÁLÁBÁGH; for all the heads were still entire, and gave out an unpleasant odour.

From CALLABAS to AKMATE (AKAI?) . 2 *coss.*
„ AKMATE to COLLASAR (KOLÁRAS[1]) . 9 „

KOLÁRAS 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

[1] Koláras, or Kailáras, a well-known town in Gwalior, though not mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The total distance from Mogulserai to Koláras, measured on the map, is about 62 miles.

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

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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 2000 men to conduct the guns, all of them in the king's service, and Muhammadans, with the exception of the chief gunners, who were *Franks*,—French, English, and Dutch. The King was sending this artillery to the province of DECCAN, where his army was opposed to the *Raja* SIVA-JI, who had pillaged SURAT the previous year, as I shall have occasion for describing elsewhere.

From COLLASAR to SANSELE (SIPRI)	.	6 *coss.*
,, SANSELE to DONGRY (DONGRI)[1]	.	4 ,,
,, DONGRY to GATE	.	3 ,,

GATE[2] 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 can 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.

[1] Dongri of Atlas Sheet, 8 miles from Sipri, which is 15 miles from Koláras; Dungri-Ghát is represented on some maps near Narwár.

[2] Gate stands perhaps for some separate *ghát* or pass, probably near Gopalpur on the Sind river, about 6½ miles from Dongri.

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Those who come from the south, *en route* to AGRA, as from SURAT, GOA, BIJAPUR, GOLCONDA, and MASULIPATAM, and other places, cannot avoid traversing this pass, not having any other road except by taking that through AHMADÁBÁD. 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, all 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 there was concealed a snake of thirteen or fourteen feet in length, and of proportionate girth. 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 "*Ram, Ram!*" 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 that that would 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. The *Rájputs*,[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 pitched on

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

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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[1] to cross, which, instead of lowering itself, 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. One always strives 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, there being none but the people of the country who are 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 (NARWÁR[2]), 4 *coss*.

NARWÁR is a large town on the slope of a mountain,

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

[2] Narwár or Ladara, in Gwalior, on right bank of Sind river, Lat. 25° 39′ 2″ N., Long. 77° 56′ 57″ E., 44 miles S. of Gwalior. According to Ferishta, Narwár was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century. (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* for history, etc.) It is called Nurwur on the Atlas Sheet.

The distance is given as 17 *coss* from Koláras to Narwár, and the true distance is 35 miles, and the stages given between Mogulserái and Koláras 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*.

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above which there is a kind of fortress, and the whole mountain is surrounded by walls. The majority of the houses, as is the case in the other towns of INDIA, are covered with thatch, and have only one storey; and those of the wealthy have but two, and are terraced. You see around the town several large tanks, which were formerly lined with cut stone, and which they have neglected to maintain; but at about one league off there are still some beautiful tombs. The same river which one has crossed the day before, and which one re-crosses four or five *coss* beyond NARWÁR, surrounds the three sides of the town and of the mountain, of which it makes a sort of peninsula, and after a long and tortuous course it discharges itself in the GANGES. They make at NARWÁR a quantity of quilted coverlets, some white, others embroidered with flowers in gold, silver, and silk.

From NADER to BARQUI-SERA (BÁRKI SARÁI) . 9 *coss.*
„ BARQUI-SERA to TRIE (ANTRI) . . 3 „
„ TRIE to GOÜALEOR (GWALIOR[1]) . . 6 „

GWALIOR is a large town, ill-built like others, after the manner of INDIA, and it is passed by a small river. 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

[1] Gwalior. The chief town of the State of the same name, and the residence of Maharaja Sindhia, situated in Lat. 26° 13′ N., and Long. 78° 12′ E., 65 miles south of Agra. The fort 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, as is mentioned by our author. The Jain and Hindu antiquities have been described by Mr. Fergusson. (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*) The distance from Narwár to Gwalior is nearly 50 miles, here it is given as 18 *coss*, hence the *coss* would exceed 2½ miles.

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sufficient to support the garrison; this it is which causes this place to be esteemed one of the best in INDIA. On the slope of the mountain which faces the north-west, SHÁH JÁHÁN caused a pleasure-house to be built, from whence one sees all the town, 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.

Since the Muhammadan kings have taken possession of these countries, the fortress of GWALIOR has become the place where they send princes and great nobles when they wish to be sure of their persons. SHÁH JÁHÁN having ascended the throne by treachery, as I shall relate[1] in the course of my narrative, caused to be arrested, one after the other, all the princes and nobles whom he believed to be able to injure him, and sent them to GWALIOR, but he allowed them all to live and to enjoy the revenues of their property. AURANG-ZEB, 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 makes this use of it so that the people may not say that he is a sanguinary monarch. As soon as he had in his power Prince MURÁD BAKSH,[2] his younger brother—who was the one whom he encouraged to take arms against his father, SHÁH JÁHÁN, and who, being Governor of the Province of GUJARÁT, had caused himself to be called King—he had him placed in this fortress, where he died. They have made him in the town an appropriately magnificent tomb, in a mosque which they built for the purpose, with a great court in front, all sur-

[1] See Book II, chap. ii.

[2] Morat Bakche in original.

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rounded by vaults under which there are several shops. It is the custom in INDIA, when they build a public edifice, to make around it a large place for holding markets, 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.[1]

From GOÜALEOR to PATERKI-SERA (?) . 3 *coss.*
,, PATERKI-SERA to QUARIQUI-SERA (KÚÁRÍ-SARÁI) . . . . 10 ,,

There is a bridge at PATERKI-SERA,[2] with six large arches, and the river which flows under it is called QUARINADI.[3]

From QUARIQUI-SERA to DOLPOURA (DHOLPUR[4]), 6 *coss.*

At DHOLPUR there is a great river called CHAMMEL-NADI[5]—you cross it in a boat, and it discharges itself in the JUMNA,[6] between AGRA and ALLAHABAD.

From DOLPOURA to MINASQUI-SERA (MANIÁ), 6 *coss.*

At (? Beyond) MANIA (-KI-SARÁI) there is a river

[1] This probably stands for Sanike, *i.e.* Sank river, a tributary of the Kúárí river.

[2] This is an obvious misprint for Quariqui-sera, where the bridge really was, namely, over the Kúárí river.

[3] Kúárí river, it joins the Sind river near its junction with the Jumna.

[4] Dholpur, the chief town of the State of the same name. It is 34 miles south of Agra, and 37 miles north-west of Gwalior. 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 Rajah Dholan Deo, in the eleventh century, and surrendered to the Emperor Bábar in 1526.

[5] Chambal river. [6] Gemena in the original.

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called IAGOU-NADI[1]—you cross it by a very long bridge built of cut stone, and called IAOULCAPOUL.[2]

From MINASQUI-SERA to this bridge, 8 *coss*.

It is not far from this bridge that they examine goods, so that when you reach AGRA[3] 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*.[4]

Thus from SIRONJ to AGRA is 106 *coss*, which are common *coss*, and from SURAT to AGRA 339.

[1] Jajou on the Utangan river, a tributary of the Jumna.

[2] Iaoulcapoul, for Jajou ká pul, or the bridge of the Jajou.

[3] For description of Agra, see Book I, chap. vii.

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

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CHAPTER V

Route from SURAT *to* AGRA *by* AHMADÁBÁD

FROM SURAT to BAROCHE (BROACH),[1] 22 *coss*.

All the country between these two towns is one of corn, rice, millet, and sugar-canes. Before entering BROACH, you cross, by ferry, a river which runs to CAMBAY and discharges itself afterwards into the gulf of the same name.

BROACH is a large town, containing an ancient fortress which they have neglected to maintain; but it has been widely renowned from all time on account of its river, which possesses a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes, and they bring them for this reason from all quarters of the empire of the GREAT MOGUL, where there is not the same abundance of water. In this place there is made a quantity of *baftas*[2] or pieces of long and narrow calico; these are very beautiful and closely woven cloths, and the price of them ranges 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; and I remember that, on arrival one day when return-

[1] Broach, chief town of district of same name in Gujarát, situated on the right bank of the Narbadá, 30 miles from its mouth.

[2] *Baftas*, one of the numerous varieties of fine calico, which were formerly largely exported to Europe from India. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 35.)

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ing from AGRA to SURAT[1] with the President of the English, some jugglers immediately came to ask him if he desired that they should 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 injury. Next, having taken a small piece of stick, and having planted 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 President of the English had his clergyman with him, having taken him to AHMADÁBÁD to baptize a child of

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

[2] Mango trick. Also described by Bernier, who, however, did not personally witness the performance. See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, for other early accounts of this famous trick. On the only occasion I myself witnessed it, I was not much impressed with it as an example of sleight of hand; but the juggler was not of the first class. 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.)

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the Dutch Commander, of whom he had been asked to be the godfather, for it should be remarked that the Dutch have no clergymen save in those places where they have both merchants and soldiers together. The English clergyman had at first protested that he was unable to consent that Christians should be present at such spectacles, and when he beheld 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 to appear, with leaves and flowers, as in springtime, he made it his duty to break it, and proclaimed loudly that he would never administer the communion to any one of those who remained longer to witness such things. This compelled the President to dismiss the jugglers, who travel from place to place with their wives and children, like those whom we in EUROPE commonly call Egyptians or Bohemians; and having given them the equivalent of ten or twelve *écus*,[1] they withdrew very well satisfied.

Those who wish to see CAMBAY, in order to reach it, do not go out of their way for more than about five or six *coss*, or thereabouts; and when you are at BROACH, instead of going to BARODA, which is the ordinary route, you make directly for CAMBAY, from whence afterwards you reach AHMADÁBÁD. Except for business, or out of curiosity, you do not take this route, not only because it is longer, as I have said, by five or six leagues,[2] but principally on account of the danger which there is in passing the end of the gulf.

CAMBAY[3] is a large town at the end of the gulf

[1] = £2 : 5s. to £2 : 14s., at 4s. 6d. per *écu*.

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

[3] Cambaya in the original. Cambay, chief town of the State of Cambay, Province of Gujarát, Bombay Presidency, 52 miles south of Ahmadábád.

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which bears its name. It is where they cut those beautiful agates which come from INDIA as cups, handles of knives, beads, and other objects of workmanship.[1] There is made, also, in the vicinity of the town indigo[2] of the same kind as that of SHARKEJ[3]; and it was celebrated for its traffic at the time when the Portuguese flourished in INDIA. You still see to-day, in the quarter close to the sea, many fine houses, which they built and furnished richly, after the manner of PORTUGAL; but at present they are uninhabited, and they decay from day to day. They maintained at that time such good order in CAMBAY, that at two hours after dark every street was closed by two gates, which are still to be seen, and they even now close some of the principal of them, especially those of the approaches 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 unable to come nearer than four or five leagues to the town.

There is an abundance of pea-fowl 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 you see them

[1] A full account of this industry will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 506.

[2] The cultivation of indigo has much diminished of late in that part of India.

[3] Sarquesse in the original, this is Sharkej, the Surkeja of Major Scott's Madras route map, to south-west of Ahmadábád. Tieffenthaler calls it Sarkés, *Géog. de l'Ind.*, par Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791, p. 377. See for further information *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 22, *n.* (See p. 72.)

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throughout the day 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 see the sportsman they fly before 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, you are only able to capture them easily at night; and this, in a few words, is the method. You approach the tree with a kind of banner, on which are painted life-like peacocks, on each side.[1] On the top of the stick there are two lighted candles, the light of which alarming 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 he who holds 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 *Rajas*, where the idolaters are the masters; it is not dangerous in the parts of INDIA where the rulers of the country are Muhammadans, and permit sport to be free. It happened one day that a rich merchant of PERSIA, passing by the territory of the *Raja* of DANTIVAR,[2] slew a peacock on the road by a shot from his gun, either out of bravado or from not knowing the customs of the country. The *Banians*, enraged by an act which is regarded among them as a horrible

[1] I have seen peacocks successfully approached by day by a native sportsman, who carried before him a cloth screen, on which a rude representation of a peacock was painted. One bird actually made a charge towards the screen.

[2] Dánta, or Dántawára, a State under the Political Agency of Mahi Kántha, in the Province of Gujarát, Bombay. The Chief is a Hindu. It has been pointed out already that the Antivar of p. 37 is probably a misprint for Dantivar.

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sacrilege, seized the merchant themselves, and also the money he had with him, which amounted to 300,000 rupees, and having tied him to a tree, whipped him for three days so severely that the poor man died of it.

From CAMBAY you come to 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 numerous 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 with it young 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, and they believe that it will be good fortune to them to be offered and abandoned to this idol.

From this pagoda to CHIIDABAD[1] it is 6 *coss*.

It 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 AHMADÁBÁD it is but 5 *coss*.

I return to BAROCHE and the ordinary route.

From BAROCHE to BROUDRA (BARODA)[2] . 22 *coss*.

BARODA is a large town on a good soil, where there is a considerable trade in calicoes.

[1] Sayyidábád? I have not found this place on any of the maps available to me.

[2] Baroda, the chief town of the territory of the Gáekwár. From Broach to Baroda, the distance measured on the map is about 48 miles.

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From BROUDRA to NERIADE (NADIAD) . 18 *coss.*
,, NERIADE to AMADABAT (AHMADÁBÁD)[1] 20 ,,

AHMADÁBÁD is one of the largest towns in INDIA, and one where 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*,[2] and indigo cakes, which are made at three leagues from AHMADÁBÁD, at a large town called SHARKEJ.

There was a pagoda in this place, which the Muhammadans took possession of in order to turn it into a mosque. Before entering it you traverse three great courts paved with marble, and surrounded by galleries, and 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 from thence. You see many tombs of ancient idolatrous kings, which are like so many small chapels of mosaic, with columns of marble sustaining a small vault by which the tomb is covered. A river[3] flows past AHMADÁBÁD 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, one must generally wait six weeks or two months before it is possible to ford that at AHMADÁBÁD, where there is

[1] Ahmadábád, the chief town in the District of the same name, in the Province of Gujarát, Bombay Presidency. Tieffenthaler calls the town itself Guzarat.

[2] The dried unripe fruit of *Terminalia chebula*, Retz.

[3] The Sabarmati.

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no bridge. There are two or three boats, but one cannot make use of them, save when the water ceases to be so rapid, and it takes much time to cross. The peasants do not stand on ceremony, and in order to go from one bank to the other only 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 the men and women, cross, and when they wish to take their children across also they employ certain round earthen pots, which have mouths four fingers in width, and having placed their child in one of these pots they push it before them while swimming. This brings to mind a circumstance which happened at AHMADÁBÁD, 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 of about two years, they placed him in one of these pots, so that only his head, which was outside, could be seen. Having reached the middle of the river, they encountered a small bank of sand where there was a large tree, which the water had carried down, and the father pushed the pot containing the infant on to this place, to rest himself a little. As he approached the foot of the tree, the trunk of which was somewhat elevated above the water, a snake came out from between the roots, and jumped into the pot where the

[1] This is the so-called *mussuck* (*mashak*, Hind.) or *deri*, 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.

[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.)

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infant was. The father and mother, startled by this occurrence, and having lost their wits, let the pot go, which the river carried away, and 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 washing themselves in the river before going to take their meal. They beheld from afar the pot upon the water, and half the head of a child, which appeared outside the mouth. The *Banian* immediately went to rescue it, and having reached it, pushed it ashore. The woman, followed by her child, came presently to take the other which was in the pot, in order to withdraw it. And at the same moment the snake, which had done no injury to the first child, left the pot, and entwined itself about the body of the other child which was close to its 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 another, by which they were soon consoled. Some time after, the report of this adventure having come to the ears of the first peasant, he came to the other in order to tell him how it had happened, and to demand from him his child. This caused a considerable 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 King, who ordered that the infant should be returned to its father.

About the same time there happened a somewhat

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amusing matter in the same town of AHMADÁBÁD. The wife of a rich *Banian* merchant, named SAINTIDAS, not having any children, and causing it to be well known that she wished for some, an attendant of the 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 added that it was a little fish, and that she need only eat 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 that which he suggested; but the attendant 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 attendant. Some time after, the woman perceiving that she was *enceinte*, her husband died, and the relatives of the defunct wished to take possession of his effects. The widow objected, and told them that 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 and 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

[1] In the East surprising effects are often attributed to a fish diet. See *Adjaib Al-Hind.* (*Les Merveilles de l'Inde*) for a remarkable instance. Paris, Lemere, 1878.

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happened, and he ordered that the relatives should wait till the woman was delivered of her offspring. Some days after her confinement the relatives of the defunct, who were persons of position, and who desired to have so considerable a succession, maintained that the infant was not legitimate, and that this woman had not had it by her husband. The Governor, in order to know the truth, assembled the doctors, who decided that it was necessary to take the infant to the bath, and that if the remedy which the mother had adopted was genuine, the infant would smell of fish; this was done and the thing happened accordingly. After this experiment the Governor ordered that the effects of the defunct should be reserved for the infant, since he had been proved by this to be the father; but the relatives, being annoyed that so good a morsel was escaping from them, appealed from this judgment, and went to AGRA to tell the King. In consequence of what they stated, his majesty caused an order to be written to the Governor that he should send the mother and the infant, to make the same experiment in his presence; this having turned out as on the first occasion, the relatives of the defunct withdrew, and the effects were kept for the mother and infant.

I remember also another amusing thing which was told me at AHMADÁBÁD—where I have been ten or twelve times—during the sojourn which 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 SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, Governor of the Province and uncle of

[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.

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the King, had the reputation of never having lied. SHÁISTÁ KHÁN having completed the three years of his government, according to the custom of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and AURANGZEB, son of SHÁH JAHÁN, having succeeded him, he withdrew to AGRA, where the court then was. One day, when he conversed with the King, he said 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 to have discovered a rich merchant who had never told a lie, and who was upwards of seventy years old. The King, surprised on his own part with so extraordinary a fact, told SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that he desired to see the man of whom he had told him, and ordered him to send him forthwith to AGRA, which was done. This much distressed the old man, both on account of the length of the road, which is from twenty-five to thirty days, and because it was necessary for him to make a present to the King. In fact, he made him one valued at 40,000 rupees, and it was a gold box for keeping *betel*, ornamented with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. After he had saluted the King, and had made his present to him, the King merely asked his name, to which he replied that he called himself the man who had never lied. The King asking him further what his father's name was: "Sire," replied he, "I know not." 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. There are in AHMADÁBÁD two or three

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houses which serve as hospitals,[1] especially for cows and oxen, for monkeys, and other sick and disabled animals, and they convey there all that they are able to find, in order to feed them. It should be stated that on every Tuesday and Friday all the monkeys in the neighbourhood of AHMADÁBÁD, of their own instinct, come together 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 his 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. Being one day at AHMADÁBÁD, at the dwelling of the Dutch, a young man of that nation, who had arrived but a few days to serve in the office, and who was ignorant of the customs of the country, having perceived a large monkey upon a tree which was in the courtyard, wished to give an example of his skill, or rather of his youth, by slaying it with a shot from his gun. I was at the time at table with the Dutch Commander,

[1] Hospitals for sick animals are still to be found in some of the towns of Western India.

[2] The retention of food in the pouch only lasts for a short time, I believe.

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and we had scarcely heard the shot before we heard a great uproar among the *Banians* in the service of the Dutch Company, who came to complain bitterly of him who had slain the monkey. They all wished to resign, and it was with much trouble and many apologies that they appeased them and induced them to remain.

In the neighbourhood of AHMADÁBÁD there are a great number of monkeys, and it may be said that in the places where there are many of these animals there are few crows. For when the latter have built their nests and laid their eggs, the monkeys climb the trees and throw the eggs down on the ground. One day, returning from AGRA, and having left AHMADÁBÁD with the Chief or President of the English, who had come there for some business, and was returning to SURAT, we passed, at four or five leagues from AHMADÁBÁD, a small grove of those trees which they call *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 in order to tell me that he had an excellent and curious gun which the Governor of DAMAN 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, having signed to me not to risk it, I sought to dissuade the President from his intention, but it was impossible, and taking his gun he slew a female monkey, which remained extended between two branches, letting her young ones fall to the ground. There followed at once what my attendant, who had signed to me, had foreseen. All the monkeys which were on the trees, to the number

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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, and 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 they pursued the carriage of the President for nearly a league, so much were they enraged.

Continuing our route from SURAT to AGRA.

From AMADABAT to PANSER (PAUNSIR) . 13 *coss.*
„ PANSER to MASANA (MESÁNA) . . 14 „
„ MASANA to CHITPOUR (SIDHPUR)[1] . 14 „

SIDHPUR is a fairly good town, so named on account of the great trade which it does in those coloured cottons which they call *chites*,[2] and at four or five hundred paces on the south side there flows a small river. Arriving 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 which is near the town. A short time afterwards I saw four or five lions[3] appearing, 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

[1] Sidhpur. Chitpour is given on the map in Bernier's *History*.

[2] *Chites* (see p. 56 and Index), from Mahr. *chit* and Port. *chita* = chintz.

[3] It is very probable that these were true lions, and not *chetahs*, 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. In a recent number of the *Graphic* there was a representation of a tamed lion being led by hand through the crowded bazaar of a Moorish town.

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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 *Fakirs*, or Muhammadan *Dervishes*.[1] I counted fifty-seven of them, of whom he who was their Chief or Superior had been master of the horse to SHÁH JAHÁNGIR,[2] having left the court when Sultan BOLÁKI, his grandson, was strangled by order of SHÁH JAHÁN, his uncle, as I shall relate elsewhere. 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 SHÁH JAHÁN. The only garment of these five *Dervishes* consisted of three

[1] Dervichs in original, for Dervishes.

[2] Cha Gehan guir in original, for Shah Jahángír.

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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. 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 there 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.[1] They withdraw these circles as they require to use them, and when they throw them with 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

[1] These are the *chakars*, 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.

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iron, made something like a trowel. It is with this instrument, which the Indians generally carry in their journeys, that they rake and level the places where they wish to halt, and some, having collected 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 Arabian 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 asked me subsequently to give up 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 as it. 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

[1] *Agha*, Hind. and Pers., means lord or master.

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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 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 (PÁLANPUR) . 12 *coss*.
„ BALAMBOUR to DANTIUAR (DÁNTAWÁRA)[1] 11 „
„ DANTIUAR to BARGANT (WUNGÁON ?) . 17 „

BARGANT[2] is the territory of a *Raja*, where one has to pay customs. On one of my journeys to AGRA, when passing by BARGANT, I did not see the *Raja*, 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, and 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 waggon, and to shorten the road I purposed to repass 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

[1] Dánta, or Dántawára, the chief town of the State of the same name (see p. 70, *n.*) It is 136 miles north of Baroda. The Antivar of p. 37 is apparently the same place.

[2] Probably the same as Bergam, on p. 37, *n.*, the proper name may perhaps be Wungáon, in Jodhpúr.

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the territory of the *Raja* of BARGANT, all my *Peons*[1] assembled about me in order 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 the territories of the *Raja* 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 he who led my horse, my coachman, and three other attendants only, with whom I started under the protection of God, who has always particularly aided me in my journeys. At about a *coss* from the place from whence I started I perceived, on turning round, some of these *Peons*, who followed me at a distance. Having

[1] *Pion* in the original for *Peon*, Port., a foot soldier; whence the name "pawn" in chess.

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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. Immediately when I saw them I got out of the carriage, and having thirteen firearms, 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 having 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 same lieutenant of the *Raja*, to whom I had presented the brandy and Spanish wine, followed close behind these four horsemen, and after 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 *Raja*, he himself 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

[1] *Franguy* in the original.

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remained there two days together to amuse ourselves; the *Raja* having caused the *Baladines*[1] to come, without whom the Persians and Indians do not think they can enjoy themselves properly. On my departure, the *Raja* gave me two hundred horsemen to accompany me for three whole days to the frontiers of his country, and I was quitted for three or four pounds of tobacco, which was all the present I made them. When I arrived at AHMADÁBÁD it was scarcely believed 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 (BHEENMÁL) 15 *coss.*
„ BIMAL to MODRA (MODRÁ) . 15 „
„ MODRA to CHALAOUR (JÁLOR) . 10 „

JÁLOR[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 (KHANDAP) 12 *coss.*
„ CANTAP to SETLANA (SUTULÁNA) . 15 „
„ SETLANA to PALAVASENY (?) . . 14 „
„ PALAVASENY to PIPARS (PIPÁR) . 11 „
„ PIPARS to MIRDA (MERTÁ) . . 16 „

[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 *Náchnis* or dancing girls. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v. *Bayadère*, for examples of its use.)

[2] Jálor, a town in the State of Jodhpur or Marwár in Rájputána. The fort, 800 yards long by 400 yards wide, is on an eminence 1200 feet high, and commands the town. It is of considerable strength, and still contains two tanks.

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From DÁNTAWÁRA to MERTÁ it is three days' journey,[1] and it is a mountainous country belonging to semi-independent *Rajas* 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.

MERTÁ[2] is a large town, but bádly built. When I arrived there, during one of my journeys in India, all the *caravansaráis* were full of people, because the aunt of SHÁH JAHÁN, wife of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, was then on her way, taking her daughter to marry her to SULTAN SHUJÁ, second son of SHÁH JAHÁN. I was obliged to order my tent[3] 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.[4] This injury was done by order of the Begum to avenge herself of an affront by the inhabitants of MERTÁ, who had not received her, and had not made a present as they ought to have done.

From MIRDA to BORONDA (BARUNDÁ) . 12 *coss.*
,, BORONDA to COETCHIEL (?) . . 18 ,,

[1] This statement is somewhat inconsistent with the route given, which represents 9 stages and 125 *coss.*

[2] Mertá or Mirtá in Jodhpur, is situated on high ground, and is surrounded by a wall, partly of masonry and partly of clay. It contains numerous temples and a mosque.

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

[4] The *mahouts* of the present day sometimes, for similar reasons, make their elephants do injuries of this kind. (See p. 59.)

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From COETCHIEL to BANDER-SONNERY (BANDAR-SINDRI) . . . 14 *coss.*
,, BANDER-SONNERY to LADONA (LUDÁNÁ)[1] 16 ,,
,, LADONA TOWN to CHASOU (CHAKSU) 12 ,,
,, CHASOU to NUALI (LAWÁLI?) . . 17 ,,
,, NUALI to HINDOO (HINDAUN)[2] . 19 ,,
,, HINDOO to BANIANA (BIÁNÁ)[3] . 10 ,,

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 also twice as dear.

From BANIANA to VETTAPOUR (FATEHPUR SIKRI),[4] 14 *coss.*

FATEHPUR SIKRI is a very old town where they make woollen carpets.

From VETTAPOUR to AGRA . . . 12 *coss.*
,, SURAT to AGRA there are in all 415 ,,

If one were able to make regular 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] Ludáná, or Ladoná on Bandi river in Jaipur, Rájputána.

[2] Hindaun, in Jaipur State, 71 miles from Agra. Once an extensive city, but the ramparts are now in ruins.

[3] Biáná, in Bhartpur State, Rájputána. It is 50 miles south-west of Agra. It is of great antiquity, and among remains of large buildings there is a stone pillar, *Bhim lat.* The Emperor Bábar described it in 1526 as being one of the most famous forts in India. It is a place of great sanctity in the eyes of Muhammadans. See Cunningham, *Archæol. Reports*, vol ii, p. 54; vi, p. 50; xx, p. 61.

[4] Vettapour, *i.e.*, Fatehpur Sikri, 23 miles from Agra and 26 from Biáná. See Book II, chap. xii.

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CHAPTER VI

Route from ISPAHAN *to* AGRA *by* KANDAHÁR.[1]

I HAVE given an exact description of a part of this route, and I have conducted the reader as far as KANDAHÁR.[2] It remains for me now to take him from KANDAHÁR to AGRA, to which one can go by two routes only, either by KÁBUL or by MULTÁN. This last is shorter than the other by ten days, but the caravan scarcely ever takes it, because from KANDAHÁR to MULTÁN there is nothing but deserts almost all the way, and because one marches sometimes for three or four days without finding water. Hence the most common and the most beaten track is by KÁBUL. From KANDAHÁR to KÁBUL they count it 24 stages; from KÁBUL to LAHORE, 22; from LAHORE to DELHI or JAHÁNÁBÁD, 18; and from DELHI to AGRA, 6: this, with the 60 stages from ISPAHAN to FARAH,[3] and the 20 from FARAH to KANDAHÁR, make in all, from ISPAHAN 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.

MULTÁN[4] is a town where quantities of calicoes are made, and they used to carry them all to TATTA before

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

[2] *Persian Travels*, Bk. V, chap. xxiv, p. 693, Fr. ed., 4to. 1676.

[3] Farat in the original. [4] Multán, on the Chenáb river.

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the sands had obstructed the mouth of the river; but since the passage has been closed for large vessels they carry them to AGRA, and from AGRA to SURAT, as well as a portion of the goods which are made at LAHORE. As this carriage is very expensive, but few merchants go to make investments either at MULTÁN or LAHORE, and indeed many of the artisans have deserted; this also causes the revenues of the King to be much diminished in these provinces. MULTÁN is the place from whence migrate all the *Banians* 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 to take only one wife between two or three brothers, of whom the eldest is regarded as the father of the children.

Numerous *Baladins* and *Baladines*, who hail from this town, spread themselves in divers parts of PERSIA.

I come to the route from KANDAHAR to AGRA by KABUL and LAHORE.

From CANDAHAR to CHARISAFAR (SHAHR-I-SAFÁ)[1] 10 *coss*.
,, CHARISAFAR to ZELATÉ (KALÁT-I-GHILZÁI) 12 ,,
,, ZELATÉ to BETAZY (AB-I-TÁZI) . . 8 ,,
,, BETAZY to MEZOUR (MANSUR) . . 6 ,,
,, MEZOUR to CARABAT (KÁRÁBÁGH) . . 17 ,,
,, CARABAT to CHAKENICOUZÉ (SHIGÁNU ?) . 17 ,,

Between KANDAHÁR and CHAKENICOUZÉ,[2] on the

[1] Shahr-i-safá = city of purity. (See Macgregor's *Central Asia*, p. 672, and Baber's *Memoirs by Erskine*, p. 226.)

[2] Colonel Yule suggests that this may have been the Shigánu of Broadfoot and Sekaneh of Baber's *Memoirs by Erskine*, p. 220. If not identical with Ghazni, it was probably in or near its latitude. Ghazni is 85 miles south-west of Kábul, and 145 miles north-east of Kalát-i-Ghilzái.

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frontier of INDIA, there is a country where many small Chiefs rule and render some allegiance to the KING OF PERSIA.

From CHAKENICOUZÉ to CÁBOUL (KÁBUL) 40 *coss*.[1]

In these forty *coss* of road you only find three poor villages, where they have seldom got bread and barley for the horses, and the safest plan 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, being of the same kind as the wind of which I have spoken in my accounts of PERSIA, which prevails also in certain seasons near BABYLON and MOSUL.

KÁBUL 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 KANDAHÁR to KÁBUL, towards the mountains of BALCH,[5] and are powerful men, and great thieves at night. It is the custom

[1] The total distance here given from Kandahar to Kábul is 110 *coss*. The distance in miles is 318, which would indicate a *coss* of 3 miles nearly. Tieffenthaler gives the stages from Kábul to Ghazni as follows: —Kabul to Argandi (Urghandi) 12 *milles*, thence to Jadussia 12 *milles*, thence to Scheschgaon (Shashgáo) 12 *milles*, thence to Gasni (Ghazni) 10 *milles*, total 46 *milles*. (*Geog. de l'Ind.*, Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791, p. 69.)

[2] For Tartars of Turkestan. [3] Rupees? [4] Afgháns.

[5] Balkh, an ancient city of Turkestan, south of the Oxus.

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of these Indians to clean and scrape the tongue every morning with a small curved piece of a particular root. 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 practice 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 only live to the age of thirty years, and they become dropsical.

From CABOUL to BARIABÉ (BARIKÁB)[1]	.	19 *coss.*
,, BARIABÉ to NIMÉLA (NIMLABÁGH)	.	17 ,,
,, NIMÉLA to ALYBOUA (ALIBAGHÁN and ILÁHIBAGHÁ, in Akbar's time)	.	19 ,,
,, ALYBOUA to TAKA (DAKKA)	.	17 ,,
,, TAKA to KIEMRY (KHÁIBARI?)	.	6 ,,
,, KIEMRY to CHAOUR (PESHÁWUR)[2]	.	14 ,,
,, CHAOUR to NOVÌCHAAR (NOWSHERA)		14 ,,
,, NOVÌCHAAR to ATEK (ATTOCK)[3]	.	19 ,,

[1] I am informed by Col. Yule that Barikáb is often mentioned by writers (Baber's *Memoirs by 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, etc.*, 1840, pp. 239-240).

[2] Tieffenthaler mentions two three-day itineraries between Peshawur and Attock as follows, the total distance being 30 so-called Indian *milles* —Peschaver to Schahabad 6 *milles*, to Akora 12 miles, to Attak 12 *milles*. The second is more detailed: Peschaver to Djouigousar 3 miles, Djouigousar to Schahabad 4 *milles*, Schahabad to Noschera (Nowshera) 8 miles, Noschera to Girdab 4 *milles*, Girdab to Akora 4 *milles*, Akora to Neri 4 *milles*, Neri to Kherabad 3 *milles*, thence across the Indus to Attak. (*Geog. de l'Indoustan*, par J. Bernoulli, Berlin, 1791.)

[3] Attock is situated near the junction of the Indus and Kábul rivers.

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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 King. The Reverend Jesuit Father ROUX, and his companion, wishing to go by this route to ISPAHAN, and not having obtained a passport from the King, 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 (KÁLÁ KI SARÁÍ?)	16	*coss.*
,, CALAPANÉ to ROUPATÉ (RAWÁT)[1] .	16	,,
,, ROUPATÉ to TOULAPÉCA (TULPURI) .	16	,,
,, TOULAPÉCA to KERALY (KARIÁLÁ or SARÁI ALAMGIR)	19	,,
,, KERALY to ZERABAD (WAZIRÁBÁD) .	16	,,
,, ZERABAD to IMIABAD (EMINÁBÁD)[2] .	18	,,
,, IMIABAD to LAHOR (LAHORE) . .	18	,,

LAHORE is the capital of a kingdom, and is built on one of the five rivers[3] which descend from the mountains of the north to go to swell the INDUS, and give the name of PENJAB[4] 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. The town is

[1] It has been suggested to me by Mr. A. B. Wynne, who knows this country well, that Roupate should be identified with Rawát, near the Manikyálá *tope*, 16 miles south of Rawalpindi. It is the Seraie Roobat of Elphinstone's map, probably derived from the Arabic *ribát* or *robát* a caravansarái.

[2] Eminábád is 32 miles south of Lahore.

[3] Lahore on the Rávi.

[4] Penj-ab = *Panj áb*, Pers., 5 waters or rivers—the Panjáb.

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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 King 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.[1]

I shall remark, *en passant*, that after leaving LAHORE, and the kingdom of KASHMIR which adjoins it on the north, all the women are naturally unprovided with hair on any part of the body,[2] and the men have very little of it on the chin.

From	LAHOR to MENAT-KAN (AMÁNAT KHÁN)	12 *coss.*
,,	MENAT-KAN to FATY-ABAD (FATEHPUR)	15 ,,
,,	FATY-ABAD to SERA-DAKAN (DEKHÁN)	15 ,,
,,	SERA-DAKAN TO SERA-BALOUR (PHILLÁUR)	15 ,,
,,	SERA-BALOUR to SERA-DOURAI (DOURÁHÁI)	12 ,,
,,	SERA-DOURAI to SERINDE (SIRHIND)	17 ,,
,,	SERINDE TOWN to SERA MOGOUL (MOGULSARÁI)	15 ,,
,,	SERA MOGOUL to SERA CHABAS (SHÁHÁBÁD)	14 ,,
,,	SERA CHABAS to DIRAURIL (TARÁWARI)	17 ,,
,,	DIRAURIL to SERA-CRINDAL (KURNÁL)	14 ,,

[1] 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.

[2] Our author does not intend, I suppose, to convey that they have none on their heads.

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From SERA-CRINDAL to GINENAOUR (GANNAUR) 21 *coss.*
„ GINENAOUR to DEHLY (DELHI) . . 24 „

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;[1] 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,[2] which runs from north to south, then from west to east, and after having passed AGRA and KADIOUE,[3] loses itself in the GANGES. Since SHÁH JAHÁN has caused the new town of JAHÁNÁBÁD 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 there are but three or four nobles of the court who reside at DELHI, in great enclosures, in which they have their tents pitched. It is also where the Reverend Jesuit Father who was at the court had his dwelling.

JAHÁNÁBÁD, like DELHI, is a great straggling town, and a simple wall separates them. All the houses of

[1] On the map which accompanies the French edition of 1713 this avenue is represented.

[2] Delhi, on the Jumna, here Gemna, and elsewhere spelt Gemené. The distance from Gannaur, or Gunour of the Atlas Sheet, is only about 36 miles.

[3] Kadioue. Can this mean Etáwah? I am not aware whether any other author has mentioned this name, and think it probable that it was due to some mistake in catching the true sound. In chap. VIII, p. 113, Estanja appears, however, to represent Etáwah.

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private persons are large enclosures, in the middle of which is the dwelling, so that no one can approach the place where the 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 JAHÁNÁBÁD 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. This street leads to the great square, where the King'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 King's palace is a good half league in circuit. 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 of the palace has nothing magnificent about it, nor has the first court, where the nobles are permitted to enter on their elephants.

From this court one enters 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 quarter where justice is administered. 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

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leads to a large court where the *Omrahs*,[1] *i.e.* the great nobles of the kingdom, like the *Bachas*[2] in TURKEY, and the *Kháns* in PERSIA, constitute 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 from whence the *khil'at*[3] is obtained whenever the King wishes to honour a stranger or one of his subjects. A little further on, over the same gate, is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are kept, which are heard some moments before the King enters his throne of justice, to give notice to the *Omrahs*, and again when the King is about to rise. When entering this third court you face the *divan* where the King 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. When SHÁH JAHÁN 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

[1] *Omerahs* and *Omrahs* in the original for *Umara*, Arb. Pl. of *Amir*. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v.)

[2] *Bachas* for *Pachas*. Chardin quaintly says of the two modes of spelling that *bacha* means Head of the King; and *pacha*, Feet of the King. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam, ed. 1711, vol. i, p. 35.) The true explanation being, as Colonel Yule informs me, that as Arabic has no p, they have substituted b, which the Turks have adopted.

[3] *Khil'at*. (See p. 20.)

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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, contenting 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 King comes to give audience and to render 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.

When the King 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 is attached one of the King's weapons, to one his shield, to another his sword, next his bow, his quiver, and his arrows, and other things of that nature.

There is in the court below the throne a space twenty feet square, surrounded by balustrades, which at certain times are covered with plates of silver, and at others with plates of gold. It is at the four corners of this space that the four Secretaries of State are seated, who for civil as well as criminal matters also fulfil the *rôles* of advocates. Several nobles place themselves around the balustrade, and here also the music is located, which is heard while the King is in the divan. This music is sweet and pleasant, and makes so little

[1] *Demi pique* in the original.

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noise that it does not disturb the thoughts from the serious occupations with which they are engaged. When the King is seated on his throne, some great noble stands by him, most frequently his own children. Between eleven o'clock and noon the *Nawáb*,[1] who is the first Minister of State, like the Grand *Vizir* in Turkey, comes to make a report of whatever has passed in the chamber where he presides, which is at the entry of the first court, and when he has finished speaking, the King rises. But it must be remarked that from the time the King 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 King was pleased to exempt me from this rule, which is general for every one—and here, in a few words, is how it occurred.

Wishing one day, while the King was in the *divan*, to leave the palace on urgent business, which could not by any means be deferred, the Captain of the guard 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*,[2] 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 *Nawáb*, who was uncle of the King, 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 King in due course how the matter had occurred, and in the evening the *Nawáb*

[1] Nabab in original, for Nawáb.

[2] *Canjare* for *Khanjar*, Hind., a kind of dagger. (See Book II, chap. xxiv.)

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sent one of his people to tell me that his majesty had notified that I might enter and leave the palace as I pleased while he was in the *divan*, for which I went on the following day to thank the *Nawáb*.

Towards the middle of the same court there is a small channel which is about six inches wide, where, while the King is on his seat of justice, all strangers who come to 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 *divan*, where the King is seated, that such an ambassador wishes to speak to his majesty. Then a Secretary of State repeats it to the King, who very often does not appear to hear, but some time after he lifts his eyes, and throwing them upon the ambassador, makes through the same Secretary a sign that he may approach.

From the hall of the *divan* you pass on the left to a terrace from whence you see the river, and from thence the King enters a small chamber from which he passes into his harem. It was in this little chamber where I had my first audience with his majesty, as I shall elsewhere relate.

To the left of this same court where the *divan* is, 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. This is where the King goes daily to pray, save on Friday, when he goes to the Grand Mosque, which is very magnificent, and is situate on a lofty platform higher than the houses of the town, and it is

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ascended by many grand flights of stairs. On the day upon which the King goes to the mosque, a large net of five or six feet in height is stretched round these stairs from fear lest the elephants might approach them, and out of the respect with which the mosque is regarded.

The right side of the court is occupied by porticoes which form a long gallery, elevated about half a foot above the ground, and it is the whole extent of these porticoes which constitute the King's stables, which one may enter by several doors. They are always full of very fine horses, the least valuable of which has cost 3000 *écus*, and there are some which are worth up to 10,000 *écus*. In front of each door of the stables there is hung 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 which represents flowers, and the work is very tedious and requires much patience. These screens serve to prevent the flies from tormenting the horses, but that is not considered sufficient, for two grooms are appointed 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, and they 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. The horses imported into INDIA, whether from PERSIA or ARABIA, or the country of the Usbeks, have a complete change of food, for in INDIA

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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. 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 the throat. In the sugar-cane or millet season they are given some of them at mid-day; 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. It is these which take the place of hay and oats. As for the other stables of the King, 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 which has large boats upon it, and, after having passed AGRA, it loses its name in the GANGES at ALLAHABAD. The King keeps many small brigantines at JAHÁNÁBÁD for pleasure, and they are highly decorated after the manner of the country.

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CHAPTER VII

Sequence of the same Route, from DELHI *up to* AGRA

FROM DEHLY to BADELPOURA (BUDURPUR) .	8	*coss.*
,, BADELPOURA to PELUEL-KI-SERA (PULWAL)	18	,,
,, PELUEL-KI-SERA to COTKI-SERA (KOTWÁN ?)	15	,,
,, COTKI-SERA to CHEKI-SERA[1] (SHEIKH-I-SARÁI ?)	16	,,

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 for those which come 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. That was because the JUMNA then flowed at the foot of the pagoda, and because the *Banians*, both those of the place and those who came from afar in pilgrimage to perform their devotions there, were able to wash themselves in the river before entering the pagoda, and on coming

[1] This probably stands for Sheikh-i-sarái, the name of some halting-place near Matura of the original (*i.e.* Mathura).

[2] Mathura, 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. Its antiquities have been fully described by Mr. Growse. 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.

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out of it before preparing to eat, which they must not do without being washed; besides, they believe that by washing themselves in running water their sins are more effectually removed. But for some years back the river has taken its course to the north, 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.*
„ GOODKI-SERA to AGRA . . . 6 „

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 Kings. The houses of the nobles are beautiful and well built, but those of private persons have nothing fine about them, no more than 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 SHÁH JAHÁN not to make his ordinary dwelling there any more, and to remove his court to JAHÁNÁBÁD.

All then that is remarkable at AGRA is the palace of the King,[2] and some beautiful tombs both near the town and in the environs. The palace of the King is a considerable enclosure with a double wall, which is

[1] The true latitude of Agra is 27° 10′ 6″. The *Handbook to Agra*, by Mr. H. G. Keene, may be referred to for an account of this city by those who desire to learn of its present condition and past history.

[2] The palace was commenced during the reign of Ibráhim Lodi; but the chief architectural monuments are due to Sháh Jahán. (*Arch. Reports*, vol. iv, p. 12.)

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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 King makes his elephants fight. They have purposely selected this spot near the water, because the elephant which has been victorious being enraged, 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 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 King had given up his residence at AGRA for that at JAHÁNÁBÁD, 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 King, 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 King having left for JAHÁNÁBÁD, 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, as soon as the King had left, went to salute this noble and to make him a present, according to the custom.

[1] *Franguis* in the original, Franks, *i.e.* Europeans. (See pp. 6 and 86.)

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It was worth about 6000[1] *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 only take 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.

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 sustained 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 King 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

[1] About £1350.

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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. SHÁH JAHÁN 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, was to have done the work. But the GREAT MOGUL seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was more capable to send to GOA to negotiate 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. This gallery is painted with foliage of gold and azure, and the floor is covered over with a carpet. There are doors under the gallery giving 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 *divan* or belvedere, where the King comes to sit when he wishes to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his brigantines, and making his elephants fight In front of this *divan* there is a gallery which serves as a vestibule, and the design of SHÁH JAHÁN was to cover

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it throughout by a trellis of rubies and emeralds, which would represent, after nature, green grapes and those commencing to become red; but this design, which made a great noise throughout the world, and which required more wealth than he had been able to furnish, remains unfinished, only having 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. 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.[1]

As for the tombs which are in AGRA and its environs, there are some which are very beautiful, and there is not one of the eunuchs in the King's harem who is not ambitious to have a magnificent tomb built for himself. When they have amassed large sums they earnestly desire to go to MECCA, and to 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, in order to leave some monument to their names.

Of all the tombs which one sees at AGRA, that of the wife of SHÁH JAHÁN[2] is the most splendid. He purposely made it near the TASIMACAN,[3] where all foreigners come, so that the whole world should see and admire its magnificence. The TASIMACAN is a large bazaar,

[1] This should take rank as one of the most remarkable monoliths ever extracted from a quarry and dressed by stone-cutters' chisels. See p. 153.

[2] The Táj Mahal was erected by Sháh Jahán in memory of his queen, Mumtáz-i-Mahal. His own remains lie there too.

[3] Probably *Táj-i-mukám; i.e.* The camp of the Táj.

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consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which there are chambers for the use of merchants, and an enormous quantity of cottons is sold there. The tomb of this *Begum*, or sultan queen, is at the east end of the town by the side of the river in a great 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. 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*[1] 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 elevated, one upon the other, with four 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 VAL DE GRACE at PARIS. It is covered within and without with white marble, the middle being of brick. Under this dome there is an empty tomb, for the *Begum* is interred under a vault which is 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, chandeliers, and other ornaments of that kind, and there are always there some *Mollahs*[2] to pray. I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which they have expended twenty-two years, during

[1] *Mufti*, a Turkish title applied to the supreme exponent of the law.

[2] More correctly *Mullá*.

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which twenty thousand men worked incessantly; this is sufficient to enable one to realise that the cost of it has been enormous. It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work, because, from want of wood, they had all to be made of brick, as well as the supports of the arches; this has entailed much labour and a heavy expenditure. SHÁH JAHÁN began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war which he had with his sons interrupted his plan, and AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it. An eunuch in command of 2000 men guards both the tomb of the *Begum* and the TASIMACAN, to which it is near at hand.

On one side of the town the tomb of King AKBAR[1] 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 JAHÁNGIR, father of SHÁH JAHÁN, is interred. 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 SHÁH JAHÁN, contrary to the practice of the Muhammadans, who hold images in abhorrence, has allowed this painting to remain, and it can only be in consequence of the fact that the King 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

[1] This was built by Sháh Jahángir at Sikandrá.

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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 King, 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 King seeing the elephant with this heavy bell suspended from its neck, he 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 SHÁH JAHÁN, and, as he was very clever and was an excellent poet, he was high in the good graces of the King, who had given him valuable governorships, but had never been able, either by promises or threats, to induce him to become a Muhammadan.

[1] There is a hiatus here in the original, probably Tavernier was uncertain as to the name, *Cotgia* (for *Khojeh*) being a title.

[2] *Kotwál*, *i.e.* police-magistrate or provost.

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CHAPTER VIII

Route from AGRA *to* PATNA *and* DACCA, *towns of the Province of* BENGAL; *and the quarrel which the author had with* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, *uncle of the King.*

I PARTED from AGRA for BENGAL on the 25th of November 1665[1] and lay the same day at a poor *caravansarái* distant from AGRA 3 *coss.*

The 26th [Nov.] I reached BERUZABAD (FEROZÁBÁD), 9 *coss.*

It is a small town, where, on my return, I received 8000 rupees of the balance of the money which ZAFAR KHÁN owed me for the goods which he had bought from me at JAHÁNÁBÁD.[2]

The 27th [Nov.]	to SERAIL MORLIDES (?)	.	9 *coss.*
28th ,,	,, ESTANJA (ETÁWAH[3])	.	14 ,,
29th ,,	,, HAII-MAL (AJIT-MÁL)	.	12 ,,
30th ,,	,, SEKANDERA (SIKANDRA)	.	13 ,,
1st of Dec.	to SANQUAL (near MUSANAGAR)		14 ,,

I met on this day 110 waggons, each drawn by 6 oxen, and there was upon each waggon 50,000 rupees.

[1] Tavernier, in Book I, chap. x, 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.)

[2] See for account of this purchase, p. 137.

[3] Elsewhere I have suggested that by Kadioue, Etáwah was also intended. (See pp. 96, 115.) The name is, I find, mentioned by Bernier.

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It was the revenue of the Province of BENGAL, of which all charges being paid and the purse of the Governor well filled, amounted to 5,500,000 rupees.[1] At one league on this side of SANQUAL you cross a river called SENGÁR,[2] which flows into the JUMNÁ, which is only half a league distant. You cross this river SENGÁR 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 JUMNÁ 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 *Rajas* where there is danger of being robbed.

The 2d [December] I came to a *caravansarái* called CHEROURABAD,[3] 12 *coss*.

Halfway you pass JAHÁNÁBÁD,[4] (?) 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 of nine or ten years[5] presented to him. On my approaching

[1] 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 "Manouzzi," *i.e.* Manouchi, in the time of Sháh Jahán, subsequently it fell to 8,621,200 rupees. (*Géog. de. l'Ind.*, p. 443.)

[2] Saingour in the original.

[3] Not identified.

[4] Gianabad in the original, to west of Korá.

[5] Tame rhinoceroses, to which a good deal of freedom was allowed, were formerly not uncommonly kept by the *Rajas*. Sometimes, as at Baroda, they were performers in the fighting arena, and on such occasions were commonly painted with divers bright colours. Elsewhere I have shown that the *Kartazonon* of Megasthenes and the "Horned Ass" of Ktesias were probably this animal; in the latter case the colours which have puzzled so many commentators were, I believe, artificial pigments applied to the hide of the rhinoceros seen by Ktesias,

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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 3d [December] I came to SERRAIL CHAGEADA (SARÁI SHÁHZÁDÁ), 10 *coss.*

The 4th, to SERRAIL ATAKAN (HUTGÁON), 13 *coss.*

The 5th, to AURANGÁBÁD,[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 Sultan SHUJÁ, 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 (ALUM CHAND), 9 *coss.*

About two leagues on this side of ALUM CHAND you meet the GANGES. Monsieur BERNIER,[2] Physician to the King, and a man named RACHEPOT, with whom I was, were surprised to see that this river, of which they make so much talk, is not larger than the SEINE

as they are on elephants at the present day. (*Proceed. Roy. Irish Academy*, 2d Ser., vol. ii, No. 6, 1885.) Chardin describes and figures a rhinoceros from Ethiopia which he saw at Ispahan. He says he did not know whether the animal was found in India. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam ed., 1711, vol. viii, p. 133.)

[1] Aurangábád, not now on the maps. Perhaps same as Kadioue. See pp. 96 and 113.

[2] M. Bernier, the well-known historian of the Mogul Empire, was born at Joué-Etian, in Angers, in September 1620. In 1654 he went to Syria and Egypt, and from Cairo, where he remained for a year, he went to Suez and embarked for India, where he took service as physician to the Great Mogul (*Voyages*, t. i, p. 9). In 1668 he returned to France, and died in 1688.

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in front of the LOUVRE, it being perhaps thought that it equalled in width, at the least, the DANUBE below BELGRADE. There is actually so little water from the month of March to the month of 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 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 King even and all his court drink no other. You see every day a large number of camels which do nothing else but fetch water from the GANGES.

The 7th [Dec.] we came to HALABAS[1] (ALLÁHÁBÁD), 8 *coss*.

ALLÁHÁBÁD 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,[2] who practised both surgery and medicine. It was he who advised us not to drink any of the GANGES water, which would produce disturbance of the

[1] Alláhábád, Iláhábás of Akbar, at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges.

[2] M. Claude Maille of Bourges. As we shall see in Book I, chap. xviii, 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 Mir Jumlá; he had after his escape set up as a surgeon to the *Nawáb*, with

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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 mid-day on the bank of the river, till M. MAILLE brought a letter from the Governor giving us permission to cross. For on each side there is a *Darogah*, who allows no one to pass without an order; and he takes note also of the kind of merchandise carried, each waggon being charged four rupees, and a chariot paying but one, without counting the boat, for which it is necessary to pay separately.

an equipment consisting of a case of instruments and a box of ointments which he had stolen from M. Cheteur, the Dutch Ambassador to Golconda. Tavernier throws no light upon his identity with this physician. He mentions that M. Cheteur left a surgeon named Pitre de Lan with the king of Golconda. (See Book I, chap. xix.)

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This day the halt was at SADOUL SERAIL[1] (?) 16 *coss.*
The 9th at YAKEDIL-SERA (JAGDIS SARÁI) . 10 ,,
10th at BOURAKY-SERA (BABOO SARÁI) . 10 ,,
11th at BANAROU (BENARES) . . 10 ,,

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 that the streets are so narrow. It has several *caravansaráis*, 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, in order to get the King's stamp impressed on the pieces of calico or silk, otherwise they are fined and flogged. 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[3] 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 Muhammadan tombs, of which some are of a very beauti-

[1] Possibly Sydábád, which, however, is only about 17 miles from Alláhábád; in any case the 16 *coss* is too much. The subsequent stages to Benares are 18, 18, and 22 miles.

[2] Benares is 74 miles distance to the east of Alláhábád, and 466 south-east of Delhi.

[3] This must be the Barná, as the Gumti is 16 miles off. The Barná is not now a large river, but rather a small stream.

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ful 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.[1] 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. 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 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 BHUTÁN, 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 BHUTÁN that they bring musk, and I shall give a description of it in Book III.

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.

[1] This was probably the Asoka pillar, known as the *Lát Bhairo*, which is believed to have been erected in the third century B.C.

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The 13th [December] I halted at BATERPOUR (BAHÁDURPUR) . . . . 2 *coss.*

14th at SATRAGY-SERA (SADRÁZÁ-KI-SARÁI on old map)[1] . . . 8 ,,

15th at MONIARKY-SERA (MOHANIÁ-KI-SARÁI)[2] . . . . . 6 ,,

During the morning of this day, after having travelled two *coss*, I crossed a river called CARNASAR SOU,[3] and at three *coss* from thence one crosses another named SAODE-SOU,[4] and both are crossed by fords.

The 16th at GOURMABAD (KHURMÁBÁD) . 8 *coss.*

It is a town on a river called GOUDERA-SOU,[5] and you cross it by a stone bridge.

The 17th at SASERON (SÁSSERÁM)[6] . . 4 *coss.*

SÁSSERÁM is a town at the foot of the mountains, near to 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 *Nawáb* named SELIM-KHÁN, 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 *Nawáb*, SELIM-KHÁN, who succeeded his

[1] Sedradje of Tieffenthaler. [2] Mohonia of Tieffenthaler.

[3] *Sou* for *su*, Turkish for river. This appears to have been the Karamnasar river.

[4] The Durgouti river? [5] Koodra river.

[6] Sásserám, in Behar. Tieffenthaler gives the distance as thirty-five *milles* from Benares to Sásserám. The tomb of the Afghan, Sher Sháh, who became Emperor after his conquest of Humáyun, rightly so named by Tieffenthaler, is in the middle of the tank with that of his son Selim, otherwise known as Islám Shah.

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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 (ROHTAS), 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 (DOUDNAGAR), where there is a fine tomb . 9 *coss.*

The 19th to HALVA-SERA (ARWAL)[4] . 10 ,,

20th to AGA-SERA (?) . . . 9 ,,

In the morning I met 130 elephants, both large and small, which they were taking to DELHI to the GREAT MOGUL.

The 21st to PATNA. . . . . 10 *coss.*

PATNA is one of the largest towns in INDIA, on the margin of the GANGES, on its western side, and it is

[1] Soulmelpour, a misprint for Soumelpour (see Book II, chap. xvii, where it is shown to have been situated in Palamow). It is also mentioned by Tieffenthaler as Sommelpour, thirty *milles* S.S.E. of Rohtás. (*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 Akbárpur, a village at the foot of the hill upon which the remains of the old fort of Rohtás are still to be seen. A small portion has been restored and made habitable. I have described this neighbourhood in *Jungle Life in India*, p. 349. Of the substitution of the French *bourg* for the Indian *púr* these pages furnish several examples.

[3] The river Sone or Son. It rises in the west, near Amarkantak.

[4] Arwal on Sone, 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.

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not less than two *coss* in length. The houses are not better than 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,[1] which it refines at a large village called CHAPRÁ, 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 CHAPRÁ,[2] but who halted their carriages in order to salute us. We did not separate before we had emptied together two bottles of SHIRÁZ 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 Muhammadans. A *Mimbachi*[3] who commanded 1000 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 other attendants by about a quarter of a league, he came behind him and cut off his head with his sword. He then rode im-

[1] An account of the manufacture of saltpetre and the decadence of this once valuable trade will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 499.

[2] Choupar in the original, Chuprah, or Chaprá (Sœpra of Dutch writers), headquarters of Sáran District, Bengal; owing to the recession of the Ganges from it its importance has diminished. At the end of the last century the French, Dutch, and Portuguese had factories there, and the saltpetre of the district was specially famous.

[3] *Mimbachi*. Here *Mim* stands for *Ming*, Turkish for 1000.

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mediately to the town at full speed, crying aloud that he had slain his master 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 defunct did what they could to procure his execution, the Governor did not dare to condemn him, as he feared the people, who protested that the young man had acted rightly.

I left PATNA in a 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 ALLÁHÁBÁD, 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 (DARIAPUR ?),[4] 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

[1] This is a mistake for December, see below.

[2] Bykatpur perhaps, but it is only 13 miles from Patna. On the whole Bar seems to correspond best.

[3] Púnpún or Fatwa *nala*, a river of South Behár, which rises in the south of the Gayá district. It joins the Ganges at Fatwa, and is crossed by the road from Bankipúr at 10 miles from that town and 5 from Bykatpur.

[4] There is some uncertainty about this identification, as the distances given are but little guide. On the Atlas Sheet the name is printed Durgapur. Perhaps if Beconcur stands for Bar it should be Deeareh, halfway to Mongir.

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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.[1] All that day I beheld lofty mountains[2] 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 (MONGIR) town, 18 *coss*.

The first day of January 1666, after having sailed two hours I saw the GANDAK[3] enter the GANGES from the north. It is a large navigable river.

This evening the halt was at ZANGIRA (JANJIRA,)[4] 8 *coss*.

But as the GANGES twisted much during the day it is by water fully 22 *coss*.

During the 2d, 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.[5]

I slept at BAQUELPOUR (BHÁGALPUR),[6] 18 *coss*.

The 3d, after four hours' travelling on the GANGES, I encountered the river KATARE,[7] which comes from the north, and slept this day at a village called PONGANGEL,[8] at the end of the mountains which abut on the GANGES, 13 *coss*.[9]

[1] Compare Keul and Tiljugá rivers, and Kargariá, Bhágmati and Chándú *khâls*.

[2] Kharakpúr hills and adjoining ranges.

[3] Gandet in the original. This was the *Boor* or *Burh* Gandak river.

[4] For Jahángirha of map, near Sultánganj.

[5] These names probably represent sundry *khâls*.

[6] Bhágalpur in Behár.

[7] Probably the Kosi.

[8] Called Borregangel by De Graaf in 1669 (see *Histoire Generale 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 Sikrigalli *ghât*.

[9] This distance is much understated, being about 50 miles by land.

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On the 4th [January], one hour below PONGANGEL, I met a great river called MART-NADI (KALINDRY?), which comes from the north, and I slept at RAGEMEHALE (RÁJMAHÁL[1]), 6 *coss*.

RÁJMAHÁL 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,[2] 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[3] who have settled at the mouths of the GANGES, and by whom the inhabitants of DACCA, up to which place they made incursions, were molested, — the Governor and the merchants who dwelt at RÁJMAHÁL removed to DACCA, which is to-day a place of considerable trade.[4]

On the 6th, having arrived at a great town called DONAPOUR[5] at 6 *coss* from RÁJMAHÁL, I left M. BERNIER, who went to KÁSIMBÁZÁR,[6] and from thence to HUGLI[7] by land, because when the river is low one

[1] Rájmahál, a well-known town on the Ganges. Made the capital in 1592.

[2] There is still a considerable amount of sport to be had in this neighbourhood, though the rhinoceros has become extinct since 1843.

[3] Portuguese at Noákhálí. (See *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. x, p. 341.)

[4] This change was made in the time of Jahángír, according to Tieffenthaler.

[5] Donapour, situated on the farther bank of the Ganges at six *milles* east of Bakarpour, according to Tieffenthaler.

[6] Casenbazar in the original. Kásimbázár (Cossimbazar). (See p. 130 *n.*)

[7] Ogouli in the original. Hugli. (See p. 132.)

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is unable to pass on account of a great bank of sand which is before a town called SOUTIQUI.[1]

I lay this evening at TOUTIPOUR,[2] distant from RÁJMAHÁL 12 *coss*.

At sunrise I beheld a number of crocodiles asleep on the sand.

The 7th I reached ACERAT (HADJRÁPÚR),[3] 25 *coss*.

From ACERAT to DACCA, by land, there are still 45 *coss*. All 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, but went 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 fishermen 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

[1] Súti or Sooty in Murshidábád district, where the Bhágirathi leaves the Ganges.

[2] Not identified. Tieffenthaler says two *milles*, probably a misprint, as his other distances correspond with those of Tavernier. Crocodiles of enormous size abound in this part of the Ganges.

[3] Acerat appears to be Hadjrápur, or the Hadjrapour of Tieffenthaler, twenty-five *milles* from Totipour; unlike as the two names appear when written, the resemblance will be seen when they are pronounced. It is called Hujrygotta on a map engraved by Whitechurch in 1776.

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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 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 (?), 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,[1] 11 *coss*.

On the 13th, at noon, we met a river at 2 *coss* from DACCA called LAQUIÁ,[2] 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,[3] over

[1] 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 I possess, and more detailed maps than I have had access to, to identify closely this portion of Tavernier's route.

[2] The Lakia river is remarkable among Bengal rivers for its swift current.

[3] *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.

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which there is a fine brick bridge, which MIR JUMLÁ[1] 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; 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.

We arrived at DACCA[2] 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. This 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, and the workmanship of it is rather beautiful.

[1] Mirza Mola in the original. Mir Jumlá. For other forms of his name see Index.

[2] Dacca in E. Bengal.

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On the occasion of my last visit to DACCA, the *Nawáb* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, who was then Governor of BENGAL, was at war with the King of ARAKAN, whose navy generally consists of 200 galleys together with several other small boats. These galleys traverse the Gulf of BENGAL and enter the GANGES, the tide ascending even beyond DACCA.

SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, 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 navy of the King of ARAKAN, and of a sudden forty galleys, which were commanded by Portuguese, 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 only received double the ordinary pay. It is a most surprising thing to see with what speed these galleys are propelled by oars. There are some so long that they have up to fifty oars on each side, but there are not more than two men to each oar. You see some which are much decorated, where the gold and azure have not been spared.[1]

The Dutch have some of them in their service in which they carry their merchandise, and they also sometimes require 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 *Nawáb*, 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

[1] With the aid of the Dutch and the partly enforced assistance of the Portuguese bandits, Sháistá Khán captured Chittagong in 1666.

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jewel consisting of a very beautiful emerald. During the evening, after I had returned to the Dutch with whom I lodged, the *Nawáb* 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 a case of enamelled gold, a pair of pistols inlaid with silver, and a telescope. All this which I gave, both to the father and to the young lord of about ten years of age, cost me more than 5000 *livres*.

On the 16th I agreed with him as to the price of my goods, and afterwards I went to his *Vizir* to receive my bill of exchange payable at KÁSIMBÁZÁR.[1] 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 KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where one cannot go except by reascending the GANGES, because the land route is very bad and full of jungle and swamps. The danger consists in this, that the small vessels which one employs 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 make the boat upset, and to recover the silver afterwards, at the bottom of the river, for the purpose of appropriating it.

On the 20th I took leave of the *Nawáb*, who invited me to return to see him, and gave me a passport

[1] Kásimbázár, a town in the Murshidábád District, was of great commercial importance before Calcutta was founded. It was situated on the Bhágirathi river, which has changed its course, and now flows three miles from the town. In succession the different European nations monopolised the trade. The first English commercial agent was appointed in 1658. Its proximity to Murshidábád was a cause of constant danger to it, and it was often attacked by the *Nawábs* of Bengal.

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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 AHMADÁBÁD, when I went to the army to meet him in the Province of DECCAN, which the *Raja* SIVAJI[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 out of regard for me, to which they invited the English and some Portuguese, with an Augustin friar of the same nation.

On the 22d I went to visit the English, who had for Chief or President Mr. PRAT (? PRATT), and after that the Reverend Portuguese Father, and some other *Franks*.

Between the 23d 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 parted from DACCA, and all the Dutch accompanied me for two leagues with their small armed boats, and the Spanish wine was not spared on this occasion. Having remained on the river from the 29th of January to the 11th of February, I left my servants and goods in the boat at HADJRÁPUR, where I hired a boat which carried me to a large village called MIRDAPOUR.(?)

On the 12th [February] I hired a horse to carry myself, and not finding another for my baggage, I was obliged to employ two women, who took charge of it. I arrived the same evening at KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where I was well received by M. ARNOUL VAN WACHTTENDONK,

[1] Seva-gi in the original, see Book I, chap. xii.

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Director of all the settlements of the Dutch in BENGAL, who invited me to lodge with him.

On the 13th I passed the day agreeably with the Dutch gentlemen, who wished 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 MURSHIDÁBÁD.[1] It is a great town, 3 *coss* from KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where the Receiver-general of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN 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 *Nawáb* not to pay me in case he had not already done so. He did not tell me the reason which caused SHÁISTÁ KHÁN to act in this manner, and I returned to my lodging not a little surprised at this proceeding.

On the 16th I wrote to the *Nawáb* 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

[1] Madesou Bazarki in the original. Murshidábád, then also called Maksudabad, and by the English Muxoodabad.

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town called NADIYÁ,[1] 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 2d of March, during which time the Dutch made me welcome, and sought to give me all the amusement which the country could afford. We made several excursions on the river, and we had for food all the delicacies which are found in our European gardens, salads of several kinds, cabbages, asparagus, peas, and principally beans, of which the seed comes from Japan, the Dutch desiring to have all kinds of herbs and pulses in their gardens, which they are most careful to cultivate, without having been able, however, to get artichokes to grow.

On the 2d of March I left HUGLI and arrived on the 5th at KÁSIMBÁZÁR.

The following day I went to MURSHIDÁBÁD to know if the Receiver who had refused to pay me had received another order from the *Nawáb*. For I have above said that I immediately wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN to complain of his action and to know for what reason he did not wish my bill of exchange to be paid. The Director of the Dutch factories added a letter to mine, and pointed out to the *Nawáb* that I was too well known to him—having, formerly at AHMADÁBÁD, 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

[1] Nandi in the original. Nadiyá, capital town of Nadiyá District, situated on the west bank of Bhágirathi.

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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 same treatment as 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 *Nawáb* 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 *Nawáb* added that if I was unwilling to content myself with this payment I might come to take back my goods. This action of the *Nawáb* 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]

AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, at the solicita-

[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 March 1666 till his return to France in December 1668. Thus, on the 8th of April, he states he was at Maldah, and on the 12th of May he reascended the Ganges (Book III, chap. xiv); on the 2d of July he witnessed an eclipse of the sun at Patna, where he had probably remained during the month of June (Book III, chap. xiv). 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 Burhánpur on the 1st November (*Recueil*, p. 117), and met there M. Thevenot, who returned then from Golconda and Madras (*Recueil*, p. 118). He makes two references to his having been in Surat in January, or the beginning of 1667 (see Book I, chap. ix; and vol. iii, *Recueil*, 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 Abbás (*Gombroon*). The above facts are partly derived from M. Joret's work, pp. 198-202.

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tion of two Persians and a *Banian*, had established a short time ago a custom very injurious to merchants who come from Europe and other places to sell jewels to 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 King with their goods, either with their consent or by force; this the Governor of SURAT did to me in the year 1665, sending me to DELHI or JAHÁNÁBÁD where the King 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 King. One of these two Persians is named *Nawáb* AKIL KHÁN, *i.e.* the prince of wit, and it is he who has charge of all the precious stones of the King. The other is named MIRZA-MAUZIM(?), whose duty is to tax each piece. The *Banian*, called NYALCHAND,[1] has to see whether the stones are false and if they have any flaw.

These three men have obtained permission from the King that they shall see, before he does, all which the foreign merchants bring to sell to him, and that afterwards they shall present them to him themselves; 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 desire him to 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 King at half their value, besides which the King AURANGZEB cares but little for stones, and loves gold

[1] Akel Kan, Mirza-Mouson, and Nali Kan, in the original. (See Book II, chap. x.)

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and silver much better. On the day of the King'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 King, as I have said, makes more count than of 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 he who values the jewels entrusts in the hands of several merchants, to sell them to the nobles, who are bound to make presents to the King, and in this manner the King receives back both the money and his jewels together.

There is still another disadvantage for the merchant jeweller. It is that after the King has seen any stones, a prince or other noble who knows of it will never buy them, and besides, while these three men appointed to view 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 things. These *Banians* are in business a thousand times worse than the Jews, and more cunning than they are in all kinds of dodges and in malice when they wish for revenge. Observe then the bad turn which these three personages played me.

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When I arrived at JAHÁNÁBÁD, one of them came to me and told me that he had the King's order to see what I brought, before being permitted to exhibit it in his presence. They wished very sincerely that the King was not at JAHÁNÁBÁD, because they would have sought to buy for themselves all that I had, in order to profit by reselling it to the King, and to the Princes when the opportunity should occur—this, nevertheless, they had never been able to obtain from me.

On the following day they 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, of which the largest was thirty carats and the least sixteen, with another single pear-shaped pearl of fifty-five carats. As for the bouquet, the King 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 King, ZAFAR KHÁN, uncle of the King, saw it, after which he did not wish to return it, saying that he would pay me as highly for it as the King, asking me not to mention it; for in fact he desired to present it to the King.

After the King had selected from among my jewels those which he desired, ZAFAR-KHÁN bought several pieces from me, and at the same time purchased the great pearl. Some days afterwards he caused my payment to be made according to what had been 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

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for; this was wholly untrue, and ZAFAR KHÁN having told me that if I would not accept the money which he offered me I might take it back, I took him at his word, assuring him that during his life he would never see it again. I kept to my word, and remained firm in my resolve. That which made me so fixed was in part because I desired to carry, if I could, something considerable to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, 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 King at JAHÁNÁBÁD, regarding which I had a great dispute with the Governor of SURAT. For when I went to salute him, he immediately told me that it would not be as on my other journeys, and that the King 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 King, and from fear 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 ZAFAR KHÁN, who was anxious to take his revenge for my refusal, wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that I was taking some jewels to show to him, and among others a very beautiful pearl which I had sold to ZAFAR KHÁN; but that he had returned it to me subsequently, having ascertained that I wished 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 SHÁISTÁ KHÁN did not receive till after he had

[1] See Book II, chap. xi. [2] See p. 87.

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delivered to me my bill of exchange, that this 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 SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, I ought not to be silent regarding those which I was also obliged to make to the King, to the *Nawáb* ZAFAR KHÁN, to the eunuch of the GRAND BEGUM, sister of AURANGZEB, to the Grand Treasurer, and to the attendants of the treasury. For it should be stated that whoever it may be who desires to have audience of the King, 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. Having arrived at JAHÁNÁBÁD I went to make my reverence to the King 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 1800 *livres*,[1] and the whole piece to 4378 *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, and from 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 King AURANGZEB were charmed with the beauty of

[1] £135. [2] £328 : 7s.

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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 when marching.

I also presented the King with a battle mace of rock crystal, all the sides of which were covered with rubies and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal. This piece cost 3119 *livres.*[1]

Also a Turkish saddle embroidered with small rubies, pearls, and emeralds, which had cost 2892 *livres.*[2]

Also another horse's saddle with the housing, the whole covered with an embroidery of gold and silver, costing 1730 *livres.*[3] The entire present which I made to the King amounted to 12,119 *livres.*

Present made to *Nawáb* ZAFAR KHÁN, 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 2150 *livres.*[4]

Also a ring with a perfect ruby which cost 1300 *livres.*[5]

To the Grand Treasurer a watch having a golden case covered with small emeralds, 720 *livres.*[6]

To the attendants of the treasury of the King, and to those who drew the money from the treasury, 200 rupees, which make 300 *livres.*[7]

To the eunuch of the GRAND BEGUM, sister of the King, AURANGZEB, a watch with a painted case which cost 260 *livres.*[8]

[1] £233 : 18s : 6d.
[2] £216 : 18s.
[3] £129 : 15s.
[4] £161 : 5s.
[5] £97 : 10s.
[6] £54.
[7] £22 : 10s.
[8] £19 : 10s.

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All the presents which I made, to the GREAT MOGUL,[1] to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, and to ZAFAR KHÁN, uncles of his majesty, as also to the Grand Treasurers of the King, to the stewards of the *Khán's* houses, to the Captains of the palace gates, and further to those who on two occasions brought me the *khil át*,[2] or robe of honour, on the part of the King, and as often on the part of the BEGUM, his sister, and once on the part of ZAFAR KHÁN—all these presents, I say, amounted to the sum of 23,187 *livres*.[3]

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 first volume of the present which I also made to him who brought the *khil'át* on the part of the King of PERSIA, to whom I presented 200 *écus*.[4]

[1] *Mogor* in the original. [2] *Khilat*, see p. 20.

[3] 23,187 *livres* at 1s. 6d. = £1739 : 0 : 6. Trade must have been profitable to have allowed such presents to be made.

[4] £45.

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CHAPTER IX

Route from SURAT *to* GOLCONDA

I HAVE made several journeys to GOLCONDA, 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 HINDUSTÁN. I shall not speak in this chapter save of the ordinary route from SURAT to GOLCONDA, in which I include that from AGRA, which leads to DAULATÁBÁD, 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 (BÁRDOLI) . 9 ,,
,, BARNOLI to BEARA (BEHÁRÁ). . 12 ,,
,, BEARA to NAVAPOUR (NAWÁPURÁ) . 16 ,,

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.*
,, RINKULA to PIPELNAR (PIMPALNAR, or PIMPULNI) . . . . 8 ,,
,, PIPELNAR to NIMPOUR (NAUNPUR) . 17 ,,
,, NIMPOUR to PATANE (PATNÁ). . 14 ,,

[1] See for this part of the route, p. 49.
[2] Scented rice, see p. 50.

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From PATANE to SECOURA (SAKORÁ?) .	14 *coss.*
,, SECOURA to BAQUELA (WAKLÁ) .	10 ,,
,, BAQUELA to DISGAON (DEOGÁON) .	10 ,,
,, DISGAON to DULTABAT (DAULATÁBÁD)[1]	10 ,,

DAULATÁBÁD is one of the best forts in the kingdom of the GREAT MOGUL; it is on a mountain, scarped on all sides, the road which they have made 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 BIJÁPUR and GOLCONDA revolted and threw off the yoke, was retaken under the reign of JAHÁNGIR by a subtle stratagem. SULTÁN KURUM,[2] who was afterwards called SHÁH JAHÁN, commanded the army of the King his father in the DECCAN, and AZAM KHÁN,[3] father-in-law of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, who was one of the generals, said something to the Prince, who was so enraged that, sending at once for one of his *paposhes* or slippers, which they leave at the door, had him given 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. All this was done through an understanding between the Sultan and the general, in

[1] Daulatábád. A town and fort in the Deccan, ten miles N.W. of Aurungábád, 170 miles N.E. of Bombay, and 28 miles N.W. of Haidarábád. Also known by the name of Deogiri or Deogar. "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 *Gazetteer of India* for information. The distance to Daulatábád from Naunpur by these stages, measured on the map, is 94 miles—as against the 58 *coss* above.

[2] Sultán Kurum, afterwards Sháh Jahán. [3] Ast-Kan in the original.

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order better to deceive the world, and especially the spies which the King of BIJAPUR might have in the army of the Prince. The rumour of the disgrace of AZAM KHÁN being quickly spread, and he himself having gone to seek refuge with the King of BIJAPUR, the latter, not having sharp enough eyes to perceive the ruse, gave him a good reception and promised him his protection. AZAM KHÁN, 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 DAULATÁBÁD; this was granted to him.

He entered with eight or ten camels, the two *kajawas*[1] 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 *kajawa*, all men of action;[2] of the same sort was each *Chatri*[3] 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,[4] 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

[1] *Cajavas* in original, for *kajawas*,—panniers used for the conveyance of women on camels.

[2] Sultán Kurum (*i.e.* Sháh Jahán) imitated, if he did not take a hint, from the tactics of the siege of Troy.

[3] *Chatre* in original, for *Chatri* = Rajput.

[4] 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.)

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approach except by passing the fortress. There was a Dutch gunner there, who after serving the King 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 RAJA 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 King against the RAJA SIVAJI, and when passing near the fortress of DAULATÁBÁD[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 *Raja* 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 *Raja*, approving of the scheme, promised him that if he should be able to accomplish it he would obtain for him his dismissal from the King 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 (AURANGÁBÁD),[3] 4 *coss*.

[1] Raja Jesseing in the original. [2] Daulatábád, see Book II, chap. xi.
[3] Aurangábád, on the Kaum river, a tributary of the Godávari, is

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AURANGÁBÁD was formerly only a village, of which AURANGZEB 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 *caravansarái*. The mosque and the tomb cost a large sum, because they are covered with white marble, which was brought by waggon from the neighbourhood of LAHORE,[1] and was on the road nearly four months. One day, when going from SURAT to GOLCONDA, I met, at five marches from AURANGÁBÁD, more than 300 waggons laden with this marble, the smallest of which was drawn by 12 oxen.

From AURENGABAT to PIPELI (PIPRI)	.	8 *coss*.
,, PIPELI to AUBAR (AMBÁD)[2] .	.	12 ,,
,, AUBAR to GUISEMNER (?) .	.	10 ,,
,, GUISEMNER to ASTI (ASHTÁ)	.	12 ,,
,, ASTI to SARUER (SÁOLI ?) .	.	16 ,,

situated in the dominions of Haidarábád. It is 270 miles distant from the capital, and 68 miles from Ahmadnagar. The mausoleum resembles the Táj at Agra, on a small scale. The *caravansarái* referred to is still to be seen, and is described as being a vast stone building. The distance between Daulatábád and Aurangábád is 14 miles, so that the 4 *coss* is probably a misprint for 7.

[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. I have recently seen the statement repeated in an article in the *Times*. Probably it came from one of the known localities in Rájputána in the States of Alwar, Jaipur, or Jodhpur. The Makráná quarries in the last-named State furnished, it is said, the white marble of which the Táj was built.

[2] Thevenot (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 227) describes this route, and mentions a magnificent tank at Ambád.

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From SARUER to LESONA (LASONÁ) . 16 *coss.*
„ LESONÁ to NADOUR (NANDER)[1] . 12 „

You must cross a river at NANDER which flows into the Ganges, and pay 4 rupees per waggon, besides which, in order to cross, it is necessary to have a written order from the Governor.

From NADOUR to PATONTA (?) . . 9 *coss.*
„ PATONTA to KAKERI (?) . . . 10 „
„ KAKERI to SATAPOUR (SÁNTÁPUR) . 10 „
„ SATAPOUR to SITANAGA (?) . . 12 „
„ SITANAGA to SATANAGAR (SATULÁNAGAR) . . . . . 10 „

It is at SATULÁNAGAR that you first enter the territories of the King of GOLCONDA.

From SATANAGAR to MELUARI (?) . . 16 *coss.*
„ MELUARI to GIRBALLI (?) . . 12 „
„ GIRBALLI to GOLCONDA . . 14 „

This route from SURAT to GOLCONDA amounts to 324 *coss.*

And I made the journey in 27 days. I took 5 more in my journey in the year 1653, having followed a different road from PIMPALNAR,[2] where I arrived on the 11th of March, having parted from SURAT on the 6th.

The 12th at BIRGAM (? ERRGAUM of A.S.)
„ 13th at OMBERAT (OOMAPURÁNAH or OOMIÁNA of A.S.)
„ 14th at ENNEQUE-TENQUE[3]—a good fortress

[1] Nander, or Nandair of A.S., is situated on the north bank of the Godávari, which flows into the Bay of Bengal, and has no connection with the Ganges, but the name Guenga—Gange was sometimes formerly applied to the Godávari itself. See p. 159.

[2] For Pimpalnar, see p. 142.

[3] Unkie and Tunkie, Unkaee and Tunkaee of A.S., are distinct villages, the former being now a station on the Ahmadnagar railway.

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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 King 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 (LASOOR), where there passes a river, upon which, at a cannon's shot from the eastern bank, there is one of the largest pagodas[1] in the country, where a large number of pilgrims resort daily.

The 17th [March] to AURENGABAD (AURANGÁBÁD).

,, 18th ,, PIPELGAN or PIPLY (PIPRI).

,, 19th ,, EMBER (AMBÁD).

,, 20th ,, DEOGAN (DEOGÁON ?).

,, 21st ,, PATRIS (PATRI).

,, 22d ,, BARGAN (PAUNGREE ?).

,, 23d ,, PALAM (PALLING).

,, 24th ,, CANDEAR (KANDAHÁR), a great fort, but commanded on one side by a mountain.

The 25th [March] to GARGAN. (?)

,, 26th ,, NAGOUNI (HINGÁNI ?).

,, 27th ,, INDOVE (INDORE).

,, 28th ,, INDELVAI (YEDALVOI).

,, 29th ,, REGIVALI (REDDYPULLAY).

Between these two last places there is a small river which separates the territories of the GREAT MOGUL from those of the KING OF GOLCONDA.

The 30th [March] to MASAPKIPET (MUSÁIBPET).

,, 31st ,, MIREL-MOLA-KIPET (MULLANIPET).

[1] The famous rock temples of Ellora ?

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The 1st [April] to GOLCONDA.[1]

To go from AGRA to GOLCONDA it is necessary to go to BURHÁNPUR by the route already described; from BURHÁNPUR to DAULATÁBÁD, which is not more than five or six marches, and from DAULATÁBÁD to the other places which I have mentioned.

You may take still another route to go from SURAT to GOLCONDA, that is to say, by GOA and BIJAPUR, 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 GOLCONDA, and to the late wars which it has had to undertake against the neighbouring States, during the time that I was in INDIA.

[1] Thevenot's route between Aurangábád and Golconda, 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, etc. (*Voyage des Indes*, pp. 235, 277.)

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CHAPTER X

Of the kingdom of GOLCONDA *and the wars which it has carried on during the last few years.*

THE Kingdom of GOLCONDA, speaking generally, is a rich country, abounding in corn, rice, cattle, sheep, fowl, 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] 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.

BHÁGNAGAR is the name of the capital town of this kingdom, but it is commonly called GOLCONDA, from

[1] Probably the so-called *chela* fish, which are in reality, as I am informed by Dr. Francis Day, the fry of several different species. 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.

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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 maintains a large garrison. It is, in reality, a town where the King keeps his treasure, having left his residence in BHÁGNAGAR since it was sacked by the army which AURANGZEB sent against it, as I shall relate in due course.

BHÁGNAGAR is then the town which they commonly call GOLCONDA, 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 caused the foundations to be laid, and desired that it should bear the name of his wife, calling it BHÁGNAGAR, *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 BHÁGNAGAR by a grand stone

[1] Bhágnagar, or the Fortunate City, was so called by Kutab Sháh Muhammad Kuli after a favourite mistress, whose name was, however, Bhágmati, not, as stated by our author, Nagar, which merely signifies town. It was built close to the banks of the Musi river, and became the seat of Government instead of Golconda, which is 7 miles distant. By the Persians, according to Thevenot, it was already called Ḥaidarábád, and is so generally now. *Bagh*, a distinct word, means garden.

[2] The true latitude of Golconda is 17° 22′ N., the longitude being 78° 26′ 30″ E.

[3] The Musi river.

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bridge, which is scarcely less beautiful than the PONT NEUF at PARIS. The town is nearly the size of ORLEANS, 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 AURANGÁBÁD, 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 *caravansaráis* 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 GOLCONDA.

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 *caravansaráis*, having two storeys, where there are large halls and chambers, which are cool. At the end of this street you find a large square, upon which stands one of the walls of the palace, in the middle of which 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 which is close by; and you enter at first into a large court surrounded by porticoes

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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 which, as upon those of the quarter of the palace where they keep the elephants, 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 so enormous a size that they spent five years in quarrying it, and they employed 500 or 600 men 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 1400 oxen to draw it.[3] I shall explain why the work is

[1] The idea of these elevated gardens was probably introduced by Persian immigrants. The gardens of Golconda with their pavilions are still famous.

[2] This is the Jamá Masjid, or Cathedral Mosque, built by Muhammad Kúli, who died in 1611.

[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 surrounded by a mountain of clay, which had then to be removed (Comp. *Voyage in the Indian Ocean, etc.*, vol. i, p. 169, London, 1803). A very interesting account, with sketches and diagrams, of the means used by the natives for moving large masses of stone will

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incomplete.[1] 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, each of them being about a *coss* in circuit, upon which you see some decorated boats intended for the pleasure of the King, and along the banks 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 GOLCONDA;[2] and every day at 4 o'clock P.M. bread and *paldo*[3] 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 first gives notice to the officer who commands the guard, and he sends to the *Darogha*[4] to

be found in the *Rurki Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, 2d Series, 1878, vol. iii, p. 1; and *Selec. Rec., N. W. P. Government*, New Series, vol. v, p. 316. [1] See p. 163.

[2] These massive ruins command the fort of Golconda; they indicate an enormous expenditure, and some of the tombs are said to have cost £150,000. [3] *Paldo* or *Pilldu*, Hin., a dish of rice, meat, and spices.

[4] The Prefect or Superintendent of Police.

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give him notice also. But as it often happens that the *Darogha* is engaged, or that he is taking exercise outside the town, and sometimes also as 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 they plant in the ground three rows of sticks of the length of a short-pike, at the ends of which they attach cords which cross one another, and no one is allowed, whosoever he may be, 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 balcony there is an opening to allow those who are summoned to pass through. 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 and draws up afterwards, in order to present them to his Majesty.

It is the principal nobles who mount guard every Monday—each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of a week. There are some of these nobles who command 5000 or 6000 horse, and

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they 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 from thence by the main street they assemble in the square in front of the balcony. In the van you see ten or twelve elephants marching, more or fewer according to the rank of him who goes off guard. There are some among them bearing cages (*howdahs*) which somewhat resemble the body of a small coach, and there are others which only carry their driver, and another man instead of the cage, who holds a sort of banner.

After the elephants, the camels follow two by two, sometimes up to thirty or forty. Each camel has its saddle, upon which they place a small *culverin*,[1] which a man, clad in a skin from head to foot, like a sort of 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.

You see coming after them 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 about it, during three or four consecutive months which I have sometimes spent at BHÁGNAGAR, my lodging being in the main street, I

[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.

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enjoyed the amusement every week of 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 but 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 sole head-dress a scrap of cloth with three corners, one of which rests on the middle of the head, and the other two they tie together on the nape of the neck. They do not have a sabre like the Persians, but they carry 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 arrow, 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

[1] The iron at Haidarábád, 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 Panjáb for that purpose (see Jour, *As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xvi, pp. 417, 666). Two villages, situated to the north of Golconda, namely, Nirmal and Indore, are specially mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as producing excellent iron and steel. In my *Economic Geology* I inadvertently identified the latter with Indore in Málwá in Central India, and the oversight was not discovered in time to be corrected in the proofs of the volume. According to Thevenot, at Indelvai, *i.e.* Yedalvoi, four leagues from Indore, quantities of swords, daggers, and lances were made and distributed thence throughout India (*Voyages des Indes*, p. 235).

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20,000 entered in the *Darogha's* register, without which it is not allowed to any woman to ply this trade. 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 there they dance before him, and if he is not, an eunuch signals to them with his hand that they may 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 *tári*[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 *tári* 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 *tári*, 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.

All the people of GOLCONDA, both men and women,

[1] *Tári*, Anglici toddy—the sap of *Phœnix sylvestris*.

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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 GOLCONDA who reigns at present is called ABDUL KUTAB SHÁH,[1] and I will inform the reader, in a few words, whence he derives his origin. Under the rule of AKBAR, KING OF INDIA, father of JAHÁNGIR, the Moguls only extended their authority southwards to NARBEDER, and the river which passes it and, coming from the south, flows into the GANGES, separated their lands[2] from those of the *Raja* OF NARSINGHA,[3] which extended to Cape COMORIN, the other *Rajas* being, as it were, his subjects, and deriving their power from him. It is this *Raja* and his predecessors who have always been at war with those who succeeded TAMERLANE[4] in INDIA, and they were so powerful that the last *Raja* who was at war with AKBAR had

[1] Abdoul Coutou Cha in the original, for Abdul Kutab Sháh; he succeeded his father Muhammad Kuli on the throne of Golconda in A.D. 1611.

[2] This passage is obscure, owing to some jumble between the names Beder or Bidar and Narbeder (for Narbadá). The river of Beder which is referred to, and formed the boundary of the Mogul's ancient territory, was in reality the Godávari, 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. 147.

[3] 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. See *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hak. Socy., pp. 25, 39, etc.; also *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

[4] Tamerlane or Timur-lang (Temur-leng in the original), the ancestor of the Mogul Emperors, invaded India in 1398; but Bábar was the actual founder of the dynasty (1526-1530).

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on foot four armies, commanded by as many generals. The most powerful of the four had his quarters in the territories which to-day constitute the kingdom of GOLCONDA,[1] the second held his in the country of BIJAPUR, the third in the Province of DAULATÁBÁD, and the fourth in the region of BURHÁNPUR.[2] The RAJA 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 recognised as kings—one of GOLCONDA, another of BIJAPUR, another of BURHÁNPUR, and the other of DAULATÁBÁD. Although the *Raja* was an idolater, these four generals were Muhammadans, and he of GOLCONDA was of the sect of ALI,[3] descended from an ancient family of Turcomans, who inhabit the country of HAMADAN in PERSIA.[4]

He was, as I have said, the most powerful of all; and a few days after the death of the RAJA 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 JAHÁNGIR, son of AKBAR, conquered the kingdom of the new King of BURHÁNPUR;[5] SHÁH JAHÁN, son of JAHÁNGIR, that of the King of DAULATÁBÁD;[6] and

[1] The Bahmani dynasty; it lasted from 1347-1525.

[2] Bijapur, Daulatábád, and Burhánpur. A full account of these dynasties will be found in Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii, p. 179 *et seq.*

[3] Haly in original, for Ali, *i.e.* he was a Shía.

[4] He was the first of the Kutab Sháhi Kings. He reigned for thirty years, and was assassinated at the instigation of his sons.

[5] Not quite correct as regards Burhánpur, as there were eleven Princes of the Farukhi dynasty, from its foundation by Nasir Khán in 1400 A.D. till 1600 A.D., when it was taken possession of by Akbar.

[6] Daulatábád, or Deogiri, was taken possession of in the year 1632 by Mahábat Khán, Sháh Jahán's general.

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AURANGZEB, son of SHÁH JAHÁN, a part of the territory of BIJAPUR.[1] As for the King of GOLCONDA, neither JAHÁNGIR nor SHÁH JAHÁN 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*[2] of our money, sometimes more and sometimes less. To-day the most powerful of the *Rajas* of this great peninsula south of the GANGES is the *Raja* of VELOW,[3] who extends his authority as far as CAPE COMORIN, and who has succeeded to a part of the states of the *Raja* of NARSINGHA; but, as there is no trade in his country, this Prince makes but little noise, and strangers hardly ever go to it. The present King of GOLCONDA has no son; he has only three daughters, who are all married.

The eldest is married to one of the relatives of the Grand *Sheikh* of MECCA,[4] and the circumstances which preceded this marriage are sufficiently curious to occupy a place in my observations. The *Sheikh* having arrived at GOLCONDA in the garb of a mendicant, remained for some months at the gate of the

[1] Bijapur 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.

[2] Here we should read *livres* for *francs*, as in Book II, chap. xviii, the value of the new *pagoda* is stated to be 3½ rupees or 5¼ *livres*, *i.e.* 7s. 10½d.; and in Book II, chap. xxiv, the old *pagoda* is said to be equal to 7½ *livres*, or 11s. 3d. 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.

[3] Velow appears to have been identical with Vellore in North Arcot.

[4] *Chek* of Mecque in the original; called Mirza Muhammad on p. 168.

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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 *Sheikh* 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 his preliminary conversation. But at length the *Sheikh* 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 coming from 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 the country with a great calamity which would befall it 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, from whence they travel by land to MECCA. About two years afterwards the same *Sheikh* returned to GOLCONDA, 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. It was he who prevented the King from yielding up the fortress of GOLCONDA, where he had taken refuge when AURANGZEB and his son entered BHÁGNAGAR, as I shall presently relate—throwing himself upon him,

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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 thereafter, 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 GOLCONDA. He it is who is the cause why the Great Pagoda of BHÁGNAGAR[1] has remained unfinished, having threatened the kingdom with a great calamity if they persisted in completing it.

This Prince passionately loves all those who are proficient in mathematics, and he understands them fairly well; it is the reason why, although a Muhammadan, he favours all Christians who are learned in this science, as he particularly showed with regard to the Rev. Father EPHRAIM, a Capuchin, when he was passing through GOLCONDA 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, representing to him that he would lack neither occupation nor parishioners, since there were then some Christian Portuguese and many Armenians who came every year for trade. But Father EPHRAIM, who had his orders to proceed onwards to PEGU, was unable to accept his offer, and when he went to take leave of the *Sheikh* he bestowed upon him a *khil'at* of the most honourable kind possible, since it included the whole suit, namely, the cap, the *cabaye* or grand robe, the *arcalou*[2] or

[1] Pagoda at Bhágnagar; see p. 153.

[2] *Cabaye*, for *Kaba* (*e-Shâhi*), *i.e.* Royal Robe. *Arcalou.* I cannot make any suggestion as to the derivation of this word.

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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 made known to the *Sheikh* that he could not wear it, the latter nevertheless desired that he should take it, and told him 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 *Sheikh*, seeing that he could not detain the "Father," and not wishing to allow him to travel on foot from GOLCONDA 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 GOLCONDA 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 place which the Portuguese have in INDIA.

The second daughter of the King of GOLCONDA was espoused to Sultan MUHAMMAD, eldest son of AURANGZEB. What led to the marriage was this—MIR JUMLA,[2]

[1] Say £15.

[2] Mír Jumla. Tavernier writes this name in five different ways—Mir Gimola, Mirza Mola, Mirgimola, Amir Jemla, and Mir Jemla. See Index for references. His son's name was Muhammad Amin.

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Commander-in-Chief of the army of the King of GOLCONDA, who had received from him much good service towards the establishment of his throne, on going in the direction of BENGAL to regulate some *Raja's* 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. The credit and the wealth which MIR JUMLA 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 the power of MIR JUMLA should cause him to be suspected; that all his actions tended towards dethroning him and securing the kingdom of GOLCONDA 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 same 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 MIR JUMLA at length heard of it, and at once gave notice of it to 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

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of expression 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 and put in prison, with his mother and sisters; and this affair, which made a great commotion at Court, so much enraged MIR 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, in the direction of BENGAL, for the purpose of bringing to their allegiance some *Rajas* possessing territories on the GANGES; and SULTAN SHUJA, the second son of SHÁH JAHÁN, who was then Governor of BENGAL, was the one whom he considered it to be most suitable to address as the wisest Prince with whom he might join forces against the King of GOLCONDA, whom he no longer regarded as his master, but as the greatest of his enemies. He accordingly wrote to this Prince that if he was willing to join him he would afford him the means of taking possession of the whole of the kingdom of GOLCONDA, 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 SULTAN SHUJA, who let him know that he did not trust the word of a man who, being capable of betraying his King, 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 him. On receipt of this refusal of SULTAN SHUJA, MIR JUMLA wrote to AURANGZEB, who

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was then in his government of BURHÁNPUR, who, not being so scrupulous as his brother, accepted the offer which was made to him. Whilst MIR JUMLA advanced his troops towards BHÁGNAGAR, AURANGZEB marched with his by long stages towards the DECCAN, and the two armies being conjoined, they reached the gates of BHÁGNAGAR before the King had had time to put his affairs in order. He only had time to take refuge in the fortress of GOLCONDA, where AURANGZEB, after he had pillaged the town of BHÁGNAGAR[1] and removed all that was of much value from the palace, came at once to lay siege. The King, seeing himself so hard pressed, believed that he would soon have to yield; and in order to seek to turn this hurricane, which threatened his complete ruin, sent to MIR JUMLA both his wife and children with every honour. 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 GOLCONDA. Some days after the enemy had laid siege to the fortress, a gunner perceiving AURANGZEB upon his elephant visiting the outworks, whilst the King was on the bastion, he said to the latter that if his Majesty wished he could destroy the Prince with a shot of the cannon, 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. This stopped the attack which he was about to deliver, the whole camp being alarmed by his death. ABDUL ZABAR

[1] Bhágnagar, the modern Haidarábád. See p. 151.

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BEG,[1] general of the army of the King of GOLCONDA, who was close by with a flying camp of 4000 horse, having heard that the enemy were somewhat disordered by the loss of their General which they had sustained, 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 GOLCONDA, 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,[2] MIRZA MUHAMMAD, 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 GOLCONDA. The fortress was as vigorously attacked as it was vigorously defended; but MIR JUMLA, who still retained some regard for the King, and had it, 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. SHÁH JAHÁN, father of AURANGZEB, had formerly received kind treatment from the King of GOLCONDA, with whom he had taken refuge when he had lost the battle with his elder brother against the King JAHÁNGIR, their father, with whom they had gone

[1] Abdul Jaber Beg in the original.

[2] See p. 163.

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to war. JAHÁNGIR, having got the elder brother into his power, caused his eyes to be put out; but SHÁH JAHÁN, the younger brother, being better advised, took to flight, and the King of GOLCONDA having received him with kindness, they bound themselves together in close friendship—SHÁH JAHÁN swearing to his host that he would never fight with him whatever cause might arise. MIR JUMLA, who knew that it would not be difficult to bring to an understanding two Kings who were friends, little as AURANGZEB was inclined to give way, and wishing, moreover, that that Prince should find it advantageous to himself, communicated underhand to both one and the other what he planned in order to secure a lasting peace. He managed that the King of GOLCONDA first wrote to SHÁH JAHÁN 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. By the same address of MIR JUMLA, SHÁH JAHÁN, on his side, was advised, by way of reply to the letter of the King of GOLCONDA, to propose to him the marriage of his second daughter with SULTAN 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 GOLCONDA. 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.[1] As for MIR JUMLA, he quitted the service of the King of GOLCONDA, and went to BURHÁNPUR with AURANGZEB.

[1] The fine inflicted on the King of Golconda amounted, it is said, to £1,000,000 as a first instalment of an annual tribute, but was in part remitted by Sháh Jahán (Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii, p. 412).

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Soon afterwards SHÁH JAHÁN made him first Minister of State and Commander-in-Chief of his armies, and it was he who so powerfully aided AURANGZEB to ascend the throne by defeating SULTAN SHUJA. For MIR 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 despatches as if he had but one sole matter to attend to.

The third Princess of GOLCONDA was promised to SULTAN SAID, another *Sheikh* of MECCA,[2] and the matter had so far advanced that the day was named for the marriage. But ABDUL ZABAR BEG, general of the army, went to the King of GOLCONDA, 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 MIRZA 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,

[1] He understood other matters also, for Thevenot 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 Golconda, he made war with the King of Bijapur against Bisnagar (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 306). And Bernier 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" (*Hist. of the Last Revolution, etc.*, vol. i, p. 33).

[2] Sultan Said, or Saiyid. 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 Ibrahim, the second King of the dynasty. Quoted in *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 425 *n.*

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whom the father now keeps in prison in the fortress of GWALIOR, for having betrayed his side in favour of SULTAN SHUJA, his uncle.[1] This Princess would have been given at first and with no difficulty to MIRZA ABDUL HASAN if he had not been a debauchee, the King not having then any regard for him, and making no account of him; but since the marriage he has reformed.[2]

At the present time the King of GOLCONDA does not so much fear the Moguls, because, following their example, money does not leave his country, and he has amassed much to carry on war. Besides, he is greatly attached to the sect of ALI, to the extent of not wearing a cap (or turban?) like the other Muhammadans, because they say that ALI did not wear one, but another kind of head-dress; and it is this fact which causes the PERSIANS, who arrive in INDIA in great numbers to seek their fortunes, to go by preference to the King of GOLCONDA rather than to the MOGUL. It is the same with the King of BIJAPUR, whom the Queen, sister of the King of GOLCONDA, has been careful to bring up in the same sect of ALI, which also attracts many Persians to his service.

[1] See Book II, chap. vi.

[2] Ovington, on the authority of Sheldon, an English traveller, gives a different account of the marriages of these three Princesses. Quoted in *Hist. Genl. des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 425.

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CHAPTER XI

Route from GOLCONDA *to* MASULIPATAM[1]

FROM GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM it is counted to be 100 *coss* by the straight road; but when you wish to go by way of the diamond mine called COULOUR in Persian, and GANI in the Indian language,[2] it is 112 *coss*, and this is the route which I have ordinarily taken.

From GOLCONDA to TENARA,[3] 4 *coss*.

TENARA is a fine place, where there are four very beautiful houses, each having a large garden. That one of the four which is on the left of the high road is incomparably more beautiful that the three others. It

[1] Masulipatam. Thevenot gives the distance as 53 leagues. The true distance is about 210 miles, and from Madras 285 miles.

[2] *Kollur* is the modern name by which this famous site is known; it is situated on the Kistna 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 Book II, chap. 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" (*Kán-i*), and is known to have been used in connection with other mines. (*Vide* Index for further references.)

[3] This place appears to be the same as Atenara, mentioned in Book I, chap. xix. It is not given on modern maps. It is also mentioned by Thevenot as Tenara.

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is all built of cut stone and in two storeys, containing large galleries, beautiful halls, and fine rooms. In front of the house there is a large courtyard, somewhat like the PLACE ROYALE in PARIS. On each of the three other sides there is a large entrance, and from one side to the other a fine veranda, elevated about 4 or 5 feet above the ground and well arched over, and here travellers of the superior classes are accustomed to lodge. Above 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; and it should be remarked that only three of these houses may be occupied, for the grandest and most beautiful one is reserved for the Queen. When she is not there one 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 this manner. There are small chambers destined for poor travellers, and every day towards evening they receive a dole of bread, rice, or vegetables already cooked; and to the idolaters, who eat nothing which has been prepared by others, they give flour to make bread and a little butter, for, as soon as their bread is baked like a cake, they cover it on both sides with melted butter.

From	TENARA to JATENAGAR (HYATNAGAR) .	12	*coss.*
,,	JATENAGAR to PATENGY (PUNTÁNGI) .	12	,,
,,	PATENGY to PENGEUL (PUNGUL) .	14	,,
,,	PENGEUL to NAGELPAR (NAGULPÁD) .	12	,,
,,	NAGELPAR to LAKABARON (LAKKÁWURRUM)	11	,,
,,	LAKABARON to COULOUR or GANI (KOLLUR) (of which I shall speak in the account of the mines) . . .	11	,,

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The greater part of the road from LAKKÁWURRUM to KOLLUR, especially as you approach KOLLUR, is rocky, and in two or three places I was obliged to take my carriage to pieces; this can be quickly done. Wherever there is a small quantity of good soil between the rocks you see *cassia* trees,[1] (the cassia produced by 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.

There passes along the whole length of the town of KOLLUR a great river[2] which flows into the Bay of Bengal near MASULIPATAM.

From COULOUR or GANI to KAH KALY (KÁKÁNI) 12 *coss.*
,, KAH KALY to BEZOUAR (BEZWÁDA[3]) . 6 ,,

Close to BEZOUAR you recross the river.

From BEZOUAR to VOUCHIR (WEEYUR) . . 4 ,,
,, VOUCHIR to NILIMOR (?) . . . 4 ,,

Between WEEYUR and NILIMOR, about halfway, you cross a great river upon a raft,[4] there being no boat there.

From NILIMOR to MILMOL[5] (NEDUMULU) . 6 *coss.*
,, MILMOL to MASLIPATAN (MASULIPATAM) 4 ,,

[1] *Cassia fistula* (Hind. *Amaltás*) affords a valuable laxative, its long pods are familiar objects in Indian jungles; one of the native names for them is *Bandar láthi*, or monkey's stick.

[2] The Kistná.

[3] Bezwáda on the Kistná, in Lat. 16° 30′ 50″, Long. 80° 39′, a place of much archæological interest, owing to its Buddhist and Hindu remains (see Book I, chap. xviii). It is now the site of the chief works for the irrigation of the delta of the Kistná.

[4] One of the deltaic branches of the Kistná.

[5] In Book I, chap. xviii, the distance of this place, which is there spelt Nilmol, from Masulipatam, is given as 3½ leagues, and from thence to Wouhir (Weeyur) 6 leagues, making 9½ leagues as against the 14 *coss.* This would give a proportion of 2 : 3, though elsewhere the two measures of distance are treated as equivalents. But on the same page the distance

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MASULIPATAM is a straggling town (*villace*), in which the houses are built of wood, and are detached from one another. This place, which is on the seashore, is only renowned on account of its anchorage, which is the best in the Bay of BENGAL, and it is the only place from which vessels sail for PEGU, SIAM, ARAKAN, BENGAL, COCHINCHINA, MECCA, and HORMUZ, as also for the islands of MADAGASCAR, SUMATRA, and the MANILLAS. It should be remarked that wheel carriages do not travel between GOLCONDA and MASULIPATAM, the roads being too much interrupted by high mountains, tanks, and rivers, and there being many narrow and difficult passes. It is with the greatest trouble that one takes a small cart. This I have done to the diamond mines, and I was obliged to take mine to pieces frequently in order to pass bad places. It is the same between GOLCONDA and CAPE COMORIN. There are no waggons in all these territories, and you only see 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.

between the last-named place and Bezwáda is given as 6 hours, to a poor village called Patemet (Patamata), and 1½ league on to Bezwáda, while here the distance is given at 4 *coss*. Thus if we add in both cases we find from Masulipatam to Bezwáda is in the one case 11 leagues and 6 hours, or say about 6 leagues = 17 leagues in all; and in the other 18 *coss*. The true distance is 40 miles.

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CHAPTER XII

Route from SURAT *to* GOA, *and from* GOA *to* GOLCONDA *by* BIJAPUR

YOU may go from SURAT to GOA partly by land and partly by sea, but the road is very bad by land, especially from DÁMAN to RÁJAPUR. Most travellers take the route by sea, and taking an *almadier*,[1] which is a 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 say.

The route from SURAT to GOA is not counted by *coss*, but by *gos*, which are about equal to 4 of our common leagues.

From SURAT to DAMAN (DAMÁN) . .	7 *gos.*
,, DAMAN to BASSAIN (BASSEIN) .	10 ,,
,, BASSAIN to CHAOUL (CHAUL) .	9 ,,
,, CHAOUL to DABOUL (DABHOL) .	12 ,,
,, DABOUL to REJAPOUR (RÁJÁPUR) .	10 ,,
,, REJAPOUR to MINGRELA (VENGURLA)	9 ,,
,, MINGRELA to GOA	4 ,,
This makes in all from SURAT to GOA .	61 *gos.*

The great danger which has to be encountered on

[1] *Almadier*—from Arab. *El maadiah*, a ferry-boat. Tavernier in his *Persian Travels* defines it as a small vessel of war.

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these coasts is, as I have said, the risk of falling into the hands of the *Malabaris*, who are strict Muhammadans and very cruel towards Christians. I have seen a Barefoot Carmelite Father who had been captured by these pirates. In order to obtain 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 leg. The commanders only pay wages to the value of two *écus* to each soldier for the six months which they generally spend at sea, and do not share with them the prizes taken; but they are allowed to keep the garments and the food of those whom they have captured. It is true that the soldiers are permitted to leave then, and if the commanders desire them to remain they are obliged to pay them afresh. They seldom venture farther to sea than from 20 to 25 leagues, and whenever the Portuguese capture any of these pirates they either hang them straight off or they throw them into the sea. These *Malabaris* number 200 and sometimes as many as 250 men in each vessel, and they go in squadrons of from ten to fifteen vessels to attack a big ship, and 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 is not taken to provide against them. For as they know the habits of the pirates, immediately they see them they close all the scuttles on deck, and cover it with water, so that these pots, which are full of fire-works, cannot take effect.

An English Captain named Mr. CLERC, when coming from BANTAM to SURAT, met, in the latitude of COCHIN, a squadron of *Malabaris*, consisting of twenty-five or thirty vessels, which came forthwith and attacked

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him vigorously. Seeing that he could not withstand their first fury, he set fire to some barrels of gunpowder which he had had time to prepare, and the deck being blown up, he also blew into the sea a great number of pirates who were on it. Notwithstanding this, the others did not lose courage, and did not cease to come on board. The English Captain, seeing no other resource left, sent all his crew into two boats and remained alone in his cabin, where the pirates were unable to reach him; he then set fire to a train which he had prepared, and which led 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 being on fire, all the *Malabaris* who were on it jumped into the sea; but that did not prevent the two boats, which contained about forty Englishmen, being taken 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 informed him that he was enslaved by the *Zamorin*,[2] who is the most powerful King on the MALABAR coast. This Prince would not leave them in the possession of these savages, because they were in danger of their lives, on account of upwards of 1200 widows whose husbands were left behind on the two occasions that the ship was on fire. He was enabled to appease them by

[1] In the year 1639, according to Mandelslo, Mr. Metwold, who was probably the same as Mr. Methold, whose visit to the diamond mines preceded Tavernier's (see Book II, chap. xvi), resigned the Presidentship at Surat, and was succeeded by Mr. Fremling (*sic*) (*Travels into the East Indies*, English Trans., London, 1669, p. 71).

[2] *Samorin* in the original. The title of the Hindu King of Calicut, etc.

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promising them two *piastres* each[1] on account of the death of their husbands; this amounted to above 2400 *écus*, besides 4000 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, and others broken down by fever. The *Malabaris* are such superstitious people that they touch nothing dirty or unclean with the right hand; this they reserve for the left, allowing the nails on it, which serve as a comb, to grow, because they have long hair like women, which they twist round the head with a small cloth having three points tied above.

Since I have mentioned DAMÁN,[2] I shall describe in a few words how this 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 DAMÁN, 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 DAMÁN was an old soldier who had served in FRANCE, with three of his

[1] *Piastre* = 4s. 6d.; the compensation for a husband was therefore about 9s.

[2] Damán is situated in Lat. 22° 25′ N., Long. 72° 53′ E., and is about 100 miles north of Bombay. It was sacked by the Portuguese first in the year 1531, but was rebuilt by the natives, and was subsequently retaken in 1558 by the Portuguese, since which time up to the present it has remained in their possession.

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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 relief entering DAMÁN 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 DAMÁN, 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 this Prince has not wished to have anything more to do with Christians.[1]

I have made two journeys to GOA—the first was at the end 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

[1] Orientals have been known to complain of the want of observance by Europeans of the methods in warfare practised by themselves; thus, I remember to have read somewhere, I think in one of Sir Victor Brooke's books, of the indignation in Malayan countries at their stockades being carried by assault, instead of being gradually approached with due deliberation by means of other stockades.

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GOA I went to BICHOLLY,[1] which is upon the mainland; from thence to BIJAPUR, then to GOLCONDA, AURANGÁBÁD, and SURAT. I could have gone to SURAT without passing through GOLCONDA, but I was obliged to go there on business.

From GOA to VISAPOUR (BIJAPUR[2]), which one generally accomplishes in eight days . . 85 *coss.*

„ VISAPOUR to GOLCONDA, which I did in nine days . . . . . 100 „

From GOLCONDA to AURANGÁBÁD the stages are not so definite, for sometimes it takes sixteen, sometimes twenty, and up to twenty-five.

From AURANGÁBÁD to SURAT one does the journey sometimes in twelve days, but sometimes one is not able to accomplish it in less than fifteen or sixteen.

BIJAPUR is a large town which has nothing remarkable about it, either as regards public edifices or trade. The palace of the King 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. The King of BIJAPUR has three good ports in his kingdom; these are RÁJÁPUR,[3]

[1] This is the same as the Bicholi of Book III, chap. ix, where it is stated to be on the Bijapur-Goa frontier. At present Bicholim is the name of a district or subdivision of Goa territory.

[2] Bijapur, in Lat. 16° 49′ 45″ N., and Long. 75° 46′ 5″ E., is on the site of the ancient Vijayapura, which was called Visapour by early European travellers. Recently it has been made the headquarters of the Kaládgi 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 Bijapur will be found in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.*

[3] Rájápur, chief town in the subdivision of the same name in the Ratnágiri District of Bombay. As a port it has deteriorated, and vessels of any size cannot come within 3 miles of the quay (*Vide*

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DABHOL,[1] and KAREPUTTUN.[2] This last 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 supply of water, and although it is commanded by nothing and is by nature impregnable, since the King has made peace with the Portuguese he has abandoned it.

KAREPUTTUN is only five days journey from GOA to the north, and RÁIBAGH,[3] where the King of BIJAPUR disposes of his pepper, is distant from KAREPUTTUN about the same to the east. The King of BIJAPUR, like the King of GOLCONDA, was 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 *Nair* SIVAJI,[4] who was, on the establishment of the King of BIJAPUR, what we call in FRANCE, Captain of the Guards. He 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 SIVAJI, his son, thereupon conceived such a strong hatred against the King that he became a chief of bandits, and as he was

Imp. Gaz.) Mandelslo describes it as one of the chief maritime cities of the kingdom of Konkan.

[1] Dabhol or Dabul, a port in the Konkan, in Lat. 17° 34′. It is described by Mandelslo as being on the river Kalewacka (*Travels into the East Indies*, Eng. Trans., London, 1669, p. 74). See for early references, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

[2] Crapaten in the original, Kareputtun of Map.

[3] Rabaque in the original; Ráibagh, in Belgaum District.

[4] The original founder of the Maratha Confederacy was Shahji; he was succeeded by his son, Nair Sivaji; born in 1627, died in 1680. By his valour and treachery he won for the Marathas the suzerainty of Southern India. See for his life, Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, etc.

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both courteous and liberal he had as many supporters as he wished for, both cavalry and infantry, and in a short time he got together an army, the soldiers, on the report of his liberality, coming to seek him from all sides. He was in a position to undertake some enterprise, when the King of BIJAPUR died without children, and it was thus that, without any great difficulty, he became master of a portion of the MALABAR coast, including RAJAPUR, RASIGAR,[1] KAREPUTTUN, DABHOL, and other places. It is said that during the demolition of the fortifications of RASIGAR he found immense treasure, and that it was with this that 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 young boy, upon whom she had bestowed all her affection, and whom she brought up, as I have already said, with the greatest care in the doctrines of the sect of ALI. On the death of the King she caused this adopted son to be declared King, and SIVAJI, as he then possessed an army, continued the war, and for some time caused trouble to the regency of this Queen. But at last he made the first proposals for peace, and the treaty was concluded on the condition that he should retain all the country which he had taken, as a vassal of the King, who should receive half the revenues; and the young King, having been established on the throne by this peace, the Queen, his mother, undertook the pilgrimage to MECCA, and I was at ISPAHAN when she passed on her return.

Returning now to the journey to GOA. When I

[1] Probably Rakshasagudda in Kánara District.

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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[1] is a large town, half a league from the sea, in the kingdom of BIJAPUR. It is one of the best anchorages in all INDIA, and it is where the Dutch came to get supplies on all occasions when they blockaded GOA, and they take in supplies there still for the vessels which they employ to trade in many parts of INDIA, for there is at VENGURLA excellent water and very good rice. This town is also much renowned on account of its *cardamons*,[2] which the orientals esteem as the best of spices, and is only found in this country, which causes this commodity to be very scarce and dear. Coarse cotton cloths for home consumption are made there too, as also a sort of matting which they call *toti*,[3] which is only used for wrapping up merchandise.

Thus it is not so much for commerce as for supplies which can be got at VENGURLA, that the Dutch Com-

[1] Mingrela in the original is Vengurla, a town and seaport, headquarters of a subdivision of the same name in the Ratnágiri District of Bombay. The Dutch settlement was founded in 1638; in 1660 the town was garrisoned by Sivaji, 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.

[2] Cardamons—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. Called *Cargamon* in the original.

[3] *Tāt* or *Tānt*, perhaps, *i.e.* the fibre known as jute, with which gunny bags are made. It is produced by *Corchorus capsularis* (Linn). Or it may be that this refers to the coarser kinds of cotton, or to hemp, such as the so-called Deccani hemp produced by *Hibiscus cannabinus*.

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pany 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, etc., 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, and nothing can enter GOA by sea during that time. It should be remarked in connection with this subject that this bar at GOA is closed for a part of the year by sand, cast up here 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 increase every hour, remove the sands and open the passage to large vessels.

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CHAPTER XIII

Remarks upon the present condition of the town of GOA

GOA is situated in latitude 15° 32″, in an island of six or seven leagues circuit, upon the river MANDAVI,[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 certainly a good pippin is worth more than all these fruits. All those 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 of our great Continent. The town is very large, and its walls are of fine stone. The houses, for the most part, are superbly built, and this is particularly the case with the palace of the Viceroy. It has numerous rooms, and

[1] Mandoua in the original. It rises in the Parvar Ghát, in the District of Satári, and is 38½ miles long. It is the most important stream in the territory.

[2] Mangoes, pine-apples, plantains, and cocoanuts. Most persons acquainted with Indian fruits will agree with Tavernier, though some might make an exception in favour of the mango.

[3] It is not perhaps necessary to say here more than that Goa, Damán, and Diu, are the sole remaining possessions of the Portuguese in India. A very interesting account of Goa will be found in the recently published *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and accounts of Goa as it was at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries will be found in the recent issues of the Hakluyt Society, viz. *Linschoten* and *Pyrard de Laval*.

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in some of the halls and chambers, which are very large, you see many pictures representing separately the vessels which come from LISBON to GOA, and those which leave GOA for LISBON, each with the name of the vessel and that of the captain, and the number of guns with which it is armed. 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. 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 have also fowls, but few pigeons, and although they are close to the sea fish is scarce. As for confectionery, they have many kinds, and eat a large quantity. Before the Dutch had beaten down the power of the Portuguese in INDIA, one saw at GOA nothing but magnificence and wealth, but since these late comers have deprived them of their trade in all directions, they have lost the sources of their gold and silver, and are altogether come down from their former splendour. On my first journey to GOA I saw people who had property yielding up to 2000 *écus* of income, who on my second journey came secretly in the evening to ask alms of me without abating anything of their pride, especially the women, who, coming in *pallankeens*, 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, they generally offer a letter from some religious person who

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recommends them, and makes mention of the wealth which the person formerly had, and the poverty into which she has 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.

If the Portuguese had not been so much occupied with guarding so many fortresses on land, and if, in the contempt they had 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*[1] or gentlemen, and add *Dom* to the simple name of PEDRO or JERONIMO which they carried when they embarked; this is the reason why they are commonly called in derision "*Fidalgos* of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE." As they change in their status so also they change in 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 the 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 have black slaves, who will blindly obey their master's order to go and kill any one; and this is done generally with a stroke 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 they are accustomed to carry. If it should happen that they spend

[1] Fidalgues in the original.

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too long a time in finding the man whom they wish to murder, and are unable to meet with him in the fields or in the town, then without the slightest regard for sacred things they slay him at the altar; and I have myself seen two examples of this—one at DAMÁN, and the other at GOA. Three or four of these black slaves having perceived some persons whose lives they wanted to take, and who were 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 there were seven men slain near the altar, the priest who was saying mass having been seriously wounded. The law takes no cognisance of these crimes, because generally their authors are the first in the land. As for trials, they never come to an end. They are in the hands of the *Kanarins*,[1] who are natives of the country, who practice the professions of solicitors and procurators, and there are no people in the world more cunning and subtle.

To return to the ancient power of the Portuguese in INDIA, it is certain that if the Dutch had never come to INDIA you would not have found to-day a scrap of iron in the majority of the houses of the Portuguese; all would have been gold or silver, for it required them to make but two or three voyages to JAPAN, to the PHILIPPINES, to the MOLUCCAS,[2] or to CHINA, to acquire riches, and to gain 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

[1] *Canarins* in the original, sometimes called Kánarese, the inhabitants of Kánara. See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. Canara.

[2] *Moluques* in the original.

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acquired great wealth by trade. It is only the Viceroy who does not trade, or if he does, it is under the name of another; and, moreover, he has a sufficient income without it. It was formerly one of the most splendid posts in the world for a noble to be Viceroy of GOA, and there are few monarchs who are able to bestow governments worth so much as are those which depend upon this Viceroy. The first of these Governments is that of MOZAMBIQUE, and the appointment is 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 they have no losses with the Cafres.[2] These Cafres are the black people who come from many quarters of AFRICA to obtain cotton goods and hardware from the Commandant, who dwells on the RIO DE SAINE, and who 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, what 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 MELINDA,[3] and they generally pay for the goods which they take with ivory or with ambergris.

On my last voyage to INDIA the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE, who returned to GOA after having completed the three years of his government, had a parcel of ambergris which was alone worth about 200,000 *écus*,[4] without counting the gold and ivory, which amounted to a larger sum.

[1] *I.e.* from £90,000 to £112,500.

[2] Or Kaffir.

[3] Melinda. 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.

[4] £45,000.

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The second Government was formerly that of MALACCA, on account of the dues which had to be paid there. For it is a strait where all the vessels which leave GOA for JAPAN, CHINA, COCHINCHINA, JAVA, MACASSAR, the PHILIPPINES, and other places must pass. They are indeed able to 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 the vessels return to GOA they are required to show the free pass of the MALACCA custom-house—this compels them to follow that route.

The third Government was that of HORMUZ,[2] on account of its great trade, and of the dues which all vessels had to pay, whether entering or leaving the PERSIAN GULF. The Governor of HORMUZ also levied considerable dues from those who were going to the island of BAHREN to the pearl fishery, and if they did not obtain a passport from him he sent their vessels to the bottom by means of his *galeasses*.[3] The Persians receive this tax at present with the English, who share a small part of it, as I have said in my accounts of PERSIA; but although they treat the merchants roughly, nevertheless they do not derive from this revenue nearly as much 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 keep there.

The fourth Government was that of MUSCAT, which

[1] Sunda Strait, 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] *Galeasses*, a form of galley. See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. Gallevat; see also Index for references.

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was also one with a considerable income. For all the vessels coming to INDIA from the PERSIAN GULF, the RED SEA, and the coasts of MELINDA have to make the point of MUSCAT, and generally take in water there. If any vessels did not come to an anchor, the Governor sent to claim the custom, which was 4 per cent, and if they made any resistance they ran the risk of being sent to the bottom by his *galeasses*.

The fifth Government was that of the island of CEYLON, to which were subject all the places which the Portuguese had both on the coast of MALABAR and on the Gulf of BENGAL and other parts of INDIA, and the least of these petty Governments yielded 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 in GOA and other towns of INDIA. The day upon which he makes his entry into GOA, his Captain of the Guards receives nearly 4000 *écus*[2] of profit. The three offices of Engineer Major, of Inspector of the Fortresses, and of Grand Master of Artillery yielded 20,000 *pardos*[3] *per annum*, and the *pardo* is worth 27 *sols* of our money. The Portuguese were then all rich—the nobles on account of the governments and other offices, and the

[1] £2250. [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 ·9 of a penny (see p. 34), then the *pardao* of Tavernier's time was 2s., being less in value than the rupee of 30 *sols*, which has been shown to have been 2s. 3d. Kelly, in the *Universal Cambist*, gives the value of the *pardao* at 2s. 6d., and Colonel Yule estimates it at the same figure in 1676, vide *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, *Supplement*, p. 840. This latter value would, however, proportionally raise the *sol* to upwards of a penny in value, and the rupee consequently to more than 2s. 9d.

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merchants by the trade which they engaged in, before the English and Dutch came to cut the ground from under their feet. During the time they held HORMUZ they did not allow any merchant to travel to INDIA by sea, and all were therefore compelled to take the route by land through KANDAHÁR. When the Turkish, Persian, Arab, Moscovite, Polish, and other merchants arrived at BANDAR-ABBAS, they constituted but one united body, and from it four of the most experienced were deputed to go and see all the different kinds of merchandise, and to ascertain the quality and price.

After having made their report to the others the price was settled and the goods removed, which were then distributed to each nation in proportion to the number of merchants who had come from these different countries. It is the custom throughout ASIA that nothing is sold except in the presence of a broker, and each class of goods has its own separate one. 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 to 2 per cent. The Portuguese then 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*[1] to escort them

[1] This name is derived from *Galeota* of the Portuguese. In India it took the form *Gallevat*, which has been Anglicised into Jolly-boat, as is explained by Colonel Yule and Mr. Burnell in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*. The Calcutta boatmen pronounce it *Jallybote*. See p. 191.

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to sea for from 25 to 30 leagues—the *Malabaris* not going 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 acquire 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 those 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 of it they were permitted to travel as merchants. If there happened to be among them any one of intelligence, he did not fail to acquire a fortune, having all the credit he could desire, and he found numbers of people very willing to employ their money, giving 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 his hand cut off. 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*[1] for permission to wear hose and

[1] Croisart (of Genoa), so called on account of the cross on it; it was worth about 6s. 6d., and 20,000 = £6500.

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shoes—this was not allowed them.[1] You see certain of these blacks with bare feet, though followed by thirty slaves, and superbly clad; and if the Portuguese had been pleased to allow them to equip vessels, and to 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.[2] It is for this reason that the Portuguese keep them down.

The natives of the country about GOA are idolaters, and do homage to many kinds of idols, of which I have given likenesses in this book,[3] saying that the idols resemble those who have done good works in former times, to whom they should offer homage by adoring their portraits. There are many of these idolaters who worship monkeys, and also, in many parts of INDIA, as I have elsewhere said, they have built pagodas, which have been endowed in order to feed a certain number, besides others from outside, which come twice a week in order to obtain food.[4] In a village of the island of SALSETTE,[5]

[1] The shoe question, we see, was in these early times as in latter days a burning one.

[2] The same may be said of the native youth of the present, who far outstrip those of European parentage in the acquirement of learning before man's estate is reached.

[3] These portraits are not to be found in any of the editions of Tavernier with which I am acquainted.

[4] See p. 104.

[5] This is apparently not the island north of Bombay called Salsette, famous for its caves in the trap rock, and for the possession of a tooth of Buddha, but a district of the same name in Goa territory.

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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,[1] 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, went one day to carry away this tomb and brought it to GOA, where it remained some time on account of the dispute which it gave rise to between the ecclesiastics and the people. For when the idolaters offered to give 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 of their own authority removed the tomb, and, having put it on a vessel which went out about 20 leagues from land, it was thrown into the sea. They would have burned it, but that the idolaters would have been able to collect the ashes, which would have served as material for some new superstition.

There are in GOA numbers of people connected with the Church, and besides the Archbishop and his clergy you see 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

[1] This refers to *Hanumán* and the traditions of the *Rámáyana*.

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are the last comers, are the best situated of all, and, if 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. 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. 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. They do not wear hats nor three-cornered caps as in EUROPE, but a kind of cap which resembles, in form, a hat from which the brim has been removed, and it is 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. 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.

The hospital at GOA was formerly renowned

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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 except to go to the tomb. It is but a short time since the secret of treating by frequent bleedings has been discovered; and it is practiced 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 aposthume, the sick person is out of danger. Butter and meat are to him as poison, and if he eats of 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*[1]—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 in secret, saying that the physician forbids it. Sweets and confectionery are not wanting, but this does 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

[1] For Mestiços = Half-castes (see p. 206).

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health, it is prescribed for them to drink for twelve days three glasses of . . .—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 idolaters of the country, 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 expected to take this drink.

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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 have an armed boat sent for me, 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 MASCAREHNAS, who had formerly been Governor of CEYLON. He received me well, and during nearly two months which I spent at GOA, on five or six occasions he sent a gentleman to conduct me to the POWDERHOUSE, outside the town, where he very often resided. 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 pistol very curiously and richly decorated. When passing ALEPPO, the French Consul had given it to me as a present, 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

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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 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. On the following day I went to pay a visit to the Archbishop, and I set apart 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 upon that day on account of the despatches which he was preparing for PORTUGAL, and which were waited for by two vessels that were about to sail. 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 wishing to withdraw at once, he begged me to tarry a moment; and after he had reported what I had said to him to the Inquisitor, he returned to assure me, on the part of his master, that the latter was much 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, 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

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having passed 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 of the room were covered with green cloth brought from ENGLAND.

As soon as I entered he told me that 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 having replied that they were, he repeated that I was welcome, calling out to some persons who were close by that they might come in. At the same moment 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, who 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 concerning many things, and particularly regarding my travels, all the company telling me that they enjoyed hearing the recital. Three days afterwards the Inquisitor sent to invite me to dine with him at a fine house which is situated at half a league from the town, and belongs to the Barefoot Carmelites. 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

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might be regarded as a splendid palace. He did not desire to marry, and, not caring for anything but religion, he was most frequently with the Augustines, 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 make 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 Augustines. It was said that the place on the right side of the altar was for a Viceroy only, and that it was not proper to place a leper there, to which the public generally and some even of the Augustines assented. Some Fathers of the convent having gone to speak to him in order to beg him to select some other place in the Church, the gentleman was so annoyed by the suggestion that he never returned to the Augustines, 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, on the evening of which day I quitted it, after taking leave of the Viceroy. I also begged leave for the departure of a French gentleman named DU BELLOY, 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

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brought back, and I of being carried along with him, before the Inquisition. The following is the way in which 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 ought, 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. 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, full of courage and experience, resolved to lay siege to NEGUMBO,[1] 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, recognising in these two, men of courage, promised them as a reward that if NEGUMBO were taken one of them would be made Governor of it. The place having been taken the General kept his promise to ST. AMANT, but the news of it having been sent to BATAVIA, a young man who had only recently arrived from HOLLAND, and who was a relative of the General, was appointed Governor of NEGUMBO, to the prejudice of ST. AMANT, and came, bringing orders from the Council at BATAVIA to displace him. ST. AMANT, finding himself thus treated, deserted with

[1] Negumbe in the original, it is Negumbo, a town and fort about 20 miles north of Colombo in Ceylon.

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fifteen or twenty soldiers, the majority of whom were French, and among them MM. BELLOY, DES MARESTS, and JEAN DE ROSE, and went over with them to the PORTUGUESE army. This small number of brave men gave courage to the PORTUGUESE, who advanced to the attack of NEGUMBO, from whence they had been driven, and took it at the second assault. At this time DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS 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 which informed him of the death of the Viceroy, with an invitation from the Council and all the nobility to take the vacant place, before leaving he desired to see ST. AMANT and those whom he had brought over in order to 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 liked 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 exercised all their skill to bring it to land, but seeing that they were unable to accomplish their object, and that it was breaking up, ST. AMANT, with five or six others of his companions, which number included DES MARESTS, DU BELLOY, and JEAN DE ROSE, threw themselves into the sea with cords and pieces of wood, and managed so well that

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they saved DOM PHILIPPE, and they themselves also escaped together with him. To shorten this long story, on their arrival at GOA, DOM PHILIPPE, as soon as he had made his entry as Viceroy, gave to ST. AMANT the post of Grand Master of Artillery and Inspector-General of all the fortresses belonging to the Portuguese in INDIA. He subsequently brought about 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 service of the Company, 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, by 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 the gallant acts which he performed, and the several wounds which he received at the siege of NEGUMBO, made him Captain of his bodyguard, which was the best office at the 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, which 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 own strongest passion. He remained two years at MACAO, greatly enjoying himself, and when his cash ran low these nobles lent him some willingly. One day, after winning about 6000 *écus*,[2] and going back to play, he had the misfortune to lose all,

[1] Mestive, for Mestiços, half-castes, see p. 198.

[2] £1350.

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and a considerable sum besides, which his friends had lent him. When he realised his loss, and that no one was willing to lend him more, he began to swear at a picture which was in the room, and which represented some holy subject, saying, in the rage common to the majority of players, 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 which starts for GOA. There the Inquisitor-General has the power to acquit him or to condemn him to death. DU BELLOY was accordingly put on a small vessel of ten or twelve guns with his feet in irons, while the captain was warned that he should watch him well, and would be 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, caused his irons to be removed, and even made him eat at his table, taking care to supply him with clean linen and the 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 the letters and to get news of what was going on in CHINA. His surprise was great on seeing DU BELLOY in this condition, and learning that the

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captain would not allow him to land till he had made him over to the Inquisitor. Nevertheless, as ST. AMANT then 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 some pity on him, and allowed him the run of the town as his prison till he should see what had been written regarding him, on condition that he should return when required to do so. After these proceedings ST. AMANT brought DU BELLOY to my lodging, as I was on the point of going out to see the Bishop of MIRE (*i.e.* MYRA in LYCIA), whom I had formerly known at CONSTANTINOPLE when he was guardian of the Franciscans of GALATA. I asked them to wait my return for a while, 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 him. I remained eight or ten days longer at GOA, during which it was impossible for me to induce M. DU BELLOY to put on the new clothes. But he would never tell me why, whilst from day to day he promised me to put them on. 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 too. I did so willingly and successfully. We left the same evening in the vessel in which I had come, and immediately M. DU BELLOY began taking off his old clothes and putting

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on the new ones, threw his old ones into the sea, and continued swearing against the Inquisition without my knowing the reason, for I was still 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. Having landed, we found some Dutchmen with the Commander, who had come to the seashore to eat oysters and drink Spanish wine. They asked me at once who it was whom I had with me. I told them that he was a gentleman, who, having come with the French Ambassador to PORTUGAL, had 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 had 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, to enable him to go 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,

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Father ZENON thought, no doubt, that DU BELLOY,[1] by showing himself to the Inquisition and asking pardon, would obtain it easily. It is true that he did obtain it, but only after being two years in the Inquisition, and coming out of it wearing a brimstone-coloured shirt with a great St. Andrew's cross on the front of it. He had with him another Frenchman called Maitre 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 done ill in returning to GOA, and did much worse in showing himself at VENGURLA, where the Dutch, who had learnt that he had previously escaped from their service, by the advices which they had received from the Commander at SURAT, seized him immediately, and placed him on a vessel which was going to BATAVIA. They said that 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 it 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 having killed his man, fled into POLAND, where he did some gallant acts, which secured for him the esteem and affection of the General of the Polish

[1] M. de la Boullaye le Gouz is referred to on p. 224 as the person who accompanied Father Zenon to Goa, but the occasion was apparently different from this one.

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army. At this time the GRAND SEIGNEUR kept two Polish Princes as prisoners at CONSTANTINOPLE in the Castle of the SEVEN TOWERS, and this 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 he 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 afterwards some evil design. It had been sufficient to cause the destruction of this gentleman if M. DE CESI, the Ambassador of France, had not so arranged that the matter was promptly stifled by a present (this is in TURKEY 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 he could meet with. It was not, however, the intention of the SIEUR DES MARESTS to go farther, 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 it was necessary to say that he was going to PERSIA, and to act in such a manner that he did in fact go thither.

The GRAND SEIGNEUR had resolved never to give liberty 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 the

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father generally entrusted the keys to open and close the doors of the prison. On the night destined for their flight this young man pretended to lock certain doors, but left their padlocks open, afterwards taking 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. This young man, who was entirely devoted to these Princes, having well considered his plans, had 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 correspondence outside, and also some one inside who shared this important secret. As the severest rigour was not observed towards these 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, having sent them on different occasions some pastry filled with ropes, 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. It was the same in proportion with the others who had aided in the escape of the Princes, and the latter, when they reached POLAND, made ample acknowledgment of the services which had been rendered to them by each individual.

In due course M. DES MARESTS arrived at ISPAHAN, and having first addressed himself to the Rev. Capuchin Fathers, they brought him to my lodging, where I offered him a room, with a place at my table. He made some sojourn at ISPAHAN, during which he

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made acquaintance with the English and Dutch, who manifested a high regard for him, as he well deserved. But it happened one day that, his curiosity having made him undertake too rash an adventure, he nearly brought destruction on himself, and with himself on all the *Franks* at ISPAHAN. Near the *caravansarái* where we lodged is a large bath to which men and women go by turns on certain days, and where the Queen of BIJAPUR, during her sojourn at ISPAHAN on her return from MECCA,[1] was very fond of going to talk with the wives of the *Franks*, because the garden of her house was in contact with the bath where they generally went. The SIEUR DES MARESTS, passionately desiring to see what passed there amongst 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 *caravansarái* where we were dwelling, he lay down on his stomach and saw by this crevice, without being himself perceived, that which he so much desired to behold. He went in this way ten or twelve times, and not having been able 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*. 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 women of the bath, who had charge of the sheets, and who in order to dry them upon the poles which project from the roof, had

[1] See p. 183.

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ascended by a small ladder which led to the top. Seeing a man thus stretched out she seized his hat and began to cry aloud; but the SIEUR DES MARESTS, to extricate himself from so dangerous a scrape, and to hinder the woman from making more noise, made a sign to her to be silent, and promptly placed in her hands two *tomans*,[1] which by good luck he had with him out of the money which I had given him for his expenses. When he returned to the *caravansarái* I saw he had a scared appearance, and concluding that something unpleasant had happened to him, I pressed him to say what it was. He told me with some reluctance, and at length admitted that he had been discovered by this woman, but had sought to silence her with money. He had 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 how the matter had occurred, in order to apply a quick remedy to an evil of which we feared the too prompt results, advised his immediate departure, 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 which sailed for SURAT. I gave him a letter of recommendation to the English President, who was a friend of mine, and whom I asked to advance him up to 200 *écus* if he should require them. I spoke very well of him in my letter, and I made mention of the offer which the Dutch Commander had made him at ISPAHAN, to send him to BATAVIA with letters to the

[1] *Toman*, £3 : 9s.; see p. 24. The *toman* was not a coin, as might be inferred from this, but a money of account.

[2] *I.e.* Bandar Abbás, or Gombroon; see p. 3.

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General, who would not fail to give him employment 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, and they showed him great kindness, caressed him much, and made him presents during his sojourn at ISPAHAN. But at length he told them that, not being of their religion, he felt some scruple in serving them against the Portuguese, and that it 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 all this account; and the SIEUR DES MARESTS wishing to go to serve the Portuguese, the President, who wrote in his favour to the Viceroy, by whom he was much liked, laid stress to him upon the offer of the DUTCH, in order to render this gentleman more acceptable. The Viceroy also gave him a good reception, and the SIEUR DES MARESTS making 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 MASCAREHNAS, who was then still Governor of all the places which the Portuguese possessed in the island and its neighbourhood. He arrived three days after they had lost NEGUMBO, 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,

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having become 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 hands of the priest.

During my sojourn at GOA they told me the history of a *caravel*[1] which had arrived a short time previously, having come from LISBON. When she was about to make the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE she was caught by a storm which lasted five or six days, and this so much upset 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 numerous dwellings, and as soon as they had anchored they beheld 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 they could only understand one another by signs, and after the Portuguese had given to these *Cafres* tobacco, biscuits, and spirits, they brought on the following day numerous ostriches and other birds which resembled large geese, but which were so fat that they had scarcely any lean upon them.[3] The feathers of these birds are very

[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-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*).

[2] In Book II, chap. xiv, it is stated that this voyage was made in 1648, and that the distance was 18 or 20 leagues from the Cape!

[3] It seems probable that these were penguins, of which one if not two species are still found near the Cape of Good Hope. See Book III, chap. xxvii.

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handsome, and those of the belly good for stuffing beds. One of the Portuguese sailors who was in this vessel sold me a large cushion of these feathers, and told me all that had happened in the bay, where they remained twenty-seven days. They made some presents to the *Cafres* from time to time, such as knives, hatchets, false coral, and false pearls, in the hope of finding if any trade could be established, and particularly if gold was to be obtained,—for they saw some among these people who had pieces of it in their ears, hammered on both sides, like nails (rivets) of a lock. They took two of these *Cafres* to GOA, as I shall presently relate, and I saw one who had these pieces of gold in each ear in five or six places. This sailor told me that there were also some of the women who wore them at the tip of the chin and in the nostrils. Eight or nine days after the Portuguese had arrived in the bay the *Cafres* brought them small pieces of ambergris, a little gold, and some elephants' teeth—but very small—ostriches and other birds, and some deer.[1] As for fish, they had a great quantity. They did all that they could by signs to ascertain where they obtained this ambergris, which was very choice. The Viceroy showed me a small piece which did not weigh half an ounce, but he told me he had never seen any so good. They also tried hard to discover from whence the gold was obtained,—for as regards the elephants' teeth they had no difficulty, seeing, as they did every morning, numerous elephants which came to drink at a river that discharged itself into this bay. At length the Portuguese, after a sojourn of three weeks,[2] seeing that through inability to under-

[1] *Cerfs.* These must have been antelope, as there are no deer in that part of Africa.

[2] In Book II, chap. xiv, fifteen days.

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stand one another it was impossible for them to discover anything, resolved to make sail with the first favourable wind. There being always some of these *Cafres* on the vessel, because the crew were liberal to them with tobacco, biscuit, and spirits, two were carried off to GOA, in the hope that they would be able to learn Portuguese, or that some child who might be placed with them would acquire their language. The sailor told me that when they had set sail, the *Cafres*, observing that they carried off two of their people, who apparently were persons of consequence, tore their hair, striking themselves on the stomach like people in a frenzy, yelling and howling in a horrible manner. But, having arrived at GOA, they were never able to learn the Portuguese language, and thus nothing was ever ascertained from them regarding the special knowledge which it was hoped would be obtained of the country from whence the Portuguese carried away only about two pounds of gold and three pounds of ambergris, with thirty-five or forty elephants' teeth. One of these *Cafres* survived only six months, and the other but fifteen, both having died of sorrow and pining. All that I have ascertained of this history was by means of M. DE ST. AMANT, Engineer and Inspector-General of all the Portuguese fortresses in INDIA, who had in his service this same sailor who told me of this new discovery.

From GOA I returned to VENGURLA, from whence I went to BATAVIA, as I shall elsewhere relate,[1] wishing to give a full account of all that occurred to me during the voyage, and on my return by sea from BATAVIA to EUROPE. But I should not forget one

[1] See Book III, chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.

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thing which happened at VENGURLA during the nine days I spent there, before I departed for GOA in the vessel which was sent to me by M. DE SAINT AMANT.

An Idolater having died, and the fire being ready in the pit to burn the body according to their custom, his wife, who had no children, having obtained the permission of the Governor, went to the pit with the priests and her relatives in order to be burnt with the body of her husband. While they made the three circuits which they are accustomed to make round the pit, there fell suddenly such heavy rain that the priests, wishing to withdraw, threw the woman into the pit. But the rain was so heavy and of such long duration that it put out the fire, and the woman was not burnt. Having risen 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 the discourse on the religion and the ceremonies of the Idolaters.[1]

[1] See Book III, chap. ix.

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CHAPTER XV

History of Father EPHRAIM, *Capuchin, and how he was cast into the Inquisition at* GOA

THE *Sheikh*[1] who had married the eldest of the Princesses of GOLCONDA not having been able, as I have said, to induce the Rev. Father EPHRAIM to stay at BHÁGNAGAR, where he offered to build him a house and church, gave him an ox and two servants to convey him to MASULIPATAM, where he expected to embark for PEGU, according to the order which he had received from his Superiors. But not finding any vessel by which he could go, the English managed so well that they attracted him to MADRAS, where they have a fort named FORT ST. GEORGE,[2] and a general office for all dependencies on the kingdom of GOLCONDA and the countries of BENGAL and PEGU. They represented to him that he would have a greater harvest to reap there than in any other part of INDIA to which he could proceed, and they built him a good house and a church. But in reality the English were not so much seeking

[1] See pp. 161-164.

[2] Madraspatan 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 Ránga Ráyal, Raja of Chandagiri. 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* and "*Madras in the Olden Times*," by Talboys Wheeler, Madras, 1882.

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the good of Father EPHRAIM as their own; and you must know why they wished to keep 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 it possessed many artisans and merchants, the majority of whom would have been very glad to dwell with the English at MADRAS, but for the fact that they had no opportunities at that time for the exercise of their religion in that place. But since the English built this church and kept Father EPHRAIM, there were many of these Portuguese who 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 to them when they dwelt at ST. THOMÉ. Father EPHRAIM came from AUXERRE,[2] and was a brother of M. DE CHATEAU DES BOIS, Counsellor of the Parliament of PARIS, and he had 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, seeing that Father EPHRAIM enjoyed a high reputation, and that he attracted by his teaching a large number of their flock away to MADRAS, conceived so much jealousy towards him that

[1] Saint Thomé now forms a part or suburb of Madras city, and is known as Little Mount by the English, and Mylapore, or the city of peacocks, by the natives. It is about three miles from the fort; probably Tavernier meant to say a league and a half instead of half a league.

[2] Auxerre, in the northern part of the province of Burgundy, on the banks of the Yonne.

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they resolved to ruin him; and the following is the means which they made use of 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 sense, and knew both languages perfectly. One day the Portuguese purposely picked a quarrel with some English sailors, whose ship was in the ST. THOMÉ roads, and who were well beaten. The English President 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 some individuals were weaving to catch Father EPHRAIM. But all the goings and comings 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 they were twenty-two days at sea without once permitting him to land, although the majority of those on the frigate slept on shore nearly every night, because they sail from place to place along these coasts. When they arrived 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

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might have wind of it, and might come to release a person so venerated in all that part of INDIA. The report spread in many directions that Father EPHRAIM the Capuchin was in the hands of the Inquisition, and as there arrived daily at SURAT many people from the Portuguese territories, we were among the first to receive this news, which astonished all the *Franks* who were there. He who was most surprised and most annoyed of all was Father ZENON the Capuchin, who had formerly been a companion of Father EPHRAIM; and after having consulted regarding the affair with his friends, he resolved to go to GOA at the risk of himself falling into the hands of the Inquisition. It was in truth to risk it; 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 him for whom he wished to speak. Neither the Archbishop of GOA nor the Viceroy himself dare interpose, and these are the only two persons over whom the Inquisition has no power. But if it happens that 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, and knew not how to make the journey, having no

[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 *ecrivent* en Portugal," etc.

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companion to leave in his place nor to take with him, for it was then the season of contrary winds, and the attacks of the *Malabaris* are always to be feared. He at length set out, having to go twenty-five or thirty days by land, and took as companion M. DE LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZ,[1] of whom I have spoken in my account of PERSIA. The Father paid his expenses to GOA, for his purse had been empty for a long time, and he would never have reached SURAT without the aid of the English and Dutch and other *Franks*, who gave him money at ISPAHAN.

Having arrived at GOA, Father ZENON was at first visited by some friends whom he had there, who, knowing of the object of his journey, advised him to be careful not to open his mouth on behalf of Father EPHRAIM, unless he wished to go to keep him company in the Inquisition. Every one knows the strictness of this tribunal, and not only is it not permitted, as I have said, to speak for one whom they hold prisoner, but moreover they never confront the accused with those who give evidence against him, nor even allow him to become acquainted with their names. Father ZENON perceiving that he was unable to accomplish

[1] On p. 210 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 Rájápur, 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*).

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anything at GOA, advised M. DE LA BOULLAYE to return to SURAT, and made over 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 connection with the arrest of Father EPHRAIM. When he had ascertained the treachery which had been practised upon Father EPHRAIM at ST. THOMÉ, he resolved to get to the bottom of it, and went without the knowledge of the English President to confide his plan to the captain who commanded in the fort, and 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 the plan of Father ZENON, 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, and situated on a small hill, which is 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[1] of great personal bravery, who kept the promise he had made him to aid in the ambuscade which had been laid for the Governor of ST. THOMÉ. He himself headed thirty of his soldiers, and accompanying Father

[1] Possibly the name of this Irish captain appears in the records of the period, but to these I have not had access.

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ZENON they all went out of the fort together 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 did not fail, according to his custom, to go to the chapel shortly after sunrise, and having 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, and carried him off to MADRAS to the convent of the Capuchins, and put him in the chamber which had been prepared for him. The Governor, much surprised to find himself carried off in this manner, protested strongly against Father ZENON, and threatened him with the resentment which the King of PORTUGAL would evince when he heard what he had dared to undertake 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 little 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 would not make any other reply than that he was not in his hands, and that after their action towards Father EPHRAIM he was unable in common justice to compel Father ZENON

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to release a person who was one of the authors of the injury which had been done to his companion. The President contented himself with asking the Father to have the goodness to permit his prisoner to come to eat at his table, with a promise to hand him over into his hands 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 for it; this he promised them, and also that they should have a free passage on the first vessel which went from GOA to PORTUGAL. The agreement being made, on the following day the drummer beat the reveille at an earlier hour than usual, and with great noise, and at the same time the merchant ROBOLI and the Governor, with their sheets tied 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 nimbly, so that ST. THOMÉ being only a good half league[1] from MADRAS, they were all three inside it before anything was known of their departure. The whole population of ST. THOMÉ made great rejoicings at the return of the Governor, and immediately despatched 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, there was not a convent nor a wealthy house which did not make them presents,

[1] See p. 221 *n.*

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and even the Viceroy himself, DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS, treated them kindly, and invited them to embark on his vessel in order to take them to PORTUGAL with him; but all three, namely, 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 MASCAREHNAS. 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. The report was that this Viceroy was poisoned on the vessel, and it was added 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 that his vengeance should be prompt; and having on that account made many enemies, whom the fate of those he had murdered caused to fear for themselves a similar treatment, he was one morning hung in effigy at GOA, when I was there in the year 1648.

In the meantime the imprisonment of Father EPHRAIM made a great sensation in EUROPE. M. DE CHATEAU 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, it was ordered that Father EPHRAIM should be released. The Pope also wrote saying that if he were not set free he would excommunicate all the

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clergy of GOA. But all these letters were of no avail,[1] and Father EPHRAIM had only the King of GOLCONDA, who loved him and who had done all he could to induce him to remain at BHÁGNAGAR, to thank for his liberty. The King had learnt from him some mathematics, like the Arab Prince, his son-in-law, who had offered to build a house and church for the Father at his own expense.[2] This he had since done for two Augustin clerics who had come from GOA. The King was then at war with the *Raja* of the Province of CARNATICA, and had his army close to ST. THOMÉ, and as soon as he had heard of the evil trick which the Portuguese had played on Father EPHRAIM he sent an order to MIR 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 order of the King was sent to the Governor, and the town was so alarmed that there was to be seen nothing but boat after boat setting forth for GOA in order to urge the Viceroy to take measures that Father EPHRAIM should be promptly released. He was accordingly, and messengers came to him 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 of GOA came to bring him forth in procession. This they at once did, and after he had come out he went to pass fifteen days in the Convent of the Capuchins, who are a kind of Recollects. I have heard Father

[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. 163.

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EPHRAIM say many times that that which 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 criminals under heaven. He did not speak two words without scoffing at God, and he passed all the day and a part of the night in smoking tobacco, which could not have been otherwise than 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, belonging to him, is inventoried to be returned to him should he be found innocent. But as regards anything of the nature of gold, silver, or jewels, it is not written down, and is 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, and is situated in the middle of the back, a comb, an inkhorn, and some pocket handkerchiefs. It was not remembered that the Capuchins have also a small receptacle in the mantle under the armpit, where they place some small requisites, and Father EPHRAIM was not searched in that direction. This left him four or five lead pencils which are covered with wood, for fear lest they should be broken, and as the pencil is used you pare off the wood to uncover it.[1]

[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.

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These pencils afforded a means 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 go every morning to ask the prisoners what they wish to eat that day, and it is then given to them. The Maltese cared for little besides tobacco, and he asked for it at morning, noon, and night, which were the times when their 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. It is for this reason that so much paper is used in ASIA, and it is the principal article of trade of the people of the provinces,[1] who send 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 was packed, which was brought to the Maltese, and it was upon them he wrote with his pencil his daily thoughts in the 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 a 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 of 6 inches square, with bars of iron, this hole was so placed that when

[1] The word in the original is provençaux, and is, accordingly, somewhat obscure.

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Father EPHRAIM wished to write he could only have light on the side which was opposite to that where he ordinarily directed his sight; and so it was that by degrees it became right; thus he derived by this fact some advantage from his imprisonment.[1] The Inquisitor was unwilling either to lend him a book or to 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 order to accompany to execution 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 much patience as he had in his prison so much had he of discretion and 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 had he ever thought 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 what has been asked them, and, without breaking their oaths, they cannot speak or write of it.

Father EPHRAIM having passed fifteen days at GOA in the Convent of the Capuchins, to regain some strength, after fifteen or twenty months spent in prison, then set out to return to MADRAS; and, when passing

[1] 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."

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GOLCONDA, went to thank the King and the Arabian Prince, his son-in-law, for the kindness they had shown in interesting themselves so much on account of his freedom. The King again begged him to stop altogether at BHÁGNAGAR, 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, etc., 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.*" (See *Madras in the Olden Times*, by Talboys Wheeler, pp. 59 and 338.)

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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 despoiled 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, MOSCOVIE, GEORGIA, MINGRELIA, and all the neighbourhood of the BLACK SEA. There was also a large quantity of it 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 which I have named much cinnamon is consumed, for it is put either in pieces or in powder into the majority of dishes to heighten the flavour. When a dish of rice is served on the table,

[1] This is the wild cinnamon (*Cinnamomum iners*), which is common in the forests of the Konkan and Travancore.

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especially in Lent among the Christians, it is so covered with powdered cinnamon that one cannot recognise what it is, and the Hungarians exceed in this respect all other nations. As for the Turks and other Asiatics, they place the cinnamon in small pieces in their *pillaus*.

The army which was sent from BATAVIA to the siege of COCHIN disembarked at a place called BELLI-PORTO,[1] where there was a fort which the Dutch had made with palms. It is close to KRANGANUR,[2] a small town which the Dutch had taken the previous year, without having conquered COCHIN, upon which they had made some attempt. When the army landed it advanced within range of the guns of COCHIN, and there was a river between it and the town. The place where the Dutch encamped was called BELLE ÉPINE,[3] and having entrenched themselves as far as the nature of the place permitted, they put some batteries in position which could not injure the town, because they were too far from it. They remained in this position until reinforcements came, for three ships only had arrived, and he who commanded these first troops was one of the bravest captains of his time. A few days after the Governor of AMBOYNA[4] arrived with two ships, and afterwards a Dutch captain brought a number of *Chinglas*,[5] who are the people of the island of CEYLON. For the forces

[1] This Col. Yule informs me is probably for Vaipur or Beypúr.

[2] Cranganore in the original; Kranganur or Kodungulur, see p. 237. Both Cranganore and Kodungaloor are given on the A.S., as though they applied to different towns 2 or 3 miles apart.

[3] This Col. Yule identifies with the Vaypine of Baldæus. It is Vaipion, or Vyepu of A.S., an island close to Cochin.

[4] Amboina in the original, Amboyna, an island in the Molucca Sea, with, according to Dutch returns, a population of about 30,000. (See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*.)

[5] Singalese.

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of the Dutch in INDIA would not be so considerable as they are if they did not make use of the people of the country, with whom they augment the troops which are brought 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 them who came 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. When they saw that the enemy landed without 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 farther inland in the direction of a church which was called ST. JEAN, ordered some horsemen to go 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 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 commenced the siege of COCHIN, and since any food had entered the town. The soldier, smitten with compassion, took the infant and gave it of whatever he had to eat, at which the General of the army was so indignant, saying that the soldier should have

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left the infant to die, that he assembled the council of war, and proposed that he should be shot. This was very cruel, and the Council, moderating the sentence, only condemned 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 1600 blacks, and there escaped only one old Queen, who was taken alive by a common soldier named VAN REZ, whom the General of the army promoted to be a captain at once, as a reward. They left a company in this house, but the Queen remained there only six days, as she was given into the custody of the ZAMORIN,[1] 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 KRANGANUR,[2] provided he was faithful to them.

The Dutch then began to entrench themselves and to erect batteries, taking shelter under small forts made of palms, one laid upon another together with earth. They made one of them in the direction of the Church of ST. JEAN, which is near the sea, with

[1] Samarin in the original; Zamorin, or King of Calicut, see p. 178. It comes through a local vernacular rendering of *Samundri*, the Sea-king. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 745.)

[2] Kranganur, or, more properly, Kodungalúr, occupied by the Portuguese in 1523. They were expelled by the Dutch in 1661-62. The place has a remarkable history. According to tradition it was here that St. Thomas commenced his labours, 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*, Art. "Kodungalur.")

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a battery of four pieces of cannon; and another in the direction of ST. THOMAS, where there 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, and 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 pass 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 no one then 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 resort being had to other measures. Five weeks passed without anything important being accomplished, and the Dutch delivering an assault at night were vigorously repelled, and lost many soldiers through the fault of the Governor of KRANGANUR, 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 the withdrawal in a boat of those soldiers who had survived the assault. Two months later he resolved to make another assault on the same place where the last attack had been made; and in order to have more men he sent a large frigate to fetch those who were in the direction of BELLE ÉPINE. But by

[1] Calivete in the original; Calvetti Bazaar, a quarter of Cochin inhabited by Moplas.

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accident the frigate struck on a bank of sand and foundered, by which he lost many men. Those who knew how to swim landed near COCHIN, not being able to land elsewhere; they were only about ten men, both soldiers and sailors, and the Portuguese made prisoners of them all. The General did not on this account relinquish his desire 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 the assault by night they might 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 being 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 joined their side 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 constituted an important aid to the enemy, the town would not have held out for two months; and he who defended it best was a Dutch engineer, who, on account of the bad

[1] Tuban, a town in Java, now included in the Netherlands Province of Rembang. It is described by Mandelslo (*Travels*, Eng. Trans., London 1669).

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treatment which 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, and was given up. The Portuguese came to carry off the bodies of some clerics who were dead; but as for the others, the Dutch had them all dragged to the river by the Chinese who were 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 ships of the Dutch, replying to those who asked them whence they came that they were commanded by the Dutch, and that they 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 place them at the feet of the General, with the exception of the officers, who kept their swords.[1] The General had promised the soldiers the *loot* of the town, but not being able to keep his promise for reasons

[1] The capture of Cochin by the Dutch took place in the year 1653. The English factors who resided there retired to Ponáni. The Dutch subsequently improved the place by erecting quays, building houses, etc. The Portuguese cathedral was made into a warehouse, and their churches were used for Protestant worship (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv, p. 12).

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which he explained to them, he led them to hope that he would pay them six months' wages; this a few days afterwards was reduced to eight rupees each. The ZAMORIN asked for the town of KRANGANUR, in accordance with the promise made to him, and it was 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 commanded to go to one of the petty Kings of this coast known as the King of PORAKÁD [1] to treat with him, and it was on this occasion that the Dutch General, who had formerly 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 obtain any food for money, 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 PORAKÁD saved his life.

The treaty having been concluded with the King of PORAKÁD, the Dutch General held a review of all the survivors both of the sailors and the soldiers, and the number amounted to about 6000 persons, all the rest having died of disease or having been slain. A few days after he commanded some companies to go to lay siege to the town of CANNANORE, which yielded at once without any resistance. When they returned

[1] Porca in the original stands for Porakád or Poracaud, 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—1503-1508. So also Barbosa. (See *Travels of Ludovico de Varthema*, edited by the Rev. Percy Badger, Hakluyt Society, p. 154.)

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the General had a crown made to place on the head of a new King of COCHIN, the other having been driven away; and on the day which he 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 carried 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 any respect for sex, returned laden with booty.

The General of the Dutch troops which came to the siege of COCHIN having returned to BATAVIA, every one withdrew, and there remained only a sufficient number of men 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

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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 man who dealt in them, and he fixed the price as he pleased. This Governor exercised great 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. When 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 a certain place where bricks were made, sometimes for five or six years, and sometimes for life. But most frequently, when one is sent to this place, 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, for having failed to reply to his name at roll-call, and for having delayed half a quarter of an hour longer than he should, 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 they place on the feet of the victim, at the end of three or four hours he is altogether torn and mutilated. The poor *Provençal*, knowing that he had been sentenced to this punishment not for three hours

[1] From Sanskrit *sura*, a synonym with *tári*, *i.e.* toddy, palm wine. (See p. 158.)

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but for three days, fearing that he would succumb, instead of giving himself up 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 at the 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 100 *piastres* as his reward, 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, not wishing to ruin the Frenchman with whom he lodged, and having 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, escaped 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 the rain being very favourable to them, and if he had said a word they were resolved to kill him. Having travelled all the night, they came to a small river near PORAKÁD, 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 realised at their leisure, which they had not done when taking flight, the danger they were in of dying; for not only did they not know the language of the country, but what was more vexatious, they had always to stay in

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the open, as the idolaters who inhabit all this 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 at once and wash the body and dip three times in the water, otherwise they dare not eat, drink, nor enter their houses.[1] 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 on the occasion of 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 without being cured of this wound, which 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 to the King of GODORME,[2] upon a piece of palm leaf,

[1] In my own experience I have met this dread of defilement in its most intense form in Orissa, where, as also in parts of the Madras Presidency, it exists to an extent hardly to be realised by those whose knowledge of the natives does not extend south of the valley of the Ganges. There are, however, few parts of India in which an European would be allowed to take shelter in an ordinary Hindu house. The dwellings of Rajas and wealthy men are sometimes provided with an antechamber to which an 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.

[2] I venture to suggest that this place, having been probably in Travancore, was Kotáyam, which was a town and State of some note, and the centre of the Syrian Christians. It is in Lat. 9° 36′ N., Long. 76° 34′ E. A very full account of these Christians is given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. vi, p. 230.

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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 indicated, and he was well received by him, and found there a *Malabari* 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, not wishing 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 come to him two or three times every day, sometimes to fire a musket, sometimes to wield a hand-pike, asking him much regarding the way they make war 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; the King having 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 traverse the country in order to reach MADRAS. For from COCHIN up to the place where they 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 cocoanuts, which were insufficient to satisfy them. On the day of one of the local festivals the King summoned RACHEPOT and his companions,

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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 a little gold 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 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 into the neighbourhood in order to let their relatives and friends see them. When they had passed these mountains[3] and began to enter the plain, they travelled in the woods for two and

[1] Probably Plantains, or so-called Bananas. The fruit of *Musa sapientum*, commonly called Adam's figs by the Portuguese (see Book II, chap. xii.)

[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 to the south as they appear to have done (see p. 250).

[3] Probably the hilly region between Travancore and Madura.

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a half days without seeing any one; and were convinced that they must die. To increase their misery they were attacked in these woods by great numbers of leeches which abound there, so that it became a necessity for them to run in order to give the leeches less time to attach themselves to their legs and thighs, where they assumed proportions sometimes 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 which were attached to their bodies, from whence there flowed much blood 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 woods the first day till two or three hours after nightfall, found a small river which had in the middle a small dry island, where they went to rest till day, not having to fear the leeches then, because they were surrounded by water. On the following day they pursued their journey with the same persecution from leeches, and slept at night close to a tree, where they found a kind of platform,[1] 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 camp for this second night, and, day having come, they were again on the road, and at length arrived by midday at a Pagoda,[2] where there were

[1] Known in India as a *machán*, Hin.

[2] Possibly Trichinopoli, but more probably Madura, or some place still farther south (see p. 250).

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many *Brahmins* or *Banian* priests, who, pitying their miserable 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, from which they stand aloof. As the soldiers had been nearly three days without eating they forthwith took so much food that they all 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 they had eaten they wished to pursue their way, but the *Brahmins* 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] and advised them to remain there the whole night, and that the following day they should start early. This they did, according to their advice. This night heavy rain fell, and one of the *Banian* priests made a sign to them to follow him to his house. Having arrived there he made them enter a hole under the house, which he besought them not to touch; and though he brought them food, they were unwilling to 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 out upon the terrace of the house in order to sleep more at their ease. To avoid being caught there they did not fail to return to the hole at break of

[1] This was written long before naturalists had separated leeches from insects, and placed them in the class of the annelids.

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day, and the *Brahmin*, master of the house, took them again to the Pagoda, where he ordered them to be given food. He also made them rub their legs with a certain plant[1] the odour of which the leeches could not bear, and gave to each 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 there are leeches, always have a lighted brand in their hands. The soldiers, with the preventative which was 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 no water is drunk in this country, as it is very unwholesome. The *Banians* directed them, as well as they could, on the road to MADRAS, which they had left in consequence of their having kept too much towards the south. By going more to the east they shortened their journey, and traversed a mountainous country,

[1] What this plant was I have not been able to discover—not improbably it is still used for the same purpose. 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 Tennant 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).

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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 go to dwell in the island of CEYLON. They undertook to drive out the inhabitants of the country. But the Viceroy not promising to grant what they asked except on condition that they became Catholics, and they being unwilling to agree, the arrangement which they proposed did not come to pass. 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 cares 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; and, having 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 had 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 had 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 which he had to undergo.

[1] Syrian Church—probably colonies from the central headquarters in Malabar (see p. 245 *n.*)

[2] *Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. viii, p. 222.

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RACHEPOT and his companions had the good fortune to meet, on their road one evening, this Jesuit Father, who for 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 which 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 that they had resolved to go to MADRAS, he wrote down the route, not being able to indicate their stages beyond GINGI,[1] a small town inhabited by Muhammadans, 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. Having arrived 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 make the capitulation, and to hand over the town to the Dutch. These four unfortunates, who had become renegades, invited the newcomers to join the Muhammadans 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

[1] Guinchy in the original, Gingi, Jinjee, or Chenjee, a ruined hill-fort and village 50 miles south of Arcot. It was taken by Sivaji in 1677, from the Muhammadan Governor appointed from Bijapur. It was for a time garrisoned by the French, 1750 to 1761. The place is now deserted, and has the reputation of being one of the most unhealthy in the Karnatic.

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accept this offer, if they had not spoken at the same time of their being circumcised, and denying their faith; and from fear that they would be kept against their wills, 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.

The English had the kindness to offer them a passage upon one of their vessels which was returning to EUROPE, but RACHEPOT allowed his companions to go, and decided to return by land himself, after having rested nearly two months at MADRAS. During this time the Capuchin Fathers found a 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 rings were much approved of by the *Mestive*[2] 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

[1] The distance from Gingi to Madras is 82 miles.

[2] See pp. 198 and 206.

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him, too, some money on my departure, which has never been repaid to me. It is from him that 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 going 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 persecution by the leeches is one of the principal, and the superstition of the *Banians*, not allowing 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, and do not use them any more; this is the reason why some of the priests always guard them.

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CHAPTER XVII

Route by Sea from HORMUZ *to* MASULIPATAM

I LEFT GOMBROON for MASULIPATAM on the 11th of May 1652, having embarked on a large vessel belonging to the King of GOLCONDA, which every year goes 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 is in the habit of supplying a pilot and a sub-pilot and two or three gunners to the vessels which belong to the Kings or Princes of INDIA, neither the Indians nor the Persians having the least knowledge of navigation.[1] Upon 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 we made but 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

[1] 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 (*vide Hakluyt Society*, vol. i, p. 6).

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after, and those which followed 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,[1] the rain, thunder, and lightning increased the hurricane, and we were unable to carry any sail except the *simiane*,[2] 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, for 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 do not fail to throw water all over theirs both morning and evening in order to preserve them, because without this precaution one runs the risk of being lost in a tempest. We had in our vessel fifty-five horses which the King of PERSIA was sending as a present to the King of GOLCONDA, 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

[1] The latitude of Goa is 15° 30′ N.

[2] *Simiane.* This word may be connected with the Persian *shámiyáná*, which, however, signifies an awning, or a kind of tent without walls.

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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. They made great buckets, each consisting of four skins, and five large holes were cut in diverse parts of the lower deck, where some of the ship's company filled the skins, which were then hauled up through the holes. These 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 were 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 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 small hole was anointed with cocoanut oil he cried aloud and experienced acute agony.

On the 24th of June we perceived land in the morning, and when sufficiently near we recognised that

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we were off POINT 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 2d of July, one or two hours after sunrise. Our pilot at once went on shore to salute the Dutch Commander, and having told him that I was in 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, in order that we should 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 having prepared two rooms for us, 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, who was in the service of the Dutch Company, and who, 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 asked us often to go to dinner 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 at 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 give them some amusement.

[1] Ponte de Galle in the original. On another occasion Tavernier landed there (see Book II, chap. xx.)

[2] See Book II, chaps. xx and xxv.

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The English also were present at our small parties. And they entertained us two or three times as pleasantly as they could, having *baladines*,[1] of whom there is no lack in this country, always present after the repast.

On the 18th and 19th of June[2] we bought a *pallankeen*, three horses, and six oxen, to carry us with our attendants and our baggage. We had settled to go straight to GOLCONDA to the King, to sell him some of the pear-shaped pearls, of which the least weighed 34,[3] and the largest 35 carats; and some other jewels, the majority of which were emeralds. But the Dutch having told us that we should make a useless journey, and that the King would buy nothing rare nor of high price which MIR JUMLA, who commanded his army and was the Prime Minister of his Court, had not first seen, and as he was then at the siege of GANDIKOT,[4] in the Province of CARNATIC,[5] we resolved to go in search of him, and the following is the route which we took in this journey.

[1] Dancing-girls (see p. 87 *n.*)

[2] As they arrived at Masulipatam on the 2d of July, it is clear that the month should be July both in this passage and also in the next chapter.

[3] Probably a misprint for 24 (see p. 287).

[4] Gandicot in the original, for Gandikot (see p. 284).

[5] Carnatica in the original, for Carnatic or Karnatik. Its geographical limits have varied, at one time it corresponded with the Kingdom of Vijayanagra, including Mysore and part of Telingana, it is now restricted to a region below the *Ghats*. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary* and *Imperial Gazetteer*.)

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CHAPTER XVIII

Route from MASULIPATAM *to* GANDIKOT, *a town and fortress in the Province of* CARNATIC; *and the Author's transactions with* MIR JUMLA, *who commanded the Army of the King of* GOLCONDA; *in which also there is a full description of Elephants.*

WE left MASULIPATAM on the 20th of June[1] at 5 P.M., and slept at a garden—which is, as I have said, 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 travelled 3 leagues, and slept at a place called NILMOL.[2]

On the 22d [July] we travelled 6 leagues to WOUHIR,[3] another village, and before arriving there we crossed a river[4] on a raft.

On the 23d [July], after a march of six hours, we halted at PATEMET,[5] which is but a poor village, and on account of the rains we were obliged to remain there on the 24th, 25th, and 26th.

[1] This should be July (see preceding note). On p. 265 the succeeding month is given as August, the year being 1652.

[2] Nedumulu (see p. 174 *n.*)

[3] Weeyur (see p. 174 *n.*)

[4] One of the mouths of the Kistná.

[5] Patamata (see p. 175 *n.*)

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On the 27th [July] we arrived at a large village called BEZWÁDA,[1] 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, and they had not the intelligence 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 GOLCONDA to cross over; they were then reduced to fifty, because five had died at sea.[2]

They were being taken to MIR JUMLA, who was the *Nawab* or *Grand Vizir*, because anything that he has not seen, or which 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 *Nawab* at GANDIKOT.[3]

During the sojourn which we made at BEZWÁDA[4] we went to see many pagodas, the country being full of them, and there are more there than in any other

[1] Bezouart in the original (see p. 174 *n.*)

[2] I have been 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.

[3] The preceding paragraph is omitted in John Phillip's translation of 1684.

[4] Bezwáda is noted for its antiquities, both of the Buddhistic and Hindu periods, the former consisting of rock-cut temples, and the latter of pagodas. By some authorities it is identified with Dhanákaketa of Hwen Thsang, which others place at Amarávati; see p. 174 *n.* (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Art. "Bezwáda.")

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part of INDIA, because, with the exception of the Governors of the place and some of their servants, who are Muhammadans, all the people are idolaters. The pagoda of the town of BEZWÁDA is very fine, and is not enclosed by walls. You see fifty-two columns of 20 feet in height or thereabouts, which 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 having four horns, others with many legs and many tails, others which protrude their tongues, and others 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 statues 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 the pagoda. A gallery supported by sixty-six pillars, like a sort of cloister, runs all round the wall inside. You enter this court by a great gate, above which there are two large 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. The pagoda is square, with a dome on top; there are figures in relief around the wall like those in the BEZWÁDA pagoda. There is an idol seated in the middle, after the manner of the country, with crossed legs, and in this position it is

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about 4 feet in height. Its head is covered by a triple crown, from whence proceed four horns, and it has the face of a man turned towards the east. The pilgrims who come for devotion to 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) *Ram, Ram, i.e.* God, God. When they are close they sound a bell thrice, which is suspended from the idol itself, of which they have previously smeared different parts of the face and body with various colours. Some carry bottles of oil, with which they anoint the idol, and they offer it sugar, oil, and other articles of food—the richest adding money. There are sixty priests who attend this pagoda, and live with their wives and children on the offerings which are brought to the idol. But in order that the pilgrims may believe that the god takes them, the priests leave them before the image for two days, and on the evening of the third they appropriate them. When a pilgrim goes to the pagoda in order 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; he then begins to sing, this all the others do also after their offerings. Before the door of the pagoda there is a flat roof supported by sixteen pillars, and opposite is to be seen 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 there is shade afforded by numerous beautiful trees, and you see also a very fine well. The pilgrims come there from great distances, and if there are any poor among them the

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priests feed them with the alms which they receive from the rich who come there out of devotion. The principal festival of this pagoda is in the month of October, at which time there is a great assemblage of people from all quarters. When we were there there was a woman who had been three days in the temple without once leaving it, asking the idol from time to time, since she had lost her husband, what she should do to bring up her children and feed them. Having inquired from one of the priests wherefore 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, having gone to dinner, there being but one only at the door, of whom I freed myself by asking him to go to fetch me some water at a fountain, which was two or three musket shots away from the place. During this time I 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. 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. I was not able to accomplish this so quickly but that 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

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I placed in his hands, and he at the same time offered me *betel*.[1]

On the 31st we left BEZWÁDA and crossed the river,[2] which goes to the mine of GANI or KOLLUR.[3] It was then nearly half a league in width, on account of the heavy rains which had lasted during eight or nine days. After having travelled 3 leagues on the other side of the river, we found a great pagoda built on a platform to which one ascended by fifteen or twenty steps. There was an image there of a cow[4] 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 from this pagoda there is a large village. On this day we marched 3 leagues farther, and slept at another village called KAH KALI,[5] 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,[6] a large town with a double ditch, and the bottom of the trench lined with

[1] *Betle* in the original.—The leaf of *Chavica betel*, together with chopped areca nut and lime, constitutes what is here called *betle*, for chewing. (See p. 286.)

[2] *I.e.* the Kistná.

[3] See for explanation of Gani or Kollur, p. 172, also Book II, chap. xviii.

[4] Siva's bull.

[5] This is Kákáni, about 4 miles north of Guntur, and 16 from Bezwáda. It is also mentioned on p. 174, being on the route from Golconda to Masulipatam *via* the mine at Coulour (*i.e.* Kollur).

[6] This is Konavaidu or Kondavir. The fort, which is at an elevation of 1050 feet on a ridge of hills, is described by Mr. Boswell in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i. p. 182. The town was built in the twelfth century by the Orissa Rajas.

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cut stone. It is entered by a road which is enclosed on both sides by strong walls, where at intervals there are round towers which afford but small defence. This town touches on the east a mountain which is about a league in circuit, and is 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 they have neglected to keep in repair.

On the 2d [August] we travelled only 6 leagues, and halted at a village called COPENOUR.[1]

On the 3d [August], after having made 8 leagues, we reached ADANQUIGE,[2] a fairly good village, where there is a very grand pagoda, with numerous chambers which were made for the priests of the *Banians*, but to-day it is all in ruins. There are still some idols in the pagoda, but all mutilated, and these poor people do not cease to adore them.

On the 4th [August] we made 8 leagues, and slept at the village of NOSDREPAR.[3] Half a league on this side there is a large river, which then contained but little water—the rains not having commenced.

On the 5th [August], after 8 leagues of road, we slept at the village of CONDECOUR.[4]

[1] Not identified.

[2] This is Addanki (Ardinghy), a town in the Ongole *taluk* of the Nellore district, Lat. 15° 48′ 42″, Long. 80° 0′ 52″ E. "The temple of Singarikonda and the ruined fort of Hari Palakuda are in the neighbourhood" (*Imperial Gazetteer*).

[3] Probably Nootalapaud, about 18 miles south of Addanki. The French edition of 1713 has Nodrespar.

[4] Kandukur—Cundacoor of A.S.—in the Nellore district. The French edition of 1713 has Gondecour.

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On the 6th [August] we marched seven hours and halted at another village called DAKIJÉ.[1]

On the 7th [August], after having travelled 3 leagues, we came to a town called NELOUR,[2] where there are many pagodas, and having crossed a great river a quarter of a league farther on, we marched for 6 leagues and came to a village called GANDARON.[3]

On the 8th [August], after a march of eight hours, we slept at SEREPELÉ,[4] which is only a small village.

On the 9th [August] we travelled 9 leagues, and slept at a good village called PONTER.[5]

On the 10th [August] we marched eleven hours and halted at SENEPGOND,[6] another good village.

On the 11th [August] we only went as far as PALICATE,[7] 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

[1] Not identified on A.S.

[2] Nellore. There is a temple on a hill near the town called Narasinha Kondu. Nellore is on the south bank of the Penner or Pennair River, which, therefore, must have been crossed before the town was reached.

[3] Not identified, probably misplaced.

[4] Sarvapali probably, but if so the distance and time mentioned must be incorrect, as it is only 12 miles south of Nellore.

[5] Pundi—Poondy of A.S.—to W. of Pulicat Lake.

[6] I have failed to identify Senepgond.

[7] 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 the other forts and towns mentioned by Tavernier.

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COROMANDEL; and it is where they have their factory, and where the Chief of all those living in the territory of the King of GOLCONDA 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, are in retirement in this place. There are also some natives of the country, who by degrees have 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 inconvenienced by the town. The bastions are furnished with good guns, and the sea washes at the foot, but there is no port, it being only a roadstead. We remained in the town till the evening of the following day, and the Governor would not allow us to eat 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 the water which they drink is somewhat remarkable. When the tide is out they go on the sand as near to the sea as possible, and they make holes there, where 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., we arrived at MADRAS, otherwise called FORT ST. GEORGE, which belongs to the English, and of which I have elsewhere

[1] The French edition of 1713 has Pitre.

[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 Book II, chap. xx, and *Chardin*, iv, p. 69; and *Persian Travels*, Ed. 1676, p. 233.)

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spoken[1]—having travelled only 7 or 8 leagues this day. We went to stay at the Convent of the Capuchins, where the Rev. Father EPHRAIM of NEVERS and the Rev. Father ZENON of BANGÉ were, of whom I have also spoken in preceding chapters.[2]

On the 14th [August] we went to the fort to visit the English President, 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 went to see the Governor, who received us with much civility and kept us to dinner. The time after dinner was employed in going to see the Church of the Augustine Fathers and that of the Jesuit Fathers, in the first of which there is the head of a lance, which they regard as being that with which ST. THOMAS[5] was martyred; and we also went to visit 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 been to see sent us a quantity of presents, such as hams, ox tongues, sausages, fish, water melons, and other fruits of the country. There were 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,

[1] Madras, see p. 220, 22 miles from Pulicat. As will have been observed, several of the stages from Masulipatam have not been identified.

[2] See Book I, chap. xv.

[3] See Book II, chaps. xx and xxv.

[4] St. Thomé, now a suburb of Madras (see p. 221 *n*, where the distance has been shown to be about a league and a half).

[5] For a full discussion of this tradition, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. vi, p. 230, *et seq.*

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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, it was impossible for any one to remove this belief, so strongly was it engrafted.

On the 17th and 18th [August] we went again to dine with the English President, and we passed the time with all the amusements which he was able to devise to remove from our bodies and minds the pains and fatigues which we had incurred during so troublesome a journey.

On the 19th [August] we went to visit 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 went to see 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 the nation, who had regaled us so well.

On the 22d [August], in the morning, we left MADRAS, and, after having travelled 6 leagues, arrived at a large village called SERRAVARON.[1]

On the 23d [August], having travelled 7 leagues, we came to OUDECOT.[2] This is a day's march through a

[1] This appears to be Seravarumbode, near Arnee, 20 miles from Madras.

[2] Woodecotah, north of the Narnaveram river, about 15 miles from the last stage.

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flat and somewhat sandy country. On both sides there is nothing but groves of bamboo.[1] It is a kind of cane which is very tall, sometimes equalling in height our loftiest forest trees. There are some of these forests so thick that it is impossible for a man to enter them, and there are an enormous number of monkeys 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,[2] 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 as to whence they come and whither they go, so that a traveller is able without danger and in all safety to carry his gold in his hand. In all these places you find rice to buy, 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 woods to approach the baskets which are full of rice. They spend half an hour showing their teeth to one another before

[1] Bambou in the original. See Index for references.

[2] A remarkable account of a battle between two troops of 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.

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approaching the baskets, and sometimes they advance, sometimes they retire, all fearing to come to close quarters. At length the females, which are bolder than the males, particularly those having young ones, which they carry in their arms as a woman carries her child, approach the baskets, and when about to stretch forward their heads to eat, immediately the males of the other side of the wood advance to prevent them and to bite them. Those of the other side advance then, and both the one and the other becoming furious take the sticks which they find near the baskets, upon which a fierce combat ensues. The weakest being compelled to give way, withdraw into the wood, 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 replete they allow some of the females of the opposition to come to 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] and found nothing, neither for

[1] Narnaverum on the river of the same name. The stages from Madras above given amount to 22 leagues; the distance measured on the map is about 56 miles; but the first stage is too short.

[2] Gazellymundum, 14 miles as the crow flies from Narnaverum.

[3] The pagoda was undoubtedly that of Tripatty or Tirupati, 80 miles from Madras. In Book III, chap. xii, which see, Tavernier mentions that he visited it on this very journey. It is possible that a place called Ontimon Koorva, about 12 miles N.W. of Tripatty, may be our author's Courua.

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the men nor the mounts, whether oxen or horses, and ours had to content themselves with a little grass which was cut for them. COURUA is a somewhat renowned pagoda, and having arrived there we saw several companies of military passing, some with handpikes, others with guns, and others with sticks, who were going to join one of the principal captains of MIR 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 captain was so near at hand, we set out in order to go to salute him, and we found him in his tent with many nobles who were chiefs of the country, all being idolaters. After we had saluted him and made 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 MIR JUMLA, Commander-in-Chief of the King of GOLCONDA, on account of some business which we had with him. At this reply he treated us kindly, and having observed that he regarded us as Dutchmen, we said we were not of their country, but were Frenchmen. The captain not having any previous knowledge of our nation, detained us a long time in order 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 Muhammadans. Having ascertained 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

[1] *Sofra* in the original = tablecloth (see Book II, chap. xii).

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scarcely arrived at our tent when we saw three men, each with a large dish of *pillâu*[1] on his head, which the captain had sent us. Before we left him he begged 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 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 then ascertained. Certain passages are cut in the woods, which are hollowed out into holes, and covered with branches with a little earth on top. The hunters, by means of shouts and the noise of drums, to which they add fire-darts, drive the elephant into these passages, when meeting with the holes it falls into them and is unable to get out again. They then place ropes and chains on it, which they pass under the belly, and bind the trunk and the legs, afterwards they employ special machines to hoist it up. Nevertheless, out of five which they had 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 only believe it. It is, that elephants which have once been caught and have escaped, if driven into the woods 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

[1] *Pillâu* (see p. 154).

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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 from them. If we had been certain of being witnesses of 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 3000 or 4000 men who were stationed half a league off.

On the 27th [August], after having marched two hours, we came to a large village, where we saw the two elephants 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 were small wisps of hay, pieces of black sugar, of 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 made as though to revenge himself, the other struck him from his side, so that the poor elephant knew not where to turn; this educated 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

[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

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in season sometimes. One day when SHÁH JAHÁN was out hunting upon his elephant with one of his sons, who sat with him in order to fan him, the elephant became so much in heat that the driver, not being able to control it any longer, told the King that in order to arrest the rage of the elephant, which might crush them among the trees, it was necessary that one of the three who was on the elephant should offer himself up, and that with all his heart he sacrificed his life for the King and for his son, begging his majesty to take care of the three children whom he was leaving. Having said so, he threw himself under the elephant, and immediately the animal took him with his trunk, and having crushed him under his feet, became mild and tractable as before. The King, 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 BHUTAN

parents having been in captivity, but recently elephants appear to have been successfully bred in America. 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.

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towards GREAT TARTARY. They come also from the coast of MELINDA;[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 that they 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 GOLCONDA; the following is the method employed in the island of CEYLON in 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 along the passage up to where it becomes narrow, which, when he has passed, the men who are concealed close that portion of the passage by a strong barricade which they have in readiness; and when the elephant is advanced a short distance farther, and is not far from the female, another

[1] This statement is of special interest if intended to mean that the African elephant was domesticated and exported to India.

[2] I think I have seen somewhere 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. 161.)

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barricade closes the passage in that direction. It is then that, with chains and ropes, which they have thrown on the elephant, they bind his trunk and legs, and enclose him in the trap so that he is unable to escape from it. 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 which they can find, after which they lay snares for the elephant, who approaches slowly on hearing her cries.

It is especially remarkable 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 it is only the first male produced by the female which has tusks.[2] It is to be remarked also that the ivory which comes from the islands of CEYLON and

[1] This is a fable, 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.) 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.

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ACHEEN[1] has the peculiarity when it is worked that it never becomes yellow like that which comes from the Peninsula and the WEST (*sic*) INDIES;[2] 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. For the young elephants which have remained to eat, since their mothers have been all the time marching, being then some distance off, double their pace, and by flourishing the trunk throw on the ground the children who are upon them, without all the time doing them any harm. This does not in the least repel this little crowd, which continues to follow them for some time, offering them food as before.

Notwithstanding all the researches 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 one can obtain 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,

[1] Achen in the original, it here stands for Sumatra.

[2] Tavernier makes a slip if he alludes to ivory from elephants, as there are no elephants in the West Indies.

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it is found that an elephant's age sometimes amounts to 120 or 130 years.[1]

I observe that the majority of those who have written accounts of INDIA say boldly that the GREAT MOGUL keeps 3000 or 4000 elephants. When at JAHÁNÁBÁD, where the King at present resides, I often inquired from the person who has charge of them, and who shows much friendship for the *Franks*, in order to know what the number of elephants was which he feeds for the service of the King, and he assured me that he had but 500,[2] which are called elephants of the household, because they are only employed 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 these last has to be supported by the eldest son of the King, and is allotted, both for food and for all other necessary expenses, 500 rupees a month, which amount to 750 *livres*. There are some that 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 live on this pay, and

[1] Mr. Sanderson says, "I think it by no means improbable, looking to their peculiar dentition and other circumstances, that elephants live to 150 or 200 years." Sir Emerson Tennant 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. The *Aín-i-Akbári* gives the natural duration of an elephant's life at 120 years.

[2] The *Aín-i-Akbári* 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. (See Gladwin's translation, vol. i, pp. 113-130.)

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also 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, by 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 goes into the purse of these persons.

This same day, the 27th of August, we travelled 6 leagues farther, and slept at a large town called RAGIAPETA.[1]

On the 28th, after having made 8 leagues, we came to OUDECOUR.[2]

On the 29th, after a march of nine hours, we arrived at OUTEMEDA,[3] where there is one of the grandest pagodas in the whole of INDIA. It is all built of large cut stones, and it has three towers where there are many deformed figures cut in relief. It is surrounded by many small chambers for the dwelling of the priests of the pagoda, and 500 paces off there is a great tank, upon the borders of which there are many

[1] Ragiapeta—perhaps Rajahpully—must be near Codoor of A.S.

[2] Oodcoor or Ootkoor of A.S., is close to Rajumpett, a station on the Madras and Bombay railroad, not to be mistaken for a place of the same name near Cuddapah station.

[3] Wuntimitta, Vontimitta, or Wintemetta, in the Cuddapah District, is a station on the Madras and Bombay railroad, Lat. 14° 24′ N., Long. 79° 5′ E., 18 miles from Ootkoor. "The pagoda is dedicated to Kodandarámaswámi, and is said to have been built by one of the Chitvail Rajas 300 years ago. If, however, the inscriptions of Gandikot are to be believed, it must have been built by a member of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the fourteenth century." (*Imperial Gazetteer.*)

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small pagodas of 8 or 10 feet square, and in each an idol in the form of a demon, with a *Brahmin*,[1] who takes care that any stranger who is not of their faith does not come to wash or take water from the tank. If a stranger wishes for water they carry him some in earthen pots, and if by chance their pot touches the vessel of the stranger they break the pot. I am told, also, as I have elsewhere remarked, that if any one not being of their faith washes in the tank it becomes necessary for them to let out all the water which is then in it. As for charity, they are very liberal, for no one passes who is in want and who asks, to whom they do not 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 passers, and even to those who have not tobacco they give a pipe. The others go there to cook rice with *quicheri*,[2] 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 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 handsful of this cooked rice to eat. Other women are to be seen on the highroads and in the fields following horses, oxen, and cows; these have vowed to eat nothing but what they find

[1] *Bramere* in the original, Brahmin.

[2] For *khichri*, Hind., a term applied to a dish of boiled rice and *dál*, a kind of pulse (*Cajanus indicus*), flavoured with spices and onions; it is therefore not the name of a seed itself. (See Book II, chap. ix.)

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undigested in these animals' droppings. As neither barley[1] nor oats are to be had in this country, the cattle are fed on certain large and hard peas,[2] 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 is almost like wax, kneaded with an equal weight of flour and a pound of butter, of which mixture the grooms make pellets or small balls, which are forced down the horses' throats, otherwise they would not eat them. Afterwards their mouths are washed, especially the teeth, which are covered with the paste, this gives them a dislike to this kind of food. During the day 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.[3]

On the 30th [August] we made 8 leagues, and halted at GOULAPALI.[4]

On the 31st, after a march of nine hours, we stopped at GOGERON.[5]

On the first day of September we made only 6

[1] I do not know when barley was first introduced, but it is certainly now largely grown in India.

[2] *Gram*, the seed of *Cicer arietinum*, Linn., or of *Dolichos uniflorus*, Lam.

[3] This is the kind of fodder still given to horses in India, but the clay is removed by beating not by washing. The daily preparation of this is the principal duty of the second attendant on a horse—the *Ghasiyára* or grasscutter.

[4] Goulapali is not given on the atlas sheet, it must have been near Chennur, close to a number of diamond mines (see vol. ii, p. 450). Possibly it may be identical with Ganganapally.

[5] Not identified. Must be near Moodanoor station if south of the Pennair, but if north of it, it may be Goriganoor.

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leagues, and we came to a halt at GANDIKOT.[1] It was only eight days since the *Nawáb* 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 which they had received. He also had as gunners many English and Dutch, with two or three Italians, who gave him great aid in the capture of the place.

GANDIKOT is one of the fortified towns which are in the Kingdom of CARNATIC.[2] 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 *Nawáb* 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. When on the mountain you see a small plain about a quarter of a league wide and half a league long. It is sown with rice and millet, and is 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, in order to enter the town, there is but one gate on the plain side, and it is fortified in this direction with three good

[1] Gandikot, a fort at an elevation of 1670 feet above the sea in the Yerramalai Mountains of the Kadapa (Cuddupah) District, Lat. 14° 48′ N., Long. 78° 20′ 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 Mir Jumlá.

[2] The Carnatic or Karnatic embraced Mysore and parts of Telingána, and corresponded with the Kingdom of Vijáyanagar. (See p. 259 *n.* and for use of the name at various periods, Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

[3] Pennair river.

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walls of cut stone, with the ditches at their bases faced with the same stone. Consequently, during the siege, the inhabitants had only to guard a space of 400 or 500 paces wide. They had only two iron guns—one being 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 *Nawáb* found a means to mount guns above he lost many men from the frequent sorties made by the besieged. The *Raja* who was in the town was considered to be one of the best and bravest commanders among the idolaters, and the *Nawáb*, 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 service of the King as gunners to come to him, and promised to each four months' wages more than their ordinary pay if they could find some means of conveying guns to the heights. In this they were successful. They mounted four guns, with which they bombarded the place, and they were so fortunate as to direct them against the gun which was on the gate, which they rendered useless. When they had battered down half the gate of the town the besieged capitulated; they evacuated the place under honourable conditions. On the day upon which 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 *Nawáb* 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 recognising us to be *Franks*, as it was late politely came to meet us, and invited us to spend the night with them. It was

[1] Pennair.

[2] See p. 258 and Index.

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from them that we heard that there was a French gunner then in the town, named CLAUDE MAILLÉ of BOURGES,[1] and that he was engaged in casting some cannon which the *Nawáb* wished to leave in the place.

On the following day, being the 2d 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 service of the Dutch, serving them as gardener to the General. He received us with much joy, and having at first notified the *Nawáb* of our arrival, he ordered them to provide us lodging and necessary food immediately, not only for ourselves, but also for our horses and oxen, during the stay that we were going to make at GANDIKOT.

On the 3d [September] we went to see the *Nawáb*, who had caused his tents to be pitched on the summit of the mountains, in the quarter bordering the road cut in the rock. He received us well, asking us if we were comfortably housed, and if we had been given the food which he had ordered for ourselves and horses. Subsequently he inquired the cause which had brought us thither, and we replied that we had brought some goods sufficiently choice for the King, but that we had not wished to go 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 *Nawáb* assured us that our compliment had not displeased him, and after he had caused *betle*[2] to be pre-

[1] For further particulars regarding this gun founder and surgeon, see pp. 116, 289, and 301.

[2] *Betel*, Port. The leaf of *Chavica 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*. (See p. 265.)

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sented to us we took our leave and returned to the town. We found all the gunners awaiting us, and we all assembled at MAILLÉ'S house for supper, where the *Nawáb* sent us two bottles of wine—one Spanish, the other of Shiraz—which is rare in this country. As for brandy, they have no lack of it, for they make it of rice and also of sugar, of which there is an abundance in all these parts of INDIA.

On the 4th we again visited the *Nawáb*, and showed him the jewels which we hoped to sell to the King. They consisted of some pear-shaped pearls[1] 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 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 us dine with him, and after the repast we withdrew to the town, where we remained till the 10th without seeing the *Nawáb*.

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*,[2] but of very dark water and very small, and for the most part were only 1 carat or half a carat in weight, but otherwise very clear. There were very few which amounted to 2 carats. The *Nawáb*, when showing us these stones, asked if such goods were saleable in our country. We replied that

[1] The principal pearl was afterwards sold to Sháistá Khán (see *ante*, p. 20).

[2] *Lasques*, a term applied by jewellers to flat and oval stones, such as are used in Indian jewellery.

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one might sell them provided the water was white, because in EUROPE we do not esteem diamonds if they are not clear and white, and that we made no account of other kinds of water. When he first began to contemplate the conquest of this Kingdom for the King of GOLCONDA, he was told that it had diamond mines, and he sent 12,000 men to work them, who in the space of a year only found those which he had in the five bags. The *Nawáb*, seeing that they only found 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.[1] After the *Nawáb* 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.

On the 11th [September] all the *Frank* gunners went to the *Nawáb'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 *Nawáb* put them off till the following day.

On the 12th, the gunners not having omitted to repair to the tent of the *Nawáb*, he ordered them to be paid for three months, and promised them at the close

[1] The exact position of these mines (or washings ?) is unknown, but they were probably situated in the neighbourhood of the Pennair river. The nearest of the Kadapa (Cuddapah) sites known in modern times was at Jalmudugu, which is only 5 or 6 miles E. of Gandikot. There are a number of mines near Kadapa (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 9). In Book II, chap. xvii, Tavernier says there were six of them. The mine at Wadjra-Karur, in Bellary, was also taken by Mir Jumla.

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of the current month to pay the fourth. They had no sooner received this money than they treated one another, and the *baladines*[1] carried off more than half of it.

On the 13th the *Nawáb* went to the town to see the foundry which MAILLÉ had erected by his orders. MAILLÉ, as I have said, was from BOURGES, and enlisted at AMSTERDAM for INDIA. Having reached 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 place himself in the suite of M. CHETEUR, who was sent from BATAVIA to the *Nawáb*, then engaged in the siege of GANDIKOT. This Envoy having accomplished his business with the *Nawáb*, 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 till such time as the Envoy departed, without being able to find MAILLÉ, in spite of all the search he could make, which had obliged him to delay his departure for some days. As soon as MAILLÉ heard that the Envoy was gone, he was appointed to the service of the *Nawáb* as surgeon; and some time after, having informed him that he was a good gunner and founder, he entered his service in that capacity. The *Nawáb* having taken GANDIKOT, and desiring to have some cannon inside the fort, where it was very difficult to carry them, proposed to MAILLÉ[2] to cast

[1] Dancing-girls (see p. 87).

[2] In 1665 Tavernier met a man with the same name installed as physician to the Governor at Allahabad, but does not allude to him expressly as being the same person. (See p. 116.)

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twenty pieces—ten of 48 pounds, and ten others of 24 pounds; this MAILLÉ undertook to do. He was supplied with copper for this purpose from all quarters, and the *Nawáb* collected a quantity of idols which had been removed from the pagodas which his army had visited. There is in GANDIKOT a pagoda which is considered to be one of the principal in INDIA, where there are many idols, some being 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 these metals and the idols which had been brought from different places, he accomplished the melting of all except the six large idols of the famous pagoda of GANDIKOT.[1] It was impossible for him to melt them, no matter how much the *Nawáb* expended; and he even threatened the priests of the pagoda, whom he accused of having bewitched the idols. In short, MAILLÉ never accomplished making a single cannon, one being split, another incomplete; and so he relinquished all the work he had undertaken, and sometime afterwards quitted the service of the *Nawáb*.

On the 14th we went to the tent of the *Nawáb* to take leave of him, 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 to him for immediate punishment. It is the custom in this country not to keep a man in prison; but immediately

[1] 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.

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the accused is taken he is examined and sentence is pronounced on him, which is then executed without any delay. If the person whom they have seized is found to be innocent he is released at once; and whatever the nature of the case may be, it is promptly concluded. Moreover, we were told that it would be difficult for us to see the *Nawáb* on that day, because he intended to descend to the plain to review the greater part of his army. We did not omit, however, to meet him at the door of his tent in the evening, where, having dismounted, and M. DU JARDIN and I having saluted him, he invited us to come to see him early on the following day.

On the 15th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we went to the *Nawáb*, and immediately we were announced he asked 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 *Nawáb* had the intervals between his toes full of letters, and he also had many between the fingers of the left hand. He drew them sometimes from his feet, sometimes from his hand, and sent his 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 himself affixed his seal, giving some to footmen, others to horsemen. For it should be remarked that in INDIA all the letters which the Kings, Generals of Armies, and the Governors of Provinces send by footmen go much faster than by horsemen. The reason is that at every two leagues

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there are small huts, where two or three men employed for running live, and immediately when the carrier of a letter has arrived at one of these huts he throws it to the others at the entrance, and one of them takes it up and at once sets off 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. It is still to be remarked that throughout INDIA the greater part of the roads are like avenues of trees, and those which have not trees planted, have at every 500 paces small pieces of stone 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 dark and rainy nights. While we were with the *Nawáb* 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, 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 there 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

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high road to end his days. Another had stolen on the high road, and the *Nawáb* 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 the dinner was served, for the *Nawáb* generally eats at ten o'clock, and he made us dine with him. The *sufra*[1] being removed, we took leave of the majority of the nobles who had also eaten with the *Nawáb;* 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 go to GOLCONDA, where he would communicate with his son, to whom he would write 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 GANDIKOT, where no one is allowed to cross without having the *Nawáb's* passport, so that the soldiers may not be able to desert.

[1] *Sufra*, Hin., tablecloth.

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CHAPTER XIX

Route from GANDIKOT *to* GOLCONDA

ON the morning of the 16th[1] [September 1652] we left GANDIKOT, accompanied by the majority 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.[2]

On the 17th, after having breakfasted with the gunners, who then returned to GANDIKOT, we pursued our way with the sixteen horsemen of the *Nawáb*, and having travelled 6 leagues we slept at a village named COTEEN,[3] beyond the river, which was then very full. As soon as we had crossed it the sixteen horsemen took leave of us; and having 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,[4] covered outside with ox hides, at the bottom of which some faggots are placed, upon which carpets are spread to put the baggage

[1] M. Joret has been misled by a misprint of 26th for 16th, and is therefore wrong in his argument founded on the supposition that Tavernier left Gandikot on the 26th (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131).

[2] Cottapilly in A.S. No. 76; it is, however, 24 miles from Gandikot. Cotalpully and Gopalpilly are about 4 miles nearer.

[3] Not identified on the map. The exact route followed by Tavernier from Gandikot up to Goodymetta is very uncertain.

[4] Coracles. (See p. 299, and Book II, chap. xv.)

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and goods on, for fear they 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 they 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 that they do not all 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] (GOODYMETTA).

On the 21st, after six hours of marching, we passed the night at KAMAN.[4] It was a frontier town of the kingdom of Golconda, before the conquest of that of CARNATIC by the army of MIR JUMLA, of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter.

[1] Perhaps Porenaumla.

[2] Not identified. As Tavernier does not mention the diamond mines of Baswapur, close by, they had probably not been discovered then. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 13.)

[3] Goodymetta, 8 miles N.E. of Giddaloor.

[4] Kammam, Cummum, or Cumbum. The distance from Goodymetta measured on the map is 12 miles.

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On the 22d we travelled 7 leagues, and slept at EMELIPATA.[1] At about half way we met more than 4000 persons, both 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 of 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 nearly of the thickness of a French crown (*écu*). Each one strove to carry these fans in order to serve the idol by fanning it, to prevent the flies alighting on the face. Another fan, which is somewhat larger, and which had no 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 BURHÁNPUR and the neighbourhood, and were going to visit their great *Ram Ram*, *i.e.* their great god, who is in a pagoda in the territory of King of CARNATIC. They had been fully thirty days on the road, and had to march fourteen or fifteen more before reaching the pagoda.[2]

[1] Vamulpetta, 14 miles from Cumbum.

[2] In Book II, chap. xiii, Tavernier describes meeting at Daulatábád

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One of my attendants who was from BURHÁNPUR, and of the tribe of these very 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 it, well knowing that if I did not give him the holiday he would himself take it, 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. On asking him some questions about the pilgrimage which he had just made, he related to me a thing difficult to believe, but which happened, as he said, in this manner. Six days after having left me, all the pilgrims had contemplated sleeping at a village; and before reaching it they had to cross a river, which during the summer contains but little water and may be forded anywhere. But when it rains in INDIA the water falls in such quantity that it appears 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 they always find in abundance rice, flour, butter, milk, beans, and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid. This multitude

a similar procession of 2000 persons on their way to Tripatty pagoda from Tatta, in Sind. All the details are different. I cannot agree with M. Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131) in his identification of the two occasions, and do not see any difficulty in taking both accounts as they stand as being distinct.

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of people, who had no food with them, were much astonished on arrival at the bank of this river to see it so high and swollen, and at not being able to cross in order to go 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 this crowd. In this extremity the chief of their priests 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 with a large ladle which he held, lifting the corner of the sheet, he gave to all whatever they had asked for; so that this large number of people of 4000 souls was satisfied.[1]

It was not only my servant who related this history, but having subsequently made many journeys to BURHÁNPUR, where I was known to the principal persons of the town, I made inquiry of many who had been on this pilgrimage, and all have sworn to me by their *Ram Ram* that it was true, which I nevertheless could not believe.

On the 23d [September] we arrived at Doupar,[2] after having travelled 8 leagues, and crossed many torrents.

[1] It is perhaps not too much to say, that with natives of India the more *prima facie* incredibility there is in a story like this, the more likely is it to obtain credence from them. Its resemblance to a certain Christian miracle is remarkable. In this connection we may appropriately quote General Sleeman's remarks (*Rambles and Recollections*, vol. ii, pp. 51, 94) to the effect that—"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.

[2] Dupad, called Dupar Fort on Major Scott's Map.

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On the 24th we made but 4 leagues, and came to TRIPANTÉ,[1] 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 demons are made of a single piece of marble, but the carving is very coarse.

On the 25th we travelled 8 leagues, and halted at MAMLI (MURRAYVAMLA).

On the 26th we also travelled 8 leagues, and slept at MACHELI (MACHURLA).

On the 27th we made only 3 leagues, because we had to cross a large river in baskets; this generally occupies half a day.[2] For 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 prove if the money which we gave was good he made a large fire, and threw it into it.[3] He did the same with that of all persons whom he took across. If amongst the money which he received he found a rupee which became somewhat black, one 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

[1] Tripurantakhan, 11 or 12 miles N.E. of Dupad. It is the Tripparanticum of the Atlas Sheet.

[2] The Kistná is, I believe, still crossed by means of coracles at the present day (see p. 294, and Book II, chap. xv).

[3] See p. 30.

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of the river. For these people are cunning, and seeing from afar off on which side the travellers are coming they send the basket to the other bank so as not to be compelled to take across any one without being paid. The money being counted, and the man who had received it having called his comrades, you see them carrying the basket on their shoulders to the edge of the water, and having launched it they 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.

On the 29th, after a march of 12 hours, we slept at HOLCORA.[1]

On the 30th we made 8 leagues, and passed the night at PERIDERA.[2]

On Monday, the 1st day of October, after having made 10 leagues, we slept at ATENARA.[3] It is one of the houses of pleasure built by the Queen, mother of the King who reigns at present. It has many rooms, opening on a grand square which is in front of the house, for the accommodation of travellers.

It should be remarked that in all the countries which we have just passed through, both in the Kingdom of CARNATIC and the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and of BIJAPUR, there are hardly any physicians except for the Kings and Princes. As for the commonality, when the rains have fallen and it is the season to

[1] Dabir-Pinta and Holcora I have failed to identify. The former should be looked for between Davirkondah and the river Kistná.

[2] Peridera is perhaps identical with Poraigoda of modern maps. It is about 26 miles from Golconda.

[3] This appears to be the place elsewhere named Tenara (see p. 172), where the distance from Golconda is given as being 4 *coss*. It is also called Tenara by Thevenot.

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collect plants, in the mornings you see mothers of families going out from the towns and villages to collect the simples which they know to be proper for the diseases which occur in a family. 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 in order to 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.

On the 2d of October we had only 4 leagues to make to GOLCONDA. We went to stop at the house of a young Dutch surgeon of the King, named PITRE DE LAN, whom M. CHETEUR, the Batavian Envoy, had left at GOLCONDA—the King having asked for him from him very earnestly.[1] This Prince always suffered from a pain in the head, and the physicians had ordered him to be bled under the tongue in four places; but he was unable to find any one willing to undertake it—for, regarding surgery, the people of the country understand nothing about it.

Before DE LAN entered the service of the King he was asked if he could bleed well, to which he replied that it was the least difficult part of surgery.

[1] Called Pieter de Lange in *Histoire General des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 35. According to Valentyn he afforded good service to his country as their representative at the Court of Golconda till 1656. He was succeeded by another surgeon, who died in 1660, after which the Dutch established a factory at Golconda. On p. 289 we have been told that Claude Maillé of Bourges deserted M. Cheteur and set up as surgeon to Mir Jumla.

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It was with great reluctance that the Batavian Envoy consented to leave him. But he did not wish to disoblige the King, and DE LAN received 800 *pagodas* as salary. Some days after the Envoy's departure the King summoned this 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 returning 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, having undressed and washed him well, especially his hands, they anointed him with drugs and aromatics; and 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, where they 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.[1] 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 come to bleed them, 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 close—for from a distance the thing is not impossible, since from the

[1] He was, therefore, successful under conditions somewhat similar to those from which Shylock recoiled.

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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, which they washed well, and especially his hands, after which they 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 first bestowed on him 50, and the other 30 *pagodas*,[1] with some pieces of gold brocade.

Two days after our arrival we went to salute the son of the *Nawáb*, and were told that we could not speak to him on that day. The following day we returned, and as the same thing was repeated, some one told us that we might amuse ourselves in that manner for a long time, and that he was a young noble who scarcely ever left the presence of the King, and that on leaving the palace he shut himself up in his harem with his women. The surgeon, DE LAN, seeing that our business might become protracted, offered to speak of it to the first physician of the King, who was also in his confidence, who, having shown much friendship for the Batavian Envoy and for DE LAN himself could easily find an opportunity for obliging us. In short, as soon as DE LAN had spoken to him he sent for us, in order to inquire what service he could render us. After he had saluted us, he caressed us a thousand times, and, having invited us to be seated, ordered some fruits of the country to be brought. He then inquired whence we had come, and upon what subject

[1] About £25 and £15.

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we desired to speak to the King; and having told him that we had some choice pearls which we wished to show to his Majesty, 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 seal of the merchant, and when the King has seen it he places 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 in order to oblige us.

The following morning, very early, we went to hunt with DE LAN, and on 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 washed. The elephant enters the water up to the belly, and lying down on one side takes water from time to time in its trunk and throws it upon the uncovered portion of its body in order to wash it well. The keeper then takes a kind of pumicestone, and rubbing the skin 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 does promptly, and after it is well washed on both sides it leaves the river and remains for some time on the bank in order to dry itself. Then the keeper brings a pot full of red or yellow paint,

[1] This old fable, though discountenanced by Pliny, has had a wonderfully persistent existence.

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and paints lines on its forehead, around the eyes, on the chest, and on the back, rubbing it then with cocoanut oil to strengthen the nerves, some keepers finally adding false tinsel on the forehead.[1]

On the 15th[2] [October] the chief physician sent for us at two o'clock P.M., and returned us 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, this we told him, and, as he had a eunuch with him who noted all down, the latter, being astonished at seeing pearls of such a price, remarked that we took the people of the court of the King of GOLCONDA for persons without judgment or knowledge, and that he saw daily other precious things which were brought to the King. I replied sharply to the eunuch that I could well believe that 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 bridle horse, and, on the following day, in the morning, we left GOLCONDA, and were not able to travel more than a league and a half that day, because the Portuguese, English, and Dutch gunners 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

[1] This sort of decoration, like the washing, is practised in India at the present day.

[2] Thus in the edition of 1676, but in other editions this date is given as the 25th. M. Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131) concludes from the latter that Tavernier left for Surat on the 26th. But it appears probable that the 25th is a misprint, and that it was on the earlier date, *i.e.* the 15th. Hence his departure for Surat would have been on the 16th of October.

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the beginning of this volume, and as we returned from GOLCONDA to SURAT by the same route as I took from SURAT to GOLCONDA, there being no other,—I have nothing to say except that, having left GOLCONDA 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 GOLCONDA, one of them being in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, when one of these horsemen came to us at sunset, his companions having remained on the frontier of the two kingdoms, rightly believing that as we had passed the boundary we would not be willing to return. This horseman showed us the order to make us return 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 GOLCONDA the horseman could only urge us to return with him, giving us all possible assurances that we should be satisfied, and M. DU JARDIN had 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 GOLCONDA.

Having arrived at SURAT,[1] where a few days afterwards M. DU JARDIN died of an effusion of bile, as I

[1] As he left Golconda on the 16th of October, and the journey thither 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

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have related in my account of PERSIA, I made arrangements to go to AGRA to see SHÁH JÁHÁN, who was then on the throne. But the *Nawáb* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, brother-in-law of the King, and Governor of the Province of GUJARÁT, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, sent to me from AHMADÁBÁD, where he resided, one of the principal officers of his household, in order 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 King. 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 AHMADÁBÁD, where I at once transacted some business with the *Nawáb*. As he understood all kinds of jewels perfectly 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 only stipulated that I should take golden or silver rupees, but this Prince giving me to understand that he did not wish that so large a sum should be seen leaving his house, suggested that I should take my payment in golden rupees, which would appear less. I agreed to what he 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

of M. du Jardin for that of M. Ardillière his son. Tavernier's reference to the latter as being alive in 1653 is, therefore, not inconsistent, and further we have mention (*Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. x) of a Baron d'Ardillière being in Marseilles with our author in 1657, but I cannot say that he was the same person. See *Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, by Joret, pp. 114 and 131.

[1] From this proportion, with the rupee at 2s. 3d., the gold *mohur* was worth 31s. 6d. (See Appendix.)

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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 this Prince, who was otherwise magnificent and generous, showed himself a stern economist in matters of purchase.[1]

During my residence at AHMADÁBÁD he sent me every day, to the house of the Dutch where I lodged, four silver dishes from his table containing *pillau* and choice meats, and one day when the King sent him ten or twelve men bearing apples, which had been received from PERSIA by way of KANDAHÁR, he presented me with two dishes of them, which would have been worth at AHMADÁBÁD, 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, SHÁISTÁ KHÁN gave me a *khil'at*[2] complete, with sword and *khanjar*;[3] this was worth more than 1000 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 house of the Dutch, but not without difficulty, for it only went by jumps, and was so fiery, that on my allowing a young Dutchman to

[1] This transaction has already been described, with considerable difference in the details, on pp. 18 *et seq.*

[2] Khil'at (see pp. 20, 98, etc.)

[3] *Khanjar*, *i.e.* dagger (see p. 100, and Book III, chap. xxiv).

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mount it, he, who thought he could ride it better than I, found himself promptly out of the saddle, being unable to manage the horse. Having communicated to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that an older one would be more suitable for me, 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 3000 *écus*.[1] As I did not require it for my journeys I sold it for 400 rupees to a Frenchman, whom I was at the same time able to place in the service of this Prince, where he might have saved much money if he had not squandered it in debauchery.

From AHMADÁBÁD I returned to SURAT, and from SURAT I travelled[2] to GOLCONDA, and from thence to the mine to make my purchase of diamonds. On returning to SURAT I arranged to go to PERSIA, but experienced great difficulties, which were followed by a voyage where I was exposed to dangers which I might have foreseen, and which I did little to avoid, never having feared dangers which travellers have to run both on sea and land, when it has been actually necessary for me to proceed forward.

[1] £675. See p. 21 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.)

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CHAPTER XX

Return from SURAT *to* HORMUZ, *and how the author found himself engaged in a very rough and dangerous naval combat, from which he escaped without accident.*

WHILE on my return to SURAT from my journey to the diamond mine, I learned that war had been declared between the English and Dutch, and that the latter would not send any more vessels to PERSIA. The English also said the same, because they had sent four which they expected to return every hour, and consequently I found the sea closed as regards my passage to HORMUZ. I might have taken the land journey by AGRA and KANDAHÁR; but the road was very long, and it was impossible, or at the least very difficult, to travel by it on account of the KANDAHÁR war, and because the armies of PERSIA and INDIA were in the field. 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 2d of January[1] five large Dutch vessels from BATAVIA; this rejoiced me exceedingly, being 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 manifested

[1] This was in the year 1654.

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consideration for me, and who has not been pleased to have an opportunity of showing me kindness. I have also sought on all occasions to serve them, and 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 it is forbidden to them to embark in private trade, and moreover they understood but 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 one day, on account of one of them, to some unpleasantness at BATAVIA, from which I did not escape without trouble, as I shall hereafter describe in the sequel of my history.[1] 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.[2] 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 to bake, I entertained them often with collations, where pigeons in pyramids, flavoured with pistachios, were not lacking. All 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

[1] See Book III, chap. xxii.

[2] One might have supposed that this received its own reward at the time.

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said, a friend of mine, offered me a passage upon whichever I pleased of the five vessels which had arrived from BATAVIA; but, on the other hand, pointed out the risk which I ran 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 not. 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 these 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, whom we believed had already reached PERSIA; but they had gone but a short distance, only having left DIU 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

[1] This was in 1654. (See Introduction.) [2] Diu (see p. 6).
[3] Scimdi in the original for Sindi (see p. 10).

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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 at once a boat was sent on shore, the English and Dutch each having a house there. Our Admiral was informed that they daily expected the four English vessels, which were to embark about 200 bales of goods then ready on the seashore; and upon these tidings it was resolved to remain there at anchor till the 10th of February; but that, if by that time they did not appear, we should put to sea again and seek for them in PERSIA.

On the 2d 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. Some believed at first that they were fishing-boats, but little by little, according as they approached, having the wind astern, we recognised that they were the English vessels, which advanced to attack us, upon the information which 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 that they had not yet seen such small Dutch vessels, and having 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. Towards nine o'clock—the English, who advanced with all sails set, not being far off—in order not to lose time in raising

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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 were unable to approach them. As they had thereby all the advantage on their side with the aid of the wind, they came in good order, and always stem on; and their Admiral and Vice-Admiral[1] came at length so close to the side of the Dutch Admiral that the English Admiral was caught by an anchor on the side of our Admiral. Not to conceal the fact, 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 so well closed that from outside one could not say how many cannon there were. 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 the deck, began to lose heart, and the wind proving favourable, drew off. However, the English Vice-Admiral having reloaded his guns, came skilfully to the vessel on which I was. 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, and, accompanied by many brave men with hatchets, they 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

[1] These terms are used both for the ships themselves and their commanders.

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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 conflagration increasing would envelop all their vessel; and our Captain, who feared the same thing, 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 revived, they found means to put out the fire of 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 at the end of two or three days of his wounds.

In the meantime another of our vessels vigorously attacked a large English ship of about thirty guns which held aloof, and had already damaged it badly, when the vessel upon 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 him. 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 SHIRAZ wine, of which they had 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 having descended into their boats to the number of thirty or forty, 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 thinking of their death, which was

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closer than they supposed, drank one another'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, being badly wounded, and he at once sent these persons 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 their thanks to God for the victory which 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, not joining in the fray. This was a great loss, which might have been avoided if the Dutch had had more courage and

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more prevision; and the English Admiral, seeing the misfortune which had happened to one of his vessels, joined his own with another, and they took flight together. 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; and 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 these Dutchmen who were slain at my side. The combat being over, we returned to the anchorage at SINDI; but a strong wind having arisen, and the sea being very high, we were obliged to go to moorings 6 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 having reached the anchorage at SINDI, both in order to obtain water and some stores, and also for the purpose of raising the anchors which we had left behind, we remained there till the 28th, and after a pleasant cruise landed at GOMBROON on the 7th of March.

My first cares when I was out of the vessel were 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.

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BOOK II

Historical and Political description of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL.

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CHAPTER I

Account of the last wars in HINDUSTAN, *in which the present condition of the Empire and of the Court of the* MOGULS *are 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 constitutes the larger part of HINDUSTAN,[3] and extends from the mountains upon this side of the river INDUS to

[1] With reference to the historical chapters contained in this Book, there can be no attempt to correct or criticise all the author's statements, which are in conflict with those by other authorities.

[2] There is so much similarity between this account and that by Bernier in his *Histoire de la dernier revolution des États du Grand Mogul*, Paris, 1670, 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 Hindustan, or rather *Indostan*, is used in the European sense as synonymous with India, not as the natives of India use it, *i.e.* restricted to the valley of the Ganges.

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the other side of the GANGES, touches on the east the Kingdoms of ARAKAN, TIPPERAH, and ASSAM[1]; on the west PERSIA and TARTARY OF THE USBEGS; on the south the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR; and on the north it reaches to the CAUCASUS, having on the north-east the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, from whence comes musk, and to the north-west the country of CHEGATHAY,[2] or the USBEGS.

Many persons having 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 speak first 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, 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,[3] thereby destroying many Kings, and AURANGZEB has to-day under his authority the Kingdoms of GUJARÁT, DECCAN, DELHI,

[1] Aracan, Tipra, and Assen in the original.

[2] Cathay originally meant Northern China; subsequently, in the sixteenth century, it came to be regarded as a separate country north of China (see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*). In the time of Kublai Khan "the Chagatai Khanate, or Middle Empire of the Tartars, with its capital at Almalik, included the modern Dsungaria, part of Chinese Turkestan, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan" (*Cathay and the way thither*, by Colonel Yule, Introduction, p. cxxi.)

[3] *I.e.* the Indus and Ganges.

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MULTAN, LAHORE, KASHMIR, BENGAL, and many other countries, without speaking of many *Rajas*, 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,[1] *i.e.* "the cripple," because he had one leg shorter than the other, is buried at SAMARCAND in the country of CHEGATHAY or TARTARY of the USBEGS; it is also the place where he was born.

II. MIRAN-SHÁH,[2] son of TEMUR-LENG.

III. SULTAN MUHAMMAD, son of MIRAN SHÁH.

IV. SULTAN ABU SAYYID MIRZA,[3] son of MUHAMMAD.

V. UMR SHEKH MIRZA,[4] son of SULTAN ABU SAYYID.

VI. SULTAN BÁBAR,[5] *i.e.* "the brave Prince," son of UMR SHEKH, and the first of the MOGULS who made himself all powerful in INDIA. He died in the year 1532.

VII. HUMÁYUN, which means "happy," son of SULTAN BÁBAR, died in the year 1552.[6]

VIII. ABDUL FATEH JALAL-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD, commonly called AKBAR, that is to say "the mighty," son of HUMÁYUN, reigned fifty-four years, and died A.H. 1014, A.D. 1605.

IX. SULTAN SALIM, otherwise called JAHÁNGIR PADISHAH, *i.e.* Conqueror of the World, succeeded AKBAR, his father, and died in the year 1627. He

[1] Commonly called Tamerlane, but Tavernier's rendering is closer to the real name, viz. Taimur-*lang*, *i.e.* Taimur the lame.

[2] Miram Cha in the original.

[3] Abousaid in the original.

[4] Hameth Schek in the original.

[5] Mirza Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Bábar, born 15th February 1483. He invaded India in the winter of 1525, and died in 1530, not 1532 as above stated.

[6] Humáyan died in 1556.

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had four sons, the first named SULTAN KHUSRU, the second SULTAN KHURRAM, the third SULTAN PARWEZ, fourth SHÁH DÁNIÁL.

X. SULTAN KHURRAM, the second of the four sons, succeeded JAHÁNGIR, his father, and was recognised as sovereign by the nobles of the Kingdom in the fortress of AGRA, under the name of SULTAN SHÁH BEDIN MUHAMMAD, but he desired to be called SHÁH-JAHÁN, *i.e.* King of the World.

XI. AURANGZEB, *i.e.* the Ornament of the Throne, is the King who reigns at present.

The accompanying figure[1] shows the form of the coins which the Kings cause to be thrown to the people when they ascend the throne. They bear the arms or seals of the Kings whom I have just named. The largest seal, in the middle, is that of SHÁH-JAHÁN, the tenth King, for AURANGZEB, since he became King, has not had any of these pieces of bounty coined—these coins are nearly all of silver, only a small number being of gold.

The GREAT MOGUL is certainly the most powerful and the richest monarch of ASIA; all the Kingdoms which he possesses constitute 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.

[1] Tavernier's beautifully executed plate of these tokens is not reproduced.

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CHAPTER II

Concerning the sickness and supposed death of SHÁH JAHÁN, *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 SHÁH JAHÁN 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 years, less as a King 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 was so strict in all things, and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft. 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 brought 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 three times every week, or, at the very least, every fifteen days.

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SHÁH JAHÁN had six children, four sons and two daughters. The eldest of the sons was called DÁRÁ SHÁH; the second SULTAN SHUJÁ; the third AURANGZEB, who reigns at present; and the last MURÁD BAKSH. The eldest of the two daughters was called BEGUM SAHIB, and the younger ROUSHENÁRÁ BEGUM.[1] All these names, in the language of the country, mean titles of honour, as the wise, the brave, the accomplished, etc.; 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. SHÁH JAHÁN 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. DÁRÁ SHÁH, the eldest, remained near the person of the King in the Kingdom of DELHI, and had the Government of SINDI,[2] where he placed a lieutenant in his absence; SULTAN SHUJÁ had for his district the Kingdom of BENGAL; AURANGZEB was sent to the Kingdom of DECCAN; and MURÁD BAKSH to that of GUJARÁT. But much as SHÁH JAHÁN 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.

SHÁH JAHÁN being then sick, and having retired into the women's quarter without showing himself for many

[1] Called Rauchenara Begum in the original.

[2] Sind or Scind (see p. 10 *n.*)

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days, the rumour spread that he was dead, and that DÁRÁ SHÁH concealed his death in order to arrange his affairs and secure for himself the whole of the Empire. It is certain that the King, believing that he was about to die and was near his last hour, ordered DÁRÁ SHÁH to assemble all the *Omrahs*[1] or nobles of the Kingdom, and seat himself on the throne, which belonged to him, being 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 this intention which he had for his eldest son was especially right, because he had observed for some time that the three other Princes manifested much less respect and affection for their father than DÁRÁ SHÁH had. At this conversation which the King held with his son, DÁRÁ SHÁH, who honoured him 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 mounting 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, in order to 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 King's bed on a carpet spread on the floor.

However, upon the false report of the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, his three other sons straightway stirred themselves, and each laid claim to their father's throne. MURÁD BAKSH, the youngest, who held the Government of the Province of GUJARÁT, immediately

[1] See p. 98.

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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 bad walls, 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. SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN,[1] one of his eunuchs, was General of his army, an industrious and energetic man, who conducted the siege with all the skill of an old commander.

Finding that he was unable to carry the place by main force, he had two mines made by an European, who succeeded completely, and having fired the first on the 29th of December 1659, 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 MURÁD BAKSH, and slew many of his soldiers. SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, irritated by this vigorous resistance, caused search to be made for the women and children, and also the relatives and friends of the artillerymen in the fortress, in order to place them in front of his soldiers during the attacks which he made; and he also sent one of the brothers of the Governor of the place to parley with him, and to make an advantageous offer to him, if he would deliver it up into his hands. But the Governor, a good servant of the King, not having received any certain tidings of his death, replied that he recognised

[1] Chabas Kan in the original.

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no other master than SHÁH JAHÁN, who had confided the place to him, which he would not relinquish but to the King himself, or to whoever he pleased to order; that he honoured MURÁD BAKSH as Prince and son of the King his master, but not so much so as to hand the place over to him without receiving an express order to do so from the King.

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 the consideration of blood was without effect upon the besieged, and would not have had any; and it was only 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 give himself up with all the honourable conditions which he was able to demand; these were faithfully kept by SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, who seized the treasure, which he carried off to AHMADÁBÁD, where MURÁD BAKSH was occupied in oppressing the people in order to raise money.

The news of the capture of SURAT having been conveyed to this Prince, he immediately had a throne prepared, and being seated upon it on the day appointed for the ceremony, proclaimed himself to be King, not only of GUJARÁT, but of all the Empire of SHÁH JAHÁN, his father. At the same time he had money coined, and he despatched new Governors to all the towns. But as his throne is badly founded it will fall to the ground quickly; and this Prince, the youngest of all, for having wished to usurp a sceptre which did not belong to him, will be confined in a close prison.

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Prince DÁRÁ SHÁH was anxious to succour SURAT, but it was impossible for him (to do so), for not only was he occupied in assisting the King, his father, during his sickness, but he had to watch his second brother, SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was much more powerful than MURÁD BAKSH, and caused him far more trouble. He was already advanced into the Kingdom of LAHORE,[1] and had entirely subjected that of BENGAL. All that DÁRÁ SHÁH was able to do was to despatch with speed his eldest son, SULIMAN SHEKO,[2] with a powerful army against SULTAN SHUJÁ. In short, this young Prince defied his uncle, and having driven him into the Province of BENGAL, the frontiers of which he secured by strong garrisons, returned to DÁRÁ SHÁH his father. In the meantime MURÁD BAKSH, recognised as King in the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, carried all his thoughts towards the Empire of INDIA, to the destruction of his brothers, and to the establishment of his throne either in AGRA or JAHÁNÁBÁD.

Meanwhile, AURANGZEB, as ambitious and more cunning than his brothers, let them expend their first fire, and concealed his designs from them, which he will spring upon them, however, before long to their great injury. He feigned to have no pretension to the Empire, as though he had renounced the world, and led the life of a *Dervish*, or solitary devotee.[3] In order to play this part with greater success he communicated

[1] Lahore is here a mistake for Behar. He could not have reached Lahore, and if he had, it would not have served his purpose. (See p. 336.)

[2] Soliman Cheko in the original. He was accompanied by Raja Jái Singh. The engagement took place at Benares.

[3] As will be seen from the context, there are many striking points of resemblance between the conduct of Aurangzeb and that of Richard III of England.

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to his younger brother, MURÁD BAKSH, that he perceived that he was desirous of reigning, and wished to aid him in his object, and that the throne being his desert on account of his bravery, he would aid him with his armies and money to vanquish DÁRÁ SHÁH, who was an obstacle in the way. This young Prince, having little judgment, and being blinded by the prospect of his good fortune, was only too ready to believe AURANGZEB, and having joined forces with him,[1] agreed to advance with him on AGRA to take possession of it. DÁRÁ SHÁH came to meet them, and the battle was commenced, as unfortunately for him as it was auspiciously for the two brothers. This Prince, trusting too much to the principal officers in his army, contrary to the advice of the General who commanded, who was his Prime Minister, and was faithful to him, believed himself to be able to secure a victory by attacking his brothers first, without giving them time to rest.[2] The first shock was rough and bloody, and MURÁD BAKSH, 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 DÁRÁ SHÁH, AURANGZEB retired; but quickly turned his face when he saw coming to his aid the traitors in DÁRÁ SHÁH's army, 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 DÁRÁ SHÁH, the latter Prince, seeing that

[1] This junction took place near Ujain in Málwá, whither Aurangzeb had marched from Burhánpur.

[2] The forces engaged, according to Bernier, were 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of artillery on Dárá's side, against 30,000 to 35,000 horse on that of Aurangzeb and Murád.

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he was betrayed, and had no longer anything to hope from the few people remaining with him, immediately beat his retreat, and returned to AGRA, where the King his father was, who had already begun to amend. He advised his son to withdraw into the fortress at DELHI, and carry with him the treasure which was in AGRA;[1] this he did without loss of time, being accompanied by his most faithful attendants. Thus the victory was complete on the side of AURANGZEB and MURÁD BAKSH, who before the end of the battle, being weakened by the loss of blood, had retired to his tent to have his wounds dressed. It was easy for AURANGZEB to gain over these traitors, not only on account of the enormous treasure which he had acquired, but because the Indians are ever inconstant and ungrateful. Moreover, the chiefs are generally fugitives from PERSIA, people of no birth and of little heart, who attach themselves to those who give most.

SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, son of ASAF KHÁN,[2] who had betrayed the King BOLÁKI, as I shall relate, in order to obtain the throne for SHÁH JAHÁN, his brother-in-law; SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, I say, uncle of these four Princes whose mother was his own sister, ranged himself on AURANGZEB'S side, with the greater number of the principal officers of DÁRÁ SHÁH and of MURÁD BAKSH, who abandoned their masters. MURÁD BAKSH at last began to realise the mistake he had made in having trusted AURANGZEB, who, seeing himself favoured by fortune,

[1] According to Bernier, Sháh Jahán's treasure never amounted to 6 crores of rupees, which, at the rate of 2s. 3d., would be about £6,750,000. This was exclusive of the precious stones and throne. (*Hist. of the late Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 63.)

[2] Asaf Khan was the brother of the famous Núr Jahán, wife of Jahángir.

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lost no time in carrying out his plans. MURÁD BAKSH, who with reason entertained doubts as to his brother, sent to him to demand half the treasure which had been seized, in order that he might retire into GUJARÁT, and AURANGZEB, by way of reply, assured him that he desired to aid him in ascending the throne, and that on that account he wished to consult with him; MURÁD BAKSH, finding his wounds somewhat better, went to see AURANGZEB his brother, who received him well and praised his courage, which merited, he said, the first Empire in the world.

The young Prince allowed himself to be charmed by these soft words; but his eunuch, SHÁHBÁSH KHÁN, who had acquired for him the best part of the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, tried to excite his distrust, and make him realise the trap which had been set for him. But when MURÁD BAKSH wished to profit by the advice of his eunuch it was then too late, as AURANGZEB had already taken his measures to ruin him. He invited MURÁD BAKSH 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 so that he might conceal his mistrust, although fearing 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, contenting himself with securing his person; so, in place of aiding him to ascend the throne, as he 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 his own in order to accomplish his designs.

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CHAPTER III

Concerning SHÁH JAHÁN'S *prison, and how he was punished by* AURANGZEB, *his third son, for the injustice he had done to* PRINCE BOLÁKI,[1] *his nephew, grandson of* JAHÁNGIR, *to whom, since he was the son of the eldest son, the Empire of the* MOGULS *belonged.*

JAHÁNGIR, King of INDIA, son of AKBAR, and grandson of HUMÁYUN, enjoyed a very peaceable reign for the space of twenty-three years, being equally beloved by his subjects and his neighbours. But his life was too long to suit the ambition of two of his sons, already advanced in years. The eldest[2] raised a powerful army at LAHORE, with the object of surprising his father JAHÁNGIR, and seating himself by violence on the throne. The King, becoming aware of the insolence of his son, resolved to chastise him, and going to meet him with a large army, took him prisoner, with many of the chief nobles who followed him. But JAHÁNGIR, being a generous Prince, who dearly loved his son, although he had him in his power was unwilling to cause him the death which he deserved; and contented himself with destroying his sight, by ordering a hot iron to be passed over his

[1] Bolaki, also called Dawár Baksh, son of Khusru.

[2] Namely, Khusru.

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eyes[1] in the manner which, as I have described, is followed in PERSIA. The King resolved ever after to keep this blind son about his person, with the intention that his eldest son, SULTAN BOLÁKI, should some day reign; this Prince had already several other sons, all being under age. But SULTAN KHURRAM,[2] who afterwards took the name of SHÁH JAHÁN, thinking that, as second son of JAHÁNGIR, 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 King. He dissimulated, however, keeping his real purpose concealed, and appeared at first altogether submissive to the will of his father, who always kept the children of his eldest son beside him. It was by this submission that SHÁH JAHÁN more easily arrived at the attainment of his ends; and having in this manner gained the goodwill of his father, 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 King that it was advisable to remove from before his eyes an object which had become distressing to him, and that this Prince, being deprived of his sight, would not in the future be other than a charge and trouble to him, and would pass the rest of his life with greater comfort in the DECCAN. The King, not penetrating the designs of KHURRAM, consented

[1] Chardin relates how it came to pass, in the reign of Shah Abbás 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.)

[2] Courum in the original.

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without difficulty to what he asked, and 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 possible, in order 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 this blind Prince, SULTAN KHURRAM caused himself to be called SHÁH JAHÁN, *i.e.* King of the World, and in order to uphold the title raised an army to finish the task which his brother had begun, namely the dethronement of his father JAHÁNGIR and the taking possession of the Empire. The King, being 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 this rebel Prince, feeling himself too weak to resist them, quitted the Kingdom of DECCAN, wandering with some vagabonds who followed him, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, until he arrived in BENGAL, where he raised an army in order to give battle to the King. Having passed the GANGES, he directed his steps towards the Kingdom of LAHORE,[2] and the King in person confronted him with a more numerous and stronger army than his. But JAHÁNGIR, being old and distressed by the troubles which had been caused by his two sons, died on the

[1] Elphinstone throws some doubt upon this charge of murder against Sháh Jahán. (*History of India*, vol. ii, p. 368.)

[2] As on p. 330, Lahore is here also a mistake for Behar. The only opposition Sháh Jahán met with in Bengal was from the Governor of Rajmahal, whom he defeated in a pitched battle in 1624. (See Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii, p. 332.)

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road,[1] and left SHÁH JAHÁN free to pursue his designs. However, before he died this good King had time to commend the care of his grandson, SULTAN BOLÁKI,[2] to ASAF KHÁN, Commander-in-Chief of his armies and Prime Minister of State, who governed the whole Empire. He ordered all his officers to recognise BOLAKI as King and legitimate heir of his Kingdom after his death, declaring SULTAN KHURRAM to be a rebel, and as such incapable of succeeding him on the throne.

Moreover he made ASAF KHÁN swear in particular that he would never suffer BOLÁKI to be killed, however affairs might eventuate; this oath ASAF KHÁN swore upon his thigh, which bound him religiously in so far as that item, but not for his establishment on the throne, where he wished to place SHÁH JAHÁN, to whom he had given in marriage his eldest daughter, mother of the four Princes and the two Princesses to whom I have referred in the preceding chapter.

On the news of the King's death being reported at Court, all appeared to be sorely afflicted, and immediately the nobles of the Kingdom proceeded to give effect to the will by recognising SULTAN BOLÁKI as King, he being still a youth. This Prince had two first cousins[3] who, with the King's consent, had become Christians, and had made public profession of the same. These two young Princes, who were kind-hearted, observed that ASAF KHÁN, father-in-law of SHÁH JAHÁN, and father of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, of whom I have often spoken, had evil designs against the new

[1] Jahángir died on the 28th October 1627. Tavernier's account is incorrect, as he died on his return journey from Cabul to Lahore (Elphinstone).

[2] Otherwise known as Prince Darwár Baksh.

[3] These were sons of Sháh Dániál.

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King, to whom they speedily gave warning, and this warning cost them their lives and the King the loss of his Kingdom. The young King, who did not yet possess that prudence which can alone be acquired by age, told ASAF KHÁN ingenuously what the two young Christian Princes, his cousins, had said to him in private, and asked him if it was true that he designed to make his uncle, SULTAN KHURRAM, King, as they had assured him. ASAF KHÁN 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 King all his life, and that, in order to maintain him on the throne, he would shed his blood to the very last drop. SULTAN BOLÁKI understood this to refer to himself, but ASAF KHÁN, when promising to be faithful to his King, really meant his own son-in-law SHÁH JAHÁN, 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 murdered. As he was all-powerful both in the army and in the Empire, he had already secured, in the interests of SHÁH JAHÁN, the greater number of the officers and nobility of the Court; and the better to conceal his game and to lull the suspicion of the young King, who understood these affairs but imperfectly, he spread the report that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, and that, having desired to be interred near JAHÁNGIR, his father, his body was to be brought to AGRA. The stratagem was adroitly conducted. ASAF KHÁN himself told the King of this

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pretended death, and assured him that etiquette required that his majesty should go out of AGRA to meet the body, when it came within a league or two, such honour being rightly due to a Prince of the blood of the MOGULS who was the brother of his father, and son of JAHÁNGIR. Accordingly SHÁH JAHÁN 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. This bier having been carried into a tent, all the principal chiefs, who were in concert with ASAF KHÁN, came as though to do honour to the dead Prince, the young King, on his side, having left AGRA to be present at the meeting. It was then that ASAF KHÁN saw that the time had arrived for the execution of his design; he had the bier opened, and SHÁH JAHÁN raised himself and appeared standing before the eyes of all the army; he was saluted as King by all the generals and other officers, who took their cue, and at the same moment the name of SHÁH JAHÁN as King was passed from mouth to mouth; the proclamation was made public, and the Empire of the MOGULS was assured to him. The young King 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 SHÁH JAHÁN, not thinking it prudent to pursue him, allowed him to wander for a long time in INDIA as a sort of *Fakir*. But at length, wearied with that kind of life, he took refuge in PERSIA, where he was magnificently received by SHÁH SAFVI,[1] who bestowed upon him a pension worthy of a great Prince. He enjoys it still, and I had an opportunity of conversing with him

[1] Cha Sefi in the original.

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during my travels in PERSIA, and drank and ate with him.[1]

SHÁH JAHÁN 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 King, whom he had unjustly despoiled of his Kingdom, by degrees murdered all those who, from having shown affection for his nephew, had made themselves suspects, and 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 for him, 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 DÁRÁ SHÁH had lost the battle against his two brothers AURANGZEB and MURÁD BAKSH, 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 whatever of the royal treasure he had been able to take in the confusion of his affairs. The King, in order to resist 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 at AGRA so as not to be captured, and to see to what limits his sons would carry their insolence. AURANGZEB having secured the person of MURÁD BAKSH, as I have related

[1] He was seen also, according to Olearius (*Voyages and Travels*, etc., Eng. Ed., p. 190), by the Holstein Ambassadors in 1633, and Dow's statement as to his murder by Asaf Khán is incorrect.

[2] Sháh Jahán ascended the throne on the 4th February of 1628.

[3] Samoghár, one march from Agra.

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in the preceding chapter, entered AGRA and pretended to believe that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, in order to have an excuse for entering the fortress, which, as he said, one of the *Omrahs* was in possession of. The more AURANGZEB published the report that SHÁH JAHÁN was dead, the more SHÁH JAHÁN strove to make public the fact that he was alive; but at length the King perceiving that he was no longer able to resist AURANGZEB, who had all the power and all the good luck on his side, and as the wells of the AGRA fortress were dried up, he was compelled to provide himself with the river water by a small postern which was the weakest part of the whole place, and which AURANGZEB had already reconnoitred, he therefore sent FAZL KHÁN, the Grand Chamberlain, to assure AURANGZEB that he was alive, so that he should no longer pretend to be ignorant of it. FAZL KHÁN was instructed to tell the Prince that the King, 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, being still firm in his resolve, replied to FAZL KHÁN that he was convinced that the King, 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 King was alive he had too much respect for him to have the smallest idea of doing anything which would displease him, but in order 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.

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FAZL KHÁN conveyed this reply to the King, who answered that he was willing to see his son, and sent FAZL KHÁN back to say he would be welcome. But AURANGZEB, more astute than SHÁH JAHÁN, assured FAZL KHÁN that he would not venture into the fortress till the garrison which was in it gave place to his own soldiers. This 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 King having heard of his resolution, not being able to do any better, consented to all that his son demanded of him. Accordingly the garrison of SHÁH JAHÁN went out of the fortress, and that of AURANGZEB entered under command of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, the eldest of his sons, to whom he gave a command to secure the person of the King his father. However, he postponed 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, who had no desire for this interview, on the contrary, took a strange resolution, which was to control his father's personal expenditure, and assume possession of all the treasures which DÁRÁ SHÁH had been unable to carry off on the occasion of his precipitate flight.[1] He also caused BEGUM SÁHIB, his sister, to be confined in the fortress, that she might keep company with the King, whom she dearly loved.[1] And he also took possession of

[1] See p. 344.

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all the wealth which she had received from her father's liberality.

SHÁH JAHÁN, incensed at the insult of 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 closer confinement for him. It is a most surprising thing, however, that not one of the servants of this grand King offered to assist him; that all his subjects abandoned him, and that they turned their eyes to the rising sun, recognising no one as King but AURANGZEB—SHÁH JAHÁN, although still living, having passed from their memories. If perchance there were any who felt touched by his misfortunes, fear made them silent, and made them basely abandon a King 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, but who gave no signs of it at this crisis. Thus this great King finished his days sadly in prison, and died in the AGRA fort about the end of the year 1666, during the time of my last journey in INDIA. As during his reign he had commenced building the city of JAHÁNÁBÁD, which was not yet completed, 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 was quite willing to allow him to make the journey, and even to remain at JAHÁNÁBÁD as long as he wished, shut up in the castle, as he was in AGRA, provided that he consented to travel by boat, ascending the river,

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and returning likewise in one of the small painted and ornamented frigates which are on the JUMNA at the palace of JAHÁNÁBÁD. For AURANGZEB was unwilling to permit him to travel by land on his elephant, as he feared lest his father's showing himself to the people might immediately raise a party in his favour, and that placing himself at their head, as people are inconstant, he might find means to remount the throne. SHÁH JAHÁN, perceiving the severity of his son, who wished to hurt him in this way, thought no more of the journey, and the great displeasure he felt at such cruel treatment precipitated his death. 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 touched during his life. BEGUM SÁHIB also had a quantity of precious stones,[1] which he had not taken from her when he placed her in the fortress, being at that time satisfied with securing the gold and silver with which her chests were full. These jewels afforded certain evidence to AURANGZEB's sense of propriety, as for other reasons the Princess, his sister, had already been suspected of having had improper relations with SHÁH JAHÁN, and he found means to obtain them in a manner which appeared honest and far from criminal, by treating the BEGUM SÁHIB with much honour and attention; but he removed her to JAHÁNÁBÁD,[2] 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

[1] The delivery of the precious stones by Begum Sáhib to Aurangzeb is described in Book II, chap. vii.

[2] Here Jehanabad is in the original, though elsewhere generally Gehanabat. In the 1713 edition by a misprint it is Jehanabab.

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BENGAL. In a short time after news was spread of the death of this Princess, and all the world believed that it had been hastened by poison. Let us now see what has become of DÁRÁ SHÁH, and what has been the result of the war between the sons of the unfortunate SHÁH JAHÁN.

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CHAPTER IV

Concerning the flight of DÁRÁ SHÁH *to the Kingdoms of* SIND *and* GUJARÁT; *of his second battle with* AURANGZEB; *of his capture and death.*

DÁRÁ SHÁH having carried off in haste, on the advice of his father, some of the gold and silver which was in the fortress of AGRA, and having retired to the Kingdom of LAHORE, hoped to be able to place on foot, in a short time, a second army, in order to attack AURANGZEB, his brother. His most faithful servants and friends had always accompanied him in his misfortune, and his eldest son SULIMAN SHEKO was with *Raja* RÚP[1] in the territories of his Kingdom in order to raise troops, having with him five millions of rupees (5,000,000),[2] which amount to seven million five hundred thousand (7,500,000) *livres* of our money, in order to attract soldiers more rapidly. But this large sum made *Raja* RÚP's eyes open, and he seized it for himself by a base and infamous act of treason. SULIMAN SHEKO fearing he would go further and seize his person also, withdrew promptly to the Kingdom

[1] Roup in the original. Raja Rúp Singh, a daughter of whom, although a Hindu, was married to Aurangzeb's son, Mu'azzam, in the year 1661.

[2] £562,500.

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of SRINAGAR, under the protection of *Raja* NAKTI RANI,[1] who, by a still blacker act of treason, delivered him over to AURANGZEB some time afterwards.

DÁRÁ SHÁH, having had notice of the treason of *Raja* RÚP, and seeing all his friends abandoning him to join the side of AURANGZEB, left LAHORE in order to retire into the Kingdom of SIND. Before leaving the fortress he ordered all the gold, silver, and jewels which were in the treasury to be embarked on the river in the care of a strong escort, in order to send 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 eunuch who was faithful to him, and six thousand soldiers, and all the munitions necessary to sustain a siege, after which he went to SIND, where he left many large cannons. He then went into the country of the King of KACHNAGANA,[3] who made him magnificent promises which proved of no effect; next he entered the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, where he was received by the people with great acclamation as the legitimate King and heir of SHÁH JAHÁN. 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 MURÁD BAKSH and was a *Raja*, would not submit to DÁRÁ SHÁH.[4] He protested that he would

[1] Sereneguer in the original. In the French edition of 1713, Serenager—for Srinagar, capital of Kashmir. Nakti Rani I have not identified.

[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*. It was the principal British arsenal during the Sind and Afghan campaigns.

[3] Cutch (or Kachchh).

[4] As already explained on page 7 the governorship of the fort at Surat was a distinct post from that of the governor of the town.

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not give over charge of the place into the hands of any one except on the express order of MURÁD BAKSH; 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, DÁRÁ SHÁH got news at AHMADÁBÁD that JESWANT SINGH,[1] one of the most powerful *Rajas* in all INDIA, had detached himself from AURANGZEB, and wished to join him. He was even invited by this *Raja* to advance with his army, which was not large, and did not exceed 30,000 men when he arrived at AHMADÁBÁD. DÁRÁ SHÁH, confiding in his promise, followed his counsel, and went to AJMIR,[2] the appointed *rendezvous*, where he hoped to find him. But JESWANT SINGH, who had been won by the arguments of the *Raja* JAI SINGH,[3] who was more powerful than he, and was wholly devoted to the interests of AURANGZEB, did not come to AJMIR on the day he had promised, and only got there at the last moment, when it was for the purpose of betraying this poor Prince. The armies of the two brothers being opposed to one another, the combat commenced, and the battle lasted for three days; but during the course of the engagement JESWANT SINGH, with manifest treachery, passed over to the side of AURANGZEB, which being seen by DÁRÁ SHÁH's soldiers, they lost courage and took to flight. There had been much bloodshed on both sides; SHÁH NAWÁZ KHÁN,[4] father-in-law of AURANGZEB, remained on the field, and there

[1] Jeswant Singh—Jessomseing in the original. He was Raja of Jodhpur in Marwar, and died in 1678. [2] Emir in the original.
[3] Jesseing in the original. [4] Chanavas Kan in the original.

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were on both sides 8000 or 9000 men slain, without counting the wounded, the number of whom was still greater. DÁRÁ SHÁH having no other resources, and fortune having been against him in all his enterprises, in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies, took flight with his wives, some of his children, and his most faithful followers, in a pitiable conveyance. As he approached AHMADÁBÁD, Monsieur BERNIER,[1] a French physician, who was on his way to AGRA to visit the Court of the GREAT MOGUL, and who is 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. DÁRÁ SHÁH, having learnt 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 into her ailment, for which he gave a remedy and quick relief.[2] This poor Prince being much pleased with Monsieur BERNIER, strongly pressed him to remain in his service, and he might have accepted the offer if DÁRÁ SHÁH had not received news the same night that the Governor whom he had left at AHMADÁBÁD had refused to allow his quarter-master to enter the town, and had declared for AURANGZEB. This compelled DÁRÁ SHÁH 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 in which he found himself.

[1] M. Bernier. See p. 115.

[2] According to Elphinstone she had been wounded. (*Hist. of India*, vol. ii, p. 444.)

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DÁRÁ SHÁH arrived in SIND, intending to pass into PERSIA, where SHÁH ABBÁS II awaited him with a magnificent outfit, being resolved to aid him with men and money. But this Prince being unwilling to entrust himself to the sea, and fearing that its uncertainty would submit him to some new reverse of fortune, believed that by going by land he would secure greater safety to himself and his women and children. However, he deceived himself, for when passing through the country of the PATHANS,[1] on the road to KANDAHÁR, he was again shamefully betrayed by one of the chieftains of the country named JUIN KHÁN, who had been an officer of the King his father, and who, having been condemned to death for his crimes, by the mouth of the King, and sentenced to be thrown under the feet of an elephant, obtained forgiveness through the intercession of DÁRÁ SHÁH, to whom, therefore, he owed his life. To augment his affliction DÁRÁ SHÁH, before reaching the house of JUIN KHÁN, received by a foot messenger the sad intelligence of the death of that one of his wives whom he loved most, and who had accompanied him always during his misfortunes. He learnt 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 himself rent his at the news of the death of ABSALOM, his son.

[1] Patanes in the original. This was the territory of *Jun* or *Juin* on the eastern frontier of Sind (Elphinstone).

[2] According to Dow he was present at her death.

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This unhappy Prince had always appeared to be unmoved on all the occasions of his evil fortune, but this one grief overwhelmed him, and he refused all the consolation offered by his friends. He clad himself in garments appropriate to his affliction, and in place of a *sesse* or turban wrapped round his head a piece of coarse cloth. It was in this miserable costume that he entered the house of the traitor JUIN KHÁN, where, having laid himself down on a camp-bed to rest, a new subject of grief appeared on his awakening. JUIN KHÁN on attempting to seize SEPEHR SHEKO,[1] the second son of DÁRÁ SHÁH, the young Prince, though but a child, resisted the traitor with courage, and having taken up his bow and arrow laid three men low on the ground. But being alone he was unable to resist the number of traitors, who secured the doors of the house, and did not allow any one of those who might have aided him to enter. DÁRÁ SHÁH, having been awakened by the noise which these cruel satellites made when seizing this little Prince, 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 KHÁN: "*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 KHÁN being to some extent moved by these words, ordered the little Prince to be

[1] Sepehr Sheko; Sepper Chekour in the original.

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released, and merely placed guards over DÁRÁ SHÁH and his son. At the same time he sent an express to *Raja* JESWANT SINGH and to ABDULLA KHÁN to give them tidings that he had captured DÁRÁ SHÁH and his followers. On receipt of this intelligence they hastened to take part in the spoliation of the Prince, but they could not arrive so quickly but that JUIN KHÁN had had time to seize DÁRÁ SHÁH'S most precious possessions, and he also treated his wives and children with the greatest barbarity. The *Raja* and ABDULLA KHÁN having arrived, they made DÁRÁ SHÁH and his son leave on an elephant, and his wives and children on others; and with this equipage, very different from that with which they had before appeared at JAHÁNÁBÁD, they travelled thither, and entered it on the 9th of September. All the people hastened to witness this spectacle, desiring to see the Prince whom they had wished to have as King; and AURANGZEB ordered him to be taken through the principal streets, and all the bazaars of JAHÁNÁBÁD, so that no one should entertain any doubt as to his capture, and as though he himself were glorified by the treachery he had 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 King, and even then desired to see him on the throne, there was not one who had the courage to aid him. There were only some generous soldiers who had served the Prince, who, as they had received many benefits, thought themselves bound on this occasion to give him some mark of their acknowledgment.

[1] Asser. Asirgarh, near Burhánpur, in Khándesh.

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Being unable to deliver their legitimate Prince from the hands of those who held him captive, they flung themselves with fury on the traitor JUIN KHÁN, who was indeed delivered from them for the moment, but in a short time afterwards suffered the penalty due to his crime, having been slain while traversing a forest when on his return to his own country.

However, AURANGZEB, being a good politician and extraordinary dissembler, caused it to be noised abroad that he had not ordered the seizure of the person of DÁRÁ SHÁH, but only that he should be persuaded to depart out of the Kingdom. As DÁRÁ had been unwilling to do so, JUIN KHÁN had, without authority, unworthily seized his person, and instead of honouring the royal blood, had shamefully tied the hands of the young Prince, SEPEHR SHEKO, son of DÁRÁ SHÁH, behind his back. 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 KHÁN 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 at the same time have ordered his head to be cut off, as was immediately done in the following manner. DÁRÁ SHÁH, having left JAHÁNÁBÁD with his guards to go to the place of his imprisonment, 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. After he had eaten, SÁIF KHÁN,[1] who had been in his service, came to announce to him the order

[1] Seif Kan in the original.

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for his death. DÁRÁ SHÁH, seeing him enter, welcomed him and said that he was rejoiced to see one of his most faithful servants. SÁIF KHÁN 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 to die then," said DÁRÁ SHÁH. "It is the order of the King," replied SÁIF KHÁN; "and I am here to carry it out." SEPEHR SHEKO, who was sleeping in an antechamber of the tent, awakened by this conversation, endeavoured to seize some weapons which had been removed from him, and made an effort to aid his father, but was prevented by those who accompanied SÁIF KHÁN. DÁRÁ SHÁH also wished to resist, but perceiving it would be useless, merely asked time for prayer, which was granted. In the meantime SEPEHR SHEKO was drawn aside, and, whilst they amused him, a slave cut off DÁRÁ SHÁH'S head; and SÁIF KHÁN took it to AURANGZEB, who thought that by the blood and death of his brother he would establish his throne. After this bloody tragedy the afflicted SEPEHR SHEKO was conveyed to the fortress of GWALIOR to keep company with his uncle, MURÁD BAKSH.[1] As for the wives and daughters of DÁRÁ SHÁH, they were given quarters in the harem of AURANGZEB, who, in order to fix himself firmly on the throne of the MOGULS, now only thought of the destruction of his other brother, SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was in BENGAL—where he was assembling forces in order to come to the release of the King his father, who still lived in the fortress at AGRA, where AURANGZEB kept him a prisoner.

[1] This was in July 1659.

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CHAPTER V

How AURANGZEB *seated himself upon the throne and had himself declared King; and concerning the flight of* SULTAN SHUJÁ.

IT was not difficult for AURANGZEB, after the imprisonment of his father SHÁH JAHÁN and of his brother MURÁD BAKSH, and having cruelly decapitated his eldest brother, to whom by right the Kingdom belonged, to resolve to have himself declared King, especially as fortune favoured it and all the nobles of the Kingdom applauded him. As it is the custom, at this ceremony, to sit upon the throne, not much time was required to prepare it, as SHÁH JAHÁN, before being 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 Kázi*[1] or Chief of the Law should proclaim the new King, it was in this direction that AURANGZEB encountered the first obstacle. The *Grand Kázi* openly opposed his design, and said that the law of Muhammad and the law of nature equally prevented him from proclaiming him King during the lifetime of his father; added to which, in order to ascend the throne, he

[1] Cadi in the original.

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had murdered his eldest brother, to whom the Empire belonged after the death of SHÁH JAHÁN, their father. This vigorous resistance of the *Kázi* gave trouble to 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 DÁRÁ SHÁH, 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 King—which, nevertheless, the *Grand Kázi* persistently resisted. There was, in consequence, no other remedy therefore but to depose him from his office as a disturber of the public peace, and elect another zealous for the honour of the law and the good of the Kingdom. This was forthwith done. The person elected by the Council was afterwards confirmed by AURANGZEB, and in recognition for this act of grace, he proclaimed him King 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 Kingdom, and there were great rejoicings upon that day in JAHÁNÁBÁD. At the same time orders were sent throughout all the Kingdom to celebrate his coming to the throne.

[1] This date appears to be incorrect. Aurangzeb's accession took place in August 1658, when he was first proclaimed Emperor; but he did not put his name on the coin and was not crowned till the following year. This has caused some confusion in the dates of his reign, but it cannot be said to have commenced later than 1659.

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This was effected with great splendour, and lasted for many days.

AURANGZEB did not consider his throne assured nor his Empire well established so long as SULTAN SHUJÁ, his brother, was engaged in raising a powerful army in BENGAL with the design of setting SHÁH JAHÁN at liberty. He thought that it behoved him to anticipate him, and sent considerable forces against him under the command of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, his eldest son, to whom he gave as lieutenant the MIR JUMLA,[1] one of the greatest captains who had ever migrated from PERSIA to INDIA. His good judgment and courage would have caused him to be revered by posterity if he had only been faithful to the Princes whom he served. But he first betrayed the King of GOLCONDA,[2] with whom he made his fortune, and afterwards SHÁH JAHÁN, under whose protection he maintained it at so high a pitch that there was scarcely 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 understood the art of war perfectly as it is carried on in this country. Having then abandoned the interests of SHÁH JAHÁN, he attached himself to the side of AURANGZEB, and if SULTAN SHUJÁ had not had opposed to him so brave and able a commander he would, no doubt, have given more trouble to his

[1] Although previously called Mir Jimola or Mir Gimola, his name is here given in the nearly correct form of Emir Jemla. (See Index).

[2] His desertion of the King of Golconda seems to have been justified by the action of that King, as described by Tavernier on page 165 *et seq.*, but there is some ground for the supposition that his son, Muhammad Amin, brought the family into disgrace by his imprudence and misconduct at the King's Court.

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brother, and possibly might have conquered him. The two armies having encountered one another many times, victory was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and SULTAN MUHAMMAD, assisted by the advice of his lieutenant, seeing that this war was protracted, resolved to change the method and to combine ruse with force in order to accomplish the destruction of SULTAN SHUJÁ. He treated with the majority of the officers of his uncle's army secretly, and made them magnificent promises, urging them so strongly to follow the side of 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 for SULTAN SHUJÁ, which he was unable to parry; for those who followed him being mercenaries, and that kind of people who declare for those who give most, they concluded that they had nothing more to hope from this Prince, whose finances were expended, and would find it more profitable to declare for AURANGZEB, whom fortune favoured in every way, and 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 abandoned 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. This was allowed them by MIR JUMLA as a reward for their treachery. SULTAN SHUJÁ, having embarked with his family in some boats,

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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 ascertain tidings of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, eldest son of AURANGZEB, and SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, eldest son of DÁRÁ SHÁH, who still caused trouble to AURANGZEB.

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CHAPTER VI

Concerning the prison of SULTAN MUHAMMAD, *son of Aurangzeb, and of* SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, *eldest son of* DÁRÁ SHÁH.

ALTHOUGH AURANGZEB was considered a very 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 who, having already, as I have said, betrayed two Kings, his masters,[1] ought to have made AURANGZEB fear for himself a 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 of whom 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 SULTAN MUHAMMAD was extraordinarily pensive and melancholy, he firmly believed that he was meditating means to ruin him, and in this belief he sought to draw some explanation from MIR JUMLA. He wrote to him that having heard that SULTAN MUHAMMAD had had some secret communications with his uncle, SULTAN SHUJÁ, it was advisable that he

[1] Namely, the King of Golconda and Sháh Jahán.

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should arrest him and send him to court. The letter having been accidentally seized by SULTAN MUHAMMAD'S guards, and afterwards brought to that young Prince, who was a man of sense, he concealed the matter from MIR JUMLA, fearing that he might have received other more precise orders from his father concerning his life, he resolved to cross the GANGES, and throw himself into the arms of his uncle SULTAN SHUJÁ, from whom he hoped for more kindness than from his father.[1] With this resolve he pretended to go fishing, and, having speedily prepared some boats on the GANGES, crossed with many of his officers to the camp of SULTAN SHUJÁ, 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 ARAKAN. SULTAN MUHAMMAD having reached his uncle's presence, threw himself at his feet, and asked his pardon for having taken up arms against him, to which he had been forced by his father, adding that he was not ignorant of the injustice with which he had seized the throne. Although SULTAN SHUJÁ might have thought that the arrival of MUHAMMAD in his camp was only a ruse of AURANGZEB'S, who had sent him to spy out his condition and discover his weakness, nevertheless, as he was a good and generous Prince, seeing his nephew at his knees, he immediately raised him, and embracing him, assured him of his protection against AURANGZEB. Some days afterwards these two Princes made an attempt, and recrossing the GANGES, made a long

[1] The real object of his affection, and possibly the cause of his going over, was Sultan Shuja's daughter, whom he desired to marry, and to whom he was in fact soon after married.

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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 by the multitude, and of not being able to withdraw when they wished.

MIR JUMLA had already given notice to AURANGZEB of the flight of his son, at which the father experienced considerable displeasure, though he dared not show it to the MIR, for fear that it might cause him to do likewise, and betray him as he had betrayed SHÁH JAHÁN, his father, and the King of GOLCONDA. AURANGZEB merely wrote to him that he confided entirely in his great prudence and delicate tact to restore SULTAN MUHAMMAD to his duty; who was still young, and that this fit only proceeded from an age full of fire, which ordinarily loved change. The confidence which AURANGZEB showed in MIR JUMLA induced that general to use all possible means to withdraw MUHAMMAD from the hands of SULTAN SHUJÁ. He informed the young Prince that the King, his father, had the best intentions regarding him, and that he was always ready to receive him with open arms, provided he would make good use of his retreat to SULTAN SHUJÁ, which he might make serviceable to AURANGZEB, who would love him the more, and would thus have an opportunity of praising his prudence and affection. The young Prince allowed himself to be easily persuaded; and by the same way as he had gone to the camp of his uncle SULTAN SHUJÁ, he returned to that of his father AURANGZEB, where MIR JUMLA received him with honour, and with great demonstrations of joy. He advised

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him to say to his father as soon as he saw him, that he went to SULTAN SHUJÁ merely for the purpose of spying out his forces and the condition of his army, and that he should repair with speed to AURANGZEB, in order to tell him what he had done in his service, and to 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 JAHÁNÁBÁD, where he arrived accompanied by the guards which MIR JUMLA had sent with him. Their commander having announced to the King 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 informed that he was indisposed; and whilst this lodging served him as a prison until he was transferred to the fortress of GWALIOR,[1] let us see what was done to SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, eldest son of the unfortunate DÁRÁ SHÁH, whose head AURANGZEB had cut off.

SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, after having been betrayed by *Raja* RÚP, as I have above related,[2] remained in the country of SRINAGAR,[3] under the protection of NAKTI RANI,[4] its ruler. This 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, NACTI RANI assured him by an oath, accompanied by all the

[1] Sultan Muhammad died in 1677, in his 38th year. His wife, the daughter of Shujá, was with him in prison.

[2] See p. 346.

[3] Serenaguer in the original, Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir.

[4] Dow calls the *Raja*, Pirti Singh. (*History of Hindostan*, vol. iii, p. 246.) For Nakti Rani see p. 347.

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ceremonies which could render it solemn and inviolable, that he would lose his Kingdom rather than allow AURANGZEB to do him the least violence to the prejudice of that protection which he afforded him. He went for this purpose to a river which runs through his country, to bathe his body as testimony of the purity of his soul; and being thus purified in the water, he made his promise to SULIMAN SHEKO never to abandon him, took his gods as witnesses to the purity of his intentions, and gave the young Prince no ground for doubting his promises. SULIMAN SHEKO, after that, thought only of amusing himself and his followers with the chase, and they, on their part, sought 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 SRINAGAR in order to compel *Raja* NAKTI RANI to put SULIMAN SHEKO in his power. But the *Raja* being able with 1000 men to defend all the entrances to his country, which are narrow and difficult, against 100,000, rendered all AURANGZEB'S efforts futile, who thereupon had recourse to ruse, seeing that force availed nothing.

He sought at first to treat with the *Raja*, but in vain, for the *Raja* would not violate his oath; and moreover his priests assured him that AURANGZEB would be deprived of his Kingdom, and that SULIMAN SHEKO would reign in a short time; this made him treat the young Prince with all possible kindness.

AURANGZEB seeing that his army was unable to advance into the country of the *Raja*, set himself to make another kind of war in order to obtain DÁRÁ SHÁH'S son from his hands. He forbade commerce

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between his subjects and those of the *Raja;* this was very prejudicial to the latter, who, inhabiting a country of mountains and rocks, are constrained to provide themselves from outside with whatever they want. They immediately commenced to murmur at the protection which he had given to SULTAN SULIMAN SHEKO, 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 this poor Prince; and what completed it was that *Raja* JESWANT SINGH, who had betrayed DÁRÁ SHÁH, as I have above related, sent secretly to *Raja* NAKTI RANI to advise him that it was for his own safety and that of his country to yield to the will of AURANGZEB, and give up his nephew into his hands. This advice of JESWANT SINGH sorely embarrassed the *Raja*, for on the one side he had made a solemn oath, and sworn by *Ram Ram* to protect SULIMAN SHEKO 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 *Brahmins*, who pronounced that he was rather bound to protect his people and his faith, which would be destroyed if the country became subject to AURANGZEB, who was a Muhammadan, than to protect a Prince from whom he could never receive any benefit. These councils having been held without SULIMAN SHEKO'S knowledge, his destruction was settled when he believed himself to be in the greatest safety. The *Raja* NAKTI RANI thinking to shield his honour and conscience, replied to JESWANT SINGH'S messenger that he was unable to

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bring himself to betray the Prince, but that AURANGZEB might seize him, and so protect his reputation; and that SULIMAN SHEKO 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 JESWANT SINGH to send a number of soldiers to take him prisoner, and hand him over to AURANGZEB.

Immediately on receipt of this reply, JESWANT SINGH gave orders to his son to go and execute the design as it had been arranged, so that when on a certain day SULIMAN SHEKO, on going to hunt at the usual place, was attacked by a strong party who were in ambuscade, he at once saw the treason, and put himself in a position of defence with his followers, who were all slain on the spot. The Prince defended himself bravely, and alone slew nine of the assailants; but he was borne down by numbers, and was carried to JAHÁNÁBÁD. When he came into AURANGZEB'S presence, the King 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 King 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 which he had carried away; he replied 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 in the hands of *Raja* RUP, whose avarice and perfidy were sufficiently well known; and that the traitor *Raja* NAKTI RANI had seized the remainder when delivering him treacherously to his enemies, despite his promise and pledged honour.

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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 proper remorse of conscience might arouse; and in order to secure his throne he directed that SULTAN MUHAMMAD, his son, and SULIMAN SHEKO, his nephew, should be conducted to the fortress of GWALIOR, to keep company with their uncle, MURÁD BAKSH and some other Princes who were in prison. This was done on the 30th of January 1661.

SULTAN SHUJÁ, who still lived, although in a miserable condition, was the last thorn which remained in the foot of AURANGZEB, and he who extracted it, and relieved him of this unfortunate Prince whom he had still to fear, was the King of ARAKAN, with whom he had been compelled to take refuge. As SHUJÁ saw that there was now no more hope of aid for him, he resolved to make a pilgrimage to MECCA, and from thence to pass into PERSIA to seek an asylum with the King. Having this intention he believed he would obtain a ship from the King of ARAKAN or from the King 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 great ocean. Consequently SULTAN SHUJÁ 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, which 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

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nobles of the country, who had already shown jealousy of SULTAN SHUJÁ, caused 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. This pagan King, in whose country several Muhammadans were settled, easily believed what was told him, namely, that this Muhammadan 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, instead of that which his own younger brother had seized upon. These doubts were not altogether ill-founded, for in truth SULTAN SHUJÁ, who still had quantities of golden rupees and many jewels, easily bribed a number of these Muhammadans 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 arranged an enterprise of much boldness, but which was at the same time less an indication of bravery than of despair.

He appointed a day with those of his own party for forcing an entry into the palace, and after having put to death all the royal family, he intended to have himself at the same time proclaimed King of ARAKAN. But this great plot having been discovered the day before it was to have been executed, SULTAN SHUJÁ and SULTAN BANGUE, his son, had no other resource left but to take flight, hoping to escape to the Kingdom of PEGU. But the high, nearly inaccessible mountains, and the thick forests full of tigers and lions[1] through

[1] 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.

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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 time to get away before they followed on their tracks. SULTAN 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 followed him, a chance to escape, defended himself bravely against the first who attacked, but, being at length overcome by numbers and thrown down, was 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 SULTAN BANGUE, they were given a little more liberty. They would have enjoyed it longer, but for the impatience of this 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 what became of SULTAN SHUJÁ, who was the most advanced of all in the flight, the accounts of his fate are so different that one does not know which to believe. But, if all vary in the circumstances, they agree so far that he is no longer alive, and that he either died by the hands of soldiers who were sent to seize his person, or was torn to pieces

it being beyond the limits of their ascertained geographical distribution in prehistorical, as well as in historical times.

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by the tigers or lions, which abound in the forests 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, JAHÁNÁBÁD, or in BENGAL, where I was precisely informed by those who were present at its 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 SHÁH JAHÁN, his father.

[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.

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CHAPTER VII

Concerning the beginning of AURANGZEB'S *reign, and the death of* SHÁH JAHÁN, *his father.*

I HAVE mentioned in the fifth chapter that AURANGZEB ascended the throne as soon as he had disposed of his brother, DÁRÁ SHÁH,[1] and I shall add here some details which preceded this ceremony, and are sufficiently worthy of record. Some days previously he boldly sent to present his compliments to SHÁH JAHÁN, his father, 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 goodness 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 Kings, his predecessors, had done. SHÁH JAHÁN, at this demand of AURANGZEB, which he regarded as an insult levelled at him in his prison by his son, became so enraged, that for some days he was like a madman, and he even nearly died. In the excess of his annoyance he called frequently for a pestle and mortar, saying that he would pound up all his precious stones and pearls, so that

[1] Aurangzeb was proclaimed Emperor on the 26th of May 1659. But his administration of the Empire commenced on the 9th of June 1658. (See p. 356 *n.*)

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AURANGZEB might never possess them.[1] But BEGUM SAHIB, his eldest daughter, who had never left him, throwing herself at his feet, besought him not to proceed to such an extremity, and having full power over him in consequence of the intimate relations which existed between them, appeased him, rather with the object of keeping the precious stones for herself than to give pleasure to her brother, who might one day become their possessor, he having always been her mortal enemy. Thus, when AURANGZEB ascended the throne he had only one jewel on his cap (*toque*);[2] but if he had desired more he did not lack them, as I have elsewhere said, and he only asked for the stones from his father with the intention of retaining them permanently. This cap, as I have related in my account of PERSIA, cannot be called a crown,

[1] Sháh Jahán 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." (*History of the late Revolution*, etc., vol. ii, p. 100, English translation.) Ultimately, on Sháh Jahán's death, when Aurangzeb entered the Seraglio at Agra, Begum Sahib presented him with a large golden basin full of jewels, *tom. cit.* p. 174. (*Vide ante*, p. 344, and Book II, chap. x, p. 398.)

Thevenot relates the same story as Bernier, and adds that the Peacock throne was in Sháh Jahán's possession in prison, but this latter statement is incorrect. (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 101.)

[2] Possibly the topaz referred to in Book II, chaps. x and xxii, and also by Bernier, who says, "The King appeared seated upon his throne at one extremity of the great hall of the *Am khás* 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*, p. 179, Calcutta Edition, English translation, 1826.)

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neither, consequently, can the ceremony be called a coronation.[1]

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 which 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.

When AURANGZEB was settled on the throne, and all ASIA had heard the news, there arrived at different times at JAHÁNÁBÁD many ambassadors, who came to salute the new King on the part of their masters, to offer him their service and ask for his friendship. The USBEG TARTARS were the first,[2] afterwards the *Cherif*[3] of MECCA, the King of HYEMAN,[4] or ARABIA FELIX, the Prince of BASSORA, and the King of ETHIOPIA sent theirs. The Dutch also sent M. ADRICAN, 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 Kings of INDIA consider that it enhances their

[1] 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*, Book V, chap. i, p. 524.)

[2] A previous embassy from the Usbeg Tartars to Sháh Jahán brought him boxes of choice lapis lazuli, camels, fruit, etc. Lapis lazuli is a product of Badakshán. (See Bernier, *History of the Last Revolution*, vol. ii, p. 4.)

[3] For *Sharif*, Arab., generally written *Shereef*, a descendant of Muhammad.

[4] The province of Oman, S.E. corner of Arabia.

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dignity for foreigners to remain at Court for a considerable time. All these Ambassadors made presents to AURANGZEB, according to custom, 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 SHÁH JAHÁN, AURANGZEB sent an Ambassador to PERSIA, who was at first magnificently received,[1] as I have alluded to 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, and having accepted what the Ambassador had to give, distributed the whole of it contemptuously among the officers of his house, only retaining for himself a diamond weighing nearly 60 carats. Some days afterwards he sent for the Ambassador, from whom he inquired, after some conversation, whether he was a *Suni*[2]—that is to say, of the sect of the Turks; the meaning of this has been

[1] Chardin says that *Negef Coulibec* (Najaf Kuli Beg) was sent by the King of Persia as Ambassador in the year 1664, in order simply 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.)

[2] *Sonnis* in the original. The distinctive characteristics of the *Sunis* and *Shiás* are set forth in Book IV, chap. vii, of the *Persian Travels*. (See also vol. ii, Book III, chap. i.)

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sufficiently explained elsewhere. The Ambassador in his reply having allowed some smart remark to escape him against the Prophet ALI, whom the Persians revere, the King again asked him his name. He replied that his Majesty SHÁH JAHÁN had given him the name of BAOBHÁK (?) KHÁN,[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 offices in his Court. "Thou art then a villain," said the King with an angry countenance, "to have abandoned thy King in his need after so many favours, 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 ALAMGIR, AURANG SHÁH, of 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 this Prince, "that thou art one of those who have counselled him to the shedding of so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers, and to hold his father in prison; thou who hast acknowledged to 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. The Ambassador, who but 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

[1] Baubec Kan in the original. Its identity with Baobhák is doubtful.

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beautiful stuffs; this was worth much more than the present which AURANGZEB had sent him, although that was valued at near two millions.[1]

When BAOBHÁK KHÁN returned to AGRA, where the King then was, 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 ALI 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 one 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 SHÁH JAHÁN dying 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 BEGUM SÁHIB, 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. It is true that she has infinite qualities, and is capable of governing the whole

[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] This is probably *najáz*, Persian for unclean. (See *Vambéry's Life*, p. 57, for an example of its use.)

[3] Sháh Jahán died in December 1666.

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Empire. If, at the commencement of the war, her father and her brothers had only believed her, AURANGZEB had never been King, and affairs would have had a totally different aspect. As for RAUSHENÁRÁ BEGUM, his sister, she had always taken AURANGZEB'S side, and when she heard that he had taken up arms immediately sent him all the gold and silver she could. He also promised her, in recognition of her good services, that when he became King he would give her the title of SHÁH BEGUM, 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 JAHÁNÁBÁD I heard that their friendship had somewhat cooled. That arose, as I was assured, in consequence of the Princess having 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 so secretly but that the King heard of it. The Princess, in order to anticipate the disgrace and reproach which she feared, hastened with assumed terror to the King, saying that a man had entered the harem even to her chamber, that she was certain it 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. Immediately the King himself, with a number of Eunuchs, hastened to the spot, and in this

[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 Sháh Jahán, it does not appear that Aurangzeb was guilty of that crime.

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extremity the poor young man could not do otherwise than leap from the window into the river which flows below. Thereupon a crowd assembled from all quarters to seize him, the King 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.

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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 having completed all my business with the King, as I have related in the first Book,[1] and on going to take leave of his Majesty on the first of November 1665, he told me that he was unwilling that I should depart without having witnessed his *fête*, which was then at hand, and that afterwards he would give orders for me to be shown all his jewels.[2] I accepted, as in duty bound, the honour he did 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 King's birthday that they are in the habit of weighing him,[3] and if he should

[1] See Book I, chap. viii, p. 137.

[2] See p. 394.

[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 the scramble for thin pieces of silver, made to resemble different fruits, in rather contemptuous terms. The Mogul, Jahángir, presented a basin full of them to him; 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. (*Journal*, Calcutta Ed., p. 104.) Terry, his chaplain, also describes the scene. (*Voyage*, London 1777 Ed., p. 376.)

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weigh more than in the preceding year, the rejoicing is much greater on that account. 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 make him presents. The ladies of the court send some also, and he receives others from all 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 King receives in presents on this day to the value of more than 30,000,000 *livres*.[1]

Preparations for this festival are commenced on the 7th of September, about two months before the five days which it lasts; and the reader should remember here the description which I have given of the palace of JAHÁNÁBÁD in the sixth chapter of Book I.[2] The first thing done is to cover in two grand courts of the palace from the middle of each court 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, and some of them of the thickness of a good cable.

[1] 30,000,000 *livres*, at 1s. 6d. to the *livre* = £2,250,000.

[2] See Book I, chap. vi, p. 97.

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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* dwell while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the *Omrahs* mounts guard every week. He disposes, both in the court as also about the palace or the tent of the King, when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, besides many elephants. During this week the *Omrah* on guard receives his food from the King's kitchen, and when he sees the food which is being brought to him afar off, he makes three obeisances in succession, which consist in placing the hand three times on the ground, and as often on the head, at the same time asking God to preserve the King's health, and that He will give him long life and power to vanquish his enemies. All these *Omrahs*, who are the nobility of the kingdom and Princes of the blood, regard it as a great honour to guard the King; and when they mount guard, or when they leave it, they don their best clothes, their horses, elephants, and camels being also richly clad, and some of these camels carry a swivel-gun with a man seated behind to fire it. The least of these *Omrahs* commands 2000 horse, but, when a Prince of the blood is on guard, he commands up to 6000.

It should be stated that the GREAT MOGUL has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court, is nearly of the form and size of 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

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which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court. 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*[1] ruby, cut *en cabuchon*, with four emeralds round it, which form a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars 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 being 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

[1] *Balet* in the original, for *balass*, etc. I have elsewhere referred to this word as being probably derived from Balakshán, a form of the name Badakshán (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 430). The *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, however, establishes this view beyond question of doubt by quotations from Ibn Batuta, iii, 59, 394, and Barbosa, etc. The stones from this locality, which is on the banks of the Shignán, a tributary of the Oxus, are not, however, rubies, but spinelles; at the same time it would appear that with 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 Baluchistan 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 Pegu, d'où je juge qu'est venu le nom de Balays qu'on donne aux Rubis couleur de rose.*"

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three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the King's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others that are placed at his sides are flat. There is to be seen, moreover, a sword suspended from this throne, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows; and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones is respectively 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 one hundred and sixteen (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 to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of

[1] See Book I, chap. vi, p. 99.

[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.

[3] For the source whence the emeralds were obtained, see Book II, chap. xix.

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the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne which is opposite the court there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the King is seated he has this jewel in full view. But that which in my opinion is the most costly thing 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 there are fixed, on either side, two umbrellas, 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 are 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 SHÁH JAHÁN; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of what this great work has cost, have assured me that it amounts to one hundred and seven thousand lakhs of rupees,[1]

[1] There is certainly some mistake here; the figure should stand at 107,000,000, namely, one thousand and seventy *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 2s. 3d., and the *livre* 1s. 6d. Thevenot 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*, Eng. Trans., Calcutta Ed., 1826, p. 179.) A recent estimate of the value of this throne as it stands in the Sháh's palace at Teheran at present is 13,000,000 dollars, say £2,600,000. (See *Persia*, by S. G. W. Benjamin, p. 73.)

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sic. (*i.e.* 10,700,000,000) which amount to one hundred and sixty millions five hundred thousand *livres* of our money (*i.e.* 160,500,000).

Behind this grand and magnificent throne there is placed a smaller one, which has the form of a bathing-tub. It is of an oval shape of about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered over with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy.

When in the first court you see, on the right hand, a special tent under which, during the King's festival, the principal *baladines* of the town are obliged to be present in order to sing and dance while the King is on his throne. 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 King's household are in attendance.

In the same quarter, during the time that the King remains seated on his throne, there are thirty horses, all bridled, fifteen on one side and fifteen on the other, each held by two men. The bridles are very narrow, and for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, some having 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 there is a fine jewel, either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The least valuable of these horses costs from 3000 to 5000 *écus*, and there are some worth 20,000 rupees, *i.e.* 10,000 *écus*.[1] The young Prince, who was then only seven or eight years old, rode a small horse, the

[1] The *écu* being equal to 4s. 6d., the prices of the horses would be £875 to £1125 and £2250.

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height of which did not exceed that of a large greyhound, but it was a very well-made animal.

Half an hour, or, at the most, one hour after the King is seated on his throne, seven of the bravest elephants, which are trained to war, are brought for inspection. One of the seven has its howdah ready on its back, in case the King 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 King's 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 King, 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 King, one of the men who is riding upon it raises the housing in order that the King may see if the animal is in good condition, and has been well fed. Each has its own silken cord, which is stretched round its body in order to show whether it has increased since the previous year. The principal of these elephants, which the King is very fond of, is a large and fierce animal which has 500 rupees *per mensem* for its expenses.[1] It is fed with the best food and quantities of sugar, and is given spirits to drink. I have spoken elsewhere of the number of elephants kept by the King,[2] to which I

[1] £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*, etc., p. 100).

[2] See Book I, chap. xviii, p. 280.

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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 King 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 over 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 becomes 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 furthest from the people.

After the King has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs in order to seat himself in that one of the five thrones which is in the middle, and during the five days that the festival lasts, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is not done without 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.

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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 only drank 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 he has never had perfect health.[2]

[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.)

[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 Koran for his daily bread. (See Chardin,

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I remember having seen the King drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne. He had brought to him upon a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, a large cup of rock crystal,[1] all round and smooth, the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the King eat except his women-kind and eunuchs, and it is very rarely that he goes to eat at the house of any of his subjects, whether of a Prince or even of his own relatives. While I was on my last journey, ZAFAR KHÁN, who was his *Grand Vizier*, and besides that his uncle on his wife's side, invited the King to visit him in order to see the new palace which he had had built for himself. This being the greatest honour his Majesty could do him, ZAFAR KHÁN 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.[2] This wife of ZAFAR KHÁN 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 King put together; it is on this account that

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.)

[1] Vessels made of rock-crystal were much esteemed by the Emperors. I remember to have seen 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 specimens preserved in the Green Vaults at Dresden came from India.

[2] £78,750. See Book II, chap. xxii.

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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 King, but his Majesty, as he did not wish to eat at ZAFAR KHÁN'S house, returned to the palace, and the Princess sent after him the dishes she had destined for him. The King 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 kitchen.

When the King 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. Those who are Muhammadans wait for him upon the top of the steps to the mosque, and when he is about to come 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, seated on its back, carries a standard attached to a hand pike. The four other elephants carry a seat or species of throne on their backs,[1] one of which is square, another round, one covered and another closed with glass of many kinds. When the King goes out he has generally 500 or 600 men for his bodyguard, each man being armed with a kind of hand pike. They attach fireworks to the iron blade; these consist of two rockets crossed, each of the thickness of the arm, and a foot in length; when ignited these will carry the hand pike 500 yards.[2] The King is also followed by 300 or 400

[1] *Howdah.*

[2] Rockets were used, and often proved most effective, in battle. It is said that the cause of Dárá Sháh's descending from his elephant at the critical moment when engaged with Murád and Aurangzeb (see Book II, chap. ii) was that the elephant had been struck by a rocket, which rendered it unmanageable.

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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 1000 of these Indian soldiers; but it is true, on the other hand, that they would have much difficulty in accustoming themselves to so abstemious a life as theirs. 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 *khichri*,[1] 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, and such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and the poor people. To which it should be added that the heat would kill our soldiers, who would be unable to remain in the heat 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 reduced to great poverty, because if the Governors become aware that they possess any property they seize it straightway by right or by force. 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 Muhammadans, they persecute these poor idolaters to the utmost, and if any of the latter become Muhammadans it is in order not to work any more; they become soldiers or *Fakirs*, who are people who make profession of having renounced

[1] See p. 282.

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the world, and live upon alms; but in reality they are all great rascals. It is estimated that there are in INDIA 800,000 Muhammadan *Fakirs*, and 1,200,000 among the idolaters, of whom I shall speak farther on.

Once a fortnight the King goes out to hunt, and while *en route* he is always mounted on his elephant, as also while the chase lasts. All the beasts which he shoots are driven within musket range of his elephant. Ordinarily these are lions, tigers, deer, and gazelles—for, as for wild boars, he as a good Muhammadan 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 at the chase there are 200 or 300 horsemen who ride before him in confused ranks.

As for the Princesses, whether they are the wives of the King, his daughters, or his sisters, they 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 ZAFAR KHÁN, who is the King's aunt. This is not done except by the special permission of the King. It is not here as in PERSIA where the Princesses only make their visits at night, accompanied by a great number of eunuchs, who drive away all persons whom they meet on the road. 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 of honour. The Princesses are carried in *pallankeens* covered with embroidered tapestries, and every *pallankeen* is followed by a small carriage which can only contain one person. It is

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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 only allowed to go 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 these 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 King whenever they wish, they persuade him to do what they please, to the disadvantage of their husbands; most frequently asking for them to be deprived of their offices. As it is the custom that the firstborn succeeds to the throne, although he be the son of a slave, immediately that the Princesses of the King's harem become aware that there is one among them with child, they use all conceivable methods to make her have a miscarriage. When I was at PATNA in the year 1666, SHÁISTÁ KHÁN'S surgeon, who is a half-caste (*mestiv*) Portuguese, assured me that the Princess, wife of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, in one month had caused miscarriages to eight women of his harem, not permitting any children but her own to survive.

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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 for the purpose of taking leave of the King, but he said that he did not wish me to depart without having seen his jewels, and until I had witnessed the grandeur of his *fête*.[2]

The day following the great morning five or six officers from the King, and others on behalf of *Nawáb* ZAFAR KHÁN, came to tell me that the King had sent for me. Immediately on my arrival at the Court the two custodians of the King's jewels, of whom I have elsewhere spoken,[3] accompanied me into the presence of his Majesty; and after I had made him the ordinary salutation, they conducted me into a small apartment, which is at one of the ends of the hall where the King was seated on his throne, and from whence he was

[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. 379. The words as he quotes them support this view, but they are not Tavernier's. To me the two, as I understand Tavernier, appear perfectly consistent with one another. Prof. Joret quotes, it should be added, as from chap. ix, but that is a misprint for chap. x.

[3] See Book I, chap. viii, p. 135.

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able to see us. I found in this apartment AKIL KHÁN, chief of the jewel treasury, who, when he saw us, ordered four of the King's eunuchs to go for the jewels, which were brought in two large wooden trays lacquered with gold leaf, and covered with small cloths made expressly for the purpose—one of red velvet 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 at a madman.

The first piece which AKIL KHÁN 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 a little flaw inside. Its water is beautiful, and it weighs three hundred and nineteen and a half (319½) *ratis*, which are equal to two hundred and eighty (280) of our carats—the *rati* being $\frac{7}{8}$th of our carat. When MIR JUMLÁ, who betrayed the King of GOLCONDA, his master, presented this stone to SHÁH JAHÁN, to whose side he attached himself,[2] it was then

[1] A *resumé* of all the information regarding this important stone, the so-called "Great Mogul," will be found in an appendix. 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 is as follows: "At first he (Mir Jumlá) presented to him (Sháh Jahán) that great diamond which is esteemed matchless, giving him to understand that the precious stones of Golconda were quite other things than those rocks of Kandahár; that there it was where the war ought to be made, to get the possession of and to go as far as Cape Comorin." (*History of the Late Revolution*, etc., vol. i, p. 44.)

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in the rough, and weighed nine hundred (900) *ratis*, which are equivalent to seven hundred and eighty-seven and a half (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,[1] 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 King fined him ten thousand (10,000) rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the *Sieur* HORTENSIO had understood his trade well, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the King, and without having had so much trouble grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter.[2]

[1] Bernier 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, while Hortensio was an Italian, and therefore King is probably mistaken when he suggests their identity.

[2] I 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, I think, 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 I have 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 nearly twice that amount; but the statement in the text here is

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After I had fully examined this splendid stone, and returned it into the hands of AKIL KHÁN, 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 little black spots. Each weighed fifty-five (55) to sixty (60) *ratis*, and the pear sixty-two and a half (62½). Subsequently he showed me a jewel of 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 with seventeen diamonds, half of them table and half rose, the largest of which could not weigh more than seven (7) or eight (8) *ratis*, with the exception of the one in the middle, which weighed about sixteen (16). All these stones are of first-class water, clean and of good form, and of the most beautiful kind ever found.

Also two grand pear-shaped pearls, one (weighing) about seventy (70) *ratis*, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form.

Also a pearl button, which might weigh from fifty-five (55) to sixty (60) *ratis*, of good form and good water.

Also a round pearl of great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs fifty-six (56) *ratis*.' I ascertained that to be the precise weight, and that SHÁH ABBÁS II, King of PERSIA, sent it as a present to the GREAT MOGUL.

clearly against the supposition that the large stone was otherwise treated than by grinding down from 787½ to 280 carats. That the natives knew how to cleave diamonds is abundantly proved in Book II, chap. xv, where Tavernier says they understood the art better than Europeans.

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Also three other round pearls, each of twenty-five (25) to twenty-eight (28) *ratis*, or thereabouts, but the water of which tends to yellow.

Also a perfectly round pearl of thirty-six and a half (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 DÁRÁ SHÁH, his eldest brother, and which he had appropriated, 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 this King has no great regard for jewels, priding himself only on being the great zealot of the law of MUHAMMAD.

AKIL KHÁN 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 twenty-five and a quarter (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 else-

[1] This statement is important, as we know that Sháh Jahán, 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 his death, when Jahánárá Begum presented him with a gold basin full of them (see pp. 342 and 344). According to Bernier, however, some had been previously given to Aurangzeb by Sháh Jahán during his lifetime. Moreover, Aurangzeb, in a letter written to Sháh Jahán at the time when he arrested him, acknowledged the gift ! of Dárá's jewels by letter. Dárá was left about £4,000,000 worth of gold and jewels by his grandfather, Asaf Khán, who passed over his own sons Sháistá Khán and Nawáz Khán—perhaps because the Mogul, according to custom, might have declared himself the heir, so that they would have derived no benefit. But Asaf consoled himself with the reflection that he left his sons in good and highly lucrative positions, which was a better provision for them.

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where said, that the Prince of ARABIA, who has taken MUSCAT from the Portuguese, has 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 fourteen (14) carats. There is not a single monarch in ASIA who has not asked this 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 ten to twelve (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 thirty (30) *ratis*. In the middle of the chain of emeralds there is an Oriental amethyst,[3] a long table, weighing about forty (40) *ratis*, and the perfection of beauty.

Also a *balass*[4] ruby cut in *cabuchon*, of fine colour and clean, pierced at the apex, and weighing seventeen (17) *melscals*. Six *melscals* make one *once* (French).[5]

Also another *cabuchon* ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs twelve *melscals*.

[1] See Book II, chap. xx.

[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.

[3] The "Oriental" amethyst is a purple sapphire, and when perfect is of great beauty.

[4] *Balet* in the original. (See p. 382, *n.*)

[5] *Melscals* = *mishkals*. (See Appendix, p. 418.)

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Also an Oriental topaz[1] of very high colour cut in eight panels, which weighs six *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.

[1] The Oriental topaz is a yellow sapphire (corundum). It was probably this topaz which Aurangzeb wore at his coronation. (See p. 372, *n.*) It was also mentioned by Bernier. Its weight, as given on page 372, 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 *mishkal* of Baber a weight of 40 *ratis* is attributed, so that either Baber's *mishkal* must have weighed absolutely one-third more than Tavernier's, or Tavernier's *rati* must have exceeded Baber's by one-third. The latter will be shown to be the case. (See Appendix.)

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CHAPTER XI[1]

Terms of the passport which the Nawáb SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *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 *Nawáb* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN gave me, and the letters which I wrote to him in reference to my affairs, and it is as much by these letters as by the replies which he made to me that the reader will be enabled to comprehend the style and manner of writing among the Indians. I also received a passport from the King himself, which his Majesty had already given me through ZAFAR KHÁN,[2] his uncle, to whom I returned it after having read it, because it was not couched in the language which I wished. 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

[1] This chapter is omitted in the English translation by John Phillips, 1684.

[2] Giafer Kan in the original. He was brother of Arjamund Begum, afterwards called *Mumtáz-i-Mahal*, the lady for whom the Táj was built by her husband, Sháh Jahán. There is frequent mention of Zafar Khán in these pages, though he is not often referred to in other histories of India.

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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 ZAFAR KHÁN assured me that it was the most favourable passport of this kind which the King 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 SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, which sufficed for me, and was as much esteemed as that of the King, or more so. It is true that the King did not require that I should pay any duty on account of what I had sold to him, and that the matter was done graciously.

Copy of the letter which the Author wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, *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 King, who govern as his relative 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, SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, 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 GUJARÁT, and residing in AHMADÁBÁD, some large pearls and other rarities, which were deemed worthy of your treasury, for which I received

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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 worthy of being presented to your Highness. And as I heard, when at the Court of the King of PERSIA, that there were wars going on 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.[2] 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 go to some other place. 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 SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *wrote to the Author in reply to the above.*

GREAT GOD—

To the beloved of fortune, support of virtue, Monsieur TAVERNIER, Frenchman, my dear friend, know that your letter has been delivered to me, by

[1] These commands were given in 1654.

[2] 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. Special runners were employed by the Native Princes.

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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, together 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 me for, recommending 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*, in the year of Muhammad 1069.

This which follows is written in SHÁISTÁ KHÁN'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 King, victorious AURANGZEB.

Translation of the passport which SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *sent to the Author.*

GREAT GOD—

To all the agents and officers of the customs and tolls, to all the guardians of the roads, both great and

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small, between the port of SURAT and the Court of JAHÁNÁBÁD. 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, whomsoever he may be, and on whatsoever 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*, in the year of Muhammad 1069.

Translation of the second letter written by SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *to the Author.*

To the most expert of engineers and the cream of good fellows, Monsieur TAVERNIER, Frenchman, know that I regard you as one of my dearest favourites and well beloved. As I have before written to you to come to JAHÁNÁBÁD and to bring with you the rarities which you have for me, now, by the favour and grace of the King, I have been appointed his Viceroy and Governor in the Kingdom of Deccan. 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 JAHÁNÁBÁD, but rather that you should make your way as soon as possible to BURHÁNPUR, where, with God's assistance, I shall arrive in the course of two months or thereabouts. I trust you will act in accordance with that which I write to you.

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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, etc., 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 *Nawáb*, 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 unto your presence at JAHÁNÁBÁD. Now that you direct that it is to be at BURHÁNPUR, 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*.

Translation of the third letter written by SHÁISTÁ KHÁN *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 the rains are over,[1] and that I hope that in twenty-five or twenty-six days I shall be at AURANGÁBÁD, on receipt of this hasten to come to me. I believe you will not fail.

[1] *I.e.* the rainy season or south-east monsoon.

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Done the 5th of *Sefer*,[1] in the first year of the reign of AURANGZEB.[2]

This which follows was in the hand of the Nawáb.

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 King, 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 King, the Governor-General of his Kingdoms, to whom he refers the accomplishment of all matters of importance. 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 MIRZA-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 King in reference to my person, [and that in consequence he could not give me permis-

[1] The month *Sefer* or *Safar*, as Chardin has it, is the second month of the Persian lunar year.

[2] Tavernier elsewhere (p. 356) says Aurangzeb ascended the throne 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. 409 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 naming 1660 as the year of Aurangzeb's coronation, it having in fact been 1659. (See p. 371 *n.*; see also p. 31 *n.*)

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sion to depart till he had received the reply of his Majesty. I represented to him that, having nothing with me, and that at my arrival in this port, not having been found possessed of any merchandise of importance passing through the customs, I was astonished that he had written to the King in reference to my person].[1] Disregarding all my arguments he 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 MIRZA-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 Kingdom. 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 withdraw me speedily from the trouble I am in, 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.*

[1] The portion between brackets is omitted in the edition of 1713, hough given in those of 1676 and 1679.

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All these letters and replies explain the reason why I delayed nearly six months[1] at SURAT. At length there came an express order from the *Nawáb* 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 held him willingly quitted.

In consequence of the news which I had received that the *Nawáb* had parted from AURANGÁBÁD, I found him with the army in DECCAN, where he had besieged SHOLÁPUR,[2] one of the towns of *Raja* SIVAJI. I sold him what I had intended for him, and during the time that I was with him he gave orders that I should lack nothing, neither for my own mouth nor the feed of my horses. They brought me each day four trays of meat and two of fruit and sweetmeats; these for the most part fell to the share of my servants, because I was seldom permitted to eat in my tent.

The *Nawáb* gave orders that five or six *Rajas* or idolatrous Princes whom he had 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 *Nawáb* fired a mine, which so much alarmed the inhabitants of SHOLÁPUR that they

[1] Tavernier's account of this same visit on p. 30 seems somewhat inconsistent with this, as he implies there was no delay, while the contents of the letters bear out this specific statement of six months (see p. 407 *n.*)

[2] *Choupar* in the original, on p. 31 written *Choupart*. It appears to be the same as the modern Sholápur in the Deccan.

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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 *Nawáb* wanted to pay me, but having represented to him that I had to pass through a disturbed country, and had to fear the followers of both armies, I asked him to allow me to draw the money at DAULATÁBÁD[1]; this he granted willingly, 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 an express, and that the *Nawáb* had commanded him to pay me promply; this shows the great precision of the Indians in matters of trade to satisfy debts without delay.

[1] *Dultabat* in the original, for Daulatábád, also called Deogir (see p. 160). Bernier describes this town as being fifteen or sixteen days' journey from Golconda, and calls it the capital of Deccan. (*History of the late Revolution*, etc., p. 37.) According to the statement on p. 33, this payment was made at Aurangábád, and by no means promptly, or with satisfaction to Tavernier. This is but another inconsistency in the narrative.

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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 2s. 3d. 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 = 16s. 9d., new = £1 : 0 : 6 ; both according to Sir Isaac Newton. (*Assays, etc., 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.

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Sir Isaac Newton's estimate of the value of the *écu* in 1717 was 4s. 6d., 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 $\frac{1}{3}$d of an *écu*, had a value of 1s. 6d., 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 = 9d.[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 4s. 6d. Tavernier states that the former was equal to two rupees (*Persian Travels*, p. 238), *i.e.* 4s. 6d. also.

The double *pistole* or *Frederic d'or* was worth from £1 : 12 : 6½ to £1 : 13 : 3, the latter being Sir Isaac Newton's estimate. The single *pistole* he valued at 16s. 9d.

Portuguese Money.

Crusado.—According to Sir Isaac Newton, in 1717, the *crusado* = 2s. 10d. Other authors place its value as low as 2s. 3d., and there are various intermediate valuations.

Italian Money.

Croisart of Genoa and *Sequin* of Venice.

The *croisart* is once mentioned by Tavernier, Book I, chap. xiii; its value seems to have been about 6s. 6d. The *sequin*, according to Sir Isaac Newton, was worth 9s. 5.7d., and according to Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, 111d., or 9s. 3d.

German Money.

Gulden, *Rixdollars*,[2] properly Reichsthalers (*Richedales* of Tavernier), and *Ducats*.

[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.

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The *gulden*, of which there were several different kinds, ranged from about 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d., 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 4s. 7d. in intrinsic value; being, therefore, worth slightly more than the *écu*, or French crown.

The *ducats* averaged about 4s. 9d.

Dutch Money.

Gulden (*guilder* of Tavernier) or florin.—Its value in currency seems to have been about 1s. 9d. to 1s. 9½d., and to the *livre* it bore the proportion of 5 to 6, which gives a value for the latter of very nearly 1s. 6d.

Indian Money.

50-80 *Cowrie* (*corie* of Tavernier), shells (*Cypræa moneta*), = 1 *paisá*.

35-40 *Bádám* (*baden* of Tavernier), bitter almonds (*Amygdalus communis*, var. *amara*) = 1 *paisá*.

46-56 *Paisá* (*pecha* of Tavernier) = 1 rupee (p. 27).

14-14¼ Rupees = 1 gold rupee or gold *mohur*.

Also

Fanam (*fano* of Tavernier) = 4½d.; but some, of which six only went to the *écu*, were worth double, or 9d.

Pardao = 27 *sols*.

Pagoda, new = 3½ rupees; old = 4½ rupees and 2⅓ *écus*.

Passing the bitter almonds and cowries, we come to the *paisá* (or *pecha* of Tavernier). He says that it was worth about 2 French *liards*, but that there were coins of half a *paisá*, 2 and 4 *paisá*. At Surat 49 to 50, and sometimes only 46, *paisá* 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 *mahmúdi*. If the rupee, as shown below, was worth 2s. 3d., then Tavernier's *paisá* was worth .54 of a penny; but with the *mahmúdi* at 9d. its value would be only 0.45d. 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 (*vide* Book I,

[1] Thevenot and Mandelslo make somewhat similar statements, but contradict themselves in other passages.

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chap. II, and p. 385) is 2 rupees = 1 *écu*, or 4s, 6d.[1] ∴ 1 rupee = 2s. 3d. 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 1s. 6d., the rupee would again be 2s. 3d.[2]

In terms of the Spanish *reale*, 100 of which = 213 to 215 rupees, the latter must have had the intrinsic value of at least 2s. 1½d., and in terms of the rixdollar or reichsthaler, 2s. 1½d. These alone prove an absolute intrinsic value of upwards of 2s. 1d. 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 2s. 1d. to 2s. 3d. for the rupee.

The *gold rupee*, or *gold mohur*.—All the evidence goes to show that this coin, as known to Tavernier, was worth at least from 31s. 6d. to 32s.; its equivalent was 14 to 14¼ rupees, hence we may again deduce a value of at least 2s. 3d. for the rupee.

The *fanam* is of no importance in so far as Tavernier's calculations are concerned.

Pardao.—In three places (Book I, chap. xiii, and Book II, chaps. xii and xxiii) Tavernier gives for the *pardao* the value of 27 *sols* = 2s. 0.3d.; this is less than what is ascribed to it about this period in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, namely, 2s. 6d.

Pagoda.—Tavernier gives a number of different values for this coin. Thus, New P. = 3½ rupees, say 7s. 10½d.; Old P. = 4½ rupees (Book II, chap. xviii), say 10s. 1½d.; also = 7½ *livres* (Book II, chap. xxiv) = 11s. 9d., or 2⅓ *écus* (Book I, chap. xix) = 10s. 6d. In the table in the English translation above referred to, the *pagoda* = the *demi-pistol*, or 8s. 3d. The average value was therefore about 9s.

Persian Money.

2 *sháhis* = 1 *mahmúdi.*

2 *mahmúdis* = 1 *abási.*

5 *abásis* = 1 "*or*" ? (money of account).

50 *abásis* = 1 *toman* (money of account).

Sháhi (*chaez* of Tavernier).—According to Tavernier (p. 24), 200 *sháhis* = 29½ rupees, so that with the rupee at 2s. 3d. the value

[1] Bernier says the same.

[2] Terry gives the value of 2s. 3d. for ordinary rupees, and 2s. 9d. for the best (*Voyage, etc.*, 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).

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of one *shâhi* would be 3.98d., say 4d. As he elsewhere states the relation to French money to be 10 *shâhis* = 46 *sols* and 1 *liard*, ∴ 1 *shâhi* = 4½d., and Mandelslo (*Voyages*, English translation, p. 8) gives the value of one *shâhi* to be nearly 5d., I conclude, although the value is given at only 2⅛d. by Kelly in the *Universal Cambist*, that in Tavernier's time its value was from 4d. to 5d., say 4½d.

Mahmúdi (*mamoudi* of Tavernier).—Hence the *mahmúdi* would be worth between 8d. and 9d. Both Tavernier and Fryer represent it, however, as being worth ⅘ths of a rupee, so that with the latter at 2s. 3d. its value would be 10½d.; and Mandelslo (English ed., pp. 13 and 68) gives it the value of 1s., which would make the rupee 2s. 6d. Its range in value, therefore, was from 8d. to 1s.

Abási.—Tavernier, in his account of Persian money, says 1 *abási* = 18 *sols* 6 *deniers*, which would be about 1s. 4.65d. Mandelslo (p. 8) says 3 = 1 *écu*, and as we must give a value of at least 4s. 6d. to the *écu*, the *abási* would be worth 1s. 6d.; so confirming the intermediate values of the *shâhi* (*chaez*) (4½d.) and of the *mahmúdi* (9d.) above given.

In his *Persian Travels*, 1st ed., 1676, p. 122, Tavernier states that 1 *or* = 5 *abásis*, or about 6s. 11¼d. with the *abási* at 1s. 4.65d., or 7s. 6d. with the *abási* at 1s. 6d. 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.

Toman.—Though generally regarded as a money of account, it is sometimes spoken of as though it had actually been a coin. At 50 *abásis*, as above, its value was £3 : 15s.; but Tavernier states that in India its value was 29½ rupees, which at 2s. 3d. would be only £3 : 6 : 4½. Tavernier also states that the *toman* = 46 *livres*, which at 1s. 6d. = £3 : 9s. Mandelslo gives it as = 5 *pistoles*, *i.e.* about £4 : 3 : 9. Fryer says £3 : 6 : 8; and Tavernier, in his *Persian Travels*, p. 122, says it = 15 *écus*, which at 4s. 6d. = £3 : 7 : 6. Probably about £3 : 9s. would be a fair average estimate. In 1821, according to Kelly (*Universal Cambist*), it only represented a value of £1 : 16s.

"*Tun*" of Gold.—According to Tavernier (Book III, chap. xxix), the *tun* was equal to 100,000 *gulden* (or Dutch florins), or 120,000 *livres*; and as these were worth 1s. 9d. and 1s. 6d. respectively, the value of the *tun* would be about £9000. I have not been able to find the term in any other work.

[1] Comp. Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam, 1711, vol. iv, 277.

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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 Book II, chap. xxiii, 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."

WEIGHTS.

French Weights.

1 *grain* = .837 of a grain troy.
24 *grains* = 1 *denier.*
72 „ (= 3 *deniers*) = 1 *gros.*
579 „ = 1 *once* = 482.312 grs. troy.
16 *onces* = 1 *livre* = 1 lb. 4 oz. 1 dwt. 13 gr. troy, or 1 lb. 1 oz. 10⅛ dr. av.

Indian Weights.

Ghúnchi (*gongy*).—The name of the seed of *Abrus precatorius.* 3 = 1 *val* ∴ 1 = 1.95 to 1.98 grs. troy (see *val*); but this value is too high for the ordinary *rati*, and too low for Tavernier's *rati* (see *rati*).

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 Book II, chap. 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 134 modern French carats, the latter differing very slightly from English carats. Hence we might deduce that Tavernier's carats were about 4 per cent lighter than the modern French carat. But the stone may have been polished, and have lost weight, or the difference of 5½ carats may be simply due to improved and more careful means of weighment.

If we could be quite sure that the *melscal* of Tavernier was the orthodox Persian *mishkal*, 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, at the

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proportion of 8 to 7, it should be 158½ carats), the equivalent of which would be 444 grs. troy, and a *rati* consequently would be equal to 2.456 troy grains, and a carat to 2.8 troy grains, or .37 less than the modern carat. Tavernier's *melscal*, however, seems to have been equal to from 80.38 to 83.7 grs. troy (see below), and the carat calculated from the latter equals 3.169 grs. troy—a very close approximation indeed to the modern French carat. From both the above we may conclude that Tavernier's carat differed but slightly, if at all, from the French carat of to-day. (See Preface, vol. ii, for correction.)

The *Rati*.—Tavernier, however, further says that 6 *melscals* = 1 *once*, and, therefore, as the French *once* = 482.312 grs. troy, the *rati* would be 2.66 grs. troy,[1] which is an approximation to its value, namely 2.77 grs. (see Book II, chap. xviii), when calculated at $\frac{7}{8}$ths of the modern carat of 3.17 grs. troy; 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 2.77 grs. as a more definitely arrived at sum in future calculations. This was the pearl *rati*, equal, as he himself tells us, to the *abás* (see Book II, chap. xxi, and *Persian Travels*, p. 238), which was used in Persia for weighing pearls. The value of the *abás*, as given by Kelly 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[2] has finally adopted 1.75 in his calculations. The above mean is identical with the value derived from the *tola* of Bábar of 177 grs. = 96 *ratis*. From the *mishkal* of Bábar Prof. Maskelyne has deduced values of 1.8425 to 1.85 grs. troy for the *rati*. General Cunningham[3] and Mr. Laidlay, by weighment of the seeds, obtained 1.823 and 1.825 grs. troy,[4] or only about $\frac{1}{20}$ds 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.[5]

[1] The carat, calculated in the same way, would be similarly enhanced, and would amount to 3.043 troy grains, or within 1.27 of the modern value.

[2] *Numismata Orientalia*, New ed., Pt. I, pp. 13-14.

[3] Royal Institution of Great Britain, March 1860. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Part I, 1884, p. 147.

[4] *Num. Chron.*, vol. xiii, N.S., 1873, pp. 196-197.

[5] *Proced. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1887, p. 222.

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Mangelin.—Seed of *Adenanthera pavonina*, L.; it varied as follows:—

		If carat grains.	If ordinary French grains.
In Ramulkota (Raolconda)	= 7. grs. =	5.55 grs. troy	5.8 grs. troy.
,, Golconda and Bijapúr	= 5½ ,,	4.36 ,,	4.6 ,,
,, Goa	= 5 ,,	3.96 ,,	4.185 ,,

The *Anglo-Indian Glossary* 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.

Val (from Sanskrit *valla*) = 3 seeds of *Abrus precatorius*.
32 *vals* = 1 *tola* (*tole*) ∴ 1 = 5.86 grs. troy nearly (see *tola*).
81 ,, = 1 *once* Fr. ∴ 1 *val* = 5.95 grs. troy.

Melscal of Tavernier. Arabic *mithkál* (or *mitskál*).
1 *melscal* = ⅛ of an *once*, or 80.38 grs. troy.
6 ,, = 181½ *ratis*, or 157¼ (rather 158½) carats.
∴ 1 ,, = $30\frac{3}{16}$ *ratis*, or $26\frac{5}{12}$ carats.
$30\frac{3}{16}$ × 2.77 = 83.6 grs. troy; $26\frac{5}{12}$ × 3.17 = 83.8 grs. troy.

The average of these, say 83.7 grs. troy, is considerably in excess of the ordinary Persian *miskhál* of from 73.69 to 74 grs. troy; but it must nevertheless be accepted as representing approximately the *melscal* known to Tavernier.

Tola (*tole* of Tavernier).—1 *tole* = 9 *deniers* 8 grains = 224 French grains = 187.488 troy grains.

The modern British Indian *tola* = 180 grs. troy.

Seer or *Ser* (*serre* of Tavernier).

In Surat	42 *seers* =	34½ *livres*, Book II, chap. xii.
,,	40 ,, =	34 ,, ,, ,,
,,	1 *seer* =	¾th *livre*, Book I, chap. ii.
Agra	60 *seers* =	51¾ *livres*, Book II, chap. xii.
Bengal	1 ,, =	72 ,, Book III, chap. xv.
,,	1 ,, =	for amber, etc. = 9 oz. Book III, chap. xv.

From the above indications of the value of the Surat *seer*, we may conclude that it averaged nearly 13 French *onces* = 14.3 oz. av., and that the Agra *seer* was equal to 13.6 Fr. *onces* = 15.2 oz. av. In reference to the Bengal *seer*, the value 72 *livres* is possibly a copyist's mistake, and is certainly a blunder (see notes in Book III, chap. xv). The small Patna *seer* of 9 *onces* is probably right.

Thevenot, p. 52, gives the equivalent of the Surat *seer* at 14 *onces*, or 35 *tolas*; and Mandelslo, English ed., p. 67, says 40 *seers*

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= 30½ *livres*, therefore 1 = 12.2 *onces*. To the Agra *seer* Thevenot gives the value of 28 *onces*.

Maund, *man*, Hin. (*mein* and *men* of Tavernier).

Tavernier's ordinary maund	=	69 *livres*.
Indigo ,,		53 ,,
Surat ,,		42 *seers*.
,, ,,		40 ,,
,, (Mandelslo)		40 ,,
,, (Thevenot)		40 ,,
,, (Fryer)		42 pounds.

We may therefore conclude that the Surat maund contained about 40 *seers*, at about 13 French *onces* to the *seer*, or 35.5 English pounds avoirdupois.

The maund of Agra contained 60 *seers* of 13.6 *onces*, or about 57 lbs. av. English, which corresponds approximately with a value of 55 lbs. 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 recognises 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 *tassu* (*tassot* of Tavernier), cubit, *coss*, and *gos*.

24 *tassus* (*tassots*)	=	1 cubit (*aune* of Tavernier).
(5000 ?) cubits	=	1 *coss* (*cosse*[1] of Tavernier).
4 *coss*	=	1 *gow* (*gos* of Tavernier).

The *tassu* (*tassot*) of Surat, as graphically represented in Book II, chap. xii, and in *Observations sur le Commerce, etc.*, in the "Recueil," is exactly equal to 1⅛ in. English. The cubit of Surat was equal to 24 times that amount, in other words to 27 in. In Book I, chap. ii (see p. 38), the ¼th of a Surat cubit as represented

[1] Misprinted *coste* for *cosse* in Tavernier's first edition of 1676, and repeated in other editions, but corrected in the *errata*.

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would indicate a cubit of about ½ an inch less, but the s e figure is said to be equal to only ⅛th of the Agra cubit, which would therefore be about 32⅜ in. This is very near the *ilâhí gaz* of Akbar, namely 33 in. The *tassu* of Agra was, therefore, about 1½ in. English.

The *Coss.*—As stated above, Tavernier regarded the *coss* and t *lieue* as equivalent values, frequent illustrations of which are pointe out in the foot-notes. In Book I, chap. iv, he speaks of the *cos.* between Surat and Burhánpur 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 Golconda and Masulipatam the distance is given as 100 *coss*, the true distance being about 210 miles. Thevenot 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.*

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 47. In three different places, Book II, chap. xii, and in Book II, chap. 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 Golconda and the Diamond Mines.

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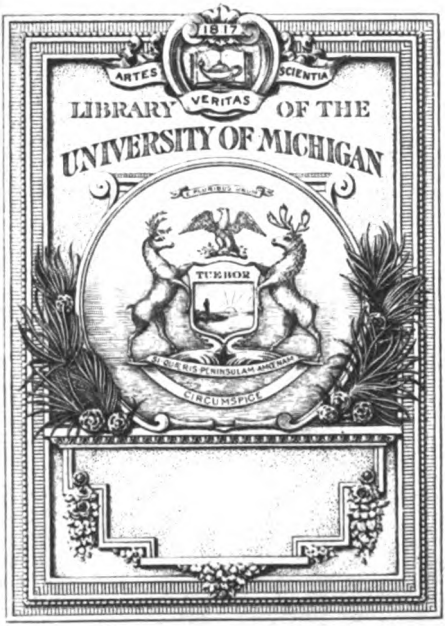


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Travels in India

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Valentine Ball



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TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIÈR

BARON OF AUBONNE

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JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

Dressed in the Robes of Honour presented to him by the Shah of Persia

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TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH EDITION OF 1676

WITH A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR,
NOTES, APPENDICES, ETC.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK
1889

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PREFACE

In the course of the preparation of a work of so diversified and complex a character as this, it is almost certain to be the case that, even up to the last moment before publication, matter bearing upon the subject comes to hand. The present occasion, so far from forming an exception to the rule, exemplifies it in a very remarkable degree. The subjects upon which additional information has been acquired during the progress of the printing of these volumes are many; but there are some in particular which deserve special notice, to which it may therefore be well to call attention here.

Through the kindness of Prof. Joret I have received a pamphlet, written by himself, entitled *Le Voyageur Tavernier* (1670-1689), in which he has pursued his investigations as to the events of the last twenty years of Tavernier's life. As some of these confirm while others modify the conclusions set forth in the Introduction to vol. i, it is desirable to notice them briefly.

Prof. Joret describes his examination of the original manuscripts of Tavernier's *Memoirs*, which are in the possession of M. Schefer at his Chateau of St. Alban near Chambéry. Without entering into details, it

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may be said that they completely confirm the view expressed in the Introduction, that the material made use of by Chappuzeau was largely documentary; that it could have been communicated orally by dictation, the internal evidence, as it appeared to me, sufficiently disproved.

Chappuzeau's work consisted in giving a literary style, such as it was, to Tavernier's simple and rough notes; but in this work Tavernier himself very possibly assisted. These MS. *Memoirs* contain some details not included in the *Travels*, such as personal expenses and other minor day-to-day notes. The death of M. Ardilliére, a subject of some confusion (see p. 159 *n*), is fixed by the original record as having taken place on the 12th December 1652. And Tavernier's arrival at Ispahan in 1654 was on the 9th of July, not in May as previously supposed.

It is hoped that this original text may be published, as it would seem, from the glimpse of it thus given by Prof. Joret, that it would to a great extent aid in co-ordinating various statements in the published *Travels* which are now contradictory.

The suggestion that J. B. Tavernier had been imprisoned in the Bastille on the 13th January 1686 is now shown[1] to be a mistake, and that it was a namesake of his, a Tavernier of Villiers-le-Bel, who was so incarcerated.

Passing the important additional information obtained as to Tavernier's relations with the Elector of Brandenburg, we find that Prof. Joret has reason for concluding that the discovery of the supposed

[1] M. Douen in *Bulletin de la Société du Protestantisme Français*, vol. xxxiv, 1887, p. 95.

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tombstone of Tavernier at Moscow is of a somewhat mythical character; but, be that as it may, an important letter from the Swedish Resident at Moscow, dated 8th March 1689, has been discovered, by which the Swedish Chancellor was informed that Tavernier had died three weeks previously, not at Moscow, but at Smolensk, when on his journey to Moscow.

In Book II, chap. xxi (vol. ii, p. 122) a table is given showing the ratio between carats and a weight called *chegos*, which was used by the Portuguese in the pearl trade. I was unable to explain this table; but since it has been in type I have shown it to Mr. A. Rambaut, Assistant to the Astronomer Royal for Ireland, who has very kindly given me what appears to be a completely adequate explanation of its construction, as follows:—For the first six equivalents the equation $y = 3 + 1\frac{3}{4}x + \frac{3}{8}x^2$, represents the relation where y = the number of *chegos* and x the number of carats, subject, however, to the condition that wherever an uneven number of eighths of a carat occurs one is rejected. If this rule is followed the precise figures of Tavernier's table are obtained.

From seven carats onwards a very simple rule is followed in order to obtain the number of *chegos*. It is to multiply the number of carats by 10, divide by 12, and square the result—thus $36 \times 10 \div 12 = 30$, which squared = 900. There is one exception to this rule in the case of 25 carats, which in the table is given as equal to 430 *chegos*, whereas it ought to be, when calculated as above, 434.05 *chegos*. This discrepancy is probably due to a misprint, so that the table should be corrected accordingly.

When in the course of these pages reference was

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made to the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, it was supposed that the weight given by Schrauf for this diamond, which is now in the Imperial Treasury in Austria, was to be accepted as more correct than Tavernier's, but an examination of Schrauf's original papers shows that he really confirms Tavernier's weight for the stone in a very remarkable way. The present weight is 133⅛ Vienna carats, which are equal to 139⅛ of the lighter Florentine carats; and as Tavernier gives the weight at 139½ carats we are justified in concluding that in this case he used, and that in general he was probably in the habit of using, the Florentine carat = 0.1972 grams,[1] or 3.04 grs. troy, *i.e.* 4 per cent less than the English carat. The previous estimate of the value of the pearl *rati* given in Appendix, vol. i, having been calculated on the basis of ⅞ths of a modern English or French carat, amounted to 2.77 grs. troy; but as ⅞ths of a Florentine carat only amounts to 2.66 grs. troy, it seems probable that that would more closely approximate to the value of the pearl *rati* which was used in the weighment of jewels by Tavernier. From the discussion on the weight of Bábar's diamond given in Appendix I (p. 432) in this volume, it will be seen that there is independent testimony by Ferishta in favour of the view that 2.66 approximates more closely to the true value of the *rati* known to Tavernier and Ferishta. Other confirmatory evidence of this having been the value of the pearl *rati* will be found in the same Appendix.

A partial and preliminary notice of Tavernier's work has been referred to on p. 126 as having appeared

[1] Prof. Church, *Precious Stones*, p. 50, gives the value as 0.1965 grams.

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in the *Philosophical Transactions*, to which it should be added that in the same journal abstracts of the contents of the first two volumes were subsequently published.[1]

The reader's attention is invited to the curious facts brought out in Appendix VI, from which it would appear that Chappuzeau obtained access to some of Tavernier's *Memoirs* while the latter was still absent on his last voyage. So far as I can ascertain it has never before been recognised that the *Histoire des Joyaux* and the English version of it, *The History of Jewels*, were founded on Tavernier's original *Memoirs*. This work serves to clear up several points commented on in the footnotes.

During a recent visit to Holland I ascertained that, as stated in the Bibliography (see vol. I, p. xlvi,) there is but one edition of Tavernier's Travels in the Dutch language. It was translated by J. H. Glazemaker, and published at Amsterdam in 1682. A copy of it which I obtained contains a number of engravings by Jan Luyken in addition to copies of the original plates in the French editions.

It is hoped that the present edition of Tavernier's Indian Travels, by drawing attention to the work, will hereafter lead to the further elucidation of many points of interest; and the Editor desires to intimate here, to those who may be willing to assist, that he will gratefully acknowledge all contributions on the subject which he may receive from readers of these volumes.

[1] No. 129, Nov. 20, 1676, p. 711; No. 130, Dec. 14, p. 751.

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PLATES IN THE ORIGINAL NOT REPRODUCED

Figures of three Rubies belonging to His Majesty.

The animal which produces musk.

Cobra di capello.

Banyan tree and Fakirs.

A Fakir.

Canjare (*Khánjar*), or dagger.

Marks on Batavian *reales*.

Note.—The Dutch Edition (see *ante*, p. xiii) contains some additional Plates.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 53, note 1, also page 78, for identification of the fourth mine, see p. 476.

,, 94, line 18, *for* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *read* $1\frac{1}{4}$.

,, 97, note 2, for *Sol* 9d read *Sol* 0.9d.

,, 98, note, line 3, *for* $133\frac{1}{4}$ *read* $133\frac{1}{3}$.

,, 144, note, line 2, *for* of *read* in.

,, 159, note 1, line 11, *for* pp. 336 and 690 *read* 246 and 306.

,, 206, note, *for* Kulliani *read* Callian Bandar.

,, 260, note 3, *for* Arduiel *read* Ardeuil.

,, 282, note 3, *for* Asia *read* Assam.

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TRAVELS IN INDIA

CHAPTER XII[1]

Concerning the articles of merchandise yielded by the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL *and the Kingdoms of* GOLCONDA *and* BIJAPUR *and other neighbouring territories.*

I CAN easily believe that those who have previously written on the condition of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL did not feel themselves called upon to give a full list of all the articles of merchandise which it furnishes to foreigners. This I shall endeavour to do according to the information I have acquired during the long years I have passed in different journeys in these countries. The reader will, without doubt, cheerfully approve of this research which I have made with so much care, particularly if he is connected with commerce, and if he desires to know what art and nature produce that is curious, in different places, in order to subserve the human race.

It is necessary to remember here, what I have remarked at the commencement of the first book, touching the weights and measures which are used in

[1] In the English translation by John Phillips of 1684, this chapter is numbered x, the two preceding ones having been omitted.

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India, where I have spoken of the *maund* and of the *seer*.[1] It is still necessary to say a word about the *cubit*.[2]

The *cubit* is a measure for all goods which can be measured by the ell, and there are different kinds, as we have different kinds of ells in EUROPE. It is divided into 24 *tassus*,[3] and as the greater part of the goods of INDIA are delivered at SURAT, there is represented on the margin a figure of the fourth part of a *cubit* of the town of SURAT, divided into six *tassus*.

I ought to commence this list of goods with the most precious of all, namely diamonds and coloured stones; but, as that subject is somewhat extensive, and is the most important of my accounts, I shall give it separate treatment, and only mention in this chapter silks, cloths, cottons, spices, and drugs, which are the five classes which include all the kinds of merchandise obtained from INDIA.

Concerning Silks.

KÁSIMBÁZÁR,[4] a village in the Kingdom of BENGAL, can furnish about twenty-two thousand (22,000) bales of silk annually, each bale weighing one hundred (100) *livres*. The 22,000 bales weigh 2,200,000 *livres* at 16 *onces* to the *livre*. The Dutch generally took, either for JAPAN or for HOLLAND, 6000 to 7000 bales of it, and they would have liked to get more, but the

[1] See Appendix, vol. i.

[2] *Cobit* in the original. According to the figure here given by Tavernier of a quarter of a cubit, its length must have been 27½ *in.* The ordinary *háth* of India, measured from the top of the middle finger to the elbow, is 18 in., but is sometimes increased by the width of the hand or of three fingers.

[3] *Tassots* in the original.

[4] Kasembazar in original, elsewhere Cosenbazar, for Kásimbázár.

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merchants of TARTARY and of the whole MOGUL EMPIRE opposed their doing so, for these merchants took as much as the Dutch, and the balance remained with the people of the country for the manufacture of their own stuffs. All these silks are brought to the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, and the greater part come to AHMADÁBÁD and SURAT, where they are woven into fabrics.

Firstly, carpets of silk and gold, others of silk, gold, and silver, and others altogether of silk, are made in Surat. As for the woollen carpets, they are made at FATEHPUR,[1] 12 *coss* from AGRA.

In the second place, satins with bands of gold and silver, and others with bands of different colours, and others all uniform are made there, and it is the same with the *taffetas.*

Thirdly, *patoles,*[2] which are stuffs of silk, very soft, decorated all over with flowers of different colours, are manufactured at AHMADÁBÁD. They vary in price from eight (8) to forty (40) rupees the piece. This is one of the profitable investments of the Dutch, who do not permit any member of their Company to engage in private trade in it. They are exported to the PHILIPPINES, BORNEO, JAVA, SUMATRA, and other neighbouring countries.

[1] Vettapour in the original, Fatehpur Sikri, which is 23 miles W.S.W. of Agra. See vol. i, p. 89. It was founded as the Metropolis of the Mogul Empire by Akbar in 1570. Previously it bore the name of Sikri. Its magnificence is testified by the ruins of palaces and mosques, which still attract many visitors. Its industries were numerous, including silk spinning, weaving, and stone-cutting. At present the carpets produced there are of an inferior and coarse kind.

[2] This is from the Kanarese *pattuda,* "a silk cloth" (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary,* Art. "Patola"). Terry calls them *pintadoes,* and extols the art displayed in stitching together "fresh coloured *taffata* and *pintadoes,* and *taffata* and satin, with cotton wool between, to make quilts." (*A Voyage to East India,* London 1777, p. 127.)

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As for crude silks, it should be remarked that none of them are naturally white except that of PALESTINE, of which even the merchants of ALEPPO and TRIPOLI have difficulty in obtaining a small quantity. Thus the silk of KÁSIMBÁZÁR is yellow, as are all the crude silks which come from PERSIA and SICILY. But the people of KÁSIMBÁZÁR know how to whiten theirs with a lye made of the ashes of a tree which is called Adam's fig,[1] which makes it as white as the silk of PALESTINE. The Dutch carry their silks and the other goods which they obtain in BENGAL by the canal which goes from KÁSIMBÁZÁR to the GANGES, and this canal is nearly 15 leagues long. There remains an equal distance to descend by the GANGES to HUGLY, where they ship their goods on board their vessels.

Concerning Cotton Cloths, and first of the painted fabrics called Chites.[2]

The *chites* or painted cotton cloths which are called *calmendar*,[3] that is to say, made with a brush, are made in the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, and especially in the neighbourhood of MASULIPATAM; but the quantity made is so small that when one places in requisition all the workers who make these cotton cloths it is with difficulty that he can obtain as much as three bales.

The *chites* which are made in the Empire of the

[1] Adam's fig is a translation of the Portuguese name for the plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*. The Muhammadans believe that its leaves were used by Adam and Eve to clothe themselves with in the Garden of Eden. Hence the name. The ash of the plantain resembles that of the potato, as it contains both potash and soda salts, and the percentage of phosphoric acid and magnesia is said to be about the same in both.

[2] Chintzes.

[3] Properly *kalamdar*, derived from *kalam*, Hin., a pen or brush.

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GREAT MOGUL are printed, and are of different degrees of beauty, both on account of the printing and the fineness of the cotton cloth. Those made at LAHORE are the coarsest of all, and consequently the cheapest. They are sold by *corges*,[1] a *corge* consisting of 20 pieces, and costing from 16 to 30 rupees. The *chites* which are made at SIRONJ are sold at from 20 to 60 rupees the *corge* or thereabouts.

All the *chites* of which I am about to speak are printed cotton cloths, of which bedcovers are made, and also *sufras* or tablecloths, according to the custom of the country, pillowcases, pocket-handkerchiefs, and especially waistcoats for the use of both men and women, principally in PERSIA.

The *chites* of bright colours are made at BURHÁNPUR. They are made into handkerchiefs, which are at present much used by those who take snuff, and a sort of veil called *ormis*,[2] which the women throughout ASIA use to put on their heads and about their necks.

The *baftas*,[3] or cotton cloths to be dyed red, blue, or black, are taken uncoloured to AGRA and AHMADÁBÁD, because these two towns are near the places where the Indigo is made, which is used in dyeing, and they cost from 2 rupees the piece up to 30 or 40 rupees, according to the fineness and the gold at both ends, and in some also on the sides. The Indians know how to pass some of these cloths through a certain water which causes them to appear like a waved camlet, and these pieces are the dearest.

These kinds of cotton cloth, which cost from 2 to

[1] Probably from *kori*, Hin., a score. [2] Or *ornis* (see vol. i, p. 52).
[3] *Bastas* in the original, for *Baftas* (see vol. i, p. 66).

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12 rupees the piece, are exported to the coast of MELINDE,[1] and they constitute the principal trade done by the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE, who sells them to the Cafres to carry into the country of the ABYSSINS and the Kingdom of SABA,[2] because these people, not using soap, need only simply rinse out these cloths.

Those which cost 12 rupees and upwards are exported to the PHILIPPINES, BORNEO, JAVA, SUMATRA, and other islands. The women of these islands have for their sole garment a piece of this cotton cloth, which, without cutting, one end serves as a petticoat, and the remainder is wound round the waist and head.

White Cotton Cloths.

White cotton cloths come partly from AGRA and the vicinity of LAHORE, partly from BENGAL, and some from BARODA, BROACH, RENONSARI,[3] and other places. They come in a crude condition to RENONSARI and BROACH, where they have the means of bleaching them in large fields, and on account of the quantity of lemons growing in the neighbourhood, for cotton cloths can never be well bleached if they are not steeped in lemon juice.

The cotton cloths which come from AGRA, LAHORE,

[1] Or Melinda, more properly Malinda, an Arab town on the east coast of Africa in S. Lat. 3° 9′. (See for notice Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary.*)

[2] Abyssinia and Saba which was probably the Sabœa of Strabo, occupying a large portion of Southern Arabia.

[3] With reference to this place, Col. Yule informs me that it is Nosári or Navasári, and that Van Twist, in his *General Description of India* (1638), says that it was 6 Dutch miles (24 English) to the south of Surat, and produced much coarse cloth.

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and BENGAL are sold by *corges*, and they cost from 16 up to 300 or 400 rupees and more, according as the merchant directs them to be made.

The cotton cloths which come from RENONSARI and BROACH are 21 cubits long when crude, but only 20 cubits when bleached. Those of BARODA are 20 cubits when crude, and 19½ when bleached.

All the cotton cloths or *baftas* which come from these three towns are of two kinds; for there are both broad and narrow kinds, and it is the narrow of which I have just spoken, and which are sold at from 2 to 6 *mahmúdis* each.

The broad *baftas* are 1⅓ cubit wide, and the piece is 20 cubits long. They are commonly sold at from 5 to 12 *mahmúdis*, but the merchant on the spot is able to have them made much wider and finer, and up to the value of 500 *mahmúdis* the piece. In my time I have seen two pieces of them sold, for each of which 1000 *mahmúdis* were paid. The English bought one and the Dutch the other, and they were each of twenty-eight (28) cubits. MUHAMMAD ALI BEG, when returning to PERSIA from his embassy to INDIA, presented CHA SEFI II[1] with a cocoa-nut of the size of an ostrich's egg, enriched with precious stones; and when it was opened a turban was drawn from it 60 cubits in length, and of a muslin so fine that you would scarcely know what it was that you had in your hand.[2] On returning from one of my voyages, I had the curiosity to take with me an ounce of thread, of which

[1] Sháh Safi or Safvi II. Tavernier describes him in the *Persian Travels*, Paris Ed., 1676, p. 524.

[2] This must have been like the famous Dacca muslins, upon which such names as *áb rawán*, flowing water, were conferred.

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a *livre's* weight cost 600 *mahmúdis*,[1] and the late Queen-Dowager, with many of the ladies of the Court, was surprised at seeing a thread so delicate, which almost escaped the view.

Concerning Spun Cotton.

Both spun and unspun cotton come from the Provinces of BURHÁNPUR and GUJARÁT. The unspun cottons do not go to EUROPE, being too bulky and of too small value, and they are only exported to the RED SEA, HORMUZ, BASSORA, and sometimes to the islands of SONDE[2] and to the PHILIPPINES. As for the spun cottons, the English and Dutch Companies export large quantities to EUROPE, but they are not of the finest qualities; of the kinds which they send the *maund* weight is worth from 15 to 50 *mahmúdis*.[3] These are the kinds which are used to make the wicks of candles, and stockings, and to mingle with the web of silken stuffs. As for the finest qualities, they are of no use in EUROPE.

Concerning Indigo.

Indigo comes from different localities of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and in these different localities it is of various qualities, which increase or diminish its price.

In the first place some comes from the country of

[1] *I.e.* about £22 : 10s.

[2] Sunda archipelago, in the Sunda straits, where the volcano of Krakatoa is situated. (See vol. i, p. 191.)

[3] *I.e.* the *maund* of 34 *livres* is worth 11s. 3d. to £1 : 17 : 6, with the *mahmúdi* at 9d.

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BIÁNÁ, from INDOUA,[1] and from CORSA,[2] one or two days' march from AGRA; and this is considered to be the best of all. It is made also at eight days' march from SURAT, and at two leagues from AHMADÁBÁD, in a village called SHARKEJ.[3] It is from thence indigo cake comes, and some of the same kind and nearly the same price comes also from the country of the King of GOLCONDA. The *maund* of SURAT, which is 42 *seers*, or 34½ of our *livres*, is sold for from 15 to 20 rupees. There is also made at BROACH some of the same quality as this last. As for that from the neighbourhood of AGRA, it is made in small pieces like hemispheres, and it is, as I have said, the best in INDIA. It is sold by the *maund*, and the *maund* in these regions is 60 *seers*, which are equal to 51¾ of our *livres*. One pays generally for it from 36 to 40 rupees. Indigo is also produced at 36 leagues from BURHÁNPUR on the road to SURAT at a large village called RAOUT,[4] and other small villages in its neighbourhood; and the people of the place generally sell more than 100,000 rupees worth of it every year.

There comes lastly the indigo of BENGAL, which the Dutch Company conveys to MASULIPATAM; but you can buy this indigo and that of BURHÁNPUR and AHMADÁBÁD cheaper by 30 per cent than that of AGRA.

Indigo is made from a plant[5] which is sown every year after the rains, and which, before preparation, much

[1] Indore?

[2] Corsa I have not been able to identify with certainty. There are villages both to the south and north of Agra with somewhat similar names. Perhaps it is Khurjá in the Bulandshahr District.

[3] Sarquesse in the original. (See vol. i, p. 69 *n.*)

[4] Raout. This place has not been identified. It was probably not far from Sindkeir.

[5] The indigo plant, *Indigofera tinctoria*, Linn.

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resembles hemp. It is cut three times in the year, and the first cutting takes place when it is about 2 or 3 feet high; and it is cut to within 6 inches of the ground. The first leaf is without doubt better than those which follow, the second yielding less by 10 or 12 per cent than the first, and the third 20 per cent less than the second. It is classified by the colour, as seen when a morsel of the paste is broken. The colour of the indigo made from the first crop is of a violet-blue, which is more brilliant and more lively than the others, and that of the second is more lively than that of the third. But besides this difference, which causes a considerable effect on the price, the Indians manipulate the weight and quality, as I shall elsewhere explain.

After the Indians have cut the plant they throw it into tanks made of lime,[1] which becomes so hard that one would say that they were made of a single piece of marble. The tanks are generally from 80 to 100 paces in circuit, and when half-full with water, or a little more, they are filled up with the cut plant. The Indians mix it and stir it up with the water every day until the leaf (for the stem is of no account) becomes reduced into slime or greasy earth. This done they allow it to rest for some days, and when they see that all has sunk to the bottom and that the water is clear above, they open the holes made round the tank to allow the water to escape. Next, the water having been drawn off, they fill baskets with the slime, after which, in a level field, each man is to be seen near his basket taking this paste in his fingers, and moulding it into pieces of the shape and size of a hen's egg cut in

[1] The indigo vats are faced with "*chunam*" (lime), which, especially when made from shells, produces a marble-like surface.

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two—that is to say, flat below and pointed above.' But as for the indigo of AHMADÁBÁD, it is flattened and made into the shape of a small cake. This is to be particularly remarked, that the merchants, in order to escape paying custom on useless weight, before sending the indigo from ASIA to EUROPE are careful to sift it, in order to remove the dust attached to it, which they afterwards sell to the people of the country, who make use of it in their dyes. Those who are employed to sift the indigo observe great precautions, for while so occupied they hold a cloth in front of the face, and take care that all their orifices are well closed, only leaving two small holes in the cloth for the eyes, to see what they are doing. Moreover, both those who sift the indigo and the writers or sub-merchants of the Company who watch them sifting, have to drink milk every hour, this being a preservative against the subtlety of the indigo. All these precautions do not prevent those who are occupied for eight or ten days, sifting indigo, from having all that they expectorate coloured blue for some time. I have indeed on more than one occasion observed that if an egg is placed in the morning near one of these sifters, in the evening, when one breaks it, it is altogether blue inside, so penetrating is the dust of indigo.

According as the men take paste from the baskets with their fingers steeped in oil, and mould it in pieces, they expose them to the sun to dry. And when the merchants buy the indigo they always burn some pieces in order to see if there is any sand mixed with it. For the peasants who take the paste out of the baskets to separate it into pieces, after they have dipped their hands in oil, place it in the sand, which mingles with

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the paste and makes it heavier; and when burnt the indigo becomes a cinder and the sand remains entire. The Governors do all they can to stop this fraud, but there are always some who practise it.

Concerning Saltpetre.

Saltpetre comes in abundance from AGRA and from PATNA, a town of BENGAL; and that which is refined costs three times as much as that which is not. The Dutch have established a depôt at CHAPRÁ,[1] which is 14 leagues above PATNA; and the saltpetre being refined there, they send it by river to HUGLY. They imported boilers from HOLLAND, and employed refiners to refine the saltpetre for themselves; but have not succeeded, because the people of the country, seeing that the Dutch wished to deprive them of the profits of refining, would not supply them any longer with whey, without the aid of which the saltpetre cannot be bleached, for it is worth nothing at all if it is not very white and very transparent. A *maund* of saltpetre costs 7 *mahmúdis*.[2]

Concerning Spices.

Cardamom, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, cloves, and cinnamon are the several kinds of spices which

[1] Choupar in the original (see vol. i, p. 122). The crude saltpetre is obtained in India by lixiviation of the soil on deserted and even occupied village sites. It consists of the potash nitrate, and a simple explanation may be given of the chemical reaction which produces it. The nitrogenous waste of the village being brought into contact with potash derived from wood-ash, the ammonia is converted into nitric acid, which combines with the potash, and the salt so formed permeates the soil. A century ago most of the saltpetre of the world which was used for gunpowder came from India. Now there are other sources of supply.

[2] *I.e.* 5s. 3d. for 34 *livres*.

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are known to us. I place cardamom and ginger as the two first, because cardamom grows in the Kingdom of BIJAPUR and ginger in that of the GREAT MOGUL, and the other kinds of spices are imported from abroad to SURAT, where they constitute an important article of commerce.

Cardamom is the best kind of spice, but is very scarce, and as but a small quantity is grown in the place I have indicated, it is only used in ASIA at the tables of the nobles. 500 *livres* of cardamom are sold at from 100 to 110 *reals*.[1]

Ginger comes in large quantities from AHMADÁBÁD, where it grows in greater abundance than in any other part of ASIA, and it is difficult to realise the quantity which is exported in a candied condition to foreign countries.

Pepper is of two kinds, one of small size, and the other much larger; these are respectively called small and large pepper. The large kind is chiefly from MALABAR, and TUTICORIN and CALICUT are the towns where it is purchased. Some of it also comes from the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, and is sold at RÁJAPUR,[2] a small town of that kingdom. The Dutch who purchase it from the *Malabaris* do not pay in cash for it, but exchange for it many kinds of merchandise, as cotton, opium, vermilion, and quicksilver, and it is this large pepper which is exported to EUROPE. As for the small pepper which comes from BANTAM, ACHIN, and

[1] *I.e.* with the *real* at 4s. 6d., £22 : 10s. to £24 : 15s.

[2] *Regapour* in the original is Rájápur in the Ratnágiri District. As a port its importance has much diminished, it being now inaccessible for large vessels by the creek which connects it with the sea, 15 miles distant. In 1660-61 and 1670 it and the English factory were sacked by Sivaji. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xi, p. 385.)

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other places eastwards, it is not sent out of ASIA, where much is consumed, especially by the Muhammadans. For in a pound of small pepper there are double the number of seeds that there are in a pound of the large; and the more grains in the *pillaus*, into which they are thrown by the handful, the more are seen, besides which the large pepper is too hot for the mouth.[1]

This small pepper, delivered at SURAT, has been in some years sold at the rate of 13 or 14 *mahmúdis* the *maund*,[2] and I have seen it bought at this price by the English, who export it to HORMUZ, BASSORÁ, and the RED SEA. As for the large pepper which the Hollanders fetch from the coast of MALABAR, 500 *livres*[3] of it brings them only 38 *reals*, but on the merchandise which they give in exchange they gain 100 per cent.

One can get it for the equivalent in money of 28 or 30 *reals* cash, but to purchase it in that way would be much more costly than the Dutch method. As for large pepper, without going beyond the territories of the GREAT MOGUL there is enough to be obtained in the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, and it is generally sold at the rate of from 12 to 15 *mahmúdis* the *maund*.[4] The wood of long pepper costs but four *mahmúdis*.

Nutmeg, mace, clove, and cinnamon are the only spices which the Dutch have in their own hands. The three first come from the MOLUCCA Islands, and the fourth, *i.e.* cinnamon, comes from the island of CEYLON.

[1] It may be remarked that the whole-pepper obtained in the Bazaars, and commonly used in cookery in India, is a much smaller, less pungent, and generally inferior seed to that which comes to Europe.

[2] 9s. 8d. to 10s. 6d. per 34 *livres*, with the *mahmúdi* at 9d.

[3] *I.e.* £6 : 6s. to £6 : 15s.

[4] 9s. to 10s. 6d. for 34 *livres*.

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There is one thing remarkable about the nutmeg, namely, that the tree is never planted. This has been confirmed to me by many persons who have dwelt for many years in the country. They have assured me that when the nuts are ripe certain birds which arrive from the islands to the south swallow them whole, and reject them afterwards without having digested them, and that these nuts, being then covered by a viscous and sticky substance, fall to the ground, take root, and produce trees, which would not happen if they were planted in the ordinary way.[1] I have here a remark to make upon the subject of the Bird of Paradise. These birds, which are very fond of the nutmeg, assemble in numbers in the season to gorge themselves with it, and they arrive in flocks as flights of field-fares do during the vintage. As this nut is strong it intoxicates these birds and causes them to fall dead upon the spot, and immediately the ants which abound in the country eat off their feet. It is on this account that it is commonly said that a Bird of Paradise with feet[2] has never been seen. This is, however, not

[1] This is so far true as regards the fact that the great fruit-eating pigeons are able to swallow large fruits, the stones of which they afterwards reject. These pigeons belong to the genera *Carpophaga* and *Myristicivora*, and I have often been amazed at the wide gape and the mobility of the articulation of the jaws of these birds. When wounded I have seen them disgorge very large fruits. Several species occur in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and other allied species in the Malayan Archipelago. That these birds aid in propagating plants in remote islands by conveying the seeds cannot be doubted.

[2] As is well known, the true origin of this fable about the *apodas* is, that the natives who prepare the plumes of the birds of paradise for decorative purposes remove the feet from the skins, and as the birds were in early times only known by these dried and stitched-up skins, the idea spread that they had no feet. Tavernier's explanation shows the tenacity of the myth.

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precisely true, for I have seen three or four with their feet intact, upon which the ants had not had time to operate.

A French merchant, named CONTOUR, sent one which had feet, from ALEPPO, to King LOUIS XIII, who prized it much as it was so beautiful.

But notwithstanding all the Dutch can do to prevent it, you can obtain cloves at MACASSAR, in the Isle of CELEBES, without the spice passing through their hands, because the islanders buy in secret from the captains and soldiers of the forts belonging to the Dutch at the places where the cloves grow, taking them in exchange rice and other necessaries of life, without which they would be unable to subsist, being miserably supported. Whilst commerce was vigorously pushed by the English, they acted as though their object was to destroy that of the Dutch. After having bought a parcel of cloves at MACASSAR they sent them to all the places where the Dutch were accustomed to sell them, and giving them at a cheap price, and sometimes even at a loss, by this means they ruined the clove trade of the Dutch. For it is an established custom in INDIA that the first who fixes the price of any article of merchandise constrains all others, by his example, to sell at the same rate during the year. It is for this reason that the Dutch have established a factory at MACASSAR, where their officers raise the price of cloves as much as they can when the King of the Island opens the sale. They make considerable presents to the King in order to induce him to uphold the price, which neither the English nor the Portuguese, in the miserable state in which their affairs are to-day, are able to prevent.

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Whenever the people of MACASSAR have cloves they pay for the goods brought to them with that spice; payment is also made with tortoiseshell, which is in great demand in all the Empire of the MOGUL and in EUROPE: it is also made with gold dust, by which there is 6 or 7 per cent to be gained instead of its being lost on the money of the island, although it be gold, because the King adulterates it too much. The four places where cloves grow in abundance are the land of AMBOINE, the land of ELLIAS, the land of SERAM, and the land of BOURO.[1]

The Islands of BANDA, which are six in number, known as NERO, LONTOUR, POULEAY, ROSEGUIN, POLLERON, and GRENAPUIS,[2] bear nutmegs in great abundance. The Island of GRENAPUIS is about 6 leagues in circuit, and culminates in a peak from whence much fire issues. The Island of DAMNE,[3] where the nutmeg also grows in great abundance and of large size, was discovered in the year 1647 by ABEL TASMAN, a Dutch commander.

The prices of cloves and nutmegs, as I have seen them sold to the Dutch in SURAT in certain years, were as follows:—The *maund* of SURAT is equal to 40 *seers*, which make 34 of our *livres* at 16 *onces* to the *livre*.

A *maund* of cloves was sold for 103½ *mahmúdis*.

[1] Amboyna, Gilolo? Ceram, and Boeroe (or Buru), islands in the Molucca Sea.

[2] Pulo Nera (*i.e.* island of palm wine); Lontar (the name of a palm); Pulo Ai or Pulo Wai (*i.e.* water-island); Rosingen (Rosolanguim of De Barros); Pulo Run (or Rung, *i.e.* chamber island); and Gunung-api (fire-mountain or volcano). These, with four others, constitute the Banda group. (Crawfurd, *Dict.*)

[3] I cannot identify this. Tasman discovered Van Diemen's Land, but nutmegs can hardly grow there; possibly Tavernier has made some mistake.

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A maund of mace was sold for 157½ *mahmúdis*
,, nutmegs ,, 56½ ,,[1]

All the cinnamon comes at present from the Island of CEYLON. The tree which produces it closely resembles our willows and has three barks. The first and second only are removed, and the latter is considered to be much the best. As for the third, it is not touched, for if the knife cuts it it causes the tree to die. This is an art which the natives learn from their youth. The cinnamon costs the Dutch more than is generally believed. For the King of the Island of CEYLON, who is otherwise called King of KANDY,[2] from the name of the capital town, being a sworn enemy of the Dutch because they did not keep their promise with him, as I have elsewhere related, sends troops every year with the intention of surprising them when they go to collect the cinnamon. It is for this reason that the Dutch are obliged to have 1500 or 1600 armed men to defend an equal number of men while engaged in removing the bark of the cinnamon, and they are obliged to feed these labourers for all the remainder of the year in addition to the expenditure on the garrisons in several parts of the island. These great outlays enhance the price of the cinnamon; it was not so in the time of the Portuguese, who had not all this expenditure, but placed all to profit. The cinnamon tree bears a fruit like an olive, but it is not eaten. The Portuguese used to gather quantities of it, which they placed in chaldrons with water together with the small points of the ends of the branches, and they

[1] Equal respectively to £3 : 17 : 6, £5 : 18 : 1½, and £2 : 2 : 4 per 34 *livres*.

[2] Or Candy, as in the original.

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boiled the whole till the water was evaporated when cooled, the upper portion of what remained was like a paste of white wax, and at the bottom of the chaldron there was camphor. Of this paste they made tapers, which they used in the churches during the service at the annual festivals, and as soon as the tapers were lighted all the church was perfumed with an odour of cinnamon. They have often sent them to LISBON for the King's chapel. Formerly the Portuguese procured cinnamon from the countries belonging to *Rajas* in the neighbourhood of COCHIN.[1] But since the Dutch have taken this town, and have become masters of the coast of CEYLON, where the cinnamon grows, seeing that that of the neighbourhood of COCHIN injured the trade, because, not being so good as that of CEYLON, it was sold at a low price, they destroyed all the places where it grew, and thus there is no cinnamon now but that of CEYLON, which is altogether in their hands. When the Portuguese held this coast the English bought cinnamon from them and ordinarily paid 50 *mahmúdis* for a *maund*.[2]

Concerning the drugs obtainable at SURAT, *and those imported from foreign countries, with the price of each, per maund.*

Sal Ammoniac costs per *maund* according to the ordinary price	20 *mahmúdis.*
Borax, like the preceding, is brought from AHMADÁBÁD[3] without being refined, and costs per *maund*	35 „

[1] Bastard cinnamon. (See vol. i, p. 234.)

[2] £1 : 17 : 6.

[3] Probably brought to Ahmadábád from Thibet, but I have seen a statement as to its occurrence in Kathiáwár, which, however, requires confirmation. (*Vide Economic Geology of India*, p. 498.)

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Gum-lac,[1] of which I shall speak below . .	7½	*mahmúdis.*
„ „ washed	10	„
„ „ in sticks of sealing-wax. . . .	40	„
Some kinds cost 50 and 60 *mahmúdis* per *maund*, and even more when musk is added to it.		
Saffron[2] of SURAT, which is only used for colours .	4½	„
White Cumin[3]	8	„
Black Cumin	3	„
Arlet,[4] small	3	„
Incense,[5] from the Arabian coast. . . .	3	„
Mirrha.[6] The good quality called *Mirrha-gilet* .	30	„
Mirrha-bolte, from Arabia	15	„
Cassia[7]	2	„
Sugar-Candy	18	„
Asutinat,[8] a kind of grain which is very hot . .	1	„
Fenouil[9] (Fr.), large	3½	„
„ small and very hot	1½	„
Oupelote,[10] root	14	„
Cointre,[11]	5	„
Auzerout,[12] from Persia	120	„

[1] Shellac, produced on certain trees by the *Coccus lacca*.

[2] Saffron consists of the stigmas of *Crocus sativus*, L., which was an article of trade at the time the "*Periplus*" was written, and has been cultivated in the East ever since.

[3] The fruit of *Cuminum cyminum*, L., a small annual indigenous to the Upper Nile regions, spread by cultivation to Arabia, India, China, etc. (Fluckiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, p. 295.)

[4] Not identified.

[5] The gum resin (*olibanum*) of *Boswellia floribunda*, Endl.

[6] The precise nature of the trees yielding myrrh is somewhat doubtful. Two varieties from Africa are called *Heera Bol* (true myrrh) and *Bissa Bol* (an inferior variety). Arabian myrrh is obtained to the east of Aden (see Fluckiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*).

[7] The fruit of *Cassia fistula*, L.

[8] Not identified.

[9] The fruit of *Pimpinella anisum*, L., cultivated in India.

[10] *Costus* or *kostus*, the root of *Aucklandia costus*.

[11] Possibly *kundur*, *i.e.* frankincense, obtained from *Boswellia floribunda*, but that has already been enumerated.

[12] For *Anzarút*, a gum-resin once known to Europeans as a drug under the name *sarcocolla*. According to Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, p. 381) it is derived from *Penæa mucronata*, Lin., which yields it by spontaneous exudation; it is a native of Africa. It was used by the

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Aloes *Sucotrin*,[1] from Arabia	28	*mahmúdis.*
Reglisse[2] (Fr.)	4	,,
Vez Cabouli,[3] a kind of root	12	,,
Aloe-wood,[4] in large pieces	200	,,
,, in small pieces	400	,,
There is a sort of aloe-wood which, if very oily, costs per *maund*	4000	,,

I shall now make some special remarks about gum-lac, sugar, opium, tobacco, and coffee.

Gum-lac[5] for the most part comes from PEGU, but it also comes from the Kingdom of BENGAL; and it is dearer in the latter places because the inhabitants of the country extract from it that beautiful scarlet colour[6] which they use to dye and paint their cotton

Arabs for healing wounds, and by Mesue it was believed to have cathartic properties. According to Dymock's *Vegetable Materia Medica*, 2d Ed., Bombay 1885, it is still largely used by the natives of Western India. I am indebted to Colonel Yule for the two last identifications.

[1] Socotrine aloes, prepared from the juice of *Aloe Socotrina*, Linn.

[2] Liquorice.

[3] Possibly for *bish*, Sanskrit *visha*, *i.e.* poison, Aconite root.

[4] *Bois d'aloes.* This is the *Lign Aloes* of Latin writers and the *Lignum Aloes* of the Bible, it is quite distinct from the modern aloes, being the inside of the trunk of *Aquilaria ovata* and *A. Agallochum*, which contain a fragrant resinous substance of dark colour. It was formerly generally used both for incense and for medicinal purposes, but is now only esteemed in the East. From the Portuguese term *agila* or *aguila* has come the popular name "eagle-wood." There is an account of it in Royle's *Illustrations*, etc., and Garcias de Orta devotes his 30th *Colloquy* to it under the title *Linaloes*. It is described very concisely in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Eagle-wood." It is used in the manufacture of the incense-sticks from Burmah, which are now well known in Europe.

[5] I have elsewhere identified the Ἤλεκτρον of Ktesias with shellac. (See "On the Identification of the Animals and Plants of India, which were known to Early Greek Authors," *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, 2d series, vol. ii, No. 6, p. 331; and for an account of the production and manufacture of shellac in Bengal, see *Jungle Life in India*, p. 308.)

[6] The dye consists of the bodies of the female *coccus* which alone secretes the lac.

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cloths. Nevertheless the Dutch buy it to export to PERSIA, where it is used to produce the same colour which the Persians employ in their dyes. That which remains after the colour is extracted is only used to embellish toys[1] made in the lathe, of which the people are very fond, and to make sealing-wax; and be it for the one or the other purpose, they mix whatever colour they desire with it. That which comes from PEGU is the cheapest, though it is as good as that of other countries; what causes it to be sold cheaper is that the ants, making it there on the ground in heaps, which are sometimes of the size of a cask,[2] mix with it a quantity of dirt. On the other hand, in BENGAL, the district from whence they bring the lac being a kind of heath full of shrubs, the ants secrete it round the ends of branches, which makes it fair and clean, and it is consequently dearer. The inhabitants of PEGU do not employ it as a dye because they receive their cotton cloths ready dyed from BENGAL and MASULIPATAM; and, moreover, they are so uncivilised that they do not engage in any art.[3] There are many women at SURAT who gain their livelihood by preparing lac after the colour has been extracted. They give it whatever colour they wish, and make it into sticks like Spanish wax. The English and Dutch Companies export about 150 chests annually. Lac in sticks does not

[1] Such as the Benares toys, nests of boxes, etc., of the present. The coloured lac is applied in sticks to the wood surfaces as they revolve in the lathe, after which they require only to be burnished.

[2] This description may be due to some confusion about white ants' nests. I have failed to find any peculiarity ascribed to the Burmah lac which would explain the passage.

[3] Tavernier probably knew very little of Pegu, which he never visited. Had he done so he would have found certain arts flourishing there.

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cost more than 10 *sols* the *livre*, and it is worth 10 *sols* the *once* in FRANCE, though it be half mixed with resin.

Moist sugar is exported in quantity from the Kingdom of BENGAL, and there is great traffic in it at HUGLY, PATNA, DACCA, and in other places. On the occasion of my last visit to INDIA I went very far into BENGAL even up to the frontiers of the neighbouring states. I heard a thing from many old people of the country which should be recorded. It is that sugar kept for thirty years becomes poison, and that there is nothing more dangerous or prompter in producing effect.[1] Loaf-sugar is made at AHMADÁBÁD, where the people understand how to refine it; and it is called on this account royal sugar. These loaves of sugar generally weigh from 8 to 10 *livres*.

Opium comes from BURHÁNPUR, a good mercantile town between SURAT and AGRA. The Dutch go there for it, and exchange their pepper for it.

Tobacco[2] also grows abundantly in the neighbourhood of BURHÁNPUR; and in certain years I have known the people to neglect saving it because they had too much, and they allowed half [the crop] to decay.

Coffee grows neither in PERSIA nor in INDIA.[3]

[1] It is not unlikely that there may be still a belief to this effect in India. I think I have heard something of the same kind about rice when kept beyond a certain time. Possibly they both originate in some proverbial saying having reference to storing up articles of food too long.

[2] The practice of smoking tobacco, which was first learnt by the Spaniards from the Cuban Indians in the year 1492, was introduced into Turkey, Egypt, and India about the end of the 16th century; and it spread steadily, though opposed by the severest enactments of both Christian and Muhammadan governments. (See Fluckiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*.)

[3] It is perhaps needless to point out that this was written two centuries before the cultivation of coffee became an important industry in Ceylon and Southern India.

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Nevertheless, since some Indian vessels load up with it on their return from MECCA, I give it place here amongst the drugs. The principal trade in it is at HORMUZ and BASSORA, where the Dutch, when returning empty from MOCHA, load up as much as they can, it being an article which they sell well. From HORMUZ it is exported to PERSIA, and even to GREAT TARTARY; and from BASSORA it is distributed in CHALDEE, in ARABIA along the course of the EUPHRATES, in MESOPOTAMIA, and other Turkish provinces,—for as for INDIA, it is but little used there. Coffee, which means wine in the Arabian tongue, is a kind of bean which grows at eight days' journey from MOCHA, on the road to MECCA. Its use was first discovered by a hermit named *Sheikh* SIADELI (*i.e.* SAYID ALI), some 120 years ago or thereabouts; for before him there is no author, ancient or modern, who has mentioned it.[1]

All goods in coming from AGRA to SURAT, for despatch of bills of exchange at 5 per cent, for packing,

[1] Coffee was first mentioned in European literature in 1573 by Ruwolf. Seventy years later a sample of it was brought from Constantinople to Marseilles by Thevenot. It was first brought to Aden by *Sheikh* Shihábuddin Dhabháni, who died in 1470, hence it is concluded that its introduction was about the middle of the fifteenth century. Niebuhr states that it was first brought from Kaffa in Abyssinia to Yemen by Arabs. It appears to have been cultivated principally at Jabal, whence it was conveyed to Mocha. The Arabic name is *kahwa*, pronounced *kahveh* by the Turks. The plant itself is called *bun*. As Tavernier says, the name *kahwa* was originally applied to wine. (*Vide* Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.) Terry's account of the use of coffee in India in his time is of sufficient interest to be quoted in full:—"Many of the people there who are strict in their religion drink no wine at all; but they use a liquor, more wholesome than pleasant, they call coffee, made by a black seed boiled in water, which turns it almost into the same colour, but doth very little alter the taste of the water. Notwithstanding, it is very good to help digestion, to quicken the spirits, and to cleanse the blood." (*A Voyage to India*, London Ed., 1777, pp. 100-101.)

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carriage, and customs, according to their classes, are charged from 15 to 20 per cent.

All the gold and silver, whether in ingots or coin, pays 2 per cent on entering SURAT.[1] The merchant does what he can to avoid this charge; nevertheless, when caught, he is let off with paying double and nothing more. The Princes would like to confiscate the whole sum, but the judges are opposed, and maintain that MUHAMMAD forbade all custom dues and interest on money. I have spoken fully in the second chapter of the first book of the custom dues, the money, both gold and silver, and the weights and measures of India, to which I refer the reader.

[1] See vol. i, p. 8.

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CHAPTER XIII

Concerning the frauds which can be practised in manufactures, whether by the roguery of the workers or the knavery of the brokers and buyers.

I SHALL follow in this chapter the same order as I have observed in the preceding, with the object of making plain, for the benefit of the merchant, all the frauds which can be effected in silk, cotton cloths, cotton, and indigo, for there are none in the case of spices and drugs.

Frauds in Silken Stuffs.

Silken stuffs can vary in breadth, length, and quality. The length and breadth are ascertainable by measurement, the quality depends upon whether they are uniformly woven, whether the weight is equal, and whether there is no cotton introduced into the web, as the Indians very often introduce it.

The Indians, not knowing the art of gilding silver, put into their striped stuffs threads of pure gold; on this account it is necessary to count the number of threads to see if the stuff contains the requisite quantity, and the same should be done in the case of stuffs striped with silver. As for *taffetas*, it is only necessary to see whether they have a uniform fineness, and next

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to unfold some of them to see if they contain any foreign substance to increase the weight, after which, each piece should be weighed separately, in order to ascertain whether it is of proper weight.

It is in AHMADÁBÁD where, as I have said, an abundance of these stuffs is made of gold and silk, silver and silk, and of silk alone, and carpets[1] of gold and silver and silk, but the colours of these carpets do not last so long as those of the carpets which are made in PERSIA. As for the workmanship, it is equally beautiful. It is for the eye of the broker to observe the size, beauty, and fineness of the work in the carpets worked with gold and silver, and he ought to judge if it is good and rich. Finally, in the case of carpets, and in other stuffs worked with gold and silver, it is necessary to withdraw some threads to prove them, and in order to see if they are of the standard which they ought to be.

Frauds in Cotton Cloths, and, firstly, in White Cloths.

All the cotton cloths, both fine and coarse, which the Dutch company order to be made in the Provinces of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, are brought in bales to the storehouse at SURAT, and delivered to the broker about the months of October and November.

The frauds commonly perpetrated are in respect of the fineness, the length, and the breadth. Each bale may contain about 200 pieces, among which five or six and up to ten pieces can be inserted of less fine

[1] The word in the original here is *tapis*, which should perhaps be translated otherwise than carpet, though that is the ordinary signification of the word. Perhaps table-covers are meant.

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quality, thinner, shorter, or narrower than the sample of the bale; this cannot be ascertained without examination piece by piece. The fineness is judged by the eye, the length and breadth by measurement. But they practise in India a still greater refinement, which is to count the number of the threads which ought to be in the breadth according to the fineness of the sample. When the number is lacking it is thinner or narrower or coarser. The difference is sometimes so imperceptible to the eye that it is difficult to discern it without counting the threads,[1] nevertheless this difference amounts to a considerable sum in the price of a large quantity, for it requires but little to abate an *écu* or even two *écus* on a piece when the price is from 15 to 20 *écus* the piece. Those who bleach these cloths, in order to save something for their profit on the quantity of lemons which are required, beat the cloths on stones, and when they are fine the beating does them much injury and diminishes their price.

But it should be remarked that the Indians, when making their cloths, if the piece is worth more than 2 *écus*, insert at either end threads of gold and silver, and the finer the cost, the more of these threads do they insert, the price of which mounts to nearly as high a figure as that of the cloth itself. It is for this reason that it is necessary to forbid the workers to insert these threads of gold in cloths ordered to be made for export to FRANCE—this gold and silver, which the Indians insert as an ornament in their cloths and garments, being of no use to the French. But

[1] The Manchester goods of the present day are subjected to the same examination in India. It is a matter of some notoriety that fraud in connection with them is not unknown.

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for the cloths which are ordered for POLAND and MUSCOVIE, it is necessary to have this gold and silver in the Indian style, because the Poles and Russians will have nothing to do with the cloths if they have not got the threads of gold and silver. It is necessary also to take care that they do not become black, because these peoples are unwilling to buy cloths when the gold and silver are black.

As for the cloths dyed with indigo, either violet or black, it is necessary to take care that the workers do not blacken the threads of gold at the ends of the pieces, and that they do not beat the pieces too much after being folded, because they sometimes beat them so much, in order to make them smooth, that when one comes to unfold them he finds them broken at each fold.

It should also be remarked that upon the fag end of the pieces of cloth the Indians print with a seal and gold leaf an Arabesque flower, which extends the whole width of the piece. But if these pieces are destined for FRANCE, it is necessary to forbid the workers to impress this flower, which costs a half *piastre*, and to save this sum on the price of the piece. But if it is for exportation to the Indian islands, anywhere in ASIA, or even to a certain part of AMERICA, it is necessary that this flower should be on the fag end of the pieces, and that it should be preserved entire, because otherwise one is unable to sell them.

As for coloured and printed cloths, they are coloured and printed while crude, and it is requisite to take care that the work is accomplished before the end of the rains, because the more the waters where they are washed are disturbed, so much the more do

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the colours applied with a brush or printing block remain vivid.[1]

It is easy to distinguish the cloths which are printed from those done with a brush, and if the broker is intelligent he will distinguish the difference in the beauty of one painted cloth from another by the cleanness of the work. But for the fineness and other qualities of the stuff, they are more difficult to distinguish in them than in the white cloths, and consequently it is necessary to observe more precaution.

Frauds practised in Cottons.

Cottons are the goods which are always first made and the earliest delivered in the stores of SURAT, because they are all spun in the Province of GUJARÁT. The frauds possible with them are in the weight and quality. The fraud in the weight can be effected in two ways, the first by putting it in a damp place, and by inserting in the middle of each skein some substance which increases the weight, the second in not weighing it truly when the broker receives it from the worker or from the merchant who delivers it.

The fraud in the quality is accomplished in but one way, which is by inserting in every *maund* three or four skeins of worse quality than that which is at the top, and in a large quantity that may amount to something considerable, for there is a variety of cotton thread which costs up to 100 *écus* the *maund.* As these two frauds are practised very often on the Dutch Company, this is the precaution they are obliged to adopt.

[1] In Book I, chap. iv, p. 56, this is differently stated, but apparently it is so through an error in the mode of expression.

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It is to weigh, in the presence of the Commander and his counsel, and to examine carefully, each *maund*, skein by skein, to see if there is any fraud in the weight or quality. When that is done the Vice-Commander and those who are appointed under him to make this examination are obliged to attach to each bale a statement of the weight and quality; and when the bale is opened in HOLLAND, if there is anything wanting in either of these respects, those who have affixed the statement are obliged to pay the deficit.

Frauds practised in Indigo.

I have said[1] that the natives withdraw the paste from the baskets containing the indigo, and mould it, with the fingers steeped in oil, into pieces, which are then exposed in the sun to dry. The Indians who wish to cheat the merchants place the pieces on the sand to dry, so that the sand attaches itself and the indigo then weighs more. They also sometimes place the paste in damp ground, which makes it moist and consequently heavier. But when the Governor of the place discovers these frauds, he inflicts a heavy fine. Such frauds are easily discovered by a Broker and Commander experienced in the trade in this kind of merchandise by burning some morsels of indigo, after which the sand which remains becomes visible.

I have still to make a somewhat curious remark touching the brokers of INDIA. These brokers are commonly, as it were, chiefs of their families, for whom they hold all the property in trust to turn it to

[1] See p. 11.

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account. For that reason those who have both the most years and experience are selected, so that they may be able to obtain benefits for all the kinsmen, being both the depositaries and the guardians of their goods. Every evening, after they have returned from their business, and, according to the custom of the Indians, who do not sup, have eaten some sweetmeats and drunk a cup of water, the oldest of the kinsmen assemble at the house of the broker, who renders an account of what he has done during the day, and they hold counsel together as to what should be done in the future. He is especially exhorted to take care of their business, and if possible to defraud rather than be defrauded.

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CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Methods to be observed for establishing a new Commercial Company in the EAST INDIES.[1]

SHOULD any nation desire to establish a Commercial Company in the EAST INDIES, before all things it ought to secure a good station in the country in order to be in a position to refit its ships, and to lay them by during the seasons when one is unable to go to sea. This want of a good harbour is the reason why the English Company has not progressed so well as it might have done, because it is impossible that a vessel can last for two years without being refitted, being subject to be eaten by worms.

But since the journey from EUROPE to the EAST INDIES is long, it is desirable that the Company should have some place at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE for watering and obtaining supplies of food, both when going and returning from the INDIES, but especially when returning, because, as the vessels are then loaded, they are unable to carry a supply of water sufficient for a long time. In the meantime the Dutch have removed this advantage from the [reach of] other nations, by means of the fort which they have built at the CAPE, and the English have done the same thing at ST.

[1] This chapter is also introduced into the supplementary volume of Tavernier's travels entitled *Recüeil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux*, etc., where it is somewhat modified in details.

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HELENA, although, by the law of nations and the general consent of the people of EUROPE, liberty to use these two places of refreshment has been for many years equally free to the whole world. Nevertheless, there may still be some mouth of a river near the CAPE where another fort might be constructed, and this position would be worth more than all that can be made in the island of DAUFINE,[1] where there is no trade except in the purchase of cattle for the sake of their hides. But this trade is so insignificant that it would quickly ruin any company, and the French have hitherto engaged in it without any advantage to themselves.

The conjecture which causes me to make the above suggestion is founded on the fact that in the year 1648 two Portuguese vessels coming from LISBON to INDIA, desiring to touch at the CAPE to take in water, and not taking their observations correctly, the sea being very high, entered a bay 18 or 20 leagues from the CAPE on the western side. They found in this bay a river, the water of which is very good, and the negroes of the country brought them supplies of all kinds of river-birds, fish, and beef. They remained there about fifteen days, and before leaving took two of the inhabitants to convey them to GOA, in order to teach them Portuguese, and endeavour to draw from them some information as to the trade which could be carried on there.[2] The Dutch Com-

[1] The island of Daufine of the original stands doubtless for the Fort of Dauphin, on the south-east coast of Madagascar. It was held by the French for some years, but was afterwards abandoned.

[2] The details in vol. i, p. 216, differ from those here given. The distance is there stated to be 30 leagues from the Cape; the only conclusion which can be drawn is that this bay was a part of, or in the vicinity of, Table Bay.

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mander at SURAT asked me to go to GOA, in order to ascertain what the Portuguese had learnt from these two negroes; but a French engineer named SAINT AMAND,[1] who had the supervision of the forts at GOA, told me that they had not been able to teach them a single word of the language, and had only guessed from their signs that they knew ambergris and elephant's tusks. The Portuguese, nevertheless, did not doubt that they would find gold if they were able to trade with the interior. The revolution in PORTUGAL and the wars with SPAIN have prevented them from examining this coast more particularly, and it is to be desired that the Company should examine it carefully without giving offence to the Dutch, or allowing them to suspect its object.

It is, moreover, necessary that the Company should have a port near SURAT to withdraw and refit its vessels, in case they are delayed by the rainy season. The reason is, that during this bad weather, when it is almost impossible to withstand (the violence of) the sea, the MOGUL, for fear of danger to his fortress at SURAT, does not allow any foreign vessel into the river, where otherwise, when unladen, they might remain protected from the destructive storms which last for nearly five months.

The only place suitable for the withdrawal of the vessels of the Company is the town of DIU,[2] which belongs to the Portuguese. The advantages of its position are considerable for many reasons. The area of the town includes nearly 400 houses, and is capable of affording dwellings sufficiently numerous, and where

[1] Called St. Amant in vol. i, p. 204, and elsewhere.

[2] Diu, see vol. i, p. 6.

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the (crews of the) vessels would find all they required during their sojourn. It is situated on the coast of GUJARÁT, at the point of the GULF OF CAMBAY, and faces towards the south-east. Its shape is nearly circular, and more than half the circle is surrounded by the sea. It is not commanded by any elevation, and the Portuguese have built some fortifications on the land side which might be easily completed. It has numerous wells of good water, and also a river which falls into the sea near the town, the water of which is better than that of SURAT and of SUWÁLI,[1] and the shelter is very commodious for vessels.

The Portuguese, on their first establishment in INDIA, kept a fleet at DIU composed of galleys, brigantines, and smaller vessels, with which they made themselves, for a very long time, masters of all the commerce of the places which are about to be enumerated, so that no one was able to trade without taking out a passport from the Governor of DIU, who franked it in the name of the Viceroy of PORTUGAL at GOA. The revenue which he obtained from these passports sufficed to support the fleet and garrison, and the Governor, who was only appointed for three years, did not omit to accumulate wealth for himself during that time.

Thus, according to the forces that one might establish in this place, one would derive great benefit. The Portuguese, feeble as they are at present, do not fail to profit from not having to pay duty for the money which they carry into the Kingdoms of the GREAT MOGUL and the King of BIJAPUR, nor for the goods which they take there.

[1] Suwali or Swally, see vol. i, p. 6.

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When the rainy season is over, the wind being nearly always north or north-east, you can go from DIU to SURAT in light boats in three or four tides, but if large vessels are laden, it is necessary for them to coast all round.

A man on foot going by land to a small village named the GAUGES,[1] and from thence crossing the end of the Gulf, can go from DIU to SURAT in four or five days, but if the season prevents him from making this passage, he cannot go from DIU to SURAT in less than seven to eight days, because he must then make the circuit of the Gulf.

The town does not possess any territory outside the boundaries, but it would not be difficult to arrange with the *Raja*, or Governor of the Province, and obtain from him as much as may be required for the convenience of the inhabitants. The soil of the neighbourhood is not fertile, and the population around is the poorest in all the Empire of the MOGUL. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of cattle in the jungles, with which the country is covered, so that a buffalo or a cow does not cost more than 2 *piastres*.[2] The English and the Dutch use these cattle to feed their people, and to save the provision of their vessels during their sojourn at SUWÁLI.

It is well to remark that experience has shown that the flesh of buffaloes[3] often causes dysentery, which is

[1] Probably Gogo or Goga on the western side of the Gulf of Cambay. There is another locality of somewhat similar name too, namely Gajna, near the point where the Narbadá joins the Máhi Ságar, about 20 miles west of Baroda (A.S. 22 S.E.)

[2] *I.e.* about 9s.

[3] I believe it to be the case that both the flesh and milk of buffaloes are at times, if not always, unwholesome. In most parts of India there is a strong dislike among Europeans against using either.

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calculated to be most injurious to crews, but the flesh of cows never gives rise to it.

The *Raja* who rules the country bears the title of Governor for life; and this is the case with nearly all the *Rajas* in the Empire of the MOGUL, who were the nobles of the Provinces where their descendants only have the title of Governors. He treats the Portuguese well, because their position as neighbours brings him in money by the sale of his corn, rice, and vegetables, and for the same reason he treats the French still better.

After the establishment of such a position, which should be the principal basis of the trade of the Company, there is nothing more important than to select two men, marked by their wisdom, rectitude, and intelligence in trade, and there should be no regard for economy in their appointments. These two men are for the service of the Company, one in the position of Commandant or Commander, as the Dutch entitle them, with a council of a certain number of persons to be given him for his assistance; the other for the office of broker or merchant, who should be a native of the country, an idolater and not a Muhammadan, because all the workmen with whom he will have to do are idolaters. Good manners and probity are above all things necessary in order to acquire confidence at first among these people. It is necessary to seek to obtain the same qualities in the private brokers, who are under the direction of the Broker-general, in the provinces where the offices of correspondents are established.

Intelligence is not less necessary for these two men, in order that they may detect any adulteration in the manufacture of the goods. It arises, as I have said,

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either from the wickedness of the workmen and merchants or from the connivance of the sub-brokers with them. This adulteration may cause so much injury to the Company that private brokers profit by it sometimes from 10 to 12 per cent. If the Commander and the Broker-general connive together it is very difficult for the Company to guard against this fraud, but if they are both faithful and wise it will be easy to remedy it by changing the private brokers.

The unfaithfulness which these officers are able to commit against the Company is this. When a vessel arrives in port, the letters of the Company and the bills of lading are handed to him who commands on shore for the particular nation. This Commander assembles his Council, and sends for the broker and gives him a copy of the bill of lading.

The broker communicates it to two or three of the merchants who are in the habit of buying wholesale. If the broker and the Commander connive together to profit, the broker, instead of expediting the sale as he ought, tells these merchants privately that they have only to keep firm and offer such a price.

Then the Commander sends for the broker and these two or three merchants. He asks them in the presence of his Council what they offer for the goods mentioned in the bills of lading which have been communicated to them. If the merchants persist in saying that they will only give so much, the Commander postpones the sale for fifteen days, more or less, according as he has reason for being pressed to sell. He causes these merchants to come many times, merely for the look of the thing, and he then takes the advice of the Council in order to save appearances, and for his

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own protection; after which he orders the goods to be sold at the merchant's prices.

But although the temptation is great for these two officers, on account of their power, the frequent opportunities, and the absence of their superiors from whom it is easy to conceal the truth, the Company is able, besides, by making a careful selection of these two persons, to remedy this disorder by removing the pretext which the Dutch Commanders and brokers urge, which is that they are constrained to sell quickly to the merchants, wholesale, to avoid the costs of delay.

The fault which the Dutch make is, that their officers order to be made on credit from year to year all the goods which they wish to export from the MOGUL Empire, according to the instructions they have received from BATAVIA. The credit for this advance costs them sometimes 12, sometimes 15 per cent, so that as soon as their vessels, laden with merchandise, have arrived at the port where they are due, they are obliged to sell promptly at the price which the wholesale merchants offer to the brokers in order to obtain immediate funds to repay the advances which have been made for the preparation of the goods which their vessels carry away, and to obtain credit for the manufacture of the following year.

It is this which gives opportunity for the understanding between the Commanders and their brokers with the merchants, who profit by the necessity which forces the sales, and besides, this private profit diminishes that of the Company, and a part of the clearest gain is expended in paying the interest of this loan of which we are about to speak. For this interest mounts, from time to time, more or less, according as the Commander

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and the broker agree to make it increase. In the event of French vessels carrying the same goods as the Dutch, they should carry in addition money for the advances to the artisans who work in the provinces, and for a part of the price of the goods which are being made for the following year.

The Company by making this advance will not pay the high interest on the loan, namely 12 to 15 per cent, which the Dutch pay; it will have the very best goods and at the best price. All the artisans will work more willingly for it on account of this ready money.

The cargo of the vessels will be in readiness before they arrive in port. Being quickly laden they will be able to seize the good season for their return. The Company will not be compelled by necessity to sell at a bad price to three or four local wholesale merchants who have made themselves masters of the trade, whereas its brokers will be enabled to await the arrival of foreign merchants who will come to carry away its goods, or rather, because they will have the means to have them exported to the places where they will themselves be able to dispose of them.

It should be remarked, besides, that it is profitable to carry gold and silver to INDIA in bullion rather than in coin, because gold and silver are not valued in INDIA except by their standard, and because there is always a deduction on coined money on account of the cost of minting.[1]

Should the broker be unfaithful, he is, moreover, able to come to an understanding with the master of the MOGUL'S mint, established in every port in the Empire, and to value the gold or silver, coined or in

[1] See Book I, chap. ii.

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bars, at a lower standard than it really is, by telling the Commander and his Council that in the assay which has been made at the mint it is found to be only of such a standard.

But it is easy to prevent this fraud, provided that the Commander is upright and intelligent, if he sends for one of the native refiners of gold and silver, who can easily be found, and who understand how to assay metals perfectly, and if he has it done in his own presence.[1]

This is what the Sieur Waikenton did for the Dutch Company, in whose name he held a factory at KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where he received each year from 6000 to 7000 bales of silk. He ascertained by this test that his broker, having an understanding with the master of the mint, cheated him of 1½ or 2 per cent on the quality of the gold and silver which was brought to him from Japan, whether it was in bar or in coin, and that the Company had been defrauded of considerable sums.

The broker is able to defraud also by having an understanding with the master of the mint, or with him who weighs the gold and silver in bars, coin, or

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. Twigg of the N. W. P. Civil Service, for the following account of the operations of one of these native assayers, as witnessed by himself. The object assayed was an ornament consisting of an alloy of gold and silver, which was first hammered out thin; it was then heated in nitric acid, the vessel used being a broken glazed English tea-cup; after some time, the silver being then dissolved out, the thin plate of gold was removed and fused with borax, the furnace being an old clay potsherd, and the fuel charcoal burnt under a mouth blow-pipe. The resulting gold button was then weighed, and the silver was precipitated by means of a piece of copper thrown into the solution. The nitric acid had been prepared by distillation of a mixture of saltpetre and iron sulphide (Pyrites).

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dust, by employing too heavy weights, or scales which are not true.

It is easy to prevent this fraud if the Commander, assisted by his Council, has them weighed in his presence with a scale and weights proved and stamped, which he keeps by him for the purpose.

One of the most important observations that is to be made on the commerce of the proposed Company and the discipline of its factors is this :—

It should forbid the merchants, sub-merchants, the scribes, and sub-scribes, who serve under the Commanders, and the brokers, and also these superior officers, from doing any trade on their own private accounts, because having communication with all the artisans, and obtaining by the correspondence from the other factories information as to the articles of merchandise which will be good for sale in the following year, they do not fail to purchase them on their own account, and ship them on the vessels of the Company to the address of their correspondents, who share the gain therefrom.

The Commander being himself interested, either by closing his eyes, or by a too great laxity, permits them to make this profit on account of their poor salaries.[1] The captain of the vessel is in league with them, because he secretly derives some advantage for allowing them to load and unload. And inasmuch as these officers have but little capital, and desire to receive the price on the return of the vessel, they direct their correspondents to sell at from 8 to 10 per cent below market price, which they can easily do, because, as I shall say further on, they do not pay custom dues

[1] See p. 48.

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either at SURAT or at GOMBROON, and because they gain by this means about 26 per cent; and so this causes a considerable injury to the Company, and particularly to foreign merchants.

To remedy this disorder it is requisite to profit by the mistake of the Dutch, and to do that which they now practise, having realised the extent of this injury after an experience of many years. For, in fine, the Commander is not ignorant of the profit which there is for officials of the house when they load the goods of foreigners on the vessels of the Company, be it for HORMUZ, for BASSORA, for MOCHA, or other places. With respect to MOCHA on the RED SEA, the merchants who trade there are allowed one bale free of customs; it is for this reason that among their bales they have always one five or six times larger than the others, which ten or twelve men have difficulty in carrying.

The freight of some vessels amounts to 60,000 rupees, and when the Commander and broker are in league, they sometimes make a third, and even as much as a half, as their profits, over and above which a vessel never leaves without the Commander and his wife presenting some rewards to their most faithful servants and slaves of both sexes. To one they give permission to ship six bales, to another eight, and to another ten, more or less, and as the bales in these countries pay freight according to the value of the goods, when a merchant has any bale of great value, amounting sometimes to 20,000 rupees, he agrees for the freight at the best price he is able, and abates one half, at least, with one of these servants or slaves who has received this free permission from his master or mistress.

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The pursers also take part in it, but as for the merchants and sub-merchants, they disdain for the most part these small profits, and content themselves with their own shipments. Otherwise, by another artifice, when a merchant has some bales of rich goods, as of those DECCAN caps, which are sometimes worth as much as 400 *écus*, or of these *ornis*[1] of BURHÁNPUR, of which I have spoken above, which serve to make veils for the ladies of PERSIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, and other places in ASIA and EUROPE—when, I say, a merchant has some bales of valuable goods which should pay high duty to the Prince of the place where they are to be loaded, as soon as they are on board, the purser and captain, who are in league with the merchant, place on each the Company's mark, and after reaching the store of the place where they have been landed with the goods of the Company, they are removed at night in secret to the house of the merchant.

These people are able, moreover, to make use of still another artifice. If the merchant is a friend of the Commander he settles with him, and pretending to have bought the bales of merchandise from the Company, which is free from all custom, he is released by paying the 2 per cent, the same as all those who have bought goods from the Company.[2]

The following is the remedy which can be brought to bear on this irregularity. It is necessary to establish in the principal factory a fiscal counsellor to act in the name of the King and by his authority. He should be

[1] Ornis (see vol. i, p. 52).

[2] The preceding four paragraphs are omitted in the reprint in the *Recüeil.*

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independent of the General of the Company, in order that he may have the right to keep an eye upon his actions as upon those of the least of the officers.

A man of position is required for this post, who will be resolute and watchful, and who has under him a representative at each factory. Each of these representatives, in the exercise of his duties, should observe what is indicated in the following articles :—

As soon as he sees a vessel belonging to the Company in the offing, he should go at once, or sometimes, according to the season, he should await till it has cast anchor.

Then the captain of the vessel should deliver no letter to any other person, but should place all in the hands of the representative, who will deliver those of the Company to the Commander.

He should take two or three persons with him, who will remain on the vessel until it is unloaded, to see that all that is landed belongs to the Company. It is especially necessary that he should take care that the people whom he takes with him do not get drunk, for it often happens on these occasions that the officers of the vessel purposely intoxicate them when they have some contraband goods to send off the vessel, which they cleverly give to the fishing boats which bring them fish and other supplies ; this is done generally at night.

If it is a place where there are neighbouring islands, as the time is approximately known when the vessels ought to arrive, the representative of the Fiscal Counsellor should send beforehand, as far off as he can, two or three small boats, to be on the look-out round these islands, and as soon as they have dis-

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covered the vessel, they should join her, to prevent any contraband goods being landed in the islands, to which the bribed persons might come to carry them secretly to whomsoever they are addressed.

He should confiscate all that he discovers in the vessel not bearing the mark of the Company, or which does not belong to foreign merchants.

He should be able to dismiss from his post the officer to whom the goods belong, if a subaltern; but if it is one of the superiors he should give notice of it to the Chief of the Factory, who, with his Council, will be able to degrade him from his office and confiscate his salary.

He may order all letters of private persons to be opened to detect this contraband trade and the parties to it. This is why the captain of the vessel is obliged to hand them over to him; but he may not open the Company's letters.

The (proceeds of this) confiscation of goods should be applied, one third to the poor of the nation, another third to the Company, and the remainder to the Fiscal and his officers, and this it is which the Dutch do.

He will also represent the King in all criminal and civil processes which come before the Commander and his Council, and he will be able to requisition and take part in the name of his Majesty in all kinds of actions.

Provided always that this officer is vigilant and a man of integrity, he will be able to render considerable service to the Company.

If the English had established such an one in their factories, they would have had greater profit; but the officers of that nation pretend that there is no superior

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power capable of withdrawing the privilege from them after they have once completed their apprenticeship in LONDON, and hold the certificate of their master of having served him well for seven years.[1]

This injunction against private trade cannot be too strictly imposed. It is observed to-day with so much strictness amongst the Dutch that when a vessel of that Company is ready to leave AMSTERDAM, a Burgomaster administers to the captain and all on board a solemn oath that they will content themselves with their wages, two months' of which are given in advance, and that they will not trade on their own account; but the conduct of the Company in respect to their wages compels them, in spite of their oaths, to aid themselves by secret traffic to subsist while in their employment.

This is the artifice which they make use of to satisfy their consciences. When they have arrived in INDIA, and see themselves in the way of obtaining some good employment, they marry as quickly as possible, and trade secretly in their wives' names; this is not always permitted. And they imagine that in this way their conscience is relieved. But they are sometimes caught, and I shall give a somewhat amusing example of it, from among many others which I could recount.

[1] The salaries of the English Company's officials at this period, as stated by Dr. John Fryer, were so small that one would suppose that they could have hardly subsisted without having some private opportunities for trade. The writers had to serve five years for £10 per annum, factors had £20 for three years, merchants £40 during their stay in the service, besides free food and lodging. The President received £500 a year, of which half was reserved at home to be confiscated in case of misdemeanour, in addition to his bond of £5000. (*New Account*, Calcutta Ed., p. 70.)

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The captain of a vessel,[1] a rich man, who troubled himself little about making court to the wives of the Chiefs of the Company, became a butt for their attacks, and was one day stung by some remarks made by Madame la Générale, who was talking to him at BATAVIA in the presence of many ladies, for which, without saying a word then, and well knowing all their intrigues, he resolved to avenge himself on the first occasion, which offered itself in this manner.

When this captain was about to return from PULICAT to BATAVIA, the wife of the Governor of the former place, who was in league with Madame la Générale in some private trade, believing that the captain was one of her friends, begged him to ship secretly eight bales of very valuable goods, and to have particular care that they were not wetted, in order to take them to BATAVIA; this the captain promised to do, and he placed the bales in a separate place.

Having arrived at BATAVIA, he went first, according to custom, to salute the General and to hand him the letters belonging to the Company. The General is in the habit of keeping the captains to dinner or to supper, according to the hour of their arrival. There are always present on these occasions some Councillors of INDIA, to hear the news, who remain to dine with the General.

At the close of the repast the General asked the captain what news he had from PULICAT, and if the Governor and his wife had not asked for anything to be done for them. "Nothing," replied the captain coldly, "except that Madame, the Governor's wife,

[1] This story is also told in the *Histoire de la Conduite des Hollandois en Asie*, chap. vi, where the General is called Matsuker and the captain Lucifer!

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specially charged me with eight bales of goods, and to keep a good eye on them, so that they should not get damp, being articles of great value, and to deliver them on my arrival into the hands of Madame la Générale." This little-expected reply much surprised the General and those of the Council who were dining with him, and still more Madame la Générale, to whom the husband, turning, asked somewhat rudely if she carried on trade with the wife of the Governor of PULICAT, which, according to the laws of the Company, would have been criminal. Madame la Générale having stoutly defended herself, protesting that she knew nothing of what the captain had said, the General then told the latter that he must be mistaken, and there and then ordered the Fiscal to go and seize the bales, and expose them on the quay to see if they would be claimed by any merchant. After they had remained there for some days without any one presenting himself to ask for them, they were confiscated; and thus, without great noise, the captain had his revenge for the displeasure he had received at the hands of Madame la Générale.[1]

All the subaltern officers of the Factories should be promoted by steps, from that of the post of sub-writer to that of Commander, so that the expectation of this promotion should encourage them to live well, and acquire all the niceties and details of the Indian trade in order to qualify for the highest posts.

It is of the greatest importance not to show any favour in this, and that interest should not give advancement to any one without his having passed through all the steps; for one of the things which does most injury

[1] The previous four paragraphs are omitted in the *Recüeil.*

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to the Dutch trade is that for some years back the higher classes in HOLLAND have sent their sons to INDIA to seek for the posts which secret trade makes so profitable. The access which they obtain, be it to the principal officers or to their wives, whose power is great in this country, causes them to be preferred, when any post becomes vacant, to those who have no other recommendation than that of their long services.

It is true that some years ago the General at BATAVIA and his Council, seeing the injury this did to the Company, wrote to the Directors that they may send people to INDIA of whatever quality they please, but that they should not send any more with recommendations; that in the future they would be of no avail, but would rather injure the advancement of their friends, it not being fair that favour should precede merit; that the General and his Council had sufficiently good eyes to recognise the fitness of those sent, and would employ them according as they were worthy and as it was considered proper.

These are all the remarks which I have been able to make in reference to the discipline of the Factories and the methods that a new Company ought to observe for its establishment in the EAST INDIES.

But I was forgetting one thing, which is of importance for a commercial Company, and to which it should pay attention. Up to this hour the Dutch observe this precaution, that they send to INDIA neither captain nor pilot who has not passed through all degrees, from a simple ship's boy up to the most important charge, and does not know how to take observations, and is not thoroughly acquainted with the coasts. Moreover these captains are not of delicate constitutions, and

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content themselves for food with a piece of cheese or a slice of beef which has been in pickle for two or three years. And truly they are to be imitated in that respect. It is altogether different with some other nations, who often place on vessels captains who have never seen the sea, and whom favour alone immediately elevates to this post. In addition to which, when they embark they generally require elaborate cuisine appliances, plenty of sheep, calves, fowl, and turkeys, which consume much water, and soil the vessel with their droppings. Economy is the great support of commercial Companies, and it is an article to which those who are Directors should give their particular attention.

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CHAPTER XV

Concerning diamonds, and the mines and rivers where they are found; and especially of the Author's Journey to the Mine of RAMULKOTA.[1]

THE diamond is the most precious of all stones, and it is the article of trade to which I am most devoted. In order to acquire a thorough knowledge of it I resolved to visit all the mines, and one of the two rivers where it is found; and as the fear of dangers has never restrained me in any of my journeys, the terrible picture that was drawn of these mines, as being in barbarous countries to which one could not travel except by the most dangerous routes, served neither to terrify me nor to turn me from my intention. I have accordingly been at *four* mines,[2] of which I am

[1] This is Raolconda in the original; for its identification with the modern Ramulkota, properly Rámallakota, see Book II, chap. xviii, p. 94.

[2] The four mines appear to have been—1, Ramulkota (Raolconda); 2, Kollur (*Coulour* or *Gani*); 3, *Soumelpour;* and 4, the locality on the Kistna between Ramulkota and Kollur, which, as pointed out in chap. xvi, p. 78, may have been a deserted mine near Damárapád and Malawaram. The point is not quite clear, as in chap. xviii *two* mines near Ramulkota are mentioned, but there cannot be said to be descriptions of more than three mines in the text. There is ample reason for believing that the diamond mines existing in India in Tavernier's time were far more numerous than he had any conception of (see *Economic Geology of India*, pp. 1-50, and *Appendix* to this volume). The two rivers he mentions seem to be—1, the Pennair River, below Gandikot, probably in the neighbourhood of Chenur (see vol. i, p. 288); and 2, the river he did not visit, which was in Borneo (see chap. xvii).

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about to give descriptions, and at one of the two rivers whence diamonds are obtained, and I have encountered there neither the difficulties nor the barbarities with which those imperfectly acquainted with the country had sought to terrify me. Thus I am able to claim that I have cleared the way for others, and that I am the first European who has opened the route for the *Franks*[1] to these mines, which are

[1] Tavernier was not aware that he had been preceded by other European visitors to the mines, *e.g.* Cæsar Frederick and Methold (see p. 72 *n.*), and, as stated in the previous note, he was probably mistaken as to these being the only mines in India which were known in his time; besides many in Southern India, those at Panna in Bundelkhand, Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, and Wairágarh—the Beiragarh of the *Ain-i-Akbari*—were almost certainly open then. We have, too, evidence of the working of a mine by a European at an earlier date. A paper presented by the Earl Marshal of England to the Royal Society (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907) states that about the commencement of the seventeenth century (say 1610) a Portuguese gentleman went to Currure, *i.e.* Wajra Karur in the Bellary District, and expended a large sum of money, namely 100,000 *pagodas*, in searching for diamonds without success. He then sold everything he had with him, even to his clothes, and on the last day upon which he could pay the wages of the workmen he had prepared a cup of poison which he intended to take that night if no diamonds were found. In the evening a fine stone of 26 *pagodas'* weight was brought to him by the workmen. The figures given in the paper indicate a value of 53 troy grains for the *pagoda*; at that rate 26 *pagodas* would be equal to 1378 troy grains, or 434.7 carats. The recognised equivalent of the *pagoda* is something less, namely 52.56 troy grains (Kelly, *Universal Cambist*). In the same mine, we are told, diamonds of a *seize* (? *Seer*) weight, namely 9 ounces troy, or 81½ *pagodas*, *i.e.* 1362.6 carats, had been found; and as Mir Jumla took possession of this mine, together with the Carnatic, one cannot help suggesting that it may have been here that the Great Mogul's diamond was found, although Kollur is particularly mentioned by Tavernier as the mine which produced it. To return to the above-mentioned Portuguese, he took the stone with him to Goa, and to commemorate its discovery put up a stone tablet, on which the following lines were engraved in the Telegu language:—

"Your wife and children sell, sell what you have,
Spare not your clothes, nay, make yourself a slave,
But money get, then to CURRURE make haste,
There search the mines, a prize you'll find at last."

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the only places in the world where the diamond is found.[1]

The first of the mines which I visited is situated in the territory of the King of BIJAPUR in the Province of CARNATIC, and the locality is called RAMULKOTA,[2] situated five days' journey from GOLCONDA,[3] and eight or nine from BIJAPUR. The fact that the two Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR were formerly subject to the MOGUL, and were then only Governors of the Provinces which they acquired by their revolt, caused it to be said, and makes it said still by some people, that the diamonds come from the Kingdom of the GREAT MOGUL. It is only about 200 years since this mine of RAMULKOTA was discovered, at least so far as I have been able to ascertain from the people of the country.[4]

All round the place where the diamonds are found the soil is sandy, and full of rocks and jungle, somewhat comparable to the neighbourhood of FONTAINEBLEAU. There are in these rocks many veins, some of half a finger in width and some of a whole finger; and the

[1] He here forgets Borneo (see chap. xvii).

[2] Raolconda in the original. By means of the route given on p. 94 this locality has been identified with Ramulkota, about 20 miles south of Karnul (Kurnool), where excavations are to be seen to this day (*vide Economic Geology of India*, p. 15). The position is fairly indicated on the small map of India which accompanies the Revised French Edition of *Tavernier's Travels*, published at Rouen in 1713. The identification both of it and Coulour have foiled many investigators both in this and the last century. But it is needless to refer here to the various suggestions as to their identification, as the question is now fully set at rest by the identification of the stages on the routes to these mines.

[3] On p. 94 the distance is given as being 17 *gos* or 68 French leagues. The true distance by the direct route is about 120 English miles.

[4] This evidence for the antiquity of the mine is of but little value, and cannot be relied on.

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miners have small irons, crooked at the ends, which they thrust into the veins in order to draw from them the sand or earth,[1] which they place in vessels; and it is in this earth that they afterwards find the diamonds. But as the veins do not always run straight, and some ascend, while others descend, they are obliged to break the rocks, always following the direction of the veins. After they have opened them out, and have removed the earth or sand which may be there, they then commence to wash it two or three times, and search in it for whatever diamonds it may contain. It is in this mine that the cleanest and whitest watered diamonds are found; but the evil is that in order to extract the sand more easily from the rocks they strike such blows with a heavy iron crowbar that it fractures the diamonds, and gives rise to flaws. It is for this reason that so many thin stones come from this mine, for when the miners see a stone in which the flaw is of some size, they immediately cleave it, that is to say split it, at which they are much more accomplished than we are. These are the stones which we call thin ("*foible*"), which make a great show. If the stone is clean they do not do more than just touch it with the wheel above and below, and do not venture to give it any form, for fear of reducing the weight. But if it has a small flaw, or any spots, or small black or red grit, they cover the whole of the stone with facettes in order that its defects may not be seen, and if it has a very small flaw they conceal it by the edge of one of the facettes. But it

[1] This description and what follows indicate that the mining was carried on in the rock, not in detrital beds. It is, indeed, now known that the matrix at Ramulkota is an old pebble conglomerate belonging to the "Karnul" series.

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should be remarked that the merchant prefers a black point in a stone to a red one. When there is a red one the stone is roasted, and the point becomes black. This trick was at length so well understood by me that when I examined a parcel of stones which came from this mine, and saw that there were facettes on any of them, especially small facettes, I was certain that there was some speck or flaw in the stone.

There are at this mine numerous diamond-cutters, and each has only a steel wheel of about the size of our plates. They place but one stone on each wheel, and pour water incessantly on the wheel until they have found the "grain" of the stone.[1] The "grain" being found, they pour on oil and do not spare diamond dust, although it is expensive, in order to make the stone run faster, and they weight it much more heavily than we do.

I have known them to weight a stone with 150 *livres* of lead. It is true that it was a large stone, which still weighed 103 carats after it had been cut, and that the mill was like ours, the large wheel of which was turned by four blacks. The Indians are not of the same opinion as we are, in that they do not believe that weighting them causes flaws in the stones. If theirs do not receive any it is because they always have a small boy who, holding in his hand a very thin wooden spoon, anoints the wheel incessantly with oil and diamond powder. Added to which their wheel does not go so fast as ours, because the wooden wheel which causes the steel one to revolve is seldom more than 3 feet in diameter.

[1] The word in the original is *chemin*, or "way" of the stone. It refers to the discovery of the position of the lines of cleavage, which determines the method to be adopted in the treatment of the stone.

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The Indians are unable to give the stones so lively a polish as we give them in EUROPE; and this, I believe, is due to the fact that their wheel does not run so smoothly as ours. For, being made of steel, in order to grind it on the emery, of which it has need every twenty-four hours, it has to be taken off the tree, and it cannot be replaced so as to run as evenly as it should do. If they possessed the iron wheel as we do, for which one does not require emery but the file, it not being necessary to remove it from the tree in order to file it, they could give the stones a better polish than they do.

I have stated that it is necessary to rub the wheel with emery or to file it every twenty-four hours, and it is desirable that it should be done every twelve hours if the workman is not lazy. For when the stone has run a certain time the part of the wheel where it has pressed becomes polished like a mirror, and if the place be not roughened by emery or the file, the powder does not stick to it. When it remains one does more work in one hour than in two when there is not any on the wheel.

Although a particular diamond may be by nature hard, having, so to speak, a kind of knot,[1] such as is seen in wood, the Indian diamond-cutters would not hesitate to cut such a stone, although our diamond-cutters in Europe would experience great difficulty in

[1] Certain points of a stone are often found to be exceptionally hard, as, for instance, when a facet is cut on the angle where two cleavage planes meet, or, so to speak, across the grain of the stone. (See p. 57 *n.*) A difficulty of this nature is mentioned by Messrs. Garrard as having been experienced when the *Koh-i-nur* was recut. (See Professor Tennant's lecture *On Gems and Precious Stones*, Society of Arts, 1852, p. 86.)

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doing so, and as a general rule would be unwilling to undertake it; but one pays the Indians something extra for their trouble.

I come to the government at the mines. Business is conducted with freedom and fidelity. Two per cent on all purchases is paid to the King, who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine. These merchants having prospected with the aid of the miners, who know the spots where the diamonds are to be found, take an area of about 200 paces in circumference, where they employ fifty miners, and sometimes a hundred if they wish the work to proceed rapidly. From the day that they commence mining till they finish the merchants pay a duty of 2 *pagodas*[1] *per diem* for fifty men, and 4 *pagodas* when they employ a hundred men.

These poor people only earn 3 *pagodas*[2] per annum, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work. As their wages are so small they do not manifest any scruple, when searching in the sand, about concealing a stone for themselves when they can, and being naked, save for a small cloth which covers their private parts, they adroitly contrive to swallow it.[3] The chief of all the merchants who embark in mining

[1] Say 16s.

[2] Equal to about one rupee or 27 pence per mensem, or less than a penny a day. In some remote parts of India labour can still be obtained at about that rate, or from 3 *pice* to an *anna*, *i.e.* 1⅛d. to 1½d.

[3] Owing to the belief which exists in India that diamond dust is a poison, it is thought by some persons that native miners would not swallow diamonds. I have seen several authentic records of their having done so. Garcia de Orta, for instance, refers to cases as evidence that the diamond is not poisonous. Once a diamond had been smuggled away from the mines, its possessor was not only safe, but if it was of large size, and he offered it to either the King of Golconda or the King of Bijapur, he had every

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one day pointed out to me one of these miners, who had worked for him for many years, and who had stolen a stone from him which weighed a *mangelin*, *i.e.* nearly two of our carats.[1] He had concealed it in the corner of his eye, but it was taken from him as soon as the theft was discovered. In order to prevent these knavish tricks there are always twelve to fifteen watchmen employed by the merchants to see that they are not defrauded of anything.

If by chance a stone is found which weighs above 7 to 8 *mangelins*, it is taken to the master of the mine, who by way of recompence gives a *sarpo*,[2] which is a piece of cotton cloth to make a turban, of the value of 25 to 30 *sols*,[3] and generally with it half a *pagoda* in silver, or otherwise a *pagoda*,[4] when rice and a plate of sugar are not given.

The merchants who go to the mine to buy, remain in their dwellings, and every morning at from 10 to 11 o'clock the masters of the miners, after they have dined (for the *Banians* never leave their houses till they have washed and eaten), take their diamonds to show to them. If the parcels are large, and contain many stones of the value of from 2000 up to 15,000 or 16,000 *écus*,[5] they leave them, confiding them to the foreign merchant for seven or eight days or more in order that he may examine them with care. When the

chance of selling it well, and being presented with a robe of honour. (See the *Account of the Diamonds, etc.*, presented to the Royal Society by the Earl Marshal of England, *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907.)

[1] See Appendix, vol. i.

[2] This is *Sirpão*, or more properly *Sar-o-pá*, a complete dress of honour, from head to foot. (See Yule in *Hedge's Diary*, vol. i, p. 136 *n.*)

[3] 1s. 10½d. to 2s. 3d.

[4] About 8s., if new *pagodas*.

[5] £450 to £3600.

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stones have been examined, and are returned by the merchant, if they suit him he should conclude the transaction at once, otherwise the owner of the stones wraps them in a corner of his waistband, his turban, or his shirt, and departs, so that one never sees the same stones again, or at least they are mixed with others, should the miner return in order to bring another parcel. When the transaction is concluded the purchaser gives an order for payment on the *Shroff* or person who issues and receives bills of exchange. If you have agreed to pay in three or four days, and delay longer, you have to pay interest at the rate of 1½ per cent per month. Most frequently, when the merchant is known to be solvent, a bill of exchange on AGRA, GOLCONDA, or BIJAPUR is preferred, but more especially one upon SURAT, where, as it is the most famous port in INDIA, the dealers desire to purchase the commodities which come in vessels from foreign countries, and which are suitable for their wants.

It is very pleasant to see the young children of these merchants and of other people of the country, from the age of ten years up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, assemble every morning under a large tree which is in the square of the town. Each has his diamond weights in a little bag suspended on one side, and on the other a purse attached to his waistband, which contains as much as 500 or 600 gold *pagodas*. They seat themselves there awaiting the arrival of any one who wishes to sell diamonds, either of the place itself or of some other mine. When any one brings a stone he places it in the hands of the eldest of these children, who is, so to speak, the chief of the band; he looks at it and places it in the hand of him who sits next. Thus it

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goes from hand to hand till it returns to the first one without any one saying a word.

He then asks the price of the article, in order to purchase, if possible; and if by chance he buys at too high a price he is responsible. In the evening these children count up what they have purchased, and after examining the stones separate them according to their water, weight, and cleanness. Next they price each as they expect to dispose of them to strangers, and by this they see how far the value exceeds the cost of purchase. They then carry them to the great merchants who always have a number of parcels to match, and all the profit is divided among the children, save only that their chief receives a quarter per cent more than the others.

Young as they are, they know the value of all the stones so well that if one of them has bought a stone and is willing to lose a half per cent, another gives him cash for it. Seldom can you show them a parcel of stones, containing a dozen, where they will not discover among them four or five having some flaw or some point or some defect at the angles.

It remains to be said that these Indians have much regard for strangers, and especially for those whom they call *Franks*.[1] Immediately on my arrival at the mine I went to call upon the Governor of the place, who also rules the Province on behalf of the King of BIJAPUR. He is a MUHAMMADAN, who having embraced me, assured me I was welcome—not doubting that I had brought gold with me (for at all the mines of GOL-

[1] *Fringuis* for *Franguis* in the original, for Franks, *i.e.* Europeans. (See vol. i, p. 6.)

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CONDA and BIJAPUR they speak but of new *pagodas*,[1] which are golden coins), and that I had only to place it in my lodging, where it would be safe, and he would be responsible for all I had. Besides the servants whom I brought with me he allotted me four others, and commanded them to keep a watch on my gold by day and night, and to obey all my orders. Shortly after I had left him he sent to recall me, and on my return: "I sent to seek you," he said, "in order to assure you again that you have nothing to fear—eat, drink, and sleep, and have a care for your health. I have forgotten to tell you to be careful not to defraud the King, to whom 2 per cent is due on all your purchases. Do not attempt," he continued, "to do as some Muhammadans did who came to the mine, and combined with the merchants and some brokers to withhold the royalties of the King—saying that they had only purchased to the value of 10,000 *pagodas*, while they had invested more than 50,000." I then commenced to purchase, and saw that there was a sufficiently large profit to be made, all being 20 per cent cheaper than at GOLCONDA, in addition to which, one sometimes, by chance, met with large stones.

One day towards evening a *Banian*, poorly clothed, having indeed only a band round his body and a miserable handkerchief on his head, came towards me politely and seated himself by my side. In this country one pays no attention to dress, and a person who has but a miserable ell of calico about his loins may sometimes have a good parcel of diamonds concealed. I, on my part, treated the *Banian* with civility, and after

[1] They were worth about 8s., more exactly 3½ rupees. (See vol. i, p. 413.)

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he had been for some time seated by me he asked me through my interpreter[1] if I wished to buy some rubies. The interpreter told him to show them to me, upon which he drew a number of small rags from his waist-band, in which he had about a score of rings mounted with rubies. After I had examined them I said that they were too small for me and that I sought large stones. Nevertheless, remembering that I had been asked by a lady at Ispahan to bring her a ruby ring of the value of about 100 *écus*, I bought one of his rings which cost me nearly 400 *francs*. I knew well that he did not value it at more than 300 *francs*, but willingly risked the additional 100 *francs* in the belief that he had not sought me to sell the rubies only, and because I understood from his manner that he desired to be alone with me and my interpeter in order to show me something better. As the time of prayer of the MUHAMMADANS approached, three of the servants appointed by the Governor left, and the fourth remaining to wait upon me, I found an excuse for getting rid of him by sending him to buy bread, where he remained a sufficiently long time. For all the people of this country being idolaters, content themselves with rice, not eating bread, and when a person wishes for it it is necessary to have it brought from a distance, from the fortress of the King of BIJAPUR, where the MUHAMMADANS reside. The *Banian*, seeing that he was alone with me and the interpreter, after having, with a good deal of mystery, removed his headdress, untwisted his locks, which, according to the

[1] From this and other similar references we learn that Tavernier did not acquire a knowledge of the native languages. The fact is indeed referred to contemptuously by some of his critics, especially Chardin.

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usual custom, were bound round his head. Then I observed a small rag appearing amongst these locks, in which there was concealed a diamond, weighing 48½ of our carats, of beautiful water and of *cabuchon* shape, three-quarters of the stone clear, save for a small flaw which was on one side and appeared to penetrate some distance into the stone. The remaining quarter was full of flaws and red spots.

While I examined the stone, the *Banian*, seeing the attention which I gave to it, said, "Do not trouble yourself now, you will see it to-morrow morning at your leisure when you are alone. When a fourth of the day has passed," it is thus that they speak,[1] "you will find me outside the town, and if you wish for the stone you will bring the price of it with you," and he then stated the amount he wanted for it. For it should be stated *en passant* that after this fourth of the day the *Banians*, both male and female, disappear into the city or town where they dwell, both for the purpose of satisfying the ordinary necessities of nature and for the purpose of bathing, as well as for the prayers which their priests require them to repeat. The *Banian* having named this hour—because he did not wish any one to see us together—I did not fail to go in search of him, and carried with me the price he had asked, less by 200 *pagodas*, which I kept apart, in reserve. But in the end, after we had bargained for a short time, I gave him 100 *pagodas* extra. On my return to SURAT I sold the stone to a Dutch captain, from which transaction I earned a fair profit.

Three days after I had bought this stone a

[1] The day is divided into four *pahars* which terminate at 9 A.M., 12 M., 3 P.M. and 6 P.M.

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messenger arrived from GOLCONDA who had been sent by an Apothecary, named BOËTE, whom I had left at GOLCONDA to receive and take care of a part of my money, and in the event of the *Shroff* paying in rupees, he was to change them into golden *pagodas*. The day following that upon which he had received payment, he was seized by so serious a disorder in the stomach that he died in a few days. By the letter which he wrote to me he informed me of his sickness, and that he had received my money, which was all in my chamber in sealed bags; but, as he did not believe that he would survive two days, he exhorted me to hasten my return, because he did not think that my money would be safe in the hands of the servants whom I had left with him. Immediately on receipt of this letter I waited on the Governor in order to take leave of him, at which he was astonished, and inquired if I had expended all my money. I replied that I had not spent half of it, and that I had still upwards of [illegible]. He then said that if I wished he would find me an opportunity of investing it, and that I should not lose upon what he would advance me. He further asked if I was willing to [illegible] although he was not ignorant of [illegible] those who he said were obliged to [illegible] on account of the charge [illegible] by those [illegible] and [illegible] agreed with [illegible] the King's dues.

[illegible] author's transac-[illegible] agent on commis-[illegible]

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At the same time I paid him the 2 per cent for the King's dues, having received which he remarked that he perceived that the *Franks* were persons of good faith. He was the more persuaded of this, however, when, drawing forth the stone of 48½ carats, I said, "Sir, this is not in the *Banian's* book, and there is no one in the town who knows that I have bought it, nor would you yourself had I not told you. I do not wish to defraud the King of his rights—here is what is due to him on account of the price paid by me for this stone."[1] The Governor appeared altogether surprised and much edified by my proceeding; he praised me much, and said that this was an action worthy of an honest man, and that there was not another merchant in the country, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, who would act in the same manner if he believed that no one was aware of what he had purchased. Upon this he summoned the richest merchants of the place, and having told them the facts, ordered them to bring with them the best stones they possessed. This was done by three or four of them, and thus I expended my 20,000 *pagodas* in one or two hours. The transaction having been completed and the money paid, he told the merchants that as they had dealings with an honest man they ought to present me with a souvenir. This they did with a good grace, giving me a diamond worth nearly 100 *écus*.[2] As for the Governor himself, he gave me a turban and waistband.

I have to record a rather singular and curious account of the manner in which the Indians, whether

[1] Unlike his usual habit of giving prices, Tavernier carefully omits all mention of what he paid for this stone.

[2] £22 : 10s.

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they are idolaters or Muhammadans, make their sales of all kinds of commodities. All passes in complete silence and without any one speaking.[1] The seller and the buyer are seated facing one another, like two tailors, and one of the two opening his waistband the seller takes the right hand of the buyer and covers his own with the waistband, under which, in the presence of many other merchants, who occupy themselves sometimes in the same manner, the sale is accomplished secretly without any one having cognisance of it. For the seller and buyer talk neither by means of their lips nor their eyes, but only by the hand, which they manage to do in the following manner :—When the seller takes the whole hand of the buyer that means 1000, and as many times as he presses it so many thousands of *pagodas* or rupees, according to the coin which may be in question. When he takes only five fingers that means 500, and when he takes only one it means 100. In taking only the half up to the middle joint, 50 is meant, and the end of the finger up to the first signifies 10. This is the whole of the mystery employed by the Indians in their sales, and it often happens that in the same place, where there are many people, a single parcel will change hands five or six times without those present knowing for how much it has been sold on each occasion. As for the weight of the stones, one need not be deceived if he does not buy in secret. For when one buys them in public there is a man specially employed by the King to weigh diamonds,

[1] This system of selling by means of secret signs has often been described by Indian travellers. For a recent account of it reference may be made to the *St. James' Gazette*, January 20, 1887; and for early notices see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Sofala," p. 645.

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who receives no fees from private persons. When he names the weight, both buyer and seller accept his statement, since he has no interest in favouring either party.

Having completed my business at the mine, the Governor gave me six horsemen, in order that I might traverse, with greater security, the tract under his authority, which extends up to a river[1] separating the Kingdom of BIJAPUR from that of GOLCONDA. The transit of this river is very difficult, because it is wide, deep, and rapid, and there is neither bridge nor boat. In order to cross it the same contrivances are used as those of which I have elsewhere spoken for the passage of certain Indian rivers, alike for men as for their goods, carriages, cattle, and horses.

A round vessel of 10 or 12 feet in diameter made of branches of osier, like our hampers, and covered outside with ox hides, serves in place of a boat,[2] and I have described in the same place how the passengers adjust themselves. Good boats or a bridge over this river might be provided, but the Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR do not allow them, because the river serves to separate the two Kingdoms.

Every evening the boatmen on both banks are obliged to report to the two sub-governors, who reside on either side, at about a quarter of a league from the river, an exact statement of the people, beasts of burden, and merchandise which have crossed during the day.

[1] *I.e.* the Kistná with its tributary the Bhimá which separated the ancient Kingdoms.

[2] Coracles (see vol. i, pp. 294 and 299). Tavernier is probably not correct in saying that they were made of osiers or willow; more probably they were made of bamboo.

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When I arrived at GOLCONDA, three days had elapsed since the death of BOËTE, the apothecary, and the room where I had left him had been sealed with two seals—one being of the *Kázi*, who corresponds to the Chief Justice, and the other of the *Sháh-Bandar*, who is the Provost of the merchants. An officer of justice watched the door of the chamber together with the servants whom I had left with the defunct. Immediately on my arrival the fact was announced to the *Kázi* and the *Sháh-Bandar*, and forthwith they sent to seek for me.

After I had saluted them, the *Kázi* asked me whether the money which was in the chamber of the defunct was mine, and how I could prove it. I said I had not any better proof to give him than the letters of exchange which I had given to the *Shroff*, and that since my departure he had by my orders paid the sum to the defunct; that I had instructed the latter in case the *Shroff* paid in silver to change it into golden *pagodas*, and forward them to me. Upon this reply which I made to them, they sent to call the two *Shroffs* who had paid my bills, to know if it was true, and as they averred that it was, the *Kázi* forthwith ordered his lieutenant to go and open the door of the room, and see if the seals were intact on all the bags. He did not leave till he had my assurance that I had found the full sum, and nothing was wanting.

I returned with him to make the same declaration to the *Kázi* and the *Sháh Bandar*, and to thank them for their trouble, and it ended by my signing a document which they had written in Persian, in which I testified my satisfaction.

The lieutenant told me that I must pay the

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charges of the burial of BOËTE, and those due to the persons who had placed the seals, as well as those of the officer who had kept guard at the door of the chamber. These all amounted to but 9 rupees, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ *écus* of our money.[1] One would not have got off so easily in most places in EUROPE.

[1] *I.e.* £1 : 0 : 3.

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CHAPTER XVI

Journey of the Author to the other Mines, and concerning the method of searching for Diamonds.

AT seven days' journey eastwards from GOLCONDA there is another diamond mine, called GANI in the language of the country, and COULOUR in the Persian tongue.[1]

[1] This mine has been identified in the *Economic Geology of India*, by the routes in vol. i, p. 173, and vol. ii, p. 94, with Kollur on the Kistná, where, according to a MS. map by Col. Mackenzie, there was a mine in 1798. The word *Gani* is equivalent to the Persian *Kán-i*, signifying "mine of." It is found in use by writers of the present century in connection with another mine, namely *Gani*-Partiál. It is the title for this mine most commonly used in works on mineralogy and precious stones, sometimes considerably modified in spelling, as *Garee*, etc. But it cannot be correctly used as the *name* of the mine where the Great Mogul or any other diamond was found. The date assigned to the discovery of this mine by Tavernier, namely about the middle of the sixteenth century, is of no value any more than the period assigned for the discovery of the Ramulkota mine. One hundred years, the native estimate, means a long time, that is all.

Somewhere about the year 1622, William Methold, together with Sir Andreas Socory and Sir Adolf Thomason, visited from Masulipatam certain diamond mines, which the first-named describes as being situated "*at the foot of a great mountayne, not far from a river called Christena*," the mining town being 2 miles off, and distant 108 English miles, or 12 *Gentine* leagues (*gows*, or *gos ?*) from Masulipatam. In all respects, save as regards the distance, the description of the mines and the methods of working correspond with Tavernier's account of *Coulour* or *Gani*, *i.e.* Kollur. The distance given by Tavernier is 36 coss, or 72 miles from Masulipatam—the true distance is about 100 miles.

In the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 20, Methold is

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It is close to a large town on the same river which I crossed when coming from the other mine,[1] and at a league and a half from the town there are high mountains which are in the form of a cross. The space which intervenes between the town and the mountains is a plain where the mine is situated and the diamonds are found. The nearer one searches towards the mountains the larger the stones which are found, but when one ascends too high nothing is found.[2]

It is only about 100 years since this mine was discovered, and it was by means of a poor man, who, digging a piece of ground where he purposed to sow millet, found a *point naive*[3] weighing nearly 25 carats. This kind of stone being unknown to him, and appearing to him something special, he carried it to GOLCONDA, and by good luck addressed himself to one who traded in diamonds. This trader having ascertained from the peasant the place where he had found the stone, was much surprised to see a diamond of such a weight,

misquoted as though he said the mines were but 2 leagues from Golconda, whereas he says 2 miles from the temporary town, containing 100,000 persons, which had grown up in connection with the mines. He says that they were closed for a time, in consequence of a demand made by the Mogul for a *vyse* (*i.e.* 3 lbs. English) of the finest diamonds. The farmer paid the King 300,000 *pagodas*, say £120,000, per annum for the mine, the King retaining all stones above 10 carats. This sum is possibly an exaggeration—*vide* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, 1626, vol. v, p. 1002. There is, as already stated, an account of the diamond mines of Golconda and Bijapur in the *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, No. 136, 1677. Ruins of houses, etc., and old mines are still to be seen at Kollur. (See *Kistna Manual*, pp. 170 and 244.)

[1] *I.e.* the Kistná, crossed on the route from Raolconda (*i.e.* Ramulkota) to Golconda (see p. 69).

[2] The probable explanation of this is that the diamond-bearing strata do not extend far up the slope.

[3] This term was applied to natural octahedra and other modifications of the cube which the diamond assumes.

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especially because, before that, the largest that had been seen did not exceed 10 or 12 carats.[1]

The noise of this new discovery quickly spread abroad throughout all the country, and some persons of wealth in the town commenced to mine in this land, where they found, and where they still find, large stones in greater abundance than in any other mine.[2] There are found here at present, I say, a quantity of stones from 10 up to 40 carats, and sometimes indeed much larger; but among others the great diamond which weighed 900 carats before cutting, which MIR JUMLA presented to AURANGZEB,[3] as I have elsewhere related, was obtained from the mine.

But if this mine of KOLLÚR is of importance on account of the number of large stones which are found there, it is a misfortune that, as a rule, these stones are not clear, and that their water contains indications

[1] This statement is quite incorrect, as will be seen in Appendix I.

[2] In the paper in the *Phil. Trans.*, which has just been referred to, the largest diamonds are said to have been obtained at the mine of Currure, *i.e.* Wajra Kurur in Bellary, where some of a *seize* (*seer?*) weight = 9 ounces troy, or 81½ *pagodas*, were reported to have been discovered. This mine, though unknown to Tavernier, had been taken possession of by Mir Jumla about the year 1640? Probably there is some mistake in the weight.

In the same paper this Kollur mine is called Quolure, it is said to have been the first mine used in the Kingdom, but was then nearly exhausted. Many of the diamonds found there were well formed and pointed, and of good lively white water, others were yellow, brown, etc., and had a greenish transparent skin. The weights ranged from 6 to a mangelin up to 5 or 6, and even rarely 10, 15 or 20 mangelins each. In consequence of its exhaustion, the King permitted the mine at Melwillee, *i.e.* Mulavilly or Muléli, to be regularly worked in the year 1673.

[3] This statement contains two mistakes. The stone was presented by Mir Jumla to Sháh Jahán, not to Aurangzeb, and in three other places Tavernier gives its weight as 900 *ratis* or upwards, not carats; the latter misprint has unfortunately often been quoted. (See Appendix I.)

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of the quality of the soil where they are found. If the soil is marshy and humid, the stone tends to blackness; if it is reddish, it tends to red, and so with the other conditions, sometimes towards green, sometimes towards yellow, just as there is diversity of soil in the area between the town and the mountain. Upon the majority of these stones, after they are cut, there always appears a kind of grease which necessitates one always carrying a handkerchief in the hand in order to wipe them.

As regards the water of the stones, it is to be remarked that instead of, as in Europe, where we employ daylight for the examination of stones in the rough (*brutes*), and, so, carefully judge of their water and any flaws which they may contain, the Indians use the night; and in a hole which they excavate in a wall, one foot square, they place a lamp with a large wick, by the light of which they judge of the water and the cleanness of the stone, holding it between their fingers. The water which they term "celestial" is the worst of all, and it is impossible to ascertain whether it is present while the stone is in the rough. But little though it may be apparent on the mill, the never-failing test for correctly ascertaining the water is afforded by conveying the stone under a leafy tree, and in the green shadow one can easily detect if it is blue.

The first time I was at this mine there were close upon 60,000 persons who worked there, including men, women, and children, who are employed in diverse ways, the men in digging, the women and children in carrying earth, for they search for the stones at this mine in an altogether different manner from that practised at RAMULKOTA.

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After the miners have selected the place where they desire to work, they smooth down another spot close by, and of equal or rather greater extent, around which they erect an enclosing wall of two feet in height.

At the base of this little wall they make openings, at every two feet, for the escape of the water, which they close till it is time for the water to be drawn off. This place being thus prepared, all who are about to engage in the search assemble, men, women, and children, together with their employer and a party of his relatives and friends. He brings with him a figure in stone of the god whom they worship, which being placed standing on the ground, each prostrates himself three times before it, their priest, however, offering up the prayer. This prayer being finished, he makes a particular kind of mark upon the forehead of each one with a paste composed of saffron and gum, in order that it may sustain seven or eight grains of rice, which he places upon it. Next, having washed their bodies with the water which each of them carries in a vessel, they place themselves in ranks to eat that which is presented at the feast given by their employer at the beginning of their work, in order to give them courage and induce them to acquit themselves faithfully. This feast merely consists of a portion of rice to each, which is distributed by the *Brahmin*, because every idolater can eat what is served to him by the hands of the priests. There are among them some so superstitious that they will not even eat what is prepared by their own wives, and prefer to cook for themselves.[1] The plate upon which the rice is placed is made of the

[1] This is, I believe, still true of some castes.

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leaves of a tree attached together; to some extent they resemble our walnut leaves.[1] To each there is also given about a quarter of a pound of melted butter in a little cup of copper, with some sugar.

The repast being finished, each commences to work, the men to excavate the earth, and the women and children to carry it to the place which has been prepared as I have above said. They excavate to 10, 12, or 14 feet in depth, but when they reach water there is nothing more to hope for. All the earth being carried to this place, men, women, and children raise the water with pitchers from the hole which they have excavated, and throw it upon the earth which they have placed there, in order to soften it, leaving it thus for one or two days, according to the tenacity of the clay, until it assumes the condition of soup. This being done, they open the holes which they made in the wall to let off the water, then they throw on more, so that all the slime may be removed, and nothing remain but sand. It is a kind of clay which requires to be washed two or three times. They then leave all to be dried by the sun, which is quickly effected on account of the great heat. They have a particular kind of basket made something like a winnowing fan, in which they place the earth, which they agitate as we do when winnowing grain. The fine part is blown away, and the coarse stuff which remains is subsequently replaced on the ground.

All the earth having been thus winnowed, they

[1] In Western Bengal these would be the leaves of the Sál, *Shorea robusta*, Gærtn, the giant creeper, *Bauhinia vahlii*, W. and A., or the *Dhák* or *Pulas*, *Butea frondosa Roxb.* I cannot say what species would be used in the region referred to by Tavernier.

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spread it with a rake and make it as level as possible. They then all stand together on the earth, each with a large baton of wood like a huge pestle, half a foot wide at the base, and they pound the earth, going from one end to the other, always pounding each part two or three times; they then again place it in the baskets and winnow, as they did on the first occasion, after which they spread it out again and range themselves on one side to handle the earth and search for the diamonds, in which process they adopt the same method as at RAMULKOTA. Formerly, instead of using wooden pestles for pounding the earth, they pounded it with stones, and it was that method which produced so many flaws in the diamonds.

As for the royalties which are paid to the King, the annual wages to the miners for their work, and the presents which are given to them when they find any large stone which they carry to the master whom they serve, all are the same as at the RAMULKOTA mine.[1] No one hesitated formerly to purchase diamonds which had a green crust on the surface, because when cut they proved to be white and of very beautiful water.

About thirty or forty years ago a mine situated between KOLLUR and RAMULKOTA[2] was discovered, but the King ordered it to be closed on account of fraud, as I shall explain in a few words. Stones were found in it which had this green crust, beautiful and transparent, they were even more beautiful than the others, but when one attempted to grind them they broke in pieces.

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 59.

[2] I have elsewhere suggested (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 16) that this mine was situated near Damárapád and Malawaram on the Kistna in Lat. 16° 35′, Long. 79° 30′, where old excavations are still to be seen.

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Whenever they were ground by another stone of the same quality which had been found in the same mine they submitted to the grinding without breaking, but were unable to bear the wheel, upon which they immediately flew into pieces. It is on this account that one is careful not to buy those which have been ground in this way, through fear of their breaking, and it is, as I said, on account of the deceptions which have been practised with these stones that the King ordered the mine to be closed.[1]

While the Messrs. FREMLIN and FRANCIS BRETON were Presidents at SURAT on behalf of the English Company, a Jew named EDWARD FERDINAND, a free merchant, that is to say not subject to any Company, combined with these two gentlemen to purchase a stone, a short time after the mine was discovered. This stone was clean and of good form, and weighed 42 carats.[2] EDWARD went to EUROPE, and Messrs. FREMLIN and BRETON placed the stone in his hands to sell to the best advantage, and render an account to them. On his arrival at LEGHORN[3] he showed it to

[1] A little known but very important paper on the diamond mines of Golconda, of which twenty-three are named, and of Visapore, *i.e.* Bijapur, of which fifteen are named, is to be found in the *Phil. Trans.*, No. 136, June 25, 1677, vol. xii, p. 907. The anonymous author must have been in that part of India within ten or fifteen years of Tavernier's last visit. It is but quite recently that I found this paper, unfortunately too late to make the full use to which it might have been put in these footnotes. It contains names which have long puzzled me owing to the confused way in which they have been introduced into the literature of the subject. It has been referred to already on pp. 54 and 74, and will be quoted again in Appendix II.

[2] The extent to which investments in diamonds for themselves and their friends in England were made by English officials at a later period is very fully brought out in the letters recently published by Colonel Yule in his account of the Pitt diamond (See *Hedge's Diary*, *Hakluyt Society*).

[3] Ligorne in the original.

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some Jew friends, who offered him 25,000 *piastres*[1] for it. But as he asked 30,000 he was unable to let them have it, and took it to VENICE to get it cut. It was well cut, without any injury, but upon being put upon the wheel it was immediately broken into nine pieces. I myself was on one occasion deceived by one of these stones, which weighed 2 carats; it broke into small pieces on the wheel when it was only half finished.

[1] Say £5625.

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CHAPTER XVII

A continuation of the Author's Journeys to the Diamond Mines

I COME to the third mine, which is the most ancient of all, and is situated in the Kingdom of BENGAL. You may call it by the name of SOUMELPOUR,[1] which is a large town near to which the diamonds are found, or rather by the name KOEL, which is that of the river in the sand of which they are found. The country through which this river has its course belongs to a *Raja* who was formerly a tributary of the GREAT MOGUL, having withdrawn from his allegiance during the wars between SHÁH JAHÁN and JAHÁNGIR his father. Immediately on his coming to the throne

[1] Among a host of writers of this century, so far as I know, Karl Ritter (*Erdkunde Asien*) and Francis Buchanan (in Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. i, p. 535) alone suggested that this locality was not to be identified with another diamond locality, Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, in the Central Provinces. I have been able to show that it was situated in the District of Lohárdagá and subdivision of Palámau in Chutiá Nagpur, and that the *Gouel* river is identical with the Koel, which traverses that District. It joins the Sone not far from the fortress of Rohtás, and so its waters find their way northwards to the Ganges. It is probable that both Sambalpur and Soumelpour derive their names from the *Semul* tree (*Bombax*), and about the site which I assign to the latter there are the remains of an old town called Semah—Lat. 23° 35′ N., and Long. 84° 21′ E. As the available details regarding these long-forgotten mines are too long for a footnote, they will be found in an Appendix at the end of this volume.

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SHÁH JAHÁN sent to demand tribute from this *Raja*, both for the present and the past; and the *Raja*, as his property was not sufficient to discharge the whole, quitted the country and fortified himself together with his subjects in the mountains. Upon the news of the refusal which the *Raja* first made, SHÁH JAHÁN, who did not know that he purposed to hide, but believed that he intended to defend himself, sent an army into his country, where he was persuaded that he would find an abundance of diamonds. It happened otherwise, however, for those who were sent into the country of the *Raja* found neither diamonds, inhabitants, nor food, the *Raja* having ordered all the grain which his subjects could not carry with them to be burnt, and this was so effectually done that the greater portion of SHÁH JAHÁN'S army perished of famine. The final result of the matter was, that the *Raja* returned to his country on agreeing to pay a light annual tribute to the GREAT MOGUL.

The following is the route to be followed from AGRA to this mine:—

From AGRA to HALABAS (ALLAHÁBÁD) .	130 *coss.*
,, HALABAS to BANAROUS (BENARES) .	33 ,,
,, BANAROUS to SASERON (SASSERAM) .	4 ,,

From AGRA to SASSERAM[1] you travel eastwards,

[1] This route is also given in Book I, chap. viii, pp. 113 to 120, but the details are very different. In the first place Sasseram and the large town are here misplaced. The latter is probably the Gourmabad, *i.e.* the Khurmábád, of p. 120, but the distance, which there amounts to 27 *coss*, is here stated to be only 21 *coss*. The true distance is about 58 miles. After Khurmábád, not before it, Sasseram comes as the next stage, distant 4 *coss*, the true distance being 12 miles; but after it again the distance to Rohtás is understated at 4 *coss*, it being really about 24 miles. These discrepancies may be explained by the fact that Tavernier does not appear to have gone to Rohtás from Sasseram. If he visited

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but between SASSERAM and the mine you turn to the south and come first to a large town—21 *coss*. This town belongs to the *Raja* of whom I have just spoken, to whom the country belongs which is traversed by the river in which the diamonds are found.

After this town one reaches a fortress called ROHTÁS[1] —4 *coss*. It is one of the strongest places in ASIA, situated upon a mountain having six great bastions and twenty-seven pieces of cannon, with three trenches full of water where there are good fish. There is but a single path by which to ascend the mountain, where there is a plain of half a league or so in area, where corn and rice are cultivated. There are more than twenty springs which irrigate the soil, and all about the mountain from the base to the top there are precipices covered for the most part with forests. The *Rajas* ordinarily held this fortress with from 700 to 800 men, but it at present belongs to the GREAT MOGUL, who acquired it by the skill of that great Captain MIR JUMLÁ of whom I have so often had occasion to speak. The last *Raja* left three sons who betrayed each other; the eldest was poisoned, the second attached himself to the court of the GREAT MOGUL, who gave him the command of 4000 horse, and the youngest maintains his position in the country by paying tribute like his father. All the Kings of INDIA, successors of TAMERLANE, have besieged this place without being able to

it and the diamond mine, as is probable, he almost certainly did so from Patna, in which neighbourhood he was for some time in 1640 and again in 1665-6. (See Index.)

[1] Rodas in the original—Rohtásgarh, Lat. 24° 27′ 30″, Long. 83° 55′ 50″. (See Sir W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. xii, pp. 209-212.) There are also detailed descriptions and plans in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern Asia*, vol. i, p. 432.

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take it, and indeed two of these Kings died in the city of SASSERAM.

From the Fortress of ROHTAS to SOUMELPOUR it is 30 *coss*.

SOUMELPOUR[1] is a large town with houses built of clay only, and thatched with the branches of the cocoa-nut tree.[2] These thirty *coss* traverse forests which are dangerous, because the thieves, who know that merchants do not visit the mine without carrying money, attack them sometimes for the purpose of murdering them.[3] The *Raja* lives at half a *coss* distance from the town, and his dwelling is in tents placed on an eminence. The KOEL passes the fort, and it is in this river that the diamonds are found. It comes from the high mountains to the south and loses its name in the GANGES.[4]

This is the manner in which diamonds are sought for in this river. After the great rains are over, that is to say usually in the month of December, the diamond seekers await the conclusion of the month of January, when the river becomes low, because at that time, in many parts, it is not more than two feet deep, and much of the sand is left uncovered. Towards the

[1] This name is left in its original form in the text, as its identification with Semah, although most probable, has not been absolutely proved.

[2] Although the cocoa-nut has been observed nearly as far inland as this locality, I do not think there are any in that part of the country now. It is possible that the leaves of the Tal palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Linn.) are meant.

[3] Descendants of the thieves belonging to the Dom tribe still roam about Palámau. Out of three occasions when my camp was robbed during seventeen years' travelling in India, two were in this district and the third not very far from its limits.

[4] It joins the Sone, which flows into the Ganges. It is possible that Pliny's mention of the Ganges as yielding precious stones may be connected with this fact.

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end of January or commencement of February, from the town of SOUMELPOUR and also from another town which is 20 *coss* higher up the same river, and from some small villages on the plain, about 8000 persons of both sexes and of all ages capable of working assemble.

Those who are expert know that the sand contains diamonds beneath, when they find small stones in it which resemble those we call "thunder stones."[1] They commence to search in the river at the town of SOUMELPOUR and proceed up-stream to the mountains where it takes its rise, which are situated about 50 *coss* from the town.[2] In the places where they believe there are diamonds they excavate the sand in the following manner. They encircle these places with stakes, fascines, and clay, in order to remove the water and dry the spot, as is done when it is intended to build the pier of a bridge. They then take out the sand, but do not excavate below the depth

[1] It is to be noted in reference to these "*pierres de tonnerre*," which I take to be ferruginous concretions, that in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángiri* as translated by Blochman (J. A. S. B., vol. xl, p. 114) there occurs the following passage: "When the river contains little water, tumuli and hollows are formed. The diamond diggers know from experience that those tumuli contain diamonds over which insects(?), called by the Hindus *jhinga*, hover." It seems just possible that the term "*jhinga*" (shrimps?) may in this instance have been applied technically to the particular kind of pebbles which Tavernier denominated as above, and that the late Mr. Blochman was unaware of the technical application of the term.

[2] The distance of the source of the river is here very much overstated, but by crossing the watershed, the Sank river is met with, and in it diamonds used to be found. (*Vide* map in Appendix III.) The sources of these rivers are close to one another, and there the diamond stratum should be looked for. Unfortunately I had not made this identification of Tavernier's site when traversing that part of the country, and there is, so far as I know, no local tradition of diamonds having been found in the Koel.

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of two feet. All this sand is carried and spread upon a large place prepared on the banks of the river and surrounded by a low wall of a foot and a half high, or thereabouts. They make holes at the base, and when they have filled the enclosure with as much sand as they think proper, they throw water upon it, wash it and break it, and afterwards follow the same method as is adopted at the mine which I have above described.

It is from this river that all the beautiful *points* come which are called *points naives*[1] (natural points), but a large stone is rarely found there. It is now many years since these stones have been seen in EUROPE, in consequence of which many merchants have supposed that the mine has been lost, but it is not so; it is true, however, that a long time has elapsed since anything has been obtained in this river on account of the wars.[2]

I have spoken elsewhere of another mine of diamonds in the Province of Carnatic, which MIR JUMLÁ, General-in-Chief and Prime Minister of State of the King of GOLCONDA, commanded to be closed,[3] not wishing that it should be worked further, because the stones from it, or rather from these six mines (for

[1] *I.e.* diamonds having crystalline facets and angles. (See p. 73.)

[2] From this circumstantial account it would seem probable that Tavernier visited this locality himself during his stay at Patna in 1640 or in 1666. The statement on p. 53 that he had visited the four mines which he describes and one of the two river washings is puzzling, because, if Gandikot is to be classed as one of the mines, then he describes none of the river washings, as he calls Soumelpour the third "mine" on p. 81.

[3] See Book I, chap. xviii. This appears to be a different case from that mentioned on p. 78, where the green crust and friability of the diamonds caused the mines to be closed. It is probably the one which Mir Jumlá told Tavernier of at Gandikot. (See vol. i, p. 288.)

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there are six of them, close to one another) were all black or yellow, and not one of good water.

There is, finally, in the Island of BORNEO,[1] the largest of all the islands in the world, a river called SUCCADAN, in the sand of which beautiful stones are found, which have the same hardness as those of the river KOEL, or of the other mines of which I have made mention.

General VANDIME once sent six of them, of 3 to 4 carats each, from BATAVIA to me at SURAT, and he believed that they were not so hard as those from other mines, in which he was mistaken, because there is no difference in that respect; it was in order to ascertain the fact that he sent them to me. When I was at BATAVIA one of the chief officers of the Company showed me a *point naive* of 25½ carats, a perfect stone, obtained in this river of SUCCADAN. But at the price which he told me it had cost him he had paid more than 50 per cent more than I should have been willing to buy

[1] In 1609 Captain John Saris found a considerable trade being carried on at Soekadana in the diamonds which he says were found in great abundance there and in the river Lave. He says they were obtained, as pearls are, by diving. I think it well to refer here to a footnote to Linschotens' *Travels* (*Hakluyt Society*, vol. ii, p. 134), where Mr. Tiele gives an explanation of a statement, first made, I believe, by Garcia de Orta, that diamonds were found at Taniapura in Malacca. Here Malacca, it seems, means Borneo, and Taniapura stands for Tandjongpura. There is hardly a work on precious stones which does not erroneously cite Malacca as a diamond locality. I have been informed by Mr. D. F. A. Hervey that Tanjongpura is situated about 30 miles up the river Páwan in the northern portion of the Mátan District, adjoining Soekadana, according to De Carubee's Netherlands India Maps. The question of the distribution and mode of occurrence of diamonds in Borneo, though now well understood, is too large to enter upon here. Probably the best account is by Dr. Theodor Posewitz. (Vide *Mith a. d. Jahrb. d Kgl. Ung. Geolog. Anst.*, Bd. vii, 1885; see Appendix.)

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it for. It is true that I have always heard that these stones are very dear. The principal reason which has prevented me from going to this river of BORNEO is that the Queen of the Island does not allow foreigners to carry away the stones, and there are great difficulties in conveying them thence—the insignificant number which are carried away secretly are sold at BATAVIA. I shall be asked, without doubt, why I only mention the Queen of BORNEO, and not the King. The reason is that in this Kingdom it is the women who govern and not the men, because the people are so particular about having for their sovereign a legitimate heir to the throne that the husband not being certain that the children which he believes to have had by his wife are his very own, and the wife being, on the contrary, quite certain that the children are hers, they prefer to have a woman for their ruler, to whom they give the title of Queen, her husband being her subject, and not having more power than that which she chooses to confer upon him.[1]

[1] Descent by the mother's side obtains in some other Oriental countries, and is observed among the Nairs of Malabar.

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CHAPTER XVIII

The different kinds of Weights for weighing Diamonds at the Mines; the kinds of Gold and Silver in circulation; the routes by which one is able to travel; and the rule in use for the estimation of the Prices of Diamonds.

I COME now to some details as to the traffic in diamonds, and in order that the reader may understand easily—believing that no one has previously written of this matter[1]—I shall speak in the first instance of the different kinds of weights which are in use, both at the mines and in other places in ASIA.

At the mine of RAMULKOTA they weigh by *mangelins*, and the *mangelin* is equal to $1\frac{3}{4}$ carats, that is to say, 7 grains.[2]

At the mine of (GANI[3] or) KOLLUR the same weights are used.

At the mine of SOUMELPOUR in BENGAL they weigh by *ratis*, and the *rati* is $\frac{7}{8}$ths of a carat, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains.[4]

[1] In this Tavernier was mistaken, several Portuguese writers having treated of this subject before his time.

[2] Seven modern diamond grains = 5.55 grains troy, the proportion being 3.17 troy grains to the carat of 4 diamond grains.

[3] See p. 72 for meaning of *Gani*.

[4] This (= 2.77 troy grains) was the pearl *rati*, much greater than the ordinary *rati*, which varied from 1.75 to 1.84 grains troy, or even more. (See on this point vol. i, Appendix, and Preface, vol. ii for correction.)

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This last weight is used throughout the whole of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL.

In the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR *mangelins* are also used, but the *mangelin* in these places is only 1⅜ carats.[1] The Portuguese use the same weight name in GOA, but it is then equal to only 5 grains.[2]

I come now to the kinds of money with which diamonds are purchased in INDIA.

Firstly, in the Kingdom of BENGAL, in the territories of the *Raja* of whom I have spoken, as they are included in the dominion of the GREAT MOGUL, payment is made in rupees.

At the two mines[3] which are in the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, in the neighbourhood of RAMULKOTA, payment is made in the new *pagodas* which the King coins in his own name, being entirely independent of the GREAT MOGUL. The new *pagoda* does not always bear the same value, for sometimes it is valued at 3½ rupees,[4] sometimes more and sometimes less, according as it is elevated or depressed by the state of trade, and according as the money-changers arrange matters with the Princes and Governors.

At the mine of KOLLUR (or GANI), which belongs to the King of GOLCONDA, payment is made in new *pagodas* of equal value with those of the King of BIJAPUR. But one has to buy them sometimes at from 1 to 4 per cent premium, because they are of better gold, and because the merchants do not accept others at this mine.

[1] *I.e.* 4.36 troy grains. These weights and their modern equivalents are discussed in vol. i, Appendix. Elsewhere Tavernier seems to imply that Ramulkota being in Bijapur, this *mangelin* was used there.

[2] *I.e.* 3.962 troy grains.

[3] The second mine here referred to was possibly the one mentioned as having been closed (see p. 78 *n.*)

[4] *I.e.* 7s. 10½d.

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These *pagodas* are made by the English and Dutch, who have obtained from the King, either by agreement or by force, permission to manufacture them, each in their own fortress. And those of the Dutch cost 1 or 2 per cent more than those of the English, because they are of better quality, and the miners also much prefer them. But as the majority of the merchants are influenced by the false reports that the people at the mine are unsophisticated and almost savages, and that, moreover, the routes from GOLCONDA to the mines are very dangerous, they generally remain at GOLCONDA, where those who work the mines have their correspondents to whom they send the diamonds. Payments are made there with old *pagodas*, well worn, and coined many centuries ago by different Princes, who reigned in INDIA before the Muhammadans gained a footing in the country. These old *pagodas* are worth 4½ rupees,[1] *i.e.* 1 rupee more than the new, although they do not contain more gold, and consequently do not weigh more; this will be a cause of astonishment if I do not explain the reason. It is that the *Shroffs* or Changers, in order to induce the King not to have them recoined, pay him annually a large sum, because they themselves thereby derive a considerable profit; for the merchants never receive these *pagodas* without the aid of one of these Changers to examine them, some being defaced, others of low standard, others of short weight, so that if one accepted them without this examination he would lose much, and would have the trouble to return them, or perhaps lose from 1 to even 5 or 6 per cent, in addition to which he must pay the *Shroffs* ¼th per cent for their trouble. When you pay

[1] *I.e.* 10s. 1½d.

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the miners, they will also only receive these *pagodas* in presence of the Changer, who points out to them the good and bad, and again takes his ¼th per cent. But to save time, when you desire to make a payment of 1000 or 2000 *pagodas*, the Changer, when receiving his dues, encloses them in a little bag, on which he places his seal, and when you wish to pay a merchant for his diamonds you take him, with the bag, to the Changer, who, seeing his own seal intact, assures him that he has examined all the coins, and will be responsible if any do not prove good.

As for rupees, the miners take indifferently those of the GREAT MOGUL and those of the King of GOLCONDA, because those coined by this King would have been the coinage of the GREAT MOGUL if these monarchs had remained on good terms.

The natives of INDIA have more intelligence and subtlety than one thinks. As the *pagodas* are small, thick pieces of gold of the size of the nail of the little finger, and as it is impossible to clip them without it being apparent, they bore small holes in them all round, from whence they extract 3 or 4 *sols* value of gold dust, and they close them with such skill that there is no appearance of the coins having been touched. Moreover, if you buy anything in a village, or when you cross a river, if you give the boatmen a rupee, they immediately kindle a fire and throw the rupee into it, from whence if it comes out white they accept it, but if black they return it; for all the silver in INDIA is of the highest quality, and that which is brought from EUROPE has to be taken to the mint to be recoined. I say also that those are very much deceived (as a merchant tried to make me believe in

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my first journey) who imagine that it answers to take to the mines spices, tobacco, mirrors, and other trifles of that kind to barter for diamonds; for I have fully proved the contrary, and am able to assert that the merchants at the mine who sell the diamonds require good gold, and the best too.

Now let us say something as to the routes to be followed to the mines. Some modern rather fabulous accounts represent them to be, as I have said, dangerous and difficult, and frequented by tigers, lions,[1] and barbarous people; but I have found them altogether different from what they were represented to be—without wild beasts, and the people full of good will and courtesy to strangers.

As for GOLCONDA, one need know but little of the map to be cognisant of its position; but from GOLCONDA to RAMULKOTA, where the principal mine is, the route is less known, and this is the one which I followed. The measure of distance in this country is the *gos*, and a *gos* is equal to 4 French leagues.[2]

From GOLCONDA to CANAPOUR[3]	. . . .	1
,, CANAPOUR to PARQUEL (BOORGUL)	. .	2½
,, PARQUEL to CAKENOL (KOADGUL[4])	. .	1
,, CAKENOL to CANOL-CANDANOR (KUNDANOOL)		3
,, CANOL-CANDANOR to SETAPOUR[5]	. .	1
,, SETAPOUR to the river (*i.e.* KISTNÁ)	. .	2

[1] Lions are not likely to have occurred so far south in India in Tavernier's time.

[2] *I.e.* to say about 8 miles. (See vol. i, Appendix, p. 420.)

[3] *Canapour* has not been identified; it was probably near Narkodá of the Atlas Sheet. The identifications of some of the localities on this route published in *Jour. As. Soc.*, 1881, vol. i, part ii, p. 219, as my informant included places off the true route, prove to be incorrect.

[4] Koadgul is 10 miles from Boorgul and 24 from Kundanool.

[5] *Setapour* does not appear on the Atlas Sheet.

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This river is the boundary between the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR.

From River to ALPOUR (ALUMPUR) . . . $\frac{3}{4}$
,, ALPOUR to CANOL (KARNUL) . . . $\frac{3}{4}$
,, CANOL to RAOLCONDA (RAMULKOTA) where the mine is . . . . . $2\frac{1}{2}$

Thus in all it is 17 *gos*, or 68 French leagues from GOLCONDA to the mine.[1]

From GOLCONDA to the mine of COLOUR, or GANI,[2] it is $13\frac{3}{4}$ *gos*, which amounts to 55 of our leagues.

From GOLCONDA to ALMASPINDE (ALMASGOODA ?) . $3\frac{1}{2}$
,, ALMASPINDE to KAPER (?) 2
,, KAPER to MONTECOUR (MOONOOGODOO) . $2\frac{1}{2}$
,, MONTECOUR to NAZELPAR (NAGOOLPAD) . 2
,, NAZELPAR to ELIGADA (LINGALLA ?) . . $1\frac{1}{2}$
,, ELIGADA to SARVARON (SURRAWARAM) . 1
,, SARVARON to MELLASEROU (MAILACHEROO) 1
,, MELLASEROU to PONOCOUR (?)[3] . . . $1\frac{3}{4}$

Between PONOCOUR and COULOUR or GANI (KOLLUR) there is only the river[4] to cross.

[1] This route crossed two rivers, namely the main stream of the Kistná and its tributary the Tungabhadra, Alumpur being situated in the fork between, and Karnul being on the south bank of the Tungabhadra. The total of these distances, as printed, is $14\frac{1}{2}$ *gos*, which at 4 leagues to the *gos* would be equal to 58 leagues. The true distance by this route would be about 135 miles, which is equal to the 17 *gos*, or 68 leagues. Hence some of the stages must be understated.

[2] See p. 72, where it is shown that Gani (Kán-i) is only a Persian prefix signifying "mine of," and that *Coulour* is identified with Kollur on the Kistná.

[3] The total of these distances is $15\frac{1}{4}$ (not $13\frac{3}{4}$) *gos*, which, as above, would be equal to 61 leagues. The distance of the first stage is evidently wrong, being in reality only about 10 miles. The distance by the route given in Book I, chap. xi, is 76 *coss*.

[4] The river here mentioned is the Kistná, and *Ponocour* must have been in the position of Vellutar. Vellatoor, lower down the Kistna, is quite distinct.

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I come now to an important subject which is little understood in EUROPE.

Rule for ascertaining the proper price of a Diamond of whatsoever weight it may be, from 3 *up to and above* 100 *carats.*

I do not mention diamonds below 3 carats, their price being sufficiently well known.

It is first necessary to know what the diamond weighs, and next to see if it is perfect, whether it is a thick stone, square-shaped, and having all its angles perfect; whether it is of a beautiful white water, and lively, without points, and without flaws. If it is a stone cut into facettes, which is ordinarily called "a rose," it is necessary to observe whether the form is truly round or oval; whether the stone is well-spread, and whether it is not one of those lumpy stones; and, moreover, whether it is of uniform water, and is without points and flaws, as I described the thick stone.

A stone of this quality, weighing 1 carat, is worth 150 *livres*[1] or more, and supposing it is required to know the value of a stone of 12 carats of the same degree of perfection, this is how it is to be ascertained:—

Square the 12, this amounts to 144; next multiply

[1] Say £11 : 5s., at 1s. 6d. to the *livre*. Thevenot gives 15 to 16 *écus* as the price of stones of 1 or 2 *mangelins*, but those of 3 *mangelins* were worth at the rate of 30 *écus* the *mangelin*. (*Voyage des Indes*, Paris Ed., 1684, p. 289.) As Thevenot gives the value of a *mangelin* at 1.6 carats, 3 would be equal to 4.8 carats, and the price 90 *écus*, or £20 : 5s., while Tavernier's valuation for a stone of 4.8 carats would be 4.8 × 4.8 × 150 = 3456 *livres* = £259 : 4s. This enormous discrepancy must be due to a mistake by Thevenot.

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144 by 150, *i.e.* the price of 1 carat, and it amounts to 21,600 *livres*—

$$12 \times 12 \times 150 = 21{,}600.$$[1]

This is the price of a diamond of 12 carats.

But it is not enough to know the price of perfect diamonds only, one must know also the price of those which are not so; this is ascertained by the same rule, and on the basis of the price of a stone of 1 carat. This is an example—

Suppose a diamond of 15 carats which is not perfect, the water being not good, or the stone badly shaped, or full of spots or flaws. A diamond of the same nature, of the weight of 1 carat, would not be worth more than 60 or 80 or 100 *livres* at the most, according to the beauty of the diamond. You must then square the weight of the diamond, *i.e.* 15 carats, and next multiply the product 125 by the value of the stone of 1 carat, which may for example be 80 *livres*, and the product, which is 10,000[2] *livres*, is the price of the diamond of 15 carats.

It is easy to see from this the great difference in

[1] *I.e.* £1620. Whatever may have been the case, it is now apparent that no hard and fast rule can be given to determine the selling value of diamonds, as it is subject to very great variations.

Among other formulæ, however, the following may be mentioned:—

$\frac{m}{2}(m+2)\,a$ where m = the number of carats, and a the value of 1.

This is given in *Handbuch der Edelstein*, A. Schrauf, Vienna. A stone of 12 carats, similar in quality to that above given, so calculated, would be worth £945.

[2] £750. But this calculation, though represented graphically as a sum in figures, in the original, is wholly incorrect, as $15 \times 15 = 225$, not 125, and the product of its multiplication by 80 is 18,000 instead of 10,000 *livres*, the value of the diamond consequently would be £1350. In the edition of Tavernier of 1679, I find that this sum is correctly calculated as above.

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value between a perfect stone and one which is not so. For if this stone of 15 carats had been perfect, the second multiplication would be by 150, which is the price of a perfect stone of 1 carat, and then it would amount not to 10,000 *livres*, but to 33,750 *livres*, *i.e.* to 23,750[1] *livres* more than an imperfect diamond of the same weight.

According to this rule, the following is the value of the two largest among the cut stones in the world—one of them in ASIA belonging to the GREAT MOGUL, the other in EUROPE belonging to the Grand Duke of TUSCANY—as will be seen by the subjoined figures.

The GREAT MOGUL'S diamond weighs $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, is of perfect water, good form, and has only a small flaw which is in the edge of the basal circumference of the stone.

Except for this flaw the first carat would be placed at 160 *livres*, but on that account I do not estimate it at more than 150, and so calculated according to the above given rule it reaches the sum of 11,723,278 *livres*, 14 *sols*, and 3 *liards*. If this diamond only weighed 279 carats, it would have been worth 11,676,150 *livres* only, and thus these $\frac{9}{16}$ths are worth 47,128 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*.[2]

The Grand Duke of TUSCANY'S diamond weighs $139\frac{1}{2}$ carats, is clear, and of good form, cut on all sides into facettes, and as the water tends somewhat to a citron colour,[3] I estimate the first carat at only 135

[1] *I.e.* £2531 : 5s., and £1781 : 5s. The former is correctly calculated, but the latter should be 33,750 – 18,000 *livres* = 15,750 *livres* = £1181 : 5s.

[2] These amounts are equivalent to £879,245 : 18 : $1\frac{1}{2}$, £875,711 : 5s., and £3534 : 13 : $1\frac{1}{2}$—the *livre* being 1s. 6d., and the *sol* 9d.

[3] This description and that in chap. xxii, as also the figure of

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livres, from which the value of the diamond ought to be 2,608,335—that is to say, two million six hundred and eight thousand three hundred and thirty-five *livres*.[1]

In concluding the remarks which I have made in this chapter, I should say that in the language of the miners the diamond is called *iri*;[2] that in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic it is called *almas*,[3] and that in all the languages of EUROPE it has no other name than diamond.

This, then, in a few words is all that I have been able to discover with my own eyes in regard to this subject during the several journeys which I made to the mines; and if by chance some other has written or spoken of them before me, it can only have been from the reports which I have made of them.[4]

the stone, correspond in all important respects with the "Austrian yellow," now in the possession of the Emperor of Austria. Its weight is 133¼ Vienna carats according to Schrauf, which would amount to 134 French carats, the proportion in milligrams being 206.13 : 205.5, and not to 139½ as stated in the work quoted below. The value of the stone has been variously estimated at £40,000, £50,000, and even £155,682. (See *The Great Diamonds of the World*, by E. Streeter, London, 1882, and *Murray on the Diamond*, Second Edition, London, 1839.) The figure which the latter gives of the Matan diamond is really of Tavernier's "Grand Duke," not so the figure purporting to be of itself.

[1] The equivalent of 2,608,335 *livres* is £195,625 : 2 : 6.

[2] Linschoten has *iraa*, both are from the Sanskrit *hira*, the term now used in Hindustani, and some other languages in India.

[3] *Almás* is believed to be closely related with the *adamas* of the Greeks and Romans—the latter term, however, does not appear to have been originally applied to the diamond but to corundum.

[4] It has already been shown that Methold had actually visited the mines before Tavernier. (See p. 72, *n.*) And it is probable that Cæsar Frederick had been at Ramulkota, which he describes, about the year 1570. (See Hakluyt's *Voyages*.)

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CHAPTER XIX

Concerning Coloured Stones and the places where they are obtained.

THERE are only two places in the East where coloured stones are obtained, namely in the Kingdom of PEGU and in the island of CEYLON. The first is a mountain twelve days or thereabouts from SIREN[1] in a north-east direction, and it is called CAPELAN.[2] It is the mine from whence is obtained the greatest quantity of rubies, spinelles or mothers of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white sapphires, hyacinths, amethysts, and other stones of different colours. Among these hard stones others which are soft are found, and are called *bacan*[3] in the language of the country. These are not considered to be valuable.

SIREN is the name of the city where the King of PEGU resides, and AVA is the port of the Kingdom. From AVA to SIREN you ascend the river in large flat

[1] *Siren* here is a mistake for Ava. Siriam or Syriam is a port on the Pegu river 6 miles E. of Rangoon. It was famous in connection with Portuguese dealings with Pegu, and was the site of an English factory in the seventeenth century. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.) In the second reference below it would seem that the names *Siren* and *Ava* are transposed, as Ava was the capital and Syriam the port.

[2] *I.e.* Kyatpyen. Its distance from Ava is about 70 miles. (See Map in vol. i, and Appendix on Burmah ruby mines.)

[3] *Bacan.* This is possibly the Persian *pákand* or *bákand*, which signifies ruby.

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boats, and it is a voyage lasting about sixty days. You cannot travel by land on account of the forests, which abound with lions,[1] tigers, and elephants. It is one of the poorest countries in the world; nothing comes from it but rubies, and even they are not so abundant as is generally believed, seeing that the value does not amount to 100,000 *écus*[2] per annum.

Among all these stones you would find it difficult to meet with one of good quality, weighing 3 or 4 carats, because of the strict injunctions against allowing the removal of any which the King has not seen; and he retains all the good ones which he finds among them. This is the reason why in all my journeys I have earned a sufficiently large profit by bringing rubies from EUROPE into ASIA; and I very much doubt the story of VINCENT LE BLANC when he says that he has seen rubies in the King's palace as large as eggs.[3]

The following is the price of some rubies which might pass as of good quality. During my several journeys I saw them sold by merchants who came from the mine, while I was at MASULIPATAM and GOLCONDA. All rubies are sold by the weight called *rati*,

[1] Lions here, as elsewhere, must be understood as a figure of speech, since there are none in Burmah.

[2] £22,500. In the year 1855 the revenue from the mines was estimated at from £12,500 to £15,000. Since the conquest of Upper Burmah these mines have, as is well known, been let for a term of years to an English Company. Further information will be found in an Appendix to this volume.

[3] I cannot find this statement in the copy of Le Blanc's *Voyages* which I possess, namely, the Paris Edition of 1648. Sir T. Roe speaks of a ruby weighing 13 *tolas*, or about 5¼ oz., which was offered to Jahángir for 5 *lakhs* of rupees by the Portuguese, but he offered only one *lakh* for it. (See *Journal*, Calcutta Edition, p. 32.)

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which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains or $\frac{7}{8}$th of a carat;[1] and payment is made in the old *pagodas*, of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter:—

A ruby of	1	*rati*	was sold for	20	*pagodas.*
,,	$2\frac{1}{8}$	*ratis*	,,	85	,,
,,	$3\frac{1}{4}$	,,	,,	185	,,
,,	$4\frac{5}{8}$	,,	,,	450	,,
,,	5	,,	,,	525	,,
,,	$6\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,,	920[2]	,,

When a ruby exceeds 6 *ratis*, and is perfect, it is sold for whatever is asked for it.

All the other coloured stones in this country are called by the name ruby, and are only distinguished by colour.[3] Thus in the language of PEGU the sapphire is a blue ruby, the amethyst a violet ruby, the topaz a yellow ruby, and so with the other stones.

The dealers are so particular about their profit in trade that they will not show you a parcel of rubies, although they may be fine, unless you promise beforehand that in case you do not buy you will make them a small present—as a turban or a waistband; and when one acts somewhat liberally to them they show all their stock, and one can then transact some business with them.

The other place in the East whence rubies and other coloured stones are obtained is a river in the

[1] Namely the pearl *rati* = 2.77 grs. troy (see Appendix to vol. i, and Preface, vol. ii.)

[2] In other words, a ruby of 18 grains troy was sold for about £465 : 15s.—the *rati* being equal to 2.77 grains troy, and the *pagoda* to 10s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d. (See vol. i, Appendix.) According to Mr. Streeter (*Precious Stones*) rubies over a carat in weight vary in value from £20 to £100 per carat at present, but he adds that no definite price can be given to aid the purchaser.

[3] A very legitimate system of nomenclature, as they are all of the same chemical composition, viz. alumina or corundum.

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island of Ceylon.[1] It comes from high mountains which are in the middle of the island, and as the rains greatly increase its size—three or four months after they have fallen, and when the water is lowered, the poor people go to search amongst the sand, where they find rubies, sapphires, and topazes. The stones from this river are generally more beautiful and cleaner than those of PEGU.

I forgot to remark that in the mountains which run from PEGU towards the Kingdom of CAMBOYA[2] some rubies are found in certain places, but more *balass* rubies[3] than others, many spinelles, sapphires, and topazes. There are gold mines in these mountains, and rhubarb[4] also comes from these places, which is

[1] In Ceylon sapphire is the variety of corundum most commonly found, but rubies are also sometimes met with. The annual average value of precious stones found in Ceylon is said to be about £10,000 at present. "Stones of inferior kinds are found in the beds of streams about Kandy, Nuwara-Eliya, Badulla, and some of the small rivers in the south; but the more precious stones, such as the ruby, sapphire, topaz, alexandrite, and catseye, must be sought within a radius of 30 or 40 miles from Ratnapura (the City of Gems), the capital of Saffragam, a district of the Western Province, though occasionally rubies are found in Uva." (See *Ceylon Colonial Guide.*)

[2] The mode of occurrence of rubies in Cambodia and Siam is not very well understood, but I have met with some references to the fact, which appears to be undoubted. Thus Crawfurd says they are found in hills at Chan-ta-bun in Lat. 12° on the east side of the Gulf. They constitute a rigidly-guarded royal monopoly, but are much inferior in quality to the Ava stones. (*Embassy*, 4to., London, 1828, p. 419.)

[3] The distinction made by our author between "balass" rubies, and spinelles indicates that already in his time the name had been transferred from its true original application to spinelles—to rubies of a particular shade of colour, probably light, and resembling the spinelle. (See vol. i, p. 382 *n.*)

[4] This was probably China rhubarb, which thus found an outlet to Europe. Afterwards it mainly came through Russia. A very interesting account of the rhubarb trade from the earliest times, though Cambodia is not mentioned there, will be found in Fluckiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia*, Art. "Rhubarb."

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highly esteemed, because it does not spoil so quickly as that which grows in other parts of ASIA.

There are also in Europe two places from whence coloured stones are obtained, viz. in BOHEMIA and HUNGARY. In BOHEMIA there is a mine where flints of different sizes are found, some being as large as an egg, others the size of the fist, and on breaking them one finds in some of them rubies[1] as hard and as beautiful as those of PEGU. I remember being one day at PRAGUE with the Viceroy of HUNGARY, in whose service I then was, as he washed his hands with General WALLENSTEIN, Duke of FRIEDLAND, before sitting at table, he saw on the General's hand a ruby which he admired for its beauty. But he admired it much more when WALLENSTEIN told him that the mine of these stones was in BOHEMIA; and, in fact, at the Viceroy's departure he presented him with about 100 of these flints in a basket. When we returned to HUNGARY the Viceroy had them all broken, and out of the whole of the flints there were only two in which rubies were found, one weighing about 5 carats and the other about 1 carat.

As for HUNGARY, it has a mine from whence opals[2] are obtained; they are not found in any other place in the world.

Turquoise is only found in PERSIA, and is obtained in two mines. The one which is called "the old rock" is three days' journey from MESHED towards the north-west and near to a large town called NICHA-

[1] These rubies, so called, were doubtless only garnets.

[2] There are early references to the occurrence of opal in India, but I have never been able to identify any local source there. Hungary still retains pre-eminence in this respect, but very beautiful opals are now found in Australia.

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BOURG;[1] the other, which is called 'the new,' is five days' journey from it. Those of the new are of an inferior blue, tending to white, and are little esteemed, and one may purchase as many of them as he likes at small cost. But for many years the King of PERSIA has prohibited mining in the "old rock" for any one but himself, because having no gold workers in the country besides those who work in thread, who are ignorant of the art of enamelling on gold, and without knowledge of design and engraving, he uses for the decoration of swords, daggers, and other work, these turquoises of the old rock instead of enamel, which are cut and arranged in *patterns* like flowers and other figures which the (jewellers) make. This catches the eye and passes as a laborious work, but it is wanting in design.

As for the emerald, it is an ancient error of many people to suppose that it was originally found in the East[2] [*because before the discovery of America they*

[1] Nishapur in Meshed is the classic locality for the true Turquoise. Its mode of occurrence there will be found described in a paper by Mr. A. H. Schindler published in the *Records of the Geol. Survey of India*, vol. xvii, 1884, p. 132. Vambéry in his "Life," p. 290, also describes these mines. Turquoise has been found in some other places, as for instance in the Province of Ferghana at Mount Karumagar, 24 miles N.E. of Khojend. It occurs there in veins in a decomposed felspar porphyry. (*Russian Central-Asia*, by Henry Lansdell, D.D., p. 515.)

[2] Tavernier appears to have been wholly unaware of the true source of the emerald in early times. Although common beryl is abundant in India the emerald does not appear to have been found there, though highly esteemed and well known at a very remote epoch. All records, and indeed many might be quoted since the times of the Ptolemies, point to certain mines in Egypt, especially at Mount Zabara on the Red Sea, as having afforded the supply. Prof. Maskelyn, *Edb. Rev.* 1866, p. 244, records that when this locality was visited by Sir G. Wilkinson he found several emeralds of pale and poor quality. The matrix was mica schist. Among other authors who have mentioned Egypt as supplying emeralds to India, the following are the principal:—Pliny, the Monk Cosmas, *circa* A.D. 545, Masúdi, and the Muhammadan travellers

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were unable to think otherwise], and likewise still the majority of jewellers and artisans, when they see an emerald of high colour inclining to black, are accustomed to call it an Oriental emerald, in which they are mistaken [*since the East has never produced them*].[1] I confess I have not been able to find the places in our Continent from whence these kinds of stones are obtained. But I am assured that the East has never produced them, neither on the mainland nor on the islands; and having made a strict inquiry during all my journeys, no one has been able to indicate any place in ASIA where they are found. It is true that since the discovery of AMERICA some few rough stones have often been carried by the Southern Sea from PERU to the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, from whence they have been exported in due course to EUROPE; but that does not justify these being called "Oriental," nor support the view that their source is situated in the East, since both before this discovery and this passage there was no want of emeralds for disposal throughout the whole of EUROPE, and because at present, having left this route, they are all conveyed by the North Sea (Atlantic) to SPAIN.[2] In the year 1660 I saw 20

of the ninth century. The emeralds of Siberia do not appear to have been discovered before the present century.

[1] The above passages in italics do not occur in the 1676 Edition of Tavernier, but are in that of 1713.

[2] The foregoing passage is thus rendered in the Edition of 1713:— "*I believe that long before that part of the world which is called the West Indies had been discovered, emeralds were carried from Asia into Europe; but they came from mines in the Kingdom of Peru. For the Americans, before we had knowledge of them, trafficked in the Philippine Islands, where they carried gold and silver; but more silver than gold, as there was more profit on the one than the other, on account of the abundance of gold mines in the East. To-day this trade still continues, and the people of Peru go annually to the Philippines with two or three*

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per cent less price given in INDIA for emeralds than they would be sold for in FRANCE.

But concerning this navigation and commerce between AMERICA and the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, it should be remarked that the AMERICANS having arrived at these islands,[1] the people of BENGAL ARAKAN, PEGU, GOA, and other places, carry thither all sorts of cloths, and a quantity of worked stones, as diamonds and rubies, with many manufactured articles of gold and silver, silken stuffs and Persian carpets. But it should be added that they are unable to sell anything directly to these Americans, but only to those who reside in the MANILLAS, and that they resell them again when the former have left. Similarly, if any one obtained permission to return from GOA to SPAIN by the Southern Sea he would be obliged to pay 80 or 100 per cent for transmitting money as far as the PHILIPPINES, without being allowed to buy anything, and to do the same from the PHILIPPINES as far as NEW SPAIN.

[*This it is then which was done with the emeralds before the West Indies were discovered, for they only came to Europe by this long way and tedious journey. All that were not fine remained in this country, and all those that were passed on into Europe.*][2]

vessels, whither they only carry silver and a small quantity of rough emeralds, and indeed for some years they have ceased to carry the emeralds, sending them all to Europe by the Northern Sea."

[1] This early traffic between Peru and the Philippine Islands, by which our author strives to explain the source of the emeralds, is somewhat mythical I should suppose. It is curious to note that the agreement between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, that the former should extend their conquests only to the west and the latter to the east of Europe, was disturbed when vessels first crossed the Pacific from South America to Manilla. The Spaniards probably first carried Peruvian emeralds to the Eastern nations. [2] Interpolated in Edition of 1713.

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CHAPTER XX

Concerning Pearls and the places where they are fished for.

PEARLS are found in the eastern and western seas, and both for the satisfaction of the reader and for the purpose of not omitting anything upon this matter, although I have not been in AMERICA, I shall mention nevertheless all the places where there are pearl-fisheries, commencing with those in the East.

In the first place, there is a pearl-fishery round the island of BAHREN,[1] in the Persian Gulf. It belongs to the King of PERSIA, and there is a good fortress there, where a garrison of 300 men is kept. The water which is drunk in this island and that used on the coast of PERSIA is salt, and has an unpleasant taste, and it is only the people of the country who can drink it. As for strangers, it costs them not a little to obtain good[2] water, for they have to get it out at sea from half a league distance from the island up to nearly two leagues. Those who go in boats for it should number five or six, one or two of whom dive to the bottom of the sea, having suspended from their waistbands a bottle or two, which they fill with water and then cork them well. For at the bottom of the

[1] Bahren Island, the well-known centre of the pearl-fishery in the Persian Gulf.

[2] See vol. i, p. 268.

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sea there, for about two or three feet in depth, the water is fresh, and the best that can be drunk. When those who have dived to the bottom of the sea to get this water, pull a small cord which is attached to one of those who remain in the boat, it is the signal to their comrades to haul them up.

While the Portuguese held HORMUZ and MUSCAT, each *terate*[1] or boat which went to fish was obliged to take out a licence from them, which cost 15 *abassis*,[2] and many brigantines were maintained there, to sink those who were unwilling to take out licences. But since the Arabs have retaken MUSCAT, and the Portuguese are no longer supreme in the Gulf, every man who fishes pays to the King of PERSIA only 5 *abassis*,[3] whether his fishing is successful or not. The merchant also pays the King something small for every 1000 oysters.

The second pearl-fishery is opposite BAHREN, on the coast of ARABIA-FELIX, close to the town of EL KATIF,[4] which, with all the neighbouring country, belongs to an Arab Prince.

The pearls fished in these places are for the most part sold in INDIA, because the Indians are not so particular as we are. All pass easily, the *baroques*[5] as

[1] Spelt *terrade* in *Persian Travels*, p. 232, Paris Edition, 1676. Various forms of the word, which means a galley or a small ship of war, occur in Portuguese, Spanish, and Arabic. Colonel Yule informs me that its etymology is uncertain.

[2] Or, allowing 1s. 6d. for the *abassi*, £1 : 2 : 6.

[3] 3s. 9d.

[4] This is *Catifa* in the original. El Katif, on the Persian Gulf, is a considerable Arabian town, with a district of some extent.

[5] The term *baroques*, which is sometimes written *barocche*, is from the French *baroque*, signifying irregular or uncouth: it is applied to irregularly-shaped pearls. They are much used for grotesque figures.

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well as the round; each has its price, all being saleable. Some of them are taken also to BASSORA. Those which go to PERSIA and RUSSIA are sold at BANDAR-CONGO,[1] two days' distance from HORMUZ. In all the places which I have named, and in other parts of ASIA, the water tending slightly to yellow is preferred to the white,[2] because it is said that pearls the water of which is slightly golden retain their vivacity and never change, but that when they are white they do not last for thirty years without losing their vivacity, and, both on account of the heat of the country and the perspiration of the body, they assume a vile yellow colour.

Before leaving the Gulf of HORMUZ I shall speak a little more fully than I have done in my account of PERSIA[3] of that splendid pearl which is possessed by the Arab Prince who took MUSCAT from the Portuguese. He then assumed the name of IMENHECT, Prince of MUSCAT, having been previously called ASAF BIN ALI,[4] Prince of NORENUÆ. This is but a petty Province, but the best in ARABIA-FELIX. All that is

Castellani says they are specially esteemed in Spain and Poland. (*History of Gems*, p. 172.)

[1] Kongoon, on the Persian Gulf, south-west of Shiraz. Bandar-Congo is mentioned as a port for Lar in the *Persian Travels*, pp. 232-234.

[2] A statement at the end of chap. xx contradicts this.

[3] The account in the *Persian Travels* is that the pearl belonged to the Emir of Vodana, who showed it to M. Constant and our author at Hormuz; it was perfectly round and transparent, and weighed 17 *abás*, or $14\frac{7}{8}$ carats, the *abás* being equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ of a carat. On behalf of the Governor of Surat, the latter, on a subsequent occasion, offered 60,000 rupees, say £6750, to the owner for it, but he refused to sell it. (*Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. ix.)

[4] Aseph Ben Ali in the original. I have not identified *Norenuæ*, nor can I say whether it is to be regarded as a synonym of *Vodana* in the previous note. *Imenhect* is possibly compounded of Imam or Ibn and some other word.

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necessary for the life of man grows there, and more especially splendid fruits, and in particular excellent grapes, from which very good wine can be made. This is the Prince who possesses the most beautiful pearl in the world, not by reason of its size, for it only weighs $12\frac{1}{16}$ carats, nor on account of its perfect roundness; but because it is so clear and so transparent that you can almost see the light through it. As the Gulf opposite HORMUZ is scarcely 12 leagues wide from ARABIA-FELIX to the coast of PERSIA, and the Arabs were at peace with the Persians, the Prince of MUSCAT came to visit the *Khán* of HORMUZ, who entertained him with magnificence, and invited the English, Dutch, and some other *Franks*, in which number I was included, to the festival. At the close of the feast the Prince took this pearl out of a small purse which he carried suspended from his neck and showed it to the *Khán* and the rest of the company. The *Khán* wished to buy it, to present to the King of PERSIA, and offered up to 2000 *tomans*,[1] but the Prince was unwilling to part with it. Since then I crossed the sea with a *Banian* merchant whom the GREAT MOGUL was sending to this Prince to offer him 40,000 *écus*[2] for his pearl; but he refused to accept that sum.

This account makes it apparent, with reference to jewels, that fine jewels ought not always to be taken to EUROPE,[3] but rather from EUROPE to ASIA, as I have

[1] About £6900.

[2] *I.e.* £9000. Its value is stated to have been £32,000. (See Streeter, *Precious Stones and Gems*, Third Edition, part iii, p. 14.)

[3] I remember a case in India some few years ago illustrative of this, which gave rise to a trial. One or two persons residing at Simla bought some stones as a speculation and sent them to England, where

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done, because both precious stones and pearls are esteemed there very highly when they have unusual beauty; but CHINA and JAPAN must be excepted, where they are not valued.[1]

The other locality in the East where there is a pearl-fishery is in the sea near a large town called MANAR, in the island of CEYLON.[2] The pearls found there are the most beautiful, both as regards water and roundness, of all the fisheries; but one is rarely found there which exceeds 3 or 4 carats in weight.

There are, moreover, on the coast of JAPAN pearls of very beautiful water and good size, but they are very imperfect; nevertheless they are not fished for, because, as I have said, the Japanese do not esteem jewels.

Although the pearls which are found at BAHREN and at EL KATIF tend somewhat to yellow, they are esteemed as highly as those of MANAR, as I have

they were valued at a lower price than had been given for them. The purchasers thereupon sought by an action to recover their money from the native jewel merchant, but lost their suit.

[1] The Chinese prefer to invest their money in porcelain, lacquer, and other works of art, and ridicule the craze for precious stones.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. S. Haughton of the Ceylon Civil Service for a copy of *The Overland Ceylon Observer* for 11th April 1888, which contains details of the results of the Ceylon pearl-fisheries from the year 1796 to 1888. In the first period, namely from 1796 to 1837, the total receipts amounted to £946,803 : 8 : $3\frac{3}{4}$, and the expenditure to £51,752 : 6 : $8\frac{1}{2}$. An estimate by Captain Stewart, however, makes the total net revenue for the same period only £524,521 : 14 : $2\frac{3}{4}$. In the second period, from 1838 to 1888, the total revenue was £437,110 : 4s., and the expenditure £105,656 : 1 : $9\frac{1}{2}$, or a net average annual profit, inclusive of many years when there was no fishing, of upwards of £6600. The average number of oysters annually fished for the same period amounted to about 3,575,630. In the year 1880, according to the *Colonial Exhibition Handbook of Ceylon*, 25,000,000 oysters sold for only £20,000, whereas in 1881 18,000,000 sold for £59,000.

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remarked, and throughout the East it is said that they are mature or ripe, and that they never change colour.

I come now to the fisheries of the West, which are all situated on the great Gulf of MEXICO, along the coast of NEW SPAIN, and there are five of them which succeed one another from east to west.

The first is near the island of CUBAGUA,[1] which is only 3 leagues in circuit, and is distant about 5 from the mainland. It is in 10° 30′ of N. Lat., and 160 leagues from S. DOMINIQUE[2] in the ISLE OF SPAIN. It is a very infertile land, wanting in all things, and especially water, which the inhabitants are obliged to obtain from the mainland. This island is renowned throughout the west, because it is where the most considerable pearl-fishery is situated, although the largest pearls do not exceed 5 carats. The second fishery is in the island of MARGUERITE, that is to say, the island of pearls, at 1 league from CUBAGUA, which it surpasses much in size. It produces all that is necessary to life except that, like CUBAGUA, it lacks water, which has to be sent for to the river CUMANA, near NEW CADIZ.[3] This fishery is not the most abundant of all the five in AMERICA; but it is considered the principal, because the pearls which are found there surpass the others in perfection, both as regards water and size. One of the latter which I possessed, of well-formed pear shape, and of fine water, weighed 55 carats, and

[1] Cubagua is one of the Antilles group. It lies between the isle of Marguerite and the coast of Cumana, and belongs to Venezuela. It was formerly a centre of the pearl-fisheries.

[2] San Dominique, also one of the Antilles.

[3] The positions of Marguerite and Cumana are indicated in the previous note.

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I sold it to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, uncle of the GREAT MOGUL.[1]

Many are astonished to learn that pearls are taken from EUROPE to the East, from whence they come in abundance, but it should be remarked that in the Oriental fisheries they are not found of as great weights as in those of the West, added to which all the kings and great nobles of ASIA pay much better than do people in EUROPE, not only for pearls, but for all kinds of jewels—when they are out of the common run—excepting only the diamond.

The third fishery is at COMOGOTE,[2] near the mainland.

The fourth is at RIO DE LA HACHA,[3] along the same coast.

The fifth, and last, is at SAINTE MARTHE, 60 leagues from RIO DE LA HACHA.

All these three fisheries produce pearls of good weight; but generally they are ill-formed and are of a leaden-coloured water.

Finally, as for the pearls of SCOTLAND, and those which are found in the rivers of BAVARIA,[4] although necklaces are made of them which are worth up to 1000 *écus*[5] and beyond, they cannot enter into comparison with those of the East and West Indies.

It is possible that of those who have written before me concerning pearls none have recorded that some

[1] See Book I, chap. viii, for details of the sale, and the quarrel it gave rise to. See also p. 130.

[2] *Comogote* not identified.

[3] Rio de la Hacha is in Columbia, being the name of a Province and its chief town.

[4] Obtained from the *Unios* and *Anodons*, fresh-water mussels.

[5] £225.

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years back a fishery was discovered in a certain part of the coasts of JAPAN, and I have seen some of the pearls which the Dutch brought from thence. They were of very beautiful water, and some of them of large size, but all *baroques*. The Japanese, as I have above said, do not esteem pearls. If they cared about them it is possible that by their means some banks might be discovered where finer ones would be obtained.

Before concluding this chapter I shall make a very important remark in reference to pearls and the differences in their waters, some being very white, others tending to yellow, and others to black, and some which are, so to speak, lead-coloured. As for the last, they are only found in AMERICA, and this colour is caused by the nature of the bottom, which is muddier than in the East. In a return cargo which the late M. DU JARDIN,[1] the well-known jeweller, had in the Spanish gallions, there were included six perfectly round pearls, but black as jet, which weighed altogether 12 carats. He gave them to me with some other things to take to the East, to see if they could be disposed of, but I brought them back again, as I found no one who would look at them.[2] As for the pearls tending to yellow, the colour is due to the fact that the fishermen sell the oysters in heaps, and the merchants awaiting sometimes up to fourteen or fifteen days till the shells open of themselves, in order to extract the pearls, some of these oysters lose their water during this time, decay, and become putrid, and the pearls become yellow by contact. This is so true that in all

[1] See p. 159.

[2] Black pearls do not suit dark complexions so well as the lighter kinds.

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oysters which have retained their water the pearls are always white. They are allowed to open of themselves, because if they are opened by force, as we open our oysters in the shell, the pearl may be damaged and broken. The oysters of the MANAR Strait open of themselves, spontaneously, five or six days sooner than those of the Gulf of PERSIA, because the heat is much greater at MANAR, which is at the 10th degree of North Latitude,[1] while the island of BAHREN is at about the 27th. And consequently among the pearls which come from MANAR there are few yellow ones found. Finally, all the Orientals are very much of our taste in matters of whiteness, and I have always remarked that they prefer the whitest pearls,[2] the whitest diamonds, the whitest bread, and the whitest women.

[1] The true Latitude of Manar, a gulf or arm of the sea between Ceylon and Southern India, is about 8° to 9° N. Lat., and of Bahren about 27° as stated.

[2] On p. 109 it was stated that slightly yellow pearls have the preference.

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CHAPTER XXI

Concerning the manner in which Pearls originate in Oysters, how they are fished for and at what Seasons.

I AM aware that according to the testimony of some ancient authors, who were not well instructed in these matters, it was commonly believed that the pearl originates from the dew of heaven, and that but one is found in each oyster; but experience proves the contrary. For, as regards the first, the oyster does not stir from the bottom of the sea, where the dew cannot penetrate, and sometimes it is necessary to dive for them to a depth of 12 *cubits*, as we shall see presently; and as for the other, it is common to find up to six or seven pearls in a single oyster, and I have seen one in which there were up to ten in process of formation. It is true that they are not all of the same size, because they are produced in the oyster in the same manner as eggs are in the interior of a fowl: as the largest egg advances towards the orifice and goes out first, while the small eggs remain inside to complete their formation; so the largest pearl advances first, and the other, smaller ones, not having arrived at their full perfection, remain under the oyster at the bottom of the shell until they have attained the size which nature

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gives them.[1] But it cannot be said that there are pearls in all oysters, and one may open many in which none are found.

Moreover, it should not be supposed that a great profit is earned by those who fish for pearls; for if the poor people who engage in it had anything else to do they would leave the fishing, which merely saves them from dying of hunger.[2] I have remarked in my account of PERSIA, that from BASSORA up to CAPE JASQUE,[3] on both coasts of the Gulf of PERSIA, the land produces nothing. The people there are so poor, and live in so miserable a manner, that they never have any bread or rice, and have only dates and salt fish for their food, and you must travel nearly 20 leagues inland before finding grass.

This fishing in the Eastern seas takes place twice in the year, the first being in March and April, and the second in August and September, and the sale lasts from the month of June till November, but this fishing does not take place every year. For those who fish like to know beforehand whether it will pay. In order not to be deceived they send to the fisheries seven or eight boats, each of which brings back about 1000 oysters, which are opened, and if there is not

[1] This physiological explanation will hardly receive acceptance at the present time. (Comp. *Pliny*, Book IX, chap. 57.)

[2] Diamond and gold washing have always, likewise, been the most miserably requited trades in India.

[3] Cape Jask, or the *Rás Jáshak* of the Arabs, is "a point on the eastern side of the Gulf of Oman near the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and 6 miles south of a port of the same name. The latter was frequented by the vessels of the English Company whilst the Portuguese held Hormuz. After the Portuguese were driven out of Hormuz (1622) the English trade was moved to Gombroon." (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 345.)

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found in every thousand oysters the value of 5 *fanos* of pearls—that is to say a half *écu* of our money,[1]—it is accepted as a proof that the fishing will not be good, and that these poor people would not recover the outlay which they would have to incur. For both on account of their outfit and for their food during the time of the fishing they borrow money at the rate of from 3 to 4 per cent per month. Accordingly, if, at the least, 1000 oysters do not yield 5 *fanos* worth of pearls, they do not fish during that year. The merchants buy the oysters on chance, and content themselves with what they find inside. It is a great piece of good fortune when large pearls are found, but it rarely occurs, especially at the MANAR fishery, which produces no large ones, as I have said, the majority being only pearls to be sold by the ounce and ground into powder.[2] Only a few among them weigh half a grain or a grain, and it is a great event when any of 2 or 3 carats are found. In some years the 1000 oysters contain up to 7 *fanos* worth, and the whole fishing yields 100,000 *piastres* and over.[3] While the Portuguese were masters of MANAR they levied toll from every boat, and the Dutch, who have taken possession of it from them, now levy 8 *piastres* from each diver, and sometimes up to 9; this yields them a revenue in the best years amounting to 17,200 *reals*. The reason why the Portuguese took this revenue from these poor people, and why the Dutch take it still, being that they are obliged to protect them against

[1] Or 2s. 3d. The *écu* being worth 2 rupees, or 4s. 6d., therefore these *fanos* were worth 5.4d. each.

[2] The term *aljofar* was applied by the Portuguese to seed pearls, said to be from *al'jauhar*, Arab., a jewel. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

[3] With the *piastre* at 4s. 6d. this would be equal to £22,500.

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their enemies, the *Malabaris*, who come with armed boats to capture these fishers in order to make slaves of them.

Whilst the fishing lasts the Dutch always keep, at sea, two or three armed boats on the quarter whence the *Malabaris* come, these precautions being taken so that the work may proceed in safety. The fishermen are for the most part idolaters, but there are also Muhammadans who have separate boats. They never mingle with one another, and the Dutch levy more from the latter than from the others. For the Muhammadans, besides having to pay as much as the idolaters, have also to give one day's take, the particular day being left to the choice of the Dutch.

The heavier the rainfall in the year, the better is the pearl-fishery. But since many think that at the greatest depths at which the oyster is found, the pearl is whitest, because the water is not so hot there, and the sun has more difficulty in penetrating to the bottom, it is necessary to correct this error. The fishing is carried on in from 4 to 12 *cubits* depth on the banks, where there are sometimes up to 250 boats. In the majority (of the boats) there is but one diver, and in the largest only two. These boats sail from the coast every day before sunrise, with a land wind which never fails and lasts till 10 A.M. In the afternoon they return with a wind from the sea, which succeeds the land-wind, and does not fail to blow at 11 or 12 o'clock, as soon as the other has ceased. The banks are at 5 or 6 leagues out to sea, and when the boats have arrived there the oysters are fished for in the following manner:—

A cord is tied under the arms of those who dive,

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which those who remain in the boats hold by the end. Attached to the diver's great toe is a stone of 18 to 20 pounds weight, which those who remain in the boat also hold by a rope. They have also a net made like a sack, the mouth of which is surrounded by a hoop to keep it open, and this net is attached like the rest. Then the diver plunges into the sea, and as soon as he reaches the bottom, which he does quickly, on account of the weight of the stone attached to his great toe, he removes the stone, and those who are in the barque draw it up. For as long as the diver is able to hold his breath he puts oysters into the net, and as soon as he feels that he is unable to hold out longer, he pulls the cord which is tied under his arms; this is the signal for him to be drawn up, which those who are in the boat do as quickly as they can. The people of MANAR are better fishers, and remain for a longer time under the water than those of BAHREN and EL'KATIF, for they do not place any clips on their noses nor cotton in their ears to keep the water from entering, as is done in the PERSIAN GULF.

After the diver has been drawn into the boat the nets containing the oysters are hauled up, and it requires about seven or eight minutes to lift the oysters and to give the diver time to regain breath, after which he returns to the bottom as before; this he does many times during ten or twelve hours, and then returns to land. Those who are in want of money sell what they have taken, at once, but those who have what they require to live on, keep the oysters until the whole fishing is finished. The oysters are left unopened, and as they decay open of themselves. There are some of these shells which are four times as large as those of

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our ROUEN oysters, but as the flesh of this kind of oyster, of which we speak, is poor and of bad flavour, it is not eaten but is thrown away.

To conclude the discourse on pearls, it should be remarked that throughout EUROPE they are sold by carat weight, which is equal to 4 grains, the same as the diamond weight, but in ASIA the weight is different. In PERSIA the pearls are weighed by the *abás*, and an *abás* is an eighth less than our carat. In INDIA, and in all the territories of the GREAT MOGUL and the Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, they are weighed by *ratis*, and the *rati* is also an eighth less than the carat.[1]

GOA was formerly the place where there was the largest trade in all ASIA in diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other stones. All the miners and merchants went there to sell the best which they had obtained at the mines, because they had there full liberty to sell, whereas, in their own country, if they showed anything to the Kings or Princes, they were compelled to sell at whatever price they pleased to fix. There was also at GOA a large trade in pearls, both of those which came from the island of BAHREN in the PERSIAN GULF, and those fished for in the straits of MANAR on the coast of the island of CEYLON, as also of those which were brought from AMERICA. It should be known then, that in GOA and in all the other places which the Portuguese hold in INDIA, they have a particular weight for pearls which is not used in the other places where there is a trade in pearls, neither in

[1] Kelly in the *Universal Cambist*, i, p. 278, gives the value of the Persian *abás* as 3.66 diamond grains = 2.25 (2.9 ?) troy grains. But it has been shown that the pearl *rati* of our author was equal to 2.77 troy grains. (See vol. i, Appendix, p. 417, and Preface, vol. ii, for correction.)

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EUROPE, ASIA, nor AMERICA. I do not include AFRICA, because this trade is unknown there, and because in that part of the world the women content themselves, in lieu of jewels, with pieces of crystal, beads of false coral or yellow amber, of which they make necklaces and bracelets to wear on their arms and legs.

The Portuguese, then, in all the places in INDIA where they are in authority, sell pearls by a weight which they call *chegos*, but buy them of the merchants, according to the places from whence they bring them, by carats, *abás*, or *ratis*. The table which follows shows the *ratio* between these *chegos* and carats.

Carats.	Chegos.	Carats.	Chegos.	Carats.	Chegos.	Carats.	Chegos.
1	5	11	84	21	306	31	667¼
2	8	12	100	22	336	32	711
3	11½	13	117	23	367¼	33	756¼
4	16	14	136	24	400	34	802¾
5	21	15	156	25	430	35	850½
6	27	16	177¾	26	469¼	36	900
7	34	17	200½	27	506¼	37	950½
8	44	18	225	28	544½	38	1002¾
9	56	19	250½	29	584	39	1056
10	69	20	277¾	30	625	40	1111¼[1]

[1] With such an extraordinary table of equivalents one may easily understand the difficulty that is experienced in reconciling statements about weights and measures. If 1 carat equals 5 *chegos*, it might be supposed that 20 carats would equal 100 *chegos*, and 40 carats 200; but it will be seen that the equivalents above given are 277¾ and 1111¼ respectively. (See Preface for explanation.)

The relationship between the real weight called the *mangelin* in Madras, and the nominal weight called *chow*, though it does not elucidate this table, throws some light on the subject. *Rule*—Square the number of *mangelins*, and divide three-fourths of this product by the number of pearls. The quotient is the number of *chows*. *Example*—To find value of 21 pearls weighing 16 *mangelins* at 12 *pagodas* per *chow*, $16 \times 16 \times \frac{3}{4} = 192$, $192 \div 21 = 9$ *chows* $9\frac{1}{7}$ parts, which at 96s. per *chow* = £43 : 17 : 8⅔. (See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, p. 92.)

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CHAPTER XXII

Remarks upon the largest and most beautiful Diamonds and Rubies which the Author has seen in EUROPE *and* ASIA, *the figures of which are here given, together with those of large Stones which he sold to the King on his return from his last Journey to* INDIA, *with a representation of a magnificent Topaz, and the largest Pearls in the World.*

I SHALL follow the order of the figures as they are arranged by their numbers, and I shall commence with the heaviest diamond of which I have any knowledge :—

No. 1. This diamond[1] belongs to the GREAT MOGUL, who did me the honour to have it shown to me with all his other jewels. You see represented here its form after having been cut, and, as I was allowed to weigh it, I ascertained that it weighed 319½ *ratis*, which are equal to $279\frac{9}{16}$ of our carats. When in the rough it weighed, as I have elsewhere said, 907 *ratis*, or $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats. This stone is of the same form as if one cut an egg through the middle.[2]

[1] For full discussion of all the facts connected with the Great Mogul's diamond, see Appendix I, and Index.

[2] This operation may be performed in either of two ways ; from the figure given by Tavernier he evidently means transversely. The Koh-i-núr as it was when brought to England might be described as of

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No. 2 represents the form of the Grand Duke of TUSCANY'S diamond, which he has had the goodness to show me upon more than one occasion. It weighs 139½ carats, but it is unfortunate that its water tends towards the colour of citron.[1]

No. 3 is of a stone[2] weighing 176⅛ *mangelins*, which amount to 242$\frac{5}{16}$ of our carats. The *mangelin*, as I have said, is the weight used in the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, and it amounts to 1⅜ of our carats. When at GOLCONDA in the year 1642, I was shown this stone, and it is the largest diamond I have seen in INDIA in the possession of merchants. The owner allowed me to make a model of it in lead, which I sent to SURAT to two of my friends, telling them of its beauty and the price, namely 500,000 rupees, which amount to 750,000 *livres* of our money.[3] I received an order from them, that, if it was clean and of fine water, to offer 400,000 rupees, but it was impossible to purchase it at that price. Nevertheless, I believe

the shape of half an egg, cut longitudinally, but this difference of form, as I shall explain, was the result of the mutilation to which it was subjected. (See Appendix I.)

[1] For identification of this stone with the Austrian yellow, now the property of the Emperor of Austria, and known as the Florentine, see *Index*. Its weight, as recently determined by Schrauf, is 133½ Vienna carats, or 27.454 *gramms*. His figure of it corresponds with that given by our Author. The figures of the Austrian yellow by Murray, and following him by Emanuel, represent a distinct stone.

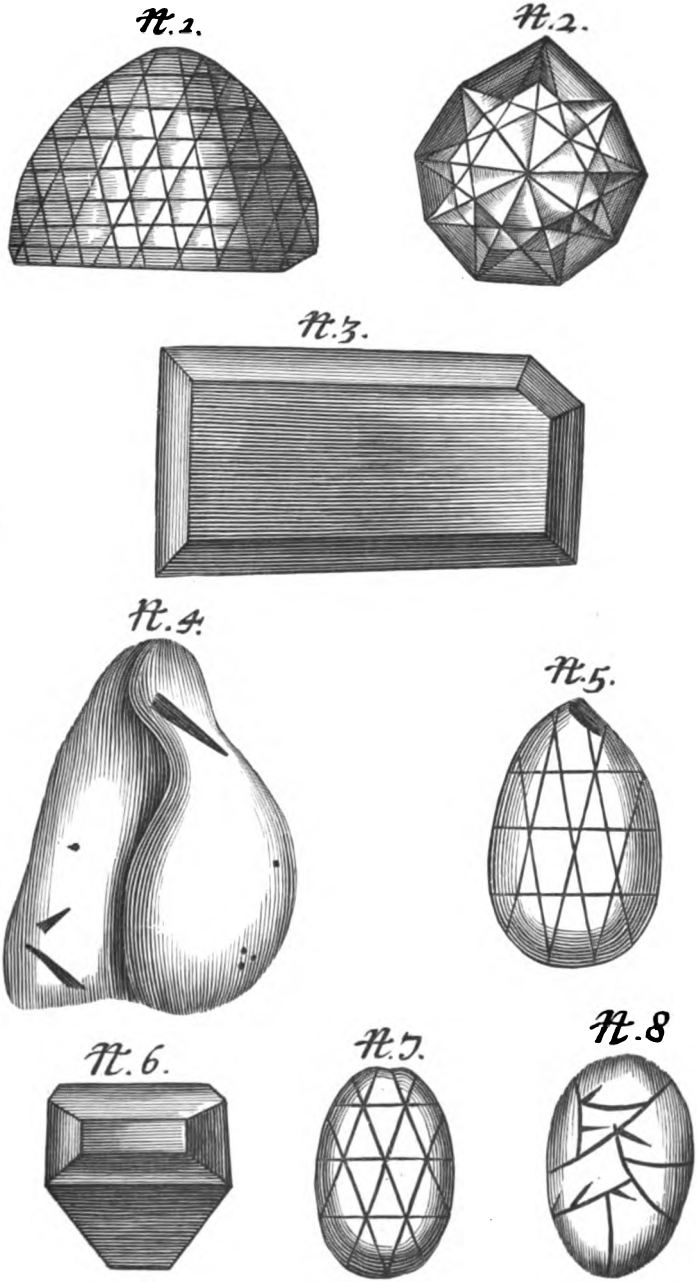
[2] It is not known whether this stone still exists in the form it had when seen by Tavernier. Mr. Streeter (*Great Diamonds*) devotes a chapter to it under the title "The Great Table." I do not know the source from whence the story which he gives as to its discovery by a Bheel Chief is derived. What has become of it is not known; it has most probably been broken up.

[3] £56,250.

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PLATE II.

DIAMONDS.



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that it could have been obtained if they would have advanced their offer to 450,000 rupees.

No. 4 represents a diamond which I bought at AHMADÁBÁD for one of my friends. It weighed 178 *ratis*, or 157¼ of our carats.[1]

No. 5 represents the shape of the above mentioned diamond after it had been cut on both sides. Its weight was then 94½ carats, the water being perfect. The flat side, where there were two flaws at the base, was as thin as a sheet of thick paper. When having the stone cut I had all this thin portion removed, together with a part of the point above, where a small speck of flaw still remains.[2]

No. 6 represents another diamond which I bought in the year 1653 at the KOLLUR mine. It is beautiful and pure, cut at the mine. It is a thick stone, and weighs 36 *mangelins*, which are equal to 63⅜ of our carats.[3]

Nos. 7 and 8. The two pieces represented are from a cleaved stone, which, when whole, weighed 75⅝ *mangelins*, or 104 carats.[4] Although of good water, there appeared so much impurity inside it, that,

[1] The equivalent should be 155¾ carats.

[2] Mr. Streeter (*Great Diamonds*) heads a chapter with this, the "Ahmadábád Diamond," but so far as the stone is concerned, all that can be said is, that nothing is certainly known of its subsequent history. It may have been disposed of in Persia.

[3] The equivalent of 36 Kollur or Golconda *mangelins* in carats at 1⅜, is 49½ carats, and in Ramulkota *mangelins* at 1¾ (see p. 89) = 63 carats. Nothing further is known of this stone.

[4] Strictly 103$\frac{63}{64}$ carats, in round numbers therefore 104, the *mangelins* being those of Golconda at 1⅜ carats in this case.

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as it was large and high-priced there was no one among the *Banians* who dared to purchase it. At length a Dutchman named BAZU ventured to do so, and, having had it cleaved, he found inside it about 8 carats weight of impurity like decomposed vegetable matter.[1] The small piece was clean, save for a nearly imperceptible flaw; but as for the other, where the flaws traversed right through, it had to be divided into seven or eight pieces. The Dutchman risked much in cleaving this stone, and it was a great piece of good luck for him that it did not break into a hundred fragments. Still, for all that, it did not repay him; this makes it sufficiently plain that where the *Banians* refuse to bite there is nothing to be hoped for by the *Franks*.

Figures of twenty Diamonds which the Author sold to the King on his return from his last Voyage to INDIA. *The figures before the Reader show the weight, the extent, and thickness of each Stone.*[2]

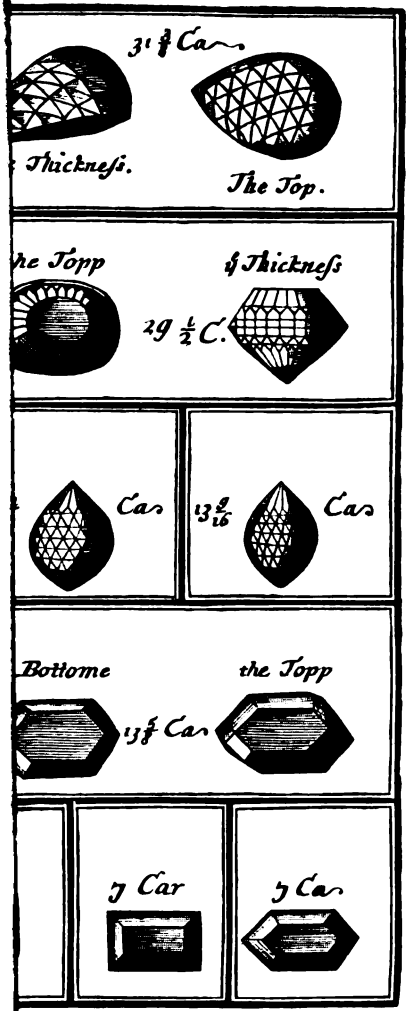
These are the figures of the most beautiful rubies in the world, and of the topaz of the GREAT MOGUL, in the order in which they are arranged here by numbers.

[1] This case has been quoted in connection with investigations into the nature and origin of the diamond. Mr. Streeter devotes a chapter to this diamond. (See *Great Diamonds*, chap. xxx, p. 218.)

[2] The violet-blue diamond A, and the two rose-coloured diamonds B and C, which are here figured, are referred to in "A Note about some unusual Diamonds," published in the *Phil. Trans.* for 27th April 1674, No. 102, p. 26, as being in a representation of a considerable number of diamonds, which were sold by Tavernier to the King of France. Hence it would seem that this plate reached the Royal Society in London before the publication of the travels in 1676. The adamantine hardness of the stones, in spite of their unusual colours, caused them to be admitted to be diamonds. The history of the blue diamond is well

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No. 1. Figure of a ruby which belongs to the King of PERSIA. It is of the thickness and shape of an egg, is bored through and of very high colour, beautiful and clean, with the exception of a small flaw at the side. The custodians are unwilling to say what it cost, as is also the case with the pearl belonging to the same King, which is represented further on; they are likewise unwilling that any one should know what either of them weighs. Those who keep the registers of the King of PERSIA's jewels merely say that this ruby has been in the possession of the King for many years.

No. 2 represents a large stone believed to be a ruby, and sold as such to ZAFAR KHÁN, the GREAT MOGUL's uncle, who bought it for the sum of 95,000 rupees, which amount to 1,425,000 *livres*.[1] He presented it to the GREAT MOGUL, with many other precious things, on the King's festival, that is to say, the day whereon he is weighed, as I have elsewhere said. This stone having been priced at a little less than it cost, there happened to be present at that time an old Indian who had previously been chief jeweller to the King, but had been dismissed from his charge through jealousy. Having taken this stone in

told in Mr. Streeter's work on *The Great Diamonds*. The blue diamond which belonged to Mr. Hope, weighing 44¼ carats, is believed to be a fragment of this stone, which was stolen from the Garde Meuble in 1792.

[1] There is here a mistake on one side or the other; a cipher should either be added to the rupees or subtracted from the *livres*. See vol. i, p. 389, where the total value of a present made by Zafar Khán is put at 1,050,000, hence perhaps it may be concluded that the figure here should be 142,500 *livres*, but it is not certain that the occasions referred to were identical.

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his hands, he maintained that it was not a *balass*[1] ruby, that ZAFAR KHÁN had been cheated, and that the stone was not worth more than 500 rupees. The King having been informed of the discussion, summoned the old Indian, with all the other jewellers, who maintained on their side that the stone was a *balass* ruby. As in the whole Empire of the GREAT MOGUL there was no one more proficient in the knowledge of stones than SHÁH JAHÁN, who was kept as a prisoner at AGRA by AURANGZEB, his son, the latter sent the stone to the King, his father, asking for his opinion. After full consideration he confirmed the verdict of the old jeweller, and said that it was not a *balass* ruby, and that its value did not exceed 500 rupees. The stone having been returned to AURANGZEB, he compelled the merchant who had sold it to take it back and return the money he had received.

Nos. 3 and 4 are figures of a ruby which belongs to the King of BIJAPUR. No. 4 shows the height of the stone above the ring, and No. 3 the circuit of the *chaton*.[2] It weighs 14 *mangelins*, which equal 17½ of our carats, the *mangelin* at BIJAPUR being 5 grains.[3] It is hollowed from beneath (*i.e.* cut *en cabuchon*), clean, and of the first quality. The King of BIJAPUR bought it in the year 1653 for the sum of 14,200 new *pagodas*, the *pagoda* being then worth 3½ rupees, this, in our money, would be equal to 74,550 *livres*.[4]

[1] *Ballet* in the original, for *balass*. (See vol. i, p. 382 *n.*)

[2] The *chaton* is the bezel of a ring which holds a jewel in position.

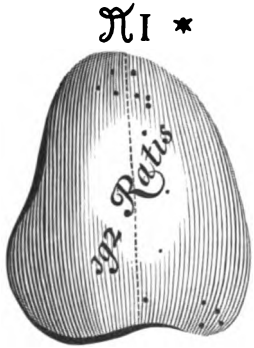
[3] On p. 124 the Bijapur *mangelin* is said to be equal to 1⅜ carats (*i.e.* 5½ diamond grains), and 14 *mangelins* should therefore be equal to 19¼ carats.

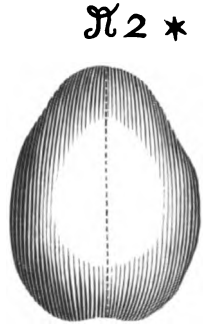
[4] £5591 : 5s.

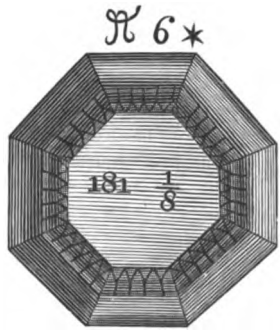
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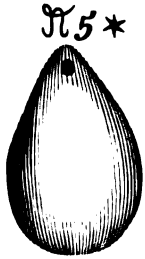
PLATE IV.

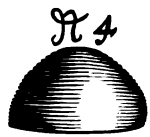
RUBIES AND TOPAZ.

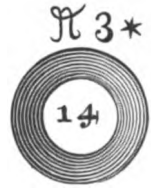












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No. 5 is the figure of a ruby which a *Banian* merchant showed me at BENARES on the occasion of my last visit to INDIA. It weighs 58 *ratis*, or 50¾[1] carats, and is of the second quality. Its form is of an almond *cabuchon* somewhat hollowed beneath, and bored near the point. I was willing to give 40,000 rupees for it, which make 60,000 *livres*,[2] but the merchant to whom it belonged asked 55,000 rupees. I believe I could have got it for 50,000 rupees.[3]

No. 6 is the figure of the large topaz of the GREAT MOGUL. I did not see him wear any other jewel during the time I remained at his Court on my last visit to INDIA. This topaz weighs 181⅛ *ratis*, or 157¼ carats.[4] It was bought at GOA for the GREAT MOGUL, for the sum of 181,000 rupees, or 271,500 *livres* of our money.[5]

No. 7. These grand monarchs of ASIA are not the only ones in the world who are in possession of beautiful stones. I have not seen as large rubies in any of the thrones of the GREAT MOGUL as are those represented in the plate Nos. 7, 8, and 9, which belong to our great King, the most powerful and magnificent, in all respects, among the Monarchs of the earth!

[1] At the rate of one *rati* = ⅞th of a carat.

[2] £4500.

[3] £5750.

[4] 181⅛ *ratis* = 158½ carats nearly. In vol. i, p. 400, it was said to weigh 6 *melscals* = 1 Fr. *once*. It was probably the stone referred to in vol. i, p. 372. Bernier, already quoted, alludes to it as "a beautiful oriental topaz of matchless size and splendour, shining like a little sun." (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 179, Calcutta, 1826.)

[5] £20,412 : 10s.

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Here again are figures of the largest pearls of which we have knowledge, in the order of their numbers.

No. 1 is the figure of a pearl which the King of PERSIA bought in the year 1633 from an Arab who had just received it from the fisheries at EL KATIF. It cost him 32,000 *tomans*, or 1,400,000 *livres* of our money, at the rate of 46 *livres* and 6 *deniers* per *toman*.[1] It is the largest and most perfect pearl ever discovered, and it has not the least defect.

No. 2 is the figure of the largest pearl which I saw at the Court of the GREAT MOGUL. It is suspended from the neck of a peacock made of precious stones, and rests on the breast, and this peacock surmounts the throne.

No. 3 is the figure of a pearl which I sold, on my last journey, to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,[2] uncle of the GREAT MOGUL and Governor of BENGAL. It weighs 55 carats, but the water is somewhat dead; it is the largest pearl which has ever been taken from EUROPE to ASIA.

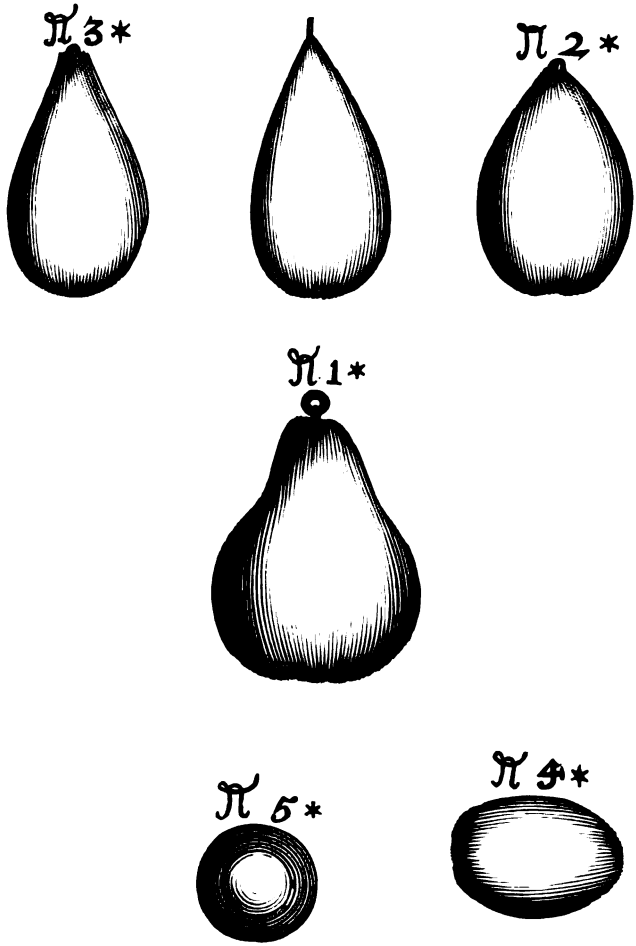
[1] 32,000 × 46*l.* 6*d.* = 1,472,800 *livres* = £110,460, and 32,000 *tomans* at £3 : 9s. = £110,400. Ainslie, referring to this in his chapter on pearls as a drug, erroneously states that Tavernier himself paid the enormous sum of £110,000 for this pearl. (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, p. 294.) A value of £64,000 for this pearl is mentioned by Streeter (*Precious Stones and Gems*, 3d Edition, part iii, p. 14), but that sum appears to have been derived from an under-estimate of the equivalent values of the *livre* and *toman*, as known to Tavernier.

[2] See for the incidents connected with the sale of this pearl Book I, chap. viii. It was the cause of serious disagreement between Tavernier and Sháistá Khán. On p. 112 Tavernier states that it came from the American pearl fishery.

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PLATE V.

PEARLS.



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No. 4 is the figure of a large pearl perfect both as regards its water and its form which is like that of an olive. It is in the middle of a chain of emeralds and rubies that the GREAT MOGUL sometimes wears round his neck, and it hangs down to his waist.

No. 5. As a round pearl of perfect form, this is the largest I know of, and it belongs to the GREAT MOGUL. Its equal has never been found, for which reason the GREAT MOGUL has not worn it, but has left it with other jewels which are unmounted. For if a match for it had been found, the pair might have been used as ear pendants, and each of the two pearls would have been placed between two rubies or two emeralds, in conformity with the custom of the country, there being no one, whether small or great, who, in proportion to his means, does not carry in each ear a pearl set between two coloured stones.

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CHAPTER XXIII

Concerning Coral and Yellow Amber and the places where they are found.

ALTHOUGH coral does not rank among precious stones in EUROPE, it is nevertheless held in high esteem in the other quarters of the globe, and it is one of the most beautiful of nature's productions, so that there are some nations who prefer it to precious stones. I shall set down here, in a few words what I have been able to ascertain about the places where it is fished for, and of the manner in which it is obtained.

I shall say in the first place that there are three fisheries on the coast of SARDINIA. That obtained at ARGUERREL[1] is the best and the most beautiful of all, the second locality is called BOZA,[2] and the third is close to the island of ST. PIERRE.[3] There is another fishery on the coasts of the island of CORSE,[4] and the coral found there is slender but beautiful in colour. It is found at two other places on the coast of AFRICA—one near the BASTION DE FRANCE,[5] and the other at

[1] *Arguerrel* not identified.

[2] *Boza*, on the west coast of Sardinia, about 5 miles from Cagliari.

[3] *St. Pierre* is probably some small islet not on ordinary maps.

[4] Corsica.

[5] The *Bastion de France* was one of the forts belonging to France on the coast of Algiers before the nineteenth century. It was near La Callé, which in 1594 belonged to France, and was the centre of a coral fishery. It is now destroyed.

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TABARQUE[1]; the coral from this locality is fairly thick and long, but the colours are pale. There is a seventh fishery on the coast of SICILY, near TRAPANO[2]; the coral there is slender, but of good colour. There is still another locality on the coast of CATALOGNE, towards CAPE DE QUIERS[3]; the coral there is of excellent colour and thick, but the branches are very short. There is, moreover, a ninth fishery in the island of MAJORQUE,[4] of the same nature as that of the island of CORSE; and these are all the places in the MEDITERRANEAN where there are coral fisheries,[5] for there are none in the Ocean.[6] The following is the method of fishing for it.

As coral grows under hollowed rocks where the sea is deep, the following device is used in order to obtain it. The fishers bind two rafters together in the form of a cross, and place a large lump of lead in the centre to make them sink to the bottom. They then bind tufts of hemp about the rafters, and twist them irregularly to the size of the thumb, and attach the wood by two

[1] Tabarka, a rocky islet on north coast of Tunis, near La Callé.

[2] Trepani, the Drepanum of the ancients, 18 miles north of Marsala.

[3] Catalonia, in Spain. *Cape de Quiers* has not been identified.

[4] Majorca. The fact of there being so much variation in the characters of the coral from these different localities should be of some interest to naturalists.

[5] "The most important fisheries extend along the coasts of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, but red coral is also obtained in the vicinity of Naples, near Leghorn and Genoa, and on the coasts of Sardinia, Corsica, Catalonia, and Provence. It is said that it attains greater perfection in the East than in the South, and that it is rarely found in a western, and never in a northern aspect." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. "Coral.")

[6] This is now known to be not correct, since "red or precious coral occurs at San Jago and also at St. Vincent. . . . It occurs in about 100 or 120 fathoms, and is dragged for with swabs as in the Mediterranean." (Prof. Moseley, *Notes of a Naturalist on the Challenger*, p. 65.)

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ropes, one of which hangs from the bow and the others from the stern of the boat. They then allow the wood to drift with the current across the rocks, and the hemp becoming entangled about the coral, it sometimes requires five or six boats to hoist the rafters; and when exerting the great strain necessary, if one of the cables breaks all the rowers are in danger of perishing; it is a very dangerous trade. When dragging up the coral thus, by force, for as much as is drawn out an equal quantity falls back into the sea, and the bottom being generally very muddy, the coral is injured from day to day, as our fruits on the earth are, by worms, so that the sooner it is extracted from the mud the less is it deteriorated. In reference to this I may say that I have seen, at MARSEILLES, something wonderful in a shop where coral was worked. There was a piece as big as the thumb, and as it was somewhat glassy it was cut in two, and a worm was found inside, which I saw wriggle, it had been kept alive for some months by shutting it up in its hole. For it should be remarked that among some branches of coral there grows a sort of sponge similar to our honeycombs, where small worms ensconce themselves like bees—in such ways does nature delight to diversify her works. Some persons believe that coral is soft in the sea, but, as a matter of fact, it is hard. It is, however, true that in certain months of the year one can express from the ends of the branches a kind of milk as from the breast of a woman.[1] This may be the seed which, falling upon whatsoever it meets with in the sea, produces another branch of coral,—thus, for instance, it has been found on a human skull, upon the blade of a sword, and upon a grenade which had fallen

[1] This refers to the ova of the coral polypes.

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into the sea, where it was interlaced in the branches of coral to the height of six inches; and I have had the grenade in my hands.

The coral fishery lasts from the commencement of April to the end of July, and generally 200 boats are engaged in it, some years more and some less. They are built beside the GENOA river, and are very light. They carry much sail in order to sail fast, there being no other part of the MEDITERRANEAN where boats carry so much, and there are no galleys able to outstrip them. There are seven men to each boat, with a boy to attend on them. The fishing is carried on at from 25 to 40 miles from the land, where it is believed there are rocks, the boats not advancing farther to sea for fear of pirates, from whom they escape, when they meet them, by swift sailing.

I have to make a remark here about coral in reference to certain nations of the East. The Japanese, as I have said, neither esteem pearls nor precious stones, but they value beautiful beads of coral, which serves to close their bags; these bags are made, as they were formerly, in FRANCE. It is for this purpose that they use the largest beads of coral, to run on a silken cord which closes the bag, so that in order that they may be able to possess one of the size of an egg, beautiful and clean, without any spot upon it, they will pay whatever you ask. The Portuguese, who formerly did a large trade in Japan, have often assured me that they could obtain for one as much as 20,000 *écus*.[1] It is much to be wondered that the Japanese give so much money for a fine piece of coral, since they have a contempt for jewels, caring only for things which are

[1] £4500.

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little thought of elsewhere. They attach great value to the skin of a particular fish, which is rougher than shagreen; this fish has on the back, as it were, six small bones, and sometimes eight, which are elevated and form a circle, with another in the middle, resembling a rose of diamonds.[1] They make sword scabbards of these fish-skins, and the more symmetrically these small bones form the rose and are arranged, the more money is given for them—sometimes up to 10,000 *écus*,[2] as the Dutch have assured me. To return to coral and to finish the discourse about it, it should be added that the common people wear it and use it as an ornament for the neck and arms throughout ASIA, but principally towards the north in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, and beyond them, in the mountains, of the Kingdoms of ASSAM and BHUTÁN.[3]

Yellow amber is not found except on a particular coast of DUCAL PRUSSIA, in the BALTIC SEA,[4] where the sea during certain winds throws it from time to time on the sand. The Elector of BRANDENBURG, who

[1] This appears to have been the skin of some kind of shark or ray. I have seen, but cannot now refer to figures of it in some of the old Dutch and Portuguese travels. A common kind of it is still to be seen on the handles of the Japanese swords, of which such large numbers have been recently imported. In his chapter on the *Conduite des Hollandois en Asie*, published in the *Recüeil*, 1679 Ed., p. 17, Tavernier gives a further account of it. He says a perfect skin was worth up to 10,000 *écus*, an ordinary one being obtainable for 1 *écu*. The fish, he adds, occurred in the Persian Gulf.

[2] The French editions of 1679 and 1713 have 1000 *écus*.

[3] The reason for the preference shown for coral is probably to be attributed to the way its tints adapt themselves to set off a dark skin, and also look well with a white garment.

[4] The source of amber in Upper Burmah in the Hukung valley was not known to Tavernier. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 57, for a description of the mines there.)

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is the proprietor of it, farms out all this coast for from 18,000 to 20,000 *écus* a year, and sometimes up to 22,000 *écus;* and the farmers employ watchmen, who traverse the length of the shore, the sea throwing the amber sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, so that no one can steal it; and whoever ventures to do so receives corporal chastisement.

Amber is nothing more than a congelation of a species of gum which forms in the sea. This experience sufficiently proves, because numerous pieces are to be seen which contain flies and other insects congealed in them.[1] I have had many such pieces, and one, among others, which had four or five small flies inside it.

As I have made a remark about coral in reference to JAPAN, I shall make another about amber in reference to CHINA. It is a custom among the Chinese that when any great noble gives a feast, his reputation for grandeur and magnificence depends upon his having brought in, at the close of the repast, three or four perfume-pans and his having thrown into each of them a large quantity of amber, sometimes to the value of 1000 *écus* and upwards, in consideration of the fact that the more he burns, and the larger the pieces, the more magnificent is the entertainment regarded, for a piece weighing one *livre* is worth 200 to 300 *écus.*[2] They use amber for this purpose because they adore fire, and because amber, thrown in the fire, yields a certain odour which is not unpleasing to the Chinese; as it contains a kind of oil it gives out a flame exceeding

[1] Tavernier had therefore an approximately correct idea as to the true nature and origin of amber as a fossilised vegetable production.

[2] *I.e.* £45 to £67 : 10s. per *livre.*

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most other flames. This profusion and waste explain the reason why amber is one of the best articles of merchandise that one could carry to CHINA if trade had been open to foreigners, but the Dutch Company strictly reserve to themselves the trade in it—the Chinese coming to buy it from them at BATAVIA.

I am unwilling to finish this chapter without making some remarks on ambergris also. We do not very well know either how it is formed or where it is found; but it would appear as though it can only be in the seas of the East, although it has sometimes been found on the English and other European coasts.[1] The largest quantity of it is found on the coast of MELINDA, principally towards the mouths of the rivers, and especially at the mouth of that which is called RIO DI SENA.[2] When the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE returns

[1] Ambergris, as is now well known, consists of the *fæces* of the Cachelot or Sperm whale, *Physeter macrocephalus*, which inhabits the Indian Ocean. Garcia de Orta in his chapter on ambergris speaks of ambergris containing beaks of birds. These were no doubt the beaks of the cuttlefish upon which these whales feed. A form of this story is told by Barbosa ("The East African Malabar Coasts," in *Hak. Soc.*, 1866), who says ambergris is the guano of birds which has been swallowed and voided by whales. Chardin (vol. iv, p. 47) doubts the connection with birds, but mentions a number of alternative myths as to its origin. Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, pp. 15-17) gives an interesting account of it, and refers to a vegetable ambergris yielded by a tree in Guiana. He says, like many other authors, that the best ambergris was obtained on the coast of Madagascar. In the *Daily Press* there recently appeared a paragraph headed "An Ambergris King," in which one William A. Atkins, the owner of a fleet of Cape Cod whalers, is described as having the monopoly of the ambergris trade of America —the ambergris being for equal weights worth more than gold. Owing to ambergris being called *ambra* by some nations, very erroneous statements occur in many authorities as to the distribution in the East of true amber, for which it has been mistaken. (See *Economic Geology of India.*)

[2] See p. 157.

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to GOA at the close of three years, when the term of his government is ended, he generally brings with him about 300,000 *pardos* worth of ambergris, and the *pardo*, as I have elsewhere said, amounts to 27 *sols* of our money.[1] Sometimes pieces of ambergris of considerable size and weight are found. In the year 1627 a Portuguese vessel sailing from GOA to the MANILLAS, after it had passed the Straits of MALACCA was overtaken by a tempest which lasted many days and nights, the sky being always concealed, and it being impossible for the pilot to take observations. Meanwhile the rice and other articles of food began to be exhausted, and the crew began to discuss whether they should not throw the blacks who were in the vessel into the sea in order to preserve the food for the white men. They were about to carry this into execution, when one morning the sun showing itself, disclosed to them an island to which they were tolerably near, but were, however, unable to anchor till the following day, the sea being high and the wind unfavourable. There were in the vessel a Frenchman, named MARIN RENAUD, of ORLEANS, and his brother, who on going on shore found a river and went to bathe at its mouth, together with two Portuguese corporals and a sergeant. One of the corporals when bathing perceived in the water a large mass which floated near the shore, and which he concluded, on going near it, was a sort of spongy stone, and left it without another thought, as did the four others, who also went to look at it and handled it without being able to make out what it was. Having returned to the vessel this same corporal reflected during the night as to what this object, of

[1] 27 *sols* = 2s. ·03d., or say 2s. 300,000 *pardos* therefore = £30,000.

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which he had been unable to ascertain the nature, could be, and having heard ambergris spoken of, began to think that it might be it, in which he was not mistaken. The following day, without saying anything to his comrades, he took a sack and got himself put on shore, and going to the river as though he wished to bathe again, found the piece of ambergris and carried it secretly to the vessel, where he placed it in his box. He was unable to restrain himself from communicating the fact the same evening to MARIN RENAUD, who was unwilling to believe at first that it was really ambergris, but having well considered it thought at length that the corporal was right. He, taking all chances, offered the piece to MARIN for two *pains* of Chinese gold, and the golden *pain* is equal to 600 *livres*[1] of our money; but MARIN was only willing to give one; the other held out on his side and kept the piece in his box. A few days afterwards, either spite at not being able to get the piece of ambergris for what he had offered caused MARIN to speak, or the matter was discovered by some other way, the report, however, was spread throughout the vessel that the corporal had a considerable piece of ambergris in his box, which he had found by chance on the shore of this island near to which the Portuguese were at anchor, and the sailors and soldiers then insisted on having their share. MARIN RENAUD out of petty revenge set the ball a-rolling and taught them their lesson. They told the corporal that being all comrades, and all running the same risks, it was just that they

[1] Literally "loaves." The English name for the ingots of gold used in currency by the Chinese was "shoes"; the equivalent value here would be £45. See vol. i, Appendix.

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should all share the benefits which fortune offered them in common; and, moreover, that he was not the only one to whom she had disclosed this piece of ambergris, which should consequently be divided between all the crew. The corporal defended himself on his side as well as he could, and as there were some who took his part, in the hope of having a better share of the piece if there were few pretenders to it, the dispute became so hot that at length it gave rise to a disturbance, which the captain of the vessel immediately sought to allay by his prudence. He represented to the sailors and soldiers that this large piece of ambergris, which, on his weighing it in their presence, proved to be 33 *livres* in weight, being a rare piece and worthy of being presented to the King, it was a pity to break it into so many small pieces; that they would find it pay them better to keep it till their return to GOA, where, on presenting it to the Viceroy, he would not fail to pay well for it, and by this means they would each receive much more. This suggestion of the captain's was generally approved. They pursued their route to the MANILLAS, and on their return the piece of ambergris was taken to the Viceroy. The captain told him beforehand how the matter stood, and they concerted together as to the means whereby they could secure the ambergris without it costing the Viceroy anything. Those who presented it to him on the part of the sailors and soldiers were thanked for it, and the Viceroy told them that he recognised their goodwill by so splendid a present which he would send to the King, who at that time was PHILIPPE THE FOURTH, to whom PORTUGAL was still subject. Thus all the pretenders to the piece of ambergris were defrauded of their

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expectations, and neither from the Viceroy nor the King himself, to whom the ambergris was sent, did they receive any gift.

I shall say one other word concerning a piece of ambergris weighing 42 *livres*. In the year 1646 or 1647 a ZEALANDER, of one of the best families of MIDDLEBOURG, who commanded for the Dutch Company in the Island of MAURICE, which is to the east of that of ST. LAURENS,[1] found this piece on the shore and sent it to the Company. As these people always have enemies, and there being a mark on the piece as if some one had broken a portion off, the Commander was accused of having stolen half, of which charge he cleared himself at BATAVIA. But the suspicion having always dwelt in the minds of many persons, and the Commander seeing that they would not give him another appointment, returned to ZEALAND on the same vessel upon which I then was.

[1] Mauritius and Madagascar, the latter having been known to the Portuguese as St. Lorenzo. Some say the Portuguese landed there first on the festival of the Saint, others that it was discovered by Lorenzo de Almeyda in 1506. (*Varthema* in *Hak. Soc.*, p. 296.)

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CHAPTER XXIV

Concerning Musk and Bezoar and some other medicinal stones.

MUSK and bezoar being included among the rarest articles of trade, and the most precious which ASIA furnishes us with, I have considered it appropriate to devote a chapter to them, and present the reader with some remarks about these two articles.

The best kind and the greatest quantity of musk comes from the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, from whence it is conveyed to PATNA, the principal town of BENGAL, to be sold to the people of that country. All the musk which is sold in PERSIA comes from thence, and the merchants who sell musk prefer that you give them in exchange yellow amber and coral, rather than gold and silver, because they make great profits out of these two commodities. I had the curiosity to take a skin of this animal, which is here represented, to PARIS.[1]

After this animal has been killed, the bladder, which is situated under the belly, is cut off—it is of the size of an egg, and is closer to the genital parts than to the navel. The musk is then extracted from the bladder which contains it—it is then like coagu-

[1] The figure in the original, which it is needless to reproduce here, is a tolerable representation of the musk deer, *Moschus moschiferus* (Linn.)

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lated blood. When the peasants wish to adulterate it, they insert some of the liver and the blood of the slaughtered animal mixed together, instead of the musk which they have withdrawn. This mixture generates in the bladders certain small worms which eat the good musk, so that when one opens them he finds that much has gone bad. Other peasants, when they have cut the bladder and have drawn as much musk as they can without its appearing to be too much, put in its place small pieces of lead to make it heavier. The merchants who buy it and transport it into foreign countries prefer this fraud to the other, because it does not generate these little worms. But the fraud is still more difficult to be discovered when they make small purses of the skin of the animal's stomach, which they sew up with threads of the same skin, so as to resemble the true bladders; these purses are filled with what has been removed from the good bladders, together with the fraudulent mixture which is added to it, so that it is difficult for the merchants to discover anything.[1] It is true that if they bind the bladder directly they cut it, without letting the air get to it, and without giving time to the odour to lose some of its strength by evaporation (while they take out what they want to remove), if this bladder should be held to the nose of any one, blood would immediately issue from it in consequence of the

[1] A still more remarkable method of adulteration is that mentioned by Barbosa, which consists, in short, of putting leeches on the living animal, after the musk has been removed, and then allowing them to gorge themselves with the blood, after which they are dried in the sun and pounded, and the substance so prepared is placed in counterfeit pods made of the skin of the animal. (See *The East African and Malabar Coasts, Hakluyt Society*, p. 187.)

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pungency of the odour, which for this reason must be tempered to render it agreeable and prevent it from injuring the brain. The odour from the skin of this animal, which I took to PARIS, was so strong that it was impossible to keep the skin in my rooms, as it caused headache to all the people in the house, and it was necessary to put it in a garret, where at length my servants cut off the bladder—this did not prevent its always retaining something of the odour. You do not begin to meet with this animal till about the 56° of latitude; but at 60° it is in great abundance, the country there being well wooded. It is true that in the months of February and March, after these animals have suffered from famine in their own country on account of the snow, which falls in abundance to depths of 10 or 12 feet, they come south to 44° and 45°, to eat the corn and new rice, and it is at this time that the peasants entrap them, in snares which they set, and kill them with arrows and blows of sticks. Some persons have told me that the deer are so thin and feeble in consequence of the hunger from which they have suffered, that many allow themselves to be captured by coursing. There must be an enormous number of these animals, as each has but one bladder, the largest of which is ordinarily of the size of a hen's egg, and only yields half an ounce of musk. It sometimes requires even three or four of these bladders to make an ounce.[1]

[1] "The musk deer is found throughout the Himalayas, always at great elevations, and in summer rarely below 8000 feet, and as high as the limits of forest. It extends through the Himalayas to Central and Northern Asia as far as Siberia. A good musk pod is valued at from 10 to 15 rupees. One ounce is about the average produce of the pod." (Jerdon, *Mammals of India*, p. 268.) Adulteration, as it is described by Tavernier, appears to be still practised.

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The King of BHUTÁN, of whom I shall speak in the following Book, in the description which I shall give of his Kingdom, fearing that the fraud done in musk might stop the trade, especially as musk is also obtained in TONQUIN or COCHIN-CHINA, but is much dearer because it is not so abundant there—this King, I say, fearing lest this falsification of goods would divert the trade from his territories, some time ago ordered that the bladders should not be stitched, but should be brought open to BHUTÁN, which is the place of his residence, to be examined and sealed with his seal. Those which I bought were of this kind; but notwithstanding all the King's precautions, the peasants open them secretly, and place small pieces of lead in them, as I have said; this the merchants tolerate, because the lead does not spoil the musk, and causes no injury, save in the weight. On one of my journeys to PATNA I bought 7673 bladders, which weighed 2557½ ounces, and 452 ounces without the bladders.[1]

Bezoar[2] comes from a Province of the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, towards the north-east. It is found in the

[1] From this, with similar statements about other commodities, we see that Tavernier did not limit his mercantile transactions to precious stones. In Book III, chap. xv, he again refers to this purchase (?), and says he bought 26,000 rupees worth—a Fr. ounce in the capsule costing 4 *livres* and 4 *sols*, *i.e.* about 6s. 3d., and out of the capsule 8 *francs*, or say 6s. 8d., or if *livres* are intended, 12s. But at these prices the quantity here mentioned falls far short of making the total sum of 26,000 rupees. This, supposing the occasions to be identical, as appears to be the case, is a characteristic Tavernier discrepancy.

[2] Bezoar is from *padzar*, Persian, the name given to intestinal calculi. It was formerly so highly esteemed in the East as a drug that the early European travellers all seemed to believe in its efficacy, and accounts of it are to be found in the writings by many of them. (See *note* 1, on p. 151.)

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fodder in the paunches of goats which brouse on a tree, the name of which I have forgotten. This plant bears little buds, about which, and also on the tips of the branches, which the goats eat, the *bezoar* concretes in the bellies of these animals. It assumes a form according to the shape of the buds and the ends of the branches, and this is why one finds it in so many different shapes. The peasants, by feeling the belly of the goat, know how many *bezoars* it contains, and they sell the goat for a price in proportion to the number which are therein. In order to ascertain this, they run both hands under the belly of the goat and beat the paunch along both sides, so that all the stones fall to the middle thereof, and they then estimate exactly, by touch, how many *bezoars* are in it. The value of *bezoar* depends on the size, although the small possess no less virtue than the large. But in this respect one is often deceived by the fact that there are people who enlarge the *bezoar* with a kind of paste made of gum and other materials of the same colour as the *bezoar*. They understand, even, how to give as many coats as the natural *bezoar* ought to have. One can detect this fraud easily by two methods. The first by weighing the *bezoar* and placing it to steep for some time in lukewarm water; if the water does not change its colour, and if the *bezoar* does not lose weight, it has not been adulterated. The other means is to touch the *bezoar* with a pointed hot iron; if the iron enters it and makes it fry, it is a sign that it is a mixture, and that it is not genuine. For the rest, the larger the *bezoar* the higher the price, which rises in proportion like that of the diamond. For if 5 or 6 *bezoars* weigh an ounce, the ounce will be worth from 15 to 18

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francs, but if it is a *bezoar* of one ounce, the ounce will be worth fully 100 *francs*. I have sold one of $4\frac{1}{4}$ ounces for as much as 2000 *livres*.[1]

I had the curiosity to investigate all that can be ascertained regarding *bezoar*, having already made several visits to GOLCONDA, which is the place where there is the most considerable sale of it, without being able to ascertain in what part of the body of the goat it is found. On my fifth journey some individuals who were in the services of the English and Dutch Companies, and who dared not trade on their own account, were indebted to me because I purchased about 60,000 rupees worth of *bezoar* for them. The merchants who sold it, wishing to show their acknowledgment, and to make me some present, I refused, and told them I had never taken anything from any one for a service which I was able to render. But I let them know that I would again be able to serve them in the approaching *monsoon*, and that they would oblige me also, on their part, if they would get three or four of these goats which produce the *bezoar* for me, promising to pay them for them whatsoever they were worth. The merchants appeared much surprised at this demand, and replied that the prohibition was so strict that if any one was found who dared to remove the goats out of the Province he would be executed without fail. I saw plainly that this request troubled them, for on the one side they feared punishment and on the other they were afraid lest I might prevent them from making another sale; this would have been a great loss to these poor people, who, whether they do or do not sell, are obliged to pay the King, for the farm, 6000 old *pagodas*, which

[1] £150.

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amount to 45,000 *livres* of our money.[1] Fifteen days afterwards or thereabouts, not having thought anything further about them, three of them knocked at my door before daylight. As soon as they had entered my chamber, where I was still in bed, they asked me if all my servants were foreigners. As I had none from the town, and they were all either Persians or from SURAT, I told them they were all foreigners, upon which they withdrew without replying to me. Half an hour afterwards they returned with six of these goats, which I examined at my leisure. It should be said that they are beautiful animals, very tall, and having fine hair, like silk. As soon as the goats were safely in my hall, the eldest of the three merchants who had brought them, beginning to speak by paying me a compliment, told me that since I had not been willing to take the present which they wished to make me, for having procured the sale of so large a parcel of *bezoar*, at the least I would not refuse these six goats which they gave me with their whole hearts; but as I did not wish to take them entirely as a gift, as they desired, I asked what the value of them was; and, after having made great difficulty about telling me, I was at length much surprised and thought they were joking when they said that one of the goats which they pointed out was worth three rupees, that each of the two next were worth four rupees, and each of the three which remained four and a quarter rupees. Upon which I asked them why some of the goats were dearer than

[1] There may be some mistake here, as 6000 old *pagodas* are only equal to 45,000 *livres* when the *pagoda* is taken at 5 rupees, whereas Tavernier in general gives the old *pagoda* the value of only 4½ rupees, 45,000 *livres* = £3375.

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others, and I learnt that it was because one had only one *bezoar* in the stomach, and the others had two or three or four of them; this they made me see for myself, forthwith, by tapping the belly, as I have above described. These six goats had 17 *bezoars*, and a half one, like the half of a nut. The inside was like the soft dropping of a goat, as these *bezoars* grow amongst the food in the belly of the goat. Some have told me that *bezoars* originate close to the liver, others maintain that it is close to the heart, but I was never able to ascertain the truth.[1]

Both in the East and West there are an abundance of *bezoars* obtained from cows, and there are some which weigh up to 17 or 18 ounces, such an one having been given to the Grand Duke of TUSCANY. But nothing is thought of this kind of *bezoar*, six grains of the other having a greater effect than thirty of it.

As for the *bezoar* obtained from monkeys, as some believe, it is so strong that two grains of it do as much as six from that of the goat; but it is very rare, and it is found particularly in the species of monkeys which live in the Island of MACASSAR. This kind of *bezoar* is round, while the other is of diverse forms, according to the forms of the buds and ends of branches which the goats have eaten. As these stones, which it is believed come from monkeys, are much rarer than the others, they are also much dearer and much more sought after; and when one is found of the size of a nut it is valued at more than 100 *écus*. The Portuguese, more than

[1] That Tavernier was not well versed in anatomy is sufficiently apparent from this passage, but at the period at which he wrote it, more than two centuries ago, such references to the heart and liver, and their communication with the stomach, would probably have passed without criticism.

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other nations, attach great value to *bezoar*, because they are always on their guard, one against the other, fearing that an enemy may wish to poison them.[1]

There is still another much esteemed stone which is called the porcupine stone, which this animal has in its head, and is more efficacious against poison than *bezoar*. When one has placed it to steep in water for a quarter of an hour, the water becomes so bitter that there is nothing in the world to equal it in bitterness.[2] This animal has also sometimes, in its belly, a stone which is of the same nature and equally good as that which comes from the head, except with this difference, that it loses nothing of its weight or size by steeping in water, while there is diminution of the other. During my life I have bought three of these stones. One cost me 500 *écus*, and I disposed of it subsequently with advantage to the Ambassador DOMINICO DE SANTIS,[3] of whom I have spoken in my accounts of PERSIA. I paid 400 *écus* for another, which I still keep; and the

[1] Garcia de Orta, who devotes a chapter to *bezoar*, highly extols its merits as a medicine in cases of ague, measles, as an antidote to poison, and in the treatment of abscesses; he mentions that it was supposed, moreover, to possess aphrodisiac properties. It is not now believed to have any therapeutic value—to be, in fact, neutral.

[2] It seems probable that the substance supposed to be obtained in the head of the porcupine was a vegetable drug, to which that mythical origin was ascribed. Castanheda mentions a stone obtained in the head of an animal called *bulgoldorf*, which was exceedingly rare, and was said to be an antidote against all kinds of poison (*Kerr's Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, p. 439). To test a *bezoar*, according to Fryer—(1) rub it on chalk, if it leave an olive colour it is good; (2) touch them with a hot iron, "and if they fry like wax they are naught;" (3) put them in water, if small white bubbles rise they are good, if not they are doubtful. (*Account*, Calcutta Edition, p. 469.)

[3] See *Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. v, p. 181. He was an ambassador from the Venetian Republic.

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third was sold to me for 300 *écus*, and I made a present of it to a friend.

I shall finally make mention of the snake-stone, which is nearly of the size of a *double*,[1] some of them tending to an oval shape, being thick in the middle and becoming thin towards the edges. The Indians say that it grows on the heads of certain snakes, but I should rather believe that it is the priests of the idolaters who make them think so, and that this stone is a composition which is made of certain drugs.[2] Whatever it may be, it has an excellent virtue in extracting all the poison when one has been bitten by a poisonous animal. If the part bitten is not punctured it is necessary to make an incision so that the blood may flow; and when the stone has been applied to it, it does not fall off till it has extracted all the venom which is drawn to it. In order to clean it it is steeped in woman's milk, or, in default of it, in that of a cow; and after having been steeped for ten or twelve hours, the milk, which has absorbed all the venom, assumes the colour of matter. One day, when I dined with the Archbishop of Goa, he took me into his museum, where he had many curiosities. Among other things he showed me one of these stones, and in telling me of its properties assured me that it was but three days since he had made trial of it, after which he presented it to me. As

[1] *Doubloon?* A Spanish gold coin.

[2] Thevenot says that they were made of the ashes of the root of a certain plant, mixed with a particular kind of clay (*Voyage*, p. 94). Some snake-stones appear to have been made of charred bone. (See for for an exhaustive account of this subject Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.) The belief in their efficacy is still very general in India; by some they are supposed to be found in the head of the adjutant bird (see *Jungle Life in India*, p. 82).

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he traversed a marsh on the island of SALSETTE, upon which GOA is situated, on his way to a house in the country, one of his *pallankeen* bearers, who was almost naked, was bitten by a serpent and was at once cured by this stone. I have bought many of them; it is only the *Brahmins* who sell them, and it is that which makes me think that they make them. You employ two methods to ascertain if the snake-stone is good, and that there is no fraud. The first is by placing the stone in the mouth, for then, if good, it leaps and attaches itself immediately to the palate. The other is to place it in a glass full of water, and immediately, if it is genuine, the water begins to boil, small bubbles ascending from the stone, which is at the bottom, to the top of the water.

There is still another stone which is called "stone of the hooded snake."[1] It is a kind of snake which has, as it were, a hood which hangs behind the head, and it is behind this hood that the stone is found, the smallest being of the size of a hen's egg. There are snakes in AFRICA and in ASIA of an enormous size,[2] and up to 25 feet in length, as was that one whose skin is preserved at BATAVIA. This snake had swallowed a girl of eighteen years, of which fact I have elsewhere given an account.[3] You only find these stones in snakes which are, at the least, two feet in length. The stone, which is not hard, when rubbed against another stone yields a kind of slime which, when dissolved in water and drunk by a person who

[1] Cobra di capello—*Naja tripudians*. The figure referred to is a spirited one of a cobra, but is not reproduced here.

[2] Pythons.

[3] I have not met this account to which the author refers, and don't know where he has related it.

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has some poison in his body, has the property of driving it out at once. These snakes are only to be found on the coasts of MELINDA, and you can obtain the stones from Portuguese sailors and soldiers on their return from MOZAMBIQUE.

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CHAPTER XXV

Concerning the places from whence gold is obtained in ASIA *and* AFRICA.

JAPAN consists of many islands to the east of CHINA trending northwards, some even believing that NIPHON, which is the largest of them, is, as it were, in contact with the mainland; it is the region of all ASIA which furnishes the greatest quantity of gold, but it is thought that the principal part of it comes from the island of FORMOSA, from whence it is carried to JAPAN. Since the Dutch have held FORMOSA they have been unable to develop the trade of the particular locality where they believe the gold to occur.[1]

Gold also comes from CHINA, and the Chinese exchange it for the silver taken to them, for, price for price, they prefer silver to gold, because they have no mines of silver. This gold is of one of the lowest standards of any found in ASIA.

[1] The occurrence of gold in China, Japan, and Formosa is not a subject that can be treated of exhaustively in these notes. That mines occur in China and Japan is well known, but I have not been able to find conclusive evidence with reference to Formosa. Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, p. 516) quotes the *Asiatic Journal* for December 1824 in support of the statement that the island abounds in gold. From a cursory examination of Mr. Locke's great work on gold, it seems to contain no reference to Formosa.

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The island of CELEBES or MACASSAR[1] also produces gold, which is obtained from the rivers, where it occurs mingled with the sand.

In the island of ACHIN or SUMATRA,[2] after the rainy season, and when the waters in the streams have subsided, veins of gold are found in the pebbles of different sizes which the rains have carried down from the mountains facing the north-east. On the west coast of the same island, where the Dutch go to ship pepper, the peasants bring an abundance of gold, but it is of very low standard, even inferior to the gold of CHINA.

Towards THIBET, which is identical with the CAUCASUS of the Ancients, in the territories of a *Raja* beyond the Kingdom of KASHMIR, there are three mountains close to one another, one of which produces gold of excellent quality, another *grenat*, and another *lapis*.[3]

[1] Gold occurs in the rivers of the northern and south-western peninsulas of Celebes. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*.)

[2] According to Crawfurd a small gold coin called *mas* (worth 1s. 2d.) from the Malay name of the metal, has been coined at Achin. Gold dust, however, was the common medium of exchange. The Achinese have learnt the use of the touchstone from Telugu settlers. The gold filigree work of the Malays of Sumatra is very beautiful. A total of £1,000,000 worth of gold was considered by Crawfurd to cover the annual yield of all the Malayan islands in 1856.

[3] This indication as to the three mountains is somewhat vague. In all probability the *grenat* mine may be identified with the ruby, or rather spinelle mine, which is situated on the banks of the Shignán, a tributary of the Oxus in Badakshán. As pointed out in vol. i, p. 382 *n*, the name *balas* was derived from this locality. The *lapis* mine is near Firgámu, also in Badakshán, Lat. 36° 10′ Long. 71°. The Thibet gold mines, famous since the days of Herodotus, are somewhat numerous. Each of these localities will be found described in the *Economic Geology of India*, pp. 213, 430, 529, where, also, an explanation of the myth of the gold-digging ants is suggested.

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Finally, gold comes from the kingdom of TIPPERAH,[1] of which I shall give a description in the following Book, but this gold is of bad quality, being of about the same standard as the gold of CHINA.

These are all the places in ASIA[2] from whence gold comes, and I shall now say something of the gold of AFRICA, and of the region where it is obtained in greatest abundance.[3]

It should be remarked, under this head, that the governor of MOZAMBIQUE has subject to him the commanders of SOFALA[4] and of SHUPANGA.[5] The first of these two small governments is on the river SENA 60 leagues from its mouth, and the other is 10 leagues higher up. From the mouth of the river up to these places on both sides there are many settlements of negroes, each of which is commanded by a Portuguese. These Portuguese have for a long time been masters

[1] Tipra in the original. I do not know of any evidence for the occurrence of gold in Tipperah; possibly what was brought from thence in Tavernier's time was received from Assam, China, or Burmah, in exchange for other commodities. Our Author devotes chap. xvi of Book III to a description of the Kingdom, which see.

[2] It is strange that Tavernier should have been unaware of the occurrence of gold in any part of the Indian Peninsula, there being so many localities where it is obtained, some of which were most probably worked in his time. (*Vide* for distribution of gold *Economic Geology of India*, chap. "Gold.")

[3] Of the existence of gold in Eastern Africa there is abundant evidence. Of that which reaches the coast, however, a large proportion probably comes from far off in the interior.

[4] The position ascribed to Sofala is incorrect, as it was not on the river named, but some two degrees, or say 70 leagues, to the south of the Delta of the Zambesi, on which the town of Sena is situated. A very interesting collection of notices referring to Sofala and its gold is given in Yule-Burnell's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

[5] Chepongoura in the original. The modern Shupanga on the Zambesi is probably Tavernier's Chepongoura; it is between Sena and the coast.

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of the country, and act like petty princes, making war against one another on the smallest pretext, there being some among them who have as many as 5000 Cafres, who are their slaves. The Governor of MOZAMBIQUE, to whom these petty princes are subject, furnishes them with cloth and other necessary goods, each of which he sells according to its market value. When the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE[1] leaves GOA to assume possession of his government, which is the best of those subject to the Viceroy, he takes with him a great quantity of goods, and especially calicoes dyed black. His correspondents at GOA also send him every year two vessels laden with the same goods, which he forwards to SOFALA and SHUPANGA, and up to the town of MONOMOTAPA,[2] capital of a Kingdom of the same name, otherwise called VOUBEBARAN—the town being about 150 leagues distant from SHUPANGA. The ruler of all this country takes the name of Emperor of MONOMOTAPA, and his authority extends up to the confines of PRESTE JAN.[3] It is from these territories of MONOMOTAPA whence the purest and finest AFRICAN gold comes, and it is extracted without great difficulty by excavating in the ground to a depth of only 2 or 3 feet. In certain places in this country which are not inhabited, because there is no water there, gold is

[1] Castanheda says that the Moors took from India to Mozambique "silver, linen cloth, pepper, ginger, silver rings, many pearls and rubies, and from a country inland they procured gold. He also states that much gold was brought from the interior to Sofala. (See Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 317 and 427.)

[2] Matabele? The name is spelt Monomopata and Monomotapa in the original.

[3] *I.e.* Abyssinia. The name Prester John was given to the ruling monarch by the Portuguese. (See note by Rev. Percy Badger in *Varthema, Hakluyt Society*, p. 63.)

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found on the surface of the ground in nuggets of all kinds of shapes and weights, and there are some of these nuggets which weigh an ounce. I have had, as curiosities, some pieces which I have presented to my friends, and some of them weighed as much as 2 ounces. I still have one weighing an ounce and a half or thereabouts. When at SURAT with M. D'ARDILIÉRE,[1] son of M. DU JARDIN, of whom I have made mention in my account of PERSIA, an Ambassador from the King of ABYSSINIA arrived, whom we went to salute. I presented him with a pair of pocket pistols decorated with silver, and having invited us to dine with him he showed us the presents which he was carrying to the GREAT MOGUL on behalf of the King, his master. They consisted of fourteen beautiful horses, which were all that remained out of thirty he had taken from his country, the others having died in the vessel

[1] The references to M. du Jardin and his son are very perplexing. In the *Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. vi, Tavernier says he started on his fourth journey from Paris with M. Ardiliére, son of M. du Jardin. When landing at Masulipatam he refers to his companion as M. Louis du Jardin (Book I, chap. xvii). He again mentions him as being with him at Madras (Book I, chap. xviii), and in chap. xix he records his death in the year 1852. In Book III, chap. xiv, he speaks of being in M. d'Ardiliére's company on the road from Golconda to Surat in the year 1653. From all of which it would seem to be the legitimate conclusion that both father and son travelled with him in India, as is suggested on pp. 336 and 690. However, it is due to M. Joret to say that he may be right in treating these notices as all referring to the same person, and consequently the date 1653 must be wrong, if he died in 1652. But it should be added that this present notice seems to contradict that view, as M. du Jardin died within a few days of their arrival at Surat. Fryer in 1671 mentions M. Jordan (? Jardin) as having, with M. Rezin, succeeded Tavernier in the trade of carrying diamonds to and from Europe. (See his *Account*, Calcutta Edition, p. 276.)

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when crossing the sea from MOCHA to SURAT. Also à number of young slaves of both sexes; and finally, this being the most important and worthy to be admired, there was a tree of gold 2 feet 4 inches high, and about 5 or 6 inches round the stem.[1] It had ten or twelve branches, some of which were nearly half a foot long and an inch broad, others being smaller. In some parts of the large branches there was to be seen some roughness, which in a manner resembled buds. The roots of this tree which had been thus naturally formed, were small and short, the longest not being more than 4 or 5 inches.

The people of this Kingdom of MONOMOTAPA, knowing the time that the calicoes and other goods arrive at SOFALA and SHUPANGA, come punctually to provide themselves with what they require. Numerous Cafres from other Kingdoms and Provinces also come, and the Governors of these two towns sell them calicoes and other things of which they have need, trusting for the payment which they undertake to make the following year by bringing gold, to the amount agreed upon, for if the Governor did not trust them thus there would be no trade between the Portuguese and the Cafres. It is almost the same with the Ethiopians who every year carry gold to CAIRO, of which I have spoken in my account of the *Seraglio* of the GRAND SEIGNEUR. These people of MONOMOTAPA do not live a long time on account of the bad water in their country. At the age of twenty-five years they begin to be dropsical, so that it is considered a marvel when they exceed forty years in age. The Province where the river SENA

[1] This description suggests a manufactured article, but it is possible that it was really, as Tavernier supposed, a natural arborescent nugget.

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rises is called MOUKARAN,[1] and belongs to another King, commencing at 100 leagues or thereabouts above SHUPANGA. The people of this Province find much gold dust in several rivers which join the SENA; but this gold is inferior to the other kind, and it is also taken to SHUPANGA and SOFALA. The country is very healthy, and the inhabitants live as long as those of EUROPE. In certain years Cafres arrive there from much farther than the Province of MOUKARAN, and even from the neighbourhood of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. The Portuguese know of the country and its name, but have not induced the Cafres to reveal more than that their country, called SABIA,[2] is governed by a King, and that they generally spend four months on the road to SOFALA. The gold which they bring is excellent, and is in nuggets, like that of MONOMOTAPA; they say that they find it on high mountains, where they only have to excavate the ground for it to the depth of 10 or 12 feet. They also bring an abundance of elephants' tusks, and say that there are so many elephants in the country that they are to be seen in troops in the fields, and that all the palisades of the fortresses and parks are made of elephants' tusks; this I have also observed elsewhere.[3] The ordinary food of these Cafres is the flesh of this animal, and four of them, with their assegais,[4] which are a kind of short

[1] Moukaran—not identified.

[2] Perhaps some mistake here. There is a Sabia river marked on the map as coming next to Sofala on the south.

[3] See vol. i, p. 277.

[4] *Ageagayes* in the original, for Assegais, the well-known hurling spears used in Africa. The word is from the Berber *zaghâya*, with the Arabic article prefixed. It occurs commonly in travellers' accounts of other countries besides those included in Africa. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 28.)

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pike, are able to bring an elephant to the ground and kill it. All the water in their country is very bad, which is the reason why they have swollen legs, and it is a marvel when any one is exempt.

Above SOFALA there is a country commanded by a King called the King of BAROÉ. In some part of his country there grows a root which is an inch thick, and of a yellow colour. It cures all kinds of fever by causing vomiting; but as very little of it is found the King forbids, under severe penalty, any of it to be carried out of his Kingdom. While DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS was Viceroy of GOA the King of BAROÉ sent him a piece of this root[1] about 3 feet long, garnished with gold at both ends, and with rings of gold in the middle. The Viceroy having received it made great account of it, and causing it to be cut up into several pieces presented them to certain of his friends. He sent two to SURAT to Mr. FREMLIN, the English President, who showed them to me, and having placed a piece of the root on my tongue I found the taste very bitter.

As for silver mines, there are none in the whole of ASIA,[2] save only in the Kingdom of JAPAN. Some years ago very rich mines of tin were discovered at DELEGORE, SANGORE, BORDELON, and BATA;[3]

[1] I have not been able to identify with certainty either *Baroé* or the bitter root which it produces.

[2] Tavernier is here in error, as there are undoubted sources of silver in India and on the confines of Assam and Burma, which have been largely worked. This common mistake is repeated in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. vi, p. 624. (See *Economic Geology of India*, chap. iv, "Silver.") Silver certainly occurs also in other parts of Asia. (See Book III, chap. xv.)

[3] Delli (?), Salangor, Billiton, and Banka (?). The three last are well-known centres of the tin industry.

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this has done some injury to the English, because there is no longer need of their tin as formerly, sufficient being now produced in ASIA. Tin is only used in this country to tin cooking-pots, kettles, and other copper utensils.

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CHAPTER XXVI

Account of a notable act of perfidy done to the author when he was about to embark at GOMBROON *for* SURAT.

IN the month of April 1665, being about to leave GOMBROON, and when on the point of embarkation for SURAT in a vessel which belonged to the broker of the Dutch Company, and was commanded by Captain HANS—the Agent of the English gave me a packet of letters, which had arrived by express from ENGLAND, to deliver to the President of SURAT. This packet was very large, because, besides the Company's letters, he had included in it those which were for private persons in SURAT and other parts of INDIA. I received the packet from him, on the evening of my embarkation, in presence of M. CASEMBROT, a Dutchman, who had come to PERSIA by land, and was related to M. HENRY VAN WÜCK, Commander at GOMBROON. CASEMBROT managed to accompany me on all occasions when I went to see the English Agent, and VAN WÜCK asked me at each visit which I paid him, whether the Agent had not entrusted me with letters for SURAT. I replied ingenuously that he had told me that he would give me some, without suspecting anything of the evil intention of both of these two men. Their object, as

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appeared subsequently, was to obtain possession of this packet in consequence of the rumour which was in circulation of a rupture between ENGLAND and HOLLAND, and because they thought that the English had received definite news of it, as some days previously an Arab had arrived by the desert route and had brought a packet to the English Agent; this caused the Commander VAN WÜCK much anxiety.

As soon as I had received the packet from the Agent, CASEMBROT, who was always on the watch, and looked on, as it was put into my hands, reported it to VAN WÜCK, and told him of its form and size; and I, after having pledged the Agent in a glass of wine which he offered me when wishing me a good passage, went to take leave of VAN WÜCK, who would not allow me to go till after I had supped with him. He kept me, as it were by force, in order to have more time to accomplish his *coup;* and excusing himself for being unable to accompany me on account of the arrival of three vessels which cast anchor while we were at table, he lent me his own boat to go on board, together with four or five of the principal officers of his staff, whom he sent with me, under pretext of escorting me, and with them the captain of the vessel also, to whom he gave the word. As soon as we were on board the captain offered me his own cabin, where he had already directed my bed to be placed by my servants, who had been on board for two days before, and on my making a difficulty about accepting it, he told me that the Commander had ordered him to do so, to which I replied that I would not accept his cabin. except on the condition that I should only occupy half of it, while he took the other. This having been

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arranged, I drew the packet of English letters from the pocket of my greatcoat, and giving it to one of my servants to place in my *bouccha*,[1] which is the valise of these countries, he put the *bouccha* between the side of the vessel and the head of my bed. There had come with us to the ship two small boats, which contained more than sixty bags of silver, some of 50 and others of 100 *tomans*,[2] all the bags being made in PERSIA in that manner. Immediately the boats were alongside, [the crew] commenced to hoist the bags, one after the other, into the vessel, but did so very slowly, with the object of delaying us the whole night, and to compel me to go to bed. But as they observed that I was unwilling to retire, the captain, the pilot, and the Company's Broker, to whom, as I have said, the vessel belonged, consulted with the Dutch, and all together conspired to let a bag of 100 *tomans* fall into the sea when hoisting it into the vessel; this was done in order to have time to accomplish their design. As soon as the bag fell into the sea they sent a boat to GOMBROON to fetch a diver, who reached the vessel by daybreak, in order to dive for the sack. Seeing then that the vessel could not leave before the following day at two or three o'clock, I went to lie down, my *bouccha* being all the time in the same place, half under the head of my bed and half outside. My servants went to rest in the gunner's cabin, and while I slept alone in that of the captain my *bouccha* was quietly drawn out, and from it the packet of letters

[1] I must relinquish it to some one else to discuss the etymology of this word. It has been suggested to me that it may be connected with the Persian *posá*, a covering.

[2] *Toman* (see vol. i, Appendix).

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was taken, another well sealed and of similar form and size, which only contained white paper, being put in its place. The bag which they had purposely allowed to fall into the sea in order to accomplish this wicked *coup*, having been pulled up, we made sail, and arrived at the port of SURAT on the 5th of May of the same year. The Dutch Commander having done me the honour to send a barque 2 or 3 leagues out to sea to fetch me, immediately when I landed, which was about midnight, I desired before all things to pay my respects to him, asking two Capuchin Fathers, who were at the port at our debarkation, to deliver to the English President the packet which I had taken out of my *bouccha*, this service they willingly undertook. But they told me that, as it was an unseasonable hour, and that the President, who was gouty, might be then asleep, they, not considering it proper to awake him, would wait till the morrow to accompany me, when I should be able to deliver the packet to the President myself. But the gout from which he suffered not permitting him to sleep much, it was delivered to him the same hour. The President having opened the packet in presence of the chief officers of his staff, they only found white paper folded like letters inside it. This having been reported to me, I realised at once the bad turn which VAN WÜCK and his accomplices had played me. What confirmed me further as to this perfidy was, that on going to examine my *bouccha* I found that a jewel which I had tried to sell to the Governor of GOMBROON had also disappeared. Not having been able to agree with him as to the price, he returned it to me some hours before I embarked for SURAT, and I had placed it in

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haste with the packet of letters in my *bouccha*, where I did not find it on arrival at SURAT.

Nevertheless the theft of this packet of letters, which had been thus accomplished, incensed the President against me so much that he refused to allow me to justify myself, and I was moreover an object for the rage of many private Englishmen affected by the loss of the letters in the packet, which were addressed to them. They went so far on different occasions as to attempt my life, as I am able to prove by the evidence and affidavits of many men of honour, and particularly of M. HARTMAN, who was then the second officer in the factory at SURAT. So, to protect myself from snares which were set for me, I was obliged to be constantly accompanied by many people, and I was even unable to go to GOLCONDA, where there is a great trade in diamonds, having been warned by my friends that ten or twelve English awaited me in that part of the world in order to do me some injury. The treachery which was thus done to me disturbed all my plans and caused me considerable loss; besides which I was obliged to carry back to PERSIA a large sum of money, in consequence of my not being able to invest it in INDIA.

This is a copy of the letter which I sent on this subject to BATAVIA, to the General of the Dutch Company and the members of his Council, dated SURAT, the 16th May 1665.

"GENTLEMEN—I take the liberty to write to you these lines in order to testify the displeasure I have experienced at the affront done me by Commander HENRI VAN WÜCK at GOMBROON, who, notwithstanding the letters of recommendation which I had from the

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Ambassador to the States, an Officer of my King, addressed, one to the Chief Officer of the Company at ISPAHAN, another to the Commander at GOMBROON, and a third to the Commander in this town of SURAT, asking all three to assist me as much as possible, except in so far as the Company was interested. But M. HENRI VAN WÜCK has disregarded his, and has done me the most signal affront that a man of honour, as I am, who am an Officer of his Royal Highness, the brother of my King, could ever receive, which was to have my baggage opened, where there were many jewels, some of which have been lost, and to have ordered a large packet of letters to be taken which the Agent of the English at GOMBROON entrusted to me to deliver to the President of the English in this town of SURAT, having had another packet containing blank paper placed in its stead. I leave you to reflect as to what kind of esteem the President and all the English hold me in at present, and whether I have not good cause for making my complaints and asking justice from you. And, if it should please you gentlemen to send me permission to wait upon you at BATAVIA, in order to testify, by word of mouth, the displeasure which I feel on account of this which M. VAN WÜCK has done me in order to accomplish a crime of this nature, and to inform you in detail of the manner in which all this affair has happened, you would oblige me much. At the least, I ask you to give me some satisfaction in respect to the author of the theft, in default of which I shall not fail, as soon as I have, by the grace of God, returned to FRANCE, to make my complaints through the King my master, who has honoured me with his protection,

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and through his Royal Highness, his only brother, to MM. the States, and from their Ambassador, to obtain satisfaction, at whatever cost, of the said VAN WÜCK, and by this means establish my honour. Moreover, if I return by ISPAHAN, I shall not omit to inform the King of PERSIA of it, and shall tell him, after so much honour as his Majesty has done me, and notwithstanding all the passports which I have held from him, that the said M. VAN WÜCK has treated me in this fashion. I believe also that his Majesty will not be pleased to hear that all the patterns of jewels, which I was to buy and have made for him both in INDIA and EUROPE, were lost when the packet of letters was stolen. I can also advise him of the plots and conspiracies which M. VAN WÜCK has had at GOMBROON with a Prince, an enemy of PERSIA, who came to the said place in disguise. Finally, I know enough to make him receive an equal or greater affront than he has done me; and by his receiving it the Company will receive it also. This, gentlemen, is what I am resolved upon if you do not decide to give me complete satisfaction, though I believe I shall not have that trouble. Hoping that you will not omit to do me justice before I leave this country to return to EUROPE, where as in all other places I shall always be, Gentlemen, your very humble, etc."

It is rare to see treason unpunished, and the principal actors in this plot all had miserable ends.

In the following monsoon the vessels which arrived from SURAT at GOMBROON spread in that region the tidings of the black villany which had been done me; and a short time after, M. VAN WÜCK having been attacked by a kind of fever, and the Rev. Father

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BALTHASAR, Carmelite Monk, going to see him, sought to get him to speak of this affair with which he was so prominently mixed up. But he defended himself of the charge strongly, and making use of an equivocation, said, that if it was true that he had taken the letters, he wished to die without speaking, and not to live three days. He had not in truth committed the theft, but he had arranged for its being done; and he died at the end of three days, and without speaking. His Lieutenant, named BOZAN, one of those whom he had sent to escort me to the vessel, and who apparently had opened the *bouccha* and committed the theft, after a great debauch, having lain down on the terrace of the house to sleep in the fresh air, as these terraces have neither parapet nor anything to prevent a fall, on moving and rolling in his sleep, fell over, and on the following day was found dead on the seashore. As for the Captain of the vessel, who was also in the plot, four or five days after his arrival at SURAT, as he pursued his way, a Muhammadan, jealous of his wife, whom he had beaten, and excited to rage against some *Franks* who separated them, believing this Captain, whom he found alone, was of the band, stabbed him five or six times with a dagger, upon which he fell dead on the ground. Such were the miserable ends of all these people.

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BOOK III

Concerning the religion of the Muhammadans and that of the Idolaters of India: the voyage of the Author by sea from SURAT to BATAVIA, and from BATAVIA to HOLLAND; and of many peculiarities in different Kingdoms of the East.

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CHAPTER I

Concerning the religion of the Muhammadans in the EAST INDIES.

THE diversity which is found among the Muhammadans does not only consist in the different explanations which they give to their *Koran*,[1] but also in the different opinions which they have of the first successors of MUHAMMAD. It is from this that two sects, entirely opposed to one another, have sprung; the one calling itself the *Sunnis* is followed by the Turks, the other the *Shias*,[2] which is the sect of the Persians. I shall not delay here to say more as to the difference between these two sects, which divide the Muhammadan world; having spoken sufficiently of them in my accounts of PERSIA, and I shall only describe the present condition of this false religion, both in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL and in the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR.

At the first establishment of Muhammadanism in

[1] *Alcoran* in the original.

[2] *Sounnis* and *Chias* in the original, and *Sunnis* and *Schiais* in the *Persian Travels*, Book IV, chap. vii. The former revere the direct successors of Muhammad, and the latter maintain that Ali and his sons Hosen and Hosain are the true successors to the caliphate. Sunnis predominate in the Muhammadan population of India, but there are also many Shias there, some of them being descendants of Persian immigrants.

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INDIA the Christians[1] of the East were very ostentatious but not very devout, and the Idolaters were effeminate people who were unable to make much resistance. Thus it was easy for the Muhammadans to subject both by force of arms. This they did with so much success that many Christians and Idolaters embraced the law of MUHAMMAD.

The GREAT MOGUL with all his Court followed the sect of the *Sunnis*, the King of GOLCONDA that of the *Shias*, and the King of BIJAPUR had in his territories both *Sunnis* and *Shias*. The same might also be said of the Court of the GREAT MOGUL, on account of the number of Persians who came to serve in his armies. It is true that although they regarded the *Sunnis* with horror they nevertheless follow, in outward show, the religion of the Monarch, believing that to make or secure their fortune they might conceal their true belief, and that it sufficed for them to cherish it in their hearts.

As for the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, KUTAB SHÁH, who reigns at present, maintains with great zeal the law of the *Shias*, and as the nobles of his Court are nearly all Persians, they observe the customs of the sect of the *Shias* with the same strictness and the same freedom from restraint as in Persia.

I have elsewhere remarked that of the native Muhammadan subjects of the GREAT MOGUL there are but few in positions of command; this is the cause why many Persians, oppressed by want, or ambitious of better fortune than that which they can hope for in

[1] M. Thevenot states that about the year 1665 some believed that there were 25,000 families of Christians in Agra, but all were not agreed as to this estimate (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 102). Colonel Sleeman, who refers to this, adds that he himself came upon a colony of 2000 in the year 1814 in Betiah in Tirhut (*Rambles and Recollections*, etc., 1844, p. 15).

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their own country, go to seek for it in INDIA. Being clever they are successful in finding means to advance themselves in (the profession of) arms, so that in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, as well as in the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, the Persians are in possession of the highest posts.

AURANGZEB, especially, shows great zeal for the *Sunni* sect, of which he is so faithful a follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in external observation of the law, which has been the veil by means of which he has concealed his usurpation of the kingdom. When he took possession of the throne he proclaimed that it was with the design of insisting upon the law of MUHAMMAD being observed in all its strictness, as it had been relaxed during the reigns of SHÁH JAHÁN his father and JAHÁNGIR his grandfather. To show himself still more zealous for the law he became a *Dervish* or *Fakir*, *i.e.* a professional beggar, and under this false mantle of piety made his way cleverly to the Empire. Although he had, as I have said, numerous Persians in his service, he did not allow them to celebrate the festival of HOSEN and HOSAIN,[1] sons of ALI, who were killed by the *Sunnis*, as I have mentioned in my accounts of PERSIA; and they themselves, to please the King and advance their own fortunes, made no scruple about conforming themselves externally to the cult and customs of the *Sunnis*.

[1] *Hosen* and *Heussin* in the original.

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CHAPTER II

Concerning Fakirs or Muhammadan beggars in the East Indies.

It is estimated that there are in India 800,000 Muhammadan *Fakirs*, and 1,200,000 among the idolaters, which is an enormous number. They are all vagabonds and idlers, who blind the eyes of the people by a false zeal, and lead them to believe that all that escapes from their own mouths is oracular.

There are different kinds of these Muhammadan *Fakirs;* some are almost naked, like the *Fakirs* of the idolaters, who have no regular dwellings, and abandon themselves to all kinds of impurity without any shame. They persuade simple souls that they possess a privilege to do all kinds of evil without sin.

There are other *Fakirs* who are clad in garments of so many pieces of different colours that one is unable to say what they are. These robes extend half way down their legs and conceal the miserable rags which are beneath. These *Fakirs* generally travel in company, and have a chief or superior over them who is distinguished by his garment, which is poorer and made up of more pieces than those of the others. He, moreover, drags a heavy iron chain which he has attached to one leg; it is 2 cubits long and thick in

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proportion. When he prays it is with great noise, which he makes with this chain and a loud voice; this is accompanied by an affected gravity, which attracts the veneration of the people. However, the people bring him and his followers food to eat, which they serve him in the place where he stops, generally some street or public place. He has carpets spread by his disciples, and seats himself on them in order to give audience to those who wish to consult him. On the other hand, his disciples proclaim throughout the country the great virtues of their master and the favours which he receives from God, who reveals to him the most important secrets, and confers upon him the power to aid afflicted persons with good advice. The people give him easy credence, and regard him as a holy man, and come to him with great devotion, and when one of them approaches close to him, he takes the shoes from off his feet and prostrates himself before the *Fakir* in order to kiss his feet. Then the *Fakir*, in order to appear humble, extends his arm and gives his hand to be kissed, after which he makes those who come to consult him, sit near him, and he listens to each in turn. He boasts of possessing a prophetic spirit, especially for indicating to women who are sterile the way in which they may obtain children, and how to constrain any one they wish to manifest love for them.

There are *Fakirs* who have more than 200 disciples, whom they assemble by the sound of the drum and a horn similar to the horns of our huntsmen. When marching, the disciples carry their standard, lances, and other arms, which they stick in the ground near their master when he halts to rest anywhere.

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The third kind of these *Fakirs* of the EAST INDIES consists of those who, being born of poor parents, and wishing to know the law thoroughly, in order to become *Mullás* or doctors, take up their abode in mosques, where they live on whatever charity is bestowed upon them. They occupy their time in reading the *Koran*, which they learn by heart, and when they are able to add to this study some little knowledge of natural things, with the example of a good life, according to their ideas, they become heads of mosques, and reach the dignity of *Mullás* and judges of the law. These *Fakirs* have wives, and some, through piety and the great desire they have to imitate MUHAMMAD, have three or four of them, believing that thereby they do God a great service, by being fathers of many children who will follow the law of their Prophet.

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CHAPTER III

Of the Religion of the Gentiles or Idolaters of INDIA.

THE idolaters of INDIA are so numerous that for one Muhammadan there are five or six Gentiles. It is astonishing to see how this enormous multitude of men has allowed itself to be subjected by so small a number of persons, and has bent readily under the yoke of the Muhammadan Princes. But the astonishment ceases when one considers that these idolaters have no union among themselves, and that superstition has introduced so strange a diversity of opinions and customs that they never agree with one another.[1] An idolater will not eat bread nor drink water in a house belonging to any one of a different caste from his own, unless it is more noble and more exalted than his own; thus they can all eat and drink in the houses of the *Brahmins*,[2] which are open to all the world. A caste is, so to speak, among these idolaters that which formerly a tribe was among the Jews, and

[1] This has ever been the strength of those who have conquered India.

[2] *Bramines* in the original. Brahmins' houses are certainly not now open to all the world, the very reverse is the case. The accuracy of this statement, even in Tavernier's time, may be doubted. True as it is that a man of lower caste may eat from the hand of a Brahmin, a Brahmin has, himself, to guard against defilement by contact with men of lower caste.

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although it is commonly believed that there are seventy-two of these castes, I have ascertained from the most accomplished of their priests that they are able to reduce them to four principal (castes), from which all others derive their origin.

The first caste is that of the *Brahmins*, who are the successors of the ancient *Brachmanes* or philosophers of INDIA, who specially studied astrology. There are still to be found their ancient books, in the reading of which the *Brahmins* generally occupy themselves, and they are so skilled in their observations that they do not make a mistake of a minute in foretelling the eclipses of the sun and moon. And in order that they may preserve this science among them, they have a kind of university in a town called BENARES,[1] where they principally study astrology, and where they also have doctors who teach the law, which is followed with very great strictness. This caste is the most noble of all, because it is from among the *Brahmins* that the priests and ministers of the law are selected. But as they are very numerous and cannot all study in their university, the majority are ignorant and consequently very superstitious, those among them who pass as the most intellectual being the most arrant sorcerers.

The second caste is that of the *Rajputs* or *Ketris*, *i.e.* warriors and soldiers. These are the only idolaters who are brave, and distinguish themselves in the profession of arms. All the *Rajas*, of whom I have often spoken, are of this caste. They are like so many petty kings, whose disunion has made them tributaries to the GREAT MOGUL; but as the majority are in his service, they are highly recompensed for the small

[1] *Benarez* in the original, elsewhere written *Benarow* or *Banarous*.

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tribute which they pay him by the large and honourable salaries which they receive from him. These *Rajas*, and the *Rajputs* their subjects, are the most firm supports of the GREAT MOGUL'S kingdom; and it was the *Rajas* JÁISINGH and JESWANTSINGH who placed AURANGZEB on the throne. But it should be remarked that this second caste does not altogether consist of people who follow arms (as a profession). It is the *Rajputs*, alone, who go to war, and who are all cavaliers; but as for the *Ketris* they have degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors, and have quitted arms for merchandise.

The third caste is that of the *Banians*,[1] who attach themselves to trade, some being *Shroffs*, *i.e.* money-changers or bankers, and the others brokers, by whose agency the merchants buy and sell. The members of this caste are so subtle and skilful in trade that, as I have elsewhere said,[2] they could give lessons to the most cunning Jews. They accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness, and instead of letting them go into the streets to lose their time at play, as we generally allow ours, teach them arithmetic, which they learn perfectly, using for

[1] Tavernier spells this word *Baniane*, which has been altered in the text to Banian. It is otherwise, and perhaps more properly, spelt Banyan. It signifies a trader or merchant, especially in Gujarát. In Calcutta it is a title still used for the native brokers attached to houses of business. It is derived from *Vániya* (Gujaráti *Vániyo*), and that from the Sanskrit *Vánij*, a trader. Our author's testimony as to the astuteness of the men of this caste is borne out by many authors, notably P. F. Vincenzo de Maria, who says to make one it takes three Chinese, and three Hebrews to make a Chinese, therefore a Banian ought to possess the subtlety of nine Jews. (See "Banyan" in Yule and Burnell's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 48.)

[2] See Book I, chap. ii, p. 29.

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it neither pen nor counters, but the memory alone, so that in a moment they will do a sum, however difficult it may be. They are always with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing without explaining it to them at the same time. These are the figures which they use in their books, both in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, as well as in other parts of INDIA,[1] although the language may be different. If any one gets in a rage with them they listen with patience, without replying anything, and they withdraw coldly, not returning to see him for four or five days, when they believe his rage to be over. They never eat anything which has had sentient life, and they would rather die than slay the least animal, not even excepting an insect or vermin, being in this respect very zealous observers of their law. It is sufficient to add that they never strike one another, and that they never go to war, and cannot eat or drink in the houses of the *Rajputs*, because they slay animals and eat meat, with the exception of that of the cow, which is never eaten.

The fourth caste is called *Charados* or *Soudra.*[2] Like that of the *Rajputs*, it occupies itself with war; but with this difference, that the *Rajputs* serve on horse, and the *Sudras* on foot. Both glory in dying in battle, and a soldier, whether of the cavalry or foot, is esteemed for ever infamous if, in the moment of combat, he runs away. It is an eternal disgrace in his family, and in this connection I shall relate a story which was told me in the country. A soldier who loved his wife passionately, and by whom he was

[1] These figures are not reproduced here.

[2] More properly *Sudras*, from the Sanskrit *Sudr.*

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equally beloved in return, fled from combat, not out of fear of death, but simply on account of his wife's sorrow should she find herself a widow. When she heard the cause of his flight, as she saw him approach the house she closed the door, and told him she was unable to recognise as a husband a man who had preferred the love of a woman to honour; that she did not wish to see him any more, in order not to leave a blot on the reputation of her family, and to teach her children to have more courage than their father. This woman remained firm in her resolution. The husband, to regain his reputation and his love, returned to the army, where he performed noble actions which redounded to his credit, and having splendidly repaired his fault, the door of his house was opened to him, and his wife received him with pleasure.[1]

The remainder of the people, who do not belong to either of these four castes, are called *Pauzecour*.[2] They all occupy themselves with mechanical arts, and do not differ from one another except by the different trades which they follow from father to son; so that a tailor, although he may be rich, is unable to push his children, except in his own calling, nor to marry them, be it a son or a daughter, to others than those of his trade. So also when a tailor dies all those of his calling go to the place where his body is burnt,

[1] Sleeman tells a similar story about Jeswantsingh, who was so treated by his wife on his return from the battle of the 17th April 1658. (*Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i.)

[2] *Pauzecour*, as here used, appears to be a synonym of *Pariah*, a name applied to people of the lowest caste of Hindus in Southern India. It is pointed out in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary* that the *Pariahs* are not outcasts, as is commonly supposed. Possibly, however, the word Tavernier got hold of was *Phánsigár*, a synonym for *Thug*; if so, he defines it incorrectly.

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and the same custom is observed among all the other artisans.

Among the particular castes there is one that is called *Halál'khors*,[1] who only engage in cleaning houses, each house paying them something monthly, according to its size. If a man of quality in INDIA, whether a Muhammadan or an idolater, has fifty servants, not one of them will be willing to use a broom to clean the house, for he would consider himself contaminated by it, and one of the greatest insults that one can do to a man in INDIA is to call him *Halál'khor*. It is proper to remark here that each of these servants having his own special duty, the one to carry the vessel of water for drinking by the way, another to have the pipe of tobacco ready — if the master asks one to perform the service for which the other is employed, that service will not be performed, and the servant remains as though he were immovable. As for slaves, they have to do whatever their master orders them. As this caste of *Halál'khors* is only occupied in removing the refuse from houses, it gets the remains of what the others eat, of whatever caste they may be, and it does not make any scruple about eating indifferently of all things. It is the people belonging to this caste, alone, who make use of asses, to carry the sweepings from the houses to the fields; while all other Indians will not touch this animal. It is otherwise in PERSIA, where asses are used both for baggage and for riding. It is also the *Halál khors* in INDIA who alone feed pigs and use them for food.

[1] *Alacors* in the original. The name *Halál'khor* signifies an eater of lawful food, euphemistically applied to the Sweepers, to whom all things are lawful. (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

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CHAPTER IV

Concerning the idolatrous Kings and Princes of ASIA.

IT is necessary to place in the front rank of the idolatrous Kings of ASIA, the King of ARAKAN, the King of PEGU, the King of SIAM, the King of COCHIN-CHINA, the King of TONQUIN, and, as for the King of CHINA, we know that he was an idolater before the irruption of the Tartars into his territories; but since that time one can say nothing certain about him, because these Tartars, who are now the masters of the country, are neither idolaters nor Muhammadans, being, rather, both combined. In the principal islands, firstly, the King of JAPAN, next the King of CEYLON, and some small Kings of the islands of the MOLUCCAS, and, finally, all the *Rajas*, both of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL and of the neighbourhoods of the Kingdoms of BIJAPUR and GOLCONDA, are all idolaters. In general, all the common people, whether in the territories subject to the GREAT MOGUL, or the Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, and the islands of ACHIN, JAVA, and MACASSAR, the Kings of which, as I have elsewhere said, are Muhammadans,—all the common people, I say, of these countries are idolaters.

I have stated that the King of CEYLON is an idolater, and it is true. But it is true also that about

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fifty years ago a King of CEYLON became a Christian, and received at his baptism the name of JEAN, having been previously called the Emperor PRIAPENDER.[1] As soon as he embraced Christianity, the Princes and priests of the country established another King in his stead. He did what he could to induce all his people to imitate him, and for this purpose assigned to the Jesuit Fathers twelve of the largest villages which were around COLOMBO, so that from the revenue of these places they might support the children of the country in colleges, where, being well instructed, they would afterwards be able to teach others. For the King represented to these Fathers that it was impossible for them to learn the language of the country well enough to preach to the people, and in effect they found that the youth of CEYLON were so quick and intelligent that they learnt, in six months, more Latin, philosophy and other sciences, than Europeans acquire in a year, and they questioned the Fathers with such subtlety, and so deeply, that they were amazed.

Some years after the King had become a Christian, a very accomplished man and good native philosopher, named ALEGAMMA MOTIAR,[2] as one might say master of the philosophers, after having conversed some time with the Jesuit Fathers and other priests at COLOMBO, was inspired to become a Christian. With this object

[1] Although the period of his reign was somewhat more remote than Tavernier states, it seems probable that this Emperor *Priapender* was Don Juan Dharmápála, who was raised to the throne in 1542 by the Portuguese, and reigned thirty-nine years. He was baptized by Wilponte Alphonso Perera, who went to Ceylon from Goa for the purpose. A number of his chiefs and people also became Christians at the same time. He was opposed throughout his reign by Rájá Singhá, who ultimately superseded him (Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 315).

[2] For *Mudaliyar*, a Cingalese title. I cannot identify *Alegamma*.

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he went to see the Jesuit Fathers, and told them that he desired to be instructed in the Christian faith, but he inquired what JESUS CHRIST had done and left in writing. He set himself then to read the New Testament with so much attention and ardour that in less than six months there was not a passage which he could not recite, for he had acquired Latin very thoroughly. After having been well instructed, he told the Fathers that he wished to receive holy baptism, that he saw that their religion was the only good and true one, and such as JESUS CHRIST had taught, but what astonished him was, that they did not follow Christ's example, because, according to the Gospel, he never took money from any one, while they on the contrary took it from every one, and neither baptized nor buried any one without it. This did not prevent him from being baptized, and from working for the conversion of the idolaters afterwards.

Such is the present condition of the idolaters throughout ASIA. I come now to those of INDIA in detail and to their gross errors, after which I shall speak of their customs and of the penances of their *Fakirs*.

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CHAPTER V

Concerning the belief of the Idolaters with respect to the Deity

THE idolaters of INDIA yield to creatures as the cow, the ape, and different monsters, the honours which are only due to the true Deity, although it is certain that they acknowledge one infinite God, all-powerful and all-wise, Creator of the heavens and the earth, who is omnipresent. They call him in some places PERMESSER, in others PEREMAEL,[1] as, for example, towards the coast of MALABAR; and VVISTNOU[2] in the language of the *Brahmins* who inhabit the coast of COROMANDEL. As the idolaters have perhaps heard that the circle is the most perfect of all figures, they have thought to improve upon it by saying God is of an oval figure, and it is for this reason that they generally keep in their pagodas an oval pebble, which they obtain from the GANGES,[3] and adore as god. They are so strongly fixed

[1] *Parameswara* or *Bramha*, the one true and omnipotent God, to whom, as Ward remarks, there is not a single temple in the whole of India. Educated Hindus maintain, however, that although they may select special gods as the objects of their homage, their worship is addressed really to the Supreme Deity; of uneducated Hindus the same can scarcely be said.

[2] *Vishnu*, the preserver, one of the Hindu triad. He is represented as a black man with four arms—one hand holds a club, another a shell, the third a *chukra* (or metal quoit), and the fourth the lotus.

[3] This is the so-called *saligram* stone. The Sone river supplies

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in this foolish idea that the wisest among the *Brahmins* will not listen to any argument against it, and thus it is not to be wondered at if a people who have such evil guides fall into this gross and monstrous idolatry. There is a caste so superstitious about this, that those who belong to it keep these oval stones suspended from their necks, and press them against their bodies while they pray.

In this gross and pitiable ignorance the idolaters, like the ancient pagans, regard their gods as men, and even bestow wives upon them, thinking that they love the same things as those in which men take pleasure. Thus they regard their RÁMÁ as a great deity on account of the wonders which they believe that he performed during his life. The following are the fables which they relate regarding him, as I have learnt from the most accomplished among their *Brahmins*:—

RÁMÁ was the son of a powerful *Raja*, who called himself DESERET,[1] and the most virtuous of many children which he had by two legitimate wives. He was particularly beloved by his father, who had destined him to be his successor. The mother of RÁMÁ having

some which are, I believe, silicious pebbles derived from the basalt; others are obtained from the Himalayas, and these are said to include fossils, *ammonites*. The *saligram* is connected with the worship of *Vishnu*, but it may be worshipped as representing for the time being any god. According to Ward (*History of the Hindus*, chap. xvi) the *saligram* is black, hollow, and nearly round, and is obtained from Gundukee (? a sulphur spring) in Nepal. As much as 2000 rupees was given for one of the first class. Vast sums of money are expended on the festivities connected with the marriage of the *saligram* to the *tulsi* plant (*Oceymum sanctum*). (See Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i, p. 158.)

[1] *Rámá*, son of *Das'aratha*, King of Ajodhya. What follows is a tolerably correct version of the Rámáyana.

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died, the other wife of the *Raja*, who possessed entire control over her husband, induced him to drive RÁMÁ and his brother LAKSHMÁN[1] from his house and territories; this was done, and by the exclusion of these two brothers, the son of this other wife was declared to be heir to the *Raja*. RÁMÁ and his brother having then received an order to depart, obeyed the command of their father, and as they were about to leave, RÁMÁ went to bid farewell to his wife SITÁ, whom these idolaters regard as a goddess. She was unwilling to part from him, and protested that she would follow him everywhere, and so they all three left the house of the *Raja*, to seek their fortunes. They were unlucky at first, for while passing through a forest, RÁMÁ having gone in pursuit of a bird, where he remained a long time, SITÁ, fearing that some disaster had happened to her husband, by force of her entreaties obliged LAKSHMÁN to go in search of him. He strongly objected, RÁMÁ having told him not to leave SITÁ, having foreseen by a spirit of prophecy what would happen if she remained alone. Nevertheless LAKSHMÁN, moved by the earnest prayers of his sister-in-law, went to seek for RÁMÁ his brother. In the meantime RÁVANA,[2] another god of the idolaters, appeared to SITÁ in the garb of a *Fakir* and asked alms of her. RÁMÁ had told SITÁ not to go outside the place where he had left her,—this being well known to RÁVANA he refused to receive the alms which SITÁ offered him unless she moved from her position. SITÁ, either by mistake or forgetting the command of RÁMÁ, passed beyond the limits which he had indicated, and then

[1] *Lokeman* in the original.
[2] *Rhevan* in the original.

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RÁVANA seized her and took her into the depths of the forest where his followers awaited him, with whom he departed to his territories. When RÁMÁ returned from the chase, not finding SITÁ, he fell senseless from grief, but LAKSHMÁN his brother having brought him round, they went together to search for SITÁ, who was tenderly beloved by her husband.

When the *Brahmins* recount this ravishment of their goddess SITÁ they do so with tears and demonstrations of excessive grief, and they add to the story a multitude of ridiculous fables, extolling the great bravery of RÁMÁ in the pursuit of the ravisher of SITÁ. All the animals were employed in order to discover her, among which the monkey HANUMÁN,[1] alone had the good fortune to be successful. He crossed the sea with a bound, and arrived in the gardens of RÁVANA, where he found SITÁ in the deepest affliction, and she was much surprised on beholding a monkey, who spoke on behalf of her husband. At first she was not willing to give credence to what was said to her by such an ambassador, but the monkey in order to authenticate his mission handed her a ring which her husband had given her, but which she had left in her baggage. She had much difficulty in believing such a miracle, and that RÁMÁ her husband had been able to make a beast speak to give her news of him, and such certain indications of his love. The monkey HANUMÁN did wonders at this interview, and having been recognised as a spy by the servants of RÁVANA, who wished to burn him, he made use of the fire which they had prepared for him to kindle the palace of RÁVANA, which was consumed almost entirely, by

[1] *Harman* in the original.

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means of the rags which they tied to his tail and body and set on fire. He threw himself immediately among the straw and other combustible matter, which caused a great conflagration in the palace. The monkey realising that he would not escape the hands of RÁVANA if he again fell into them, promptly retook the same road as that by which he had come, and having bathed himself in the sea, which he recrossed at a single bound, he went to give RÁMÁ an account of his adventures, and told him of the affliction in which he had found SITÁ, who was in despair at finding herself so far removed from her husband. RÁMÁ, touched by the affection of his wife, resolved to deliver her from the hands of RÁVANA at whatever cost it might be. This was accomplished, the same monkey serving him as guide, and with the aid of some forces which RÁMÁ had collected from different places. With much difficulty he approached the palace of RÁVANA, which was still smoking, so great had been the fire; and the subjects of this Prince having been dispersed in divers places, it was easy for RÁMÁ to again see his beloved SITÁ, whom RÁVANA abandoned and fled in fear to the mountains. RÁMÁ and SITÁ experienced infinite joy at seeing one another again, and did much honour to the monkey HANUMÁN, who had rendered them so great a service.

As for RÁVANA, he passed the remainder of his days as a poor *Fakir*, his country being altogether ruined by the troops of RÁMÁ, who avenged the injury he had received, and it is from this RÁVANA that this incredible number of *Fakirs*, whom one sees in peregrination throughout INDIA, have taken their

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origin. These *Fakirs* lead a life of such austerity that their penances amount to prodigies, and I have had the curiosity to collect several pictures of them, some of which I shall show to the reader in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER VI

Concerning Fakirs, or the professional Mendicants of INDIA, *and their penances.*

THE *Fakirs*, as I have just said, take their origin from RÁVANA, whom RÁMÁ despoiled of his kingdom, who on that account felt so much annoyance that he resolved to wander like a vagabond throughout the world, poor and bereft of all property, and likewise completely nude. He at once found many people who followed him in this kind of life, which afforded them all kinds of liberty. For being reverenced as saints, they had abundant opportunities of doing whatsoever evil they wished.

These *Fakirs* ordinarily travel in troops, each of which has its Chief or Superior. As they go perfectly nude, winter and summer, always lying on the ground, and since it is sometimes cold, the young *Fakirs* and other idolaters who have most devotion, go in the afternoon to search for the droppings of cows and other animals, which are dried by the sun, with which they kindle fires. They seldom use wood through fear lest it may contain some living animal which would be killed — that which is used to burn the dead is a kind of drift-wood which does not engender worms. These young *Fakirs*, having collected a

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quantity of these droppings mingled with dry earth, make many large fires according to the size of the troop, and ten or twelve *Fakirs* seat themselves around each fire. When sleep overtakes them, they allow themselves to fall on the ground, upon which they spread ashes to serve as a mattress, and they have only the heavens for a covering. As for those who perform the penances, of which I shall presently speak, when they lie during the night in the same position as one sees them during the day, fires are kindled for them on each side, without which they would be unable to withstand the cold; this will be seen at the end of this chapter in the illustrations which I give of the penances. Wealthy idolaters consider themselves happy, and believe that their houses receive the blessings of heaven, when they have as guests some of these *Fakirs*, whom they honour in proportion to their austerity; and the glory of a troop is to have some one in it who performs a notable penance, like those of which I shall hereafter speak.

These troops of *Fakirs* join together in numbers to go on pilgrimage to the principal pagodas, and to the public bathings which are held on certain days of the year, both in the river GANGES, which they specially esteem, as also in that which separates the territories of the Portuguese at GOA from those of the King of BIJAPUR.[1] Some of the most austere *Fakirs* dwell in miserable huts near their pagodas, where they are given food, for the love of God, once in every twenty-four hours.

The tree, of which a picture will be seen at the

[1] This, I suppose, means the Kistná, though I believe the authority of Portugal did not extend so far to the east and north-east.

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end of this chapter, is of the same kind as that near GOMBROON, and I have given a description of it also in the accounts of PERSIA.[1] The *Franks* call it the tree of the *Banians*, because, in places where there are any of these trees, the idolaters sit under them and cook their food there. They reverence them specially, and generally build their pagodas either under or close to one of these great trees. The one which the reader will see depicted further on is at SURAT, and in its trunk, which is hollow, a monster is represented like the head of a deformed woman, which is said to be the representation of the first woman, whom they call *Mamaniva*.[2] Every day a large number of idolaters assemble there to adore this monster, near to which there is constantly some *Brahmin* detailed for its service, and to receive the offerings made to it of rice, millet, and other grains. On all those who have prayed in the pagoda, both men and women, the *Brahmin* makes a mark on the middle of the forehead with a kind of vermilion, with which the idol is also painted. With this mark on them they do not fear that the devil will injure them, because

[1] Namely the Banyan, *Ficus Indica*, Linn. The reference is to Book V, chap. xxiii, of the *Persian Travels*.

Another example with its numerous stems is the famous *Kabir bar* on an island in the Narbadá 12 miles above Broach. At one time it covered an area of 2000 feet in circumference, and had upwards of 3250 separate stems. It has afforded shelter to 7000 men at a time, but is now much reduced in size. The particular tree at Gombroon referred to by our author is also mentioned by Mandelslo, Valentjin, and Della Valle. The Persian name for the tree is *lúl*.

This is a distinct species from the famous *Bo* tree (*F. religiosa*) of Ceylon, one of which, having a known history, recorded in full detail by Sir Emerson Tennent (*Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 613), was planted B.C. 288.

[2] This is a corrupt form of one of the names of *Durga*, the wife of *Shiva*, perhaps *Muhishu-murdinee*. (See Ward, *History of the Hindoos*, vol. i, p. 129.)

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they are, as they say, under the protection of their God.

I give here the explanation of the figures represented under the tree of the *Banians*, marked by the numbers 1, 2, 3, etc.[1]

1. Is the place where the *Brahmins* dress up a representation of some one of their idols, as MAMANIVA, SITÁ, MADEDINA,[2] and other similar ones which are very numerous.

2. Is the figure of MAMANIVA which is in the pagoda.

3. Is another pagoda close to the preceding. It has a cow at the door, and inside a representation of the god RÁMÁ.

4. Is another pagoda, where *Fakirs* betake themselves for penance.

5. Is a fourth pagoda dedicated to RÁMÁ.

6. Is the form of a grave, where several times during the year a *Fakir* withdraws, where he gets no light except through a very small hole. He sometimes remains there nine or ten days without drinking or eating, according to his devotion—a thing which I could not easily have believed if I had not seen it. Curiosity led me to go to see this penitent in company with the Dutch Commander of SURAT, who ordered a watch to be set in order to see whether he did not receive anything to eat by day or night. The watch were unable to discover that he received any nourishment, and he remained seated like our tailors without changing his position either by day or night. He

[1] This plate has not been reproduced, being rudely drawn and of no great interest or importance.

[2] *Mahádeva?* another name for *Shiva*.

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whom I saw was not able to remain more than seven days out of the ten which he had vowed to spend, because the heat stifled him on account of the lamp in the grave.[1] The other kinds of penance, of which I am about to speak, would still further exceed human belief if thousands of men were not witnesses of them.

7. Is the position of a penitent who has passed many years without ever lying down either by day or night. When he wishes to sleep he leans on a suspended cord, and in that position, which is very strange and inconvenient, the humours descend to the legs, which become thereby swollen.

8. These are the positions of two penitents who, till death, keep their arms elevated in the air, so that the joints become so stiff that they are never able to lower them again. Their hair grows down below the waist, and their nails equal their fingers in length. Night and day, winter and summer, they remain quite naked in this position, exposed to the rain and heat, and to the stings of mosquitoes, without being able to use their hands to drive them away. With regard to the other necessities of life, as drinking and eating, they have *Fakirs* in their company who wait on them as required.

9. Is the position of another penitent, who stands

[1] Ibn Batuta speaks of *Jogis* who used to allow themselves to be buried for months, or even for a twelvemonth together, and were afterwards revived, upon which Col. Yule remarks, "This art, or the profession of it, is not yet extinct in India." A very curious account of one of its professors will be found in a *Personal Narrative of a Tour through the States of Rajwara* (Calcutta, 1837, pp. 41-44), by Major-General A. H. E. Boileau. (See *Cathay and the Way thither*, p. 413.) (See *post*, chap. x.)

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for several hours daily on one foot, holding in his hands a chafing-dish full of fire, upon which he throws the incense which he offers to his god, having his eyes at the same time turned towards the sun.

10 and 11. These are the postures of two other penitents, seated, who have their hands elevated in the air.

12. Is the position in which the penitents sleep without ever lowering their arms; this without doubt is one of the greatest torments which the human body can suffer.

13. Is the position of another penitent, whose weakness has caused his hands to fall behind his back, not being able to lower his arms, which are dried up from lack of nutrition.

There are an infinity of other penitents, some of whom assume positions altogether contrary to the natural attitude of the human body, having their eyes always turned to the sun; others who have their eyes directed to the ground, without ever looking at any one in the face, nor saying a single word; and the diversity is so great that it would be sufficient to form the subject of a long discourse.

In order to give more satisfaction to the curious, and to enable them to understand matters more distinctly, I shall add here other pictures of these same penitents, which I have had drawn, on the spot, after nature. Modesty has compelled me to conceal the parts which they have no shame about exposing to view, for at all times, both in the country and in the towns, they go about altogether as naked as they came out of their mothers' wombs; and although the women approach them out of devotion in order to

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do what cannot be named for shame, you do not see in them any sign of sensuality; but on the contrary, without regarding any one, and rolling the eyes terribly, you would say they are absorbed in abstraction.

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CHAPTER VII

Concerning the belief of the Idolaters touching the condition of the soul of man after death.

It is one of the articles of the belief of the idolaters that the souls of men on leaving their bodies after death are presented to God, who, according to the life the owners have led, allots them other bodies to inhabit, so that the same person is several times reborn into the world. And of men of evil life, degraded in their habits and plunged in all kinds of vices, God sends the souls, after being separated from the bodies, into the bodies of inferior animals, such as asses, dogs, cats, and others, in order that they may perform penance for their crimes in these infamous prisons. But it is believed that the souls which enter the bodies of cows are supremely happy, because these animals are regarded as divinities. If a man dies with a cow's tail in his hand, that will suffice, it is said, to render him altogether happy in a future life.

As the idolaters believe in this passage of human souls into the bodies of animals, they abhor the slaughter of any animal, of whatsoever kind it may be, through fear of being guilty of the death of some one of their relations or friends who may be doing penance in one of these bodies.

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If these men, during their lives, perform virtuous actions, such as pilgrimages and the giving of alms, they hold that after death their souls pass into the bodies of some powerful *Rajas* or other rich persons, who enjoy the pleasures of life as a reward for the good deeds they had done in other bodies.

This is the reason why the *Fakirs*, of whom I have spoken in the preceding chapter, perform such horrible penances; and as all men are not able to bring themselves to suffer so much in this world, they seek during their lives to make up by good works for the want of these penances, and further direct their inheritors by their wills to give alms to the *Brahmins*, to the end that, by the power of the prayers which they cause them to say, God may assign them the body of some grand personage. In the month of January of the year 1661 the *Shroff* or money-changer of the Dutch Company, named MONDAS PAREK, died at SURAT. He was a rich man and very charitable, having bestowed much alms during his life on the Christians as well as on the idolaters; the Rev. Capuchin Fathers of SURAT living for a part of the year on the rice, butter, and vegetables which he sent to them. This *Banian* was only ill for four or five days, and in that time, as also during eight or ten days after his death, his brothers distributed 9000 or 10,000 rupees, and burnt his body, adding to the ordinary wood much sandal and aloes, believing that by this means the soul of their brother, on passing into another body, would become a great noble in some other country. There are some among them who are foolish enough to bury their treasures during their lifetime, as, for instance, nearly all the rich men of the Kingdom of ASSAM, so that if they

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enter, after death, the body of any poor and miserable mendicant, they can have recourse to the money which they have buried in order to draw from it at necessity. This is the reason why so much gold and silver and so many precious stones are buried in INDIA,[1] and an idolater must be poor indeed if he has no money buried in the earth. I remember that I one day bought in INDIA, for 600 rupees, an agate cup 6 inches high and of the size of one of our silver plates.[2] The seller assured me that more than forty years had elapsed since it was buried in the earth, and that he preserved it to serve his need after death, it being a matter of indifference to him whether he buried the cup or the money. On my last voyage I bought from one of these idolaters sixty-two diamonds weighing about 6 grains apiece, and on telling him of my astonishment at seeing so fine a parcel, he replied that I need not be astonished, seeing that it took nearly fifty years to accumulate them for his wants after death; but his affairs having changed, and having need of money, he had been obliged to dispose of them. These buried treasures were one day of great service to the *Raja* SIVAJI, who took up arms against the GREAT MOGUL and the King

[1] The enormous absorption of gold by India and its disappearance, is explained by many writers in the same way. Bernier, among others, may be mentioned, but the subject is too extensive to be entered on here. Quite recently about £5,000,000 of horded treasure, including precious stones, was taken from pits and wells sunk in the palace zenána at Gwalior.

[2] This was probably of the kind known to the Romans as the Murrhine cups. The custom of roasting the agates to develop the colours doubtless gave rise to the idea that the material was some form of porcelain; while the suggestion that they were made of fluor spar may be rejected, as that mineral is not known in India, and there is no trace of its ever having been imported or worked by the lapidaries of Western India.

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of BIJAPUR. This *Raja* having taken CALLIAN BONDI,[1] a small town of the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, by the advice of the *Brahmins*, who assured him that he would find a considerable amount of buried treasure, he ordered it to be partly demolished, and found in fact great riches, with which he supported his army, consisting of more than 30,000 men. It is impossible to disabuse these idolaters of their errors, because they will not listen to reason, and they entirely subordinate their own judgment to their ancient customs, the principal of which is to burn the bodies of the deceased.

[1] Probably Kulliáni, in District of same name, Long. 77°, Lat. 17° 53′ 30″, A. S. No. 57.

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CHAPTER VIII

Concerning the idolaters' custom of burning the bodies of the deceased.

THE custom among the Gentiles of burning bodies after death is very ancient; they generally burn them on the banks of rivers, where they wash the bodies of the deceased to complete the cleansing of those sins from which they have not been purified during life. This superstition goes to such extremes that very often sick persons, when on the point of death, are carried to the margin of a river or tank, and their feet are placed in the water. According as nature fails the body is pushed forwards, and at last it is held by the chin only, so that at the moment when the spirit departs and leaves the body, both the one and the other can be purged of all defilement by plunging the body wholly into the water, after which it is burned in the same place, which is always close to some pagoda. There are people who make it their business to collect wood, and there is a fixed rate of payment for their trouble. When an idolater is dead, all those of his caste or tribe who are in the place assemble at the house of the deceased, and the body having been placed on a litter covered by some fine cloth, according to the station of the defunct and the property which he has

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left, they accompany it to the place where it is to be burnt, following the litter, which is carried on the shoulders of those appointed for that duty. They always proceed chanting some prayers to their god, and calling out *Rám, Rám,* and, while carrying the body, there is some one who sounds a small bell to give notice to the living to pray for the deceased. The body having arrived at the margin of the river or tank, it is plunged into the water, and afterwards burnt. This is done in three different ways, as I shall describe in the following chapter. According to the wealth of the deceased, there is mingled with the ordinary wood which is collected for burning, more or less sandal-wood or other scented wood.

But the idolaters not only burn dead bodies; their cruel superstition goes further, for they also burn the bodies of the living. They make scruple about killing a serpent, and even a bug, yet they regard it as a highly meritorious action to cause a living woman to be burnt in the fire together with the body of her deceased husband.

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CHAPTER IX

How the women burn themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands in INDIA.

IT is also an ancient custom among the idolaters of INDIA that on a man dying his widow can never remarry; as soon, therefore, as he is dead she withdraws to weep for her husband, and some days afterwards her hair is shaved off, and she despoils herself of all the ornaments with which her person was adorned, she removes from her arms and legs the bracelets which her husband had given her, when espousing her, as a sign that she was to be submissive and bound to him, and she remains for the rest of her life without being of any consideration, and worse than a slave, in the place where previously she was mistress. This miserable condition causes her to detest life, and prefer to ascend a funeral pile to be consumed alive with the body of her defunct husband, rather than be regarded for the remainder of her days with opprobrium and infamy by all the world. Joined to which the *Brahmins* induce the women to hope that by dying in this way, with their husbands, they will live again with them in some other part of the world with more glory and more comfort than they have previously enjoyed. These are the two reasons which

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make these unhappy women resolve to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands; to which it should be added that the priests buoy them up with the hope that at the moment when they are in the fire, before they yield up their souls, *Rám* will reveal wonderful things to them, and that after the soul has passed through several bodies it will attain to an exalted degree of glory for all eternity.

But it should be remarked that a woman cannot burn herself with the body of her husband without having received permission from the Governor of the place where she dwells, and those Governors who are Muhammadans, hold this dreadful custom of self-destruction in horror, and do not readily give permission. On the other hand, it is only the women who become widows, without children, who can be reproached for not having loved their husbands if they have not had courage to burn themselves after their death, and to whom this want of courage will be for the remainder of their lives a cause of reproach. For, as for the widows who have children, they are not permitted under any circumstances to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands; and very far from custom obliging them, it is ordained that they shall live in order to watch over the education of their children. Those whom the Governors peremptorily refuse to grant permission to burn themselves pass the remainder of their lives in severe penances and in doing charitable deeds. There are some who frequent the great highways either to boil water with vegetables, in order to give it as a drink to passers by, or to keep fire always ready to light the pipes of those who desire to smoke tobacco. There are others among them who

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make a vow to eat nothing but what they find undigested in the droppings of oxen, cows, and buffaloes,[1] and who do still more absurd things.

The Governor, seeing that all the remonstrances he makes to these women, who are urged to burn themselves even by their relatives and by the *Brahmins*, are ineffectual to turn them from the damnable resolution which they have taken to die in so cruel a fashion, when his secretary indicates by a sign that he has received a bribe, at length allows them to do what they wish, and in a rage tells all the idolaters who accompany them that they may "go to the devil."

Immediately on this permission being obtained, all the music commences to make itself heard, and with the sound of drums, flutes, and other instruments of that kind, all go to the house of the deceased, and from thence, as I have said, accompany the body to the margin of a river or tank, where it is to be burned.

All the relatives and friends of the widow who desires to die after her husband, congratulate her beforehand on the good fortune which she is about to acquire in the other world, and on the glory which all the members of the caste derive from her noble resolution. She dresses herself as for her wedding-day, and is conducted in triumph to the place where she is to be burnt. A great noise is made with the instruments of music and the voices of the women who follow, singing hymns to the glory of the unhappy one who is about to die. The *Brahmins* accompanying her exhort her to show resolution and courage, and many Europeans believe that in order to

[1] This form of penance is, I believe, not extinct.

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remove the fear of that death which man naturally abhors, she is given some kind of drink that takes away her senses and removes all apprehension which the preparations for her death might give rise to.[1] It is for the interest of the *Brahmins* that these unhappy women maintain the resolution they have taken to burn themselves, for all the bracelets which they wear, both on arms and legs, with their earrings and rings, belong of right to these *Brahmins*, and they are searched for in the ashes after the women are burnt. According to the station and wealth of the women, the bracelets, earrings, and rings are either of gold or silver; the poorest have them of copper and tin; but as for precious stones, they do not wear them at all when going to be burnt.

I have seen women burnt in three different ways, according to the customs of different countries. In the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, and as far as AGRA and DELHI, this is how it takes place: On the margin of a river or tank, a kind of small hut, about 12 feet square, is built of reeds and all kinds of faggots, with which some pots of oil and other drugs are placed in order to make it burn quickly. The woman being seated in a half-reclining position in the middle of the hut, her head reposing on a kind of pillow of wood, and resting her back against a post, to which she is tied by her waist by one of the *Brahmins*, for fear lest she should escape on feeling the flame. In this position she holds the dead body of her husband on her knees, chewing *betel* all the time; and after having been about half

[1] Preparations of *bhâng*, or Indian hemp, used to be given for this purpose, but in many cases the excitement alone, in all probability, produced an insensibility to pain.

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an hour in this condition, the *Brahmin* who has been by her side in the hut goes outside, and she calls out to the priests to apply the fire; this the *Brahmins*, and the relatives and friends of the woman who are present, immediately do, throwing into the fire some pots of oil, so that the woman may suffer less by being quickly consumed. After the bodies have been reduced to ashes, the *Brahmins* take whatever is found in the way of melted gold, silver, tin, or copper, derived from the bracelets, earrings, and rings which the woman had on; this belongs to them by right, as I have said.

In the Kingdom of BENGAL women are burnt in another manner. A woman in that country must be very poor if she does not come with the body of her husband to the margin of the GANGES in order to wash it after he is dead, and to bathe herself before being burnt. I have seen them come to the GANGES more than twenty days' journey, the bodies being by that time altogether putrid, and emitting an unbearable odour. There was one of them who, coming from the north, near the frontiers of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, with the body of her husband which she had conveyed in a carriage, travelled all the way on foot herself, without eating for fifteen or sixteen days, till she arrived at the GANGES, where after having washed the body of her husband, which stank horribly, and having bathed herself also, she had herself burnt with him with a determination which surprised those who saw it. I was there at the time. As throughout the length of the GANGES, and also in all BENGAL, there is but little fuel,[1] these poor women send to beg for wood out of charity to burn themselves

[1] This remark is of interest as showing that the scarcity of fuel, which is now so much felt, had already been experienced in these regions.

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with the dead bodies of their husbands. There is prepared for them a funeral pile, which is like a kind of bed, with its pillow of small wood and reeds, in which pots of oil and other drugs are placed in order to consume the body quickly. The woman who intends to burn herself, preceded by some drums, flutes, and hautboys, and dressed in her most beautiful ornaments, comes dancing to the funeral pile, and having ascended it she places herself, half-lying, half-seated. Then the body of her husband is laid across her, and all the relatives and friends bring her, one a letter, another a piece of cloth, this one flowers, that one pieces of silver or copper, saying to her, give this from me to my mother, or to my brother, or to some relative or friend, whoever the dead person may be whom they have most loved while alive. When the woman sees that they bring her nothing more, she asks those present three times whether they have any more commissions for her, and if they do not reply she wraps all they have brought in a *taffeta*, which she places between her lap and the back of the body of her defunct husband, calling upon the priests to apply fire to the funeral pile. This the *Brahmins* and the relatives do simultaneously. As there is, as I have remarked, but little wood in the Kingdom of BENGAL, as soon as these miserable women are dead and half burnt, their bodies are thrown into the GANGES with those of their husbands, where they are eaten by the crocodiles.

I should not forget here an evil custom which is practised among the idolaters of the same Kingdom of BENGAL. When a woman is delivered, and the infant, as often happens, is unwilling to take to its mother's

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breast in order to suckle, it is carried outside the village and placed in a cloth, which is tied by the four corners to the branches of a tree, and is thus left from morning to evening. In this way the poor infant is exposed to the crows, which come to torment it, and some have been found whose eyes have been torn out of their heads, which is the reason why many idolaters are seen in BENGAL who have but one eye, and others who have both injured or altogether gone. In the evening the infant is taken to see whether it is willing to suckle during the following night, and should it happen that it still refuses the breast, it is taken back on the following day to the same place; this is done for three days in sequence, after which, if the infant is altogether unwilling to take the breast, in the belief that it is a demon, it is cast into the GANGES, or into some other river or tank which is closer at hand. In the places where there are many monkeys these poor children are not so exposed to the attacks of crows, for this reason, that as soon as a monkey discovers a nest of these birds he climbs the tree, and throws the nest on one side and the eggs on the other. On the other hand, there are among the English, Dutch, and Portuguese charitable persons who, moved to compassion for the misfortune of these infants, remove them when they are thus exposed and hung in a tree, and take care to have them brought up as I have one day seen an example of at HUGLY; this is done in the places near their factories.

Let us see now what is the practice along the coast of COROMANDEL when women are going to be burnt with the bodies of their deceased husbands. A large hole of 9 or 10 feet deep, and 25 or 30 feet square, is

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dug, into which an abundance of wood is thrown, with many drugs to make it burn fast. When this hole is well heated, the body of the husband is placed on the edge, and then his wife comes dancing, and chewing *betel*, accompanied by all her relatives and friends, and with the sound of drums and cymbals. The woman then takes three turns round the hole, and at each time she kisses all her relatives and friends. When she completes the third turn the *Brahmins* throw the body of the deceased into the fire, and the woman, having her back turned to the hole, is also pushed by the same *Brahmins*, and falls in backwards. Then all the relatives throw pots of oil and other drugs of that kind, as I have said is elsewhere done, so that the bodies may be the sooner consumed. In the greater part of the same COROMANDEL coast the woman does not burn herself with the body of her deceased husband, but allows herself to be interred, while alive, with him in a hole which the *Brahmins* dig in the ground, about 1 foot deeper than the height of the man or woman. They generally select a sandy spot, and when they have placed the man and woman in this hole, each of those who have accompanied them, having filled a basket of sand, throw it on the bodies until the hole is full and heaped over, half a foot higher than the ground, after which they jump and dance upon it till they conclude that the woman is smothered.[1]

When any of the idolaters of this COROMANDEL

[1] Thevenot alludes to the custom of burying widows alive, but says that when they were covered with clay up to the neck, they were strangled by the Brahmins (*Voyage*, p. 253). Numerous other writers also refer to the custom. As is the case with *Suttee*, this practice is now extinct, but were the restraint removed it is most probable that there would be reversion to both in some parts of India.

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country are on the point of death, their friends do not act like those elsewhere, who carry them to die at the margin of a river or tank, so that their souls when leaving the body may be cleansed of their impurity. They simply carry them into the vicinity of the fattest cow which they are able to find.[1]

. . . . . .

If a cow happens to be sick the owner must convey it to the margin of a tank or river, for should it die in his house the *Brahmins* inflict a fine upon him.[2]

[1] The remainder of this passage has been omitted, as the ceremony described is too disgusting for reproduction.

[2] These fines, as described by Ward, were very heavy, sufficient in some cases to cripple a man's resources for the remainder of his life. (See *History of the Hindoos.*)

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CHAPTER X

Remarkable histories of several women who have been burnt after the death of their husbands.

AMONG several examples of this more than barbarous custom of the women of the idolaters of INDIA of burning themselves with the corpses of their husbands, I will relate three remarkable cases, of two of which I was a witness.

The *Raja* of VELLORE, of whom I have spoken in the first book of this account of INDIA,[1] having at the same time lost both this town and his life by the victory which the General of the King of BIJAPUR gained over him, there was great mourning in all his Court. Eleven of the women of his household were keenly affected by his death, and all resolved to burn themselves when his body was burnt. The General of the BIJAPUR army having heard of this resolve, thought that he would be able to dissuade these desperate women by flattering them, and by promising them all kinds of good treatment. But seeing that that was of no effect, and that they wished absolutely to be burnt with the body of the deceased, he directed that they should be kept shut up in a room. He who received this order, on going to execute it, was told by these

[1] Velou in the original (see vol. i, p. 161).

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infuriated women that it was in vain, that he might do his best, but that it was useless to keep them prisoners, and that if they were not allowed to do what they wished, they had resolved that in three hours there would not be one of them alive. This threat was jeered at, and it was not believed that it would be carried into effect. But he who had these women in charge, on opening the door of the room at the end of three hours, found the eleven all dead and stretched on the ground, without any indication being apparent that they had hastened their deaths, either by steel, rope, or poison, nor could any one see how they had been able to make away with themselves. It was assuredly the case on this occasion that the evil spirit had played his game. Let us pass to another history.

Two of the most powerful *Rajas* of INDIA, who were brothers, having come to AGRA in the year 1642 to pay their respects to SHÁH JAHÁN, who then reigned, not having properly acquitted themselves therein, in the opinion of the Grand Master of the King's house, he one day said to one of the two *Rajas*, who were together under the gallery of the palace, in the presence of the King, that this was not the sort of demeanour that should be observed towards so great a monarch as the King his master. This *Raja* regarding himself as a King and a great Prince, and having brought 15,000 or 16,000 horse in his suite with the other *Raja*, his brother, was offended by the boldness the Grand Master showed in reprimanding him in that fashion, and drawing his dagger slew him on the spot, in the presence of the King, who witnessed the deed from an elevated position, where, as I have elsewhere said, he generally administers

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justice. The Grand Master having fallen at the feet of his brother, who was close to him, the latter immediately set himself to avenge his death, but was anticipated by the brother of the *Raja*, who stabbed him in the breast with his dagger and flung his dead body on that of the Grand Master. The King, who beheld these two murders, one after the other, was frightened and withdrew into his *harem;* but forthwith all the *Omrahs* and other people who were present under the gallery, threw themselves on the two *Rajas* and cut them to pieces. The King, indignant at such an action being committed in his house and in his presence, ordered the bodies of the *Rajas* to be thrown into the river; but as soon as the troops they had left near AGRA heard of the affront which was intended to be done to the memory of their Princes, they threatened to enter the city and pillage it; this caused the King, rather than expose the city to this danger, to order that the bodies should be handed over to them. This was done, and the *Rajputs* were appeased by this means. As they went to burn them they beheld thirteen women of the households of these two *Rajas* approaching, dancing and leaping, who forthwith ascended the funeral pile, which they encircled, holding one another by the hand, and being immediately enveloped by the smoke, which suffocated them, they all fell together into the fire. The *Brahmins* then threw upon them a quantity of wood, pots of oil, and other drugs, according to custom, in order that the bodies should be quickly consumed.

I remember another strange occurrence which happened one day in my presence at PATNA, a town of BENGAL. I was with the Dutch at the house of the

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Governor of the town, a venerable noble, nearly eighty years old, who commanded 5000 or 6000 horse, when there entered the reception room where we were seated a young and very beautiful woman, who was scarcely more than twenty-two years of age. This woman, with a firm and resolute voice, came to ask the Governor's permission to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband. This Governor, touched by the youth and beauty of the woman, sought to turn her from her resolution, but seeing that all that he could say was useless, and that she only became more obstinate, asking him with a bold and courageous voice if he believed that she feared fire; he asked if she knew any torment equal to fire, and if it had never happened to her to burn her hand. "No, no," this woman then replied to him with more courage than before; "I do not fear fire in any way, and in order to make you see that it is so, you have only to order a well-lighted torch to be brought here." The Governor, being horrified with the conversation of the woman, did not wish to hear more from her, and dismissing her told her in a rage that she might go to the devil. Some young nobles who were by him asked him to allow them to test the woman and to order a torch to be brought, persuading him that she would not have the courage to burn herself with it. At first he was unwilling to consent, but they continued to urge him with so much pressure that at length, by his order, a torch was brought, which, in India, is nothing else than a cloth twisted and steeped in oil, and put on the end of a stick after the manner of a chafing dish; this, which we call a lamp (*fallot*), serves us at need in the crossways of towns. As soon as the

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woman saw the torch, which was well kindled, she ran in front of it, and holding her hand firmly in the flame without the least grimace, and advancing the arm likewise up to the elbow, it was all immediately scorched; this caused horror to all who witnessed the deed, and the Governor commanded the woman to be removed from his presence.

Since we are at PATNA I shall relate yet another strange thing which happened there one day, and of which I was a witness. A *Brahmin*, coming from outside, entered the town, and summoning all of his own tribe, told them that they must give him 2000 rupees and 27 cubits of cloth, which are, as I have said, the ells of this country. The principal among them having told him that it was impossible, and that they were poor, he persisted in his demand to have what he asked for, and declared that he would remain there without drinking or eating till they had brought the cloth and the 2000 rupees. With this resolution he mounted on a tree which was in the square, and seated himself on a forked branch, remaining in this position without eating or drinking during several days. The report of this extravagance having reached the ears of the Dutch, with whom I then was, they and I gave money to keep men on the watch all the night close to the tree, in order to see if it was true that this man was able to remain for so long a time without eating or drinking, which he did indeed during thirty days, of which, besides the people whom we had engaged for the purpose, there were more than 100 other witnesses whom those of the tribe had sent, and who never moved by day or night from the vicinity of the tree. At length, on the thirty-first day

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of so surprising and extraordinary a fast, the idolaters, fearing that the *Brahmin* would not be able to hold out longer against hunger, and having a scruple about allowing one of their priests to die for want of giving him that which he asked for, taxed themselves all round and took him the 27 ells of cloth and the 2000 rupees.[1] As soon as the *Brahmin* saw the money and cloth he descended from the tree, and after having reproached all those of the tribe who were present at this spectacle with their want of charity to the poor, he distributed to the poorest the whole sum, only reserving 5 or 6 rupees for himself. He did the same with the cloth, which he cut up into many pieces, only keeping for himself what was sufficient to cover the middle of his body, and this distribution having been made he disappeared before all the crowd, who have never since heard what had become of him, notwithstanding all the research that they could make; this ought to show sufficiently that in these matters the work of the devil is manifested.

As there are many Chinese at BATAVIA, I shall give here an account of a custom which I have observed among that kind of idolaters. When a Chinaman is at the point of death, all the relatives and friends who come to see him range themselves about him, and ask him, while crying, where he wishes to go, that if he wants anything he has only to say it and that they will give it to him, be it gold, silver, or women. When dead

[1] This is what is known in India as sitting *dharná*—to enforce payment of a demand; it is now an offence under the Indian penal code. As to the possibility of a man remaining for so long a period without food, India furnishes numerous apparently well authenticated instances. Besides which we have Dr. Tanner's case in America, and many in different countries of Europe. (See p. 200).

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many ceremonies are performed at their funerals; these consist principally in displays of fireworks, in which the Chinese excel all the other nations of the world, and a man must be very poor if something is not expended on them at his death. Moreover, some silver is placed in a small box, which is buried near the deceased, and a quantity of food is placed near the grave in the belief that he will come to eat it. As some soldiers of the garrison are sent out of BATAVIA every evening to make the circuit of the town during the night, they on one occasion took it into their heads to go to these graves, where they ate up what had been left; this they continued to do for some nights consecutively. But the Chinese were no sooner aware of it than, in order to deter them from returning, they on three or four occasions poisoned the food which they placed on the graves of their dead; this caused a great disturbance in BATAVIA. The Chinese occupy a leading position in commerce, and are more cunning than the Dutch, but not being liked by the people of the town, the latter took the part of the soldiers, and accused the Chinese of having poisoned some of them. But they defended themselves from this accusation very cleverly, saying, that if greed had caused these soldiers to die from eating the food which had been left on the graves of their dead, they were not the cause, as it was not for the soldiers that they had left it, and that till then among the great number whom they had interred not one of the dead persons had ever complained of such a thing; thus nothing more was said about it, and the soldiers dared not meddle with them any further.

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CHAPTER XI

Concerning the most celebrated Pagodas of the Idolaters of INDIA

THE idolaters of INDIA have, both in the towns and country parts, a great number of temples, large as well as small, which they call pagodas, where they go to pray to their gods and make offerings; but many of the poor people who dwell in the forests and mountains, far removed from villages, take a stone, and rudely trace a nose and eyes with yellow or red colour upon it, and all the family then worship it.

The four most celebrated pagodas are, JAGANNÁTH, BENARES, MUTTRA, and TIRUPATI (TRIPATTY),[1] of each of which I shall give a separate description.

JAGANNÁTH is the name of one of the mouths of the GANGES,[2] upon which the great pagoda is built, where the Great *Brahmin*, that is to say the High Priest of the idolaters, resides. The form of the choir or interior of this pagoda is as follows; and it is similar, in proportion, in all the others, which are built upon the same model, in the form of a cross. The great idol on

[1] *Jagrenate*, *Banarous*, *Matura*, and *Tripeti* in the original.

[2] The position of Jagannáth is on the sea coast of Orissa, at Puri, which is many miles from the nearest mouth of the Ganges. Bernier, Tavernier's contemporary, was better informed, as in a letter to M. Chapelain he states it was situated on the Gulf of Bengal.

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the altar of the choir[1] has two diamonds for his eyes and a pendant from his neck which reaches to the waist, and the smallest of these diamonds weighs about 40 carats; he has bracelets on his arms, some being of pearls and some of rubies, and this magnificent idol is called *Kesora*.[2] The revenues of this great pagoda are sufficient to feed 15,000 or 20,000 pilgrims daily, and these numbers are often to be found there, the pagoda being the object of the highest devotion by the Indians, who visit it from all quarters. It should be remarked that jewellers, who come like others, are not now permitted to enter the pagoda, since one of them, who allowed himself to be shut up during the night, extracted a diamond from one of the eyes of the idol, intending to steal it. As he was about to leave in the morning, when the pagoda was opened, this thief, they say, died at the door, and the idol performed this miracle as a punishment for sacrilege. What makes this pagoda, which is a grand building, the principal one in INDIA, is, that it is situated on the GANGES, the idolaters believing that the waters of that river have a special virtue, which cleanses them from defilement when they bathe in it. That which causes this pagoda to

[1] Of late years no European has been allowed to enter Jagannáth. On the occasion of the late Lord Mayo's last journey, which was cut short by his murder in the Andaman Islands, he had it in contemplation to visit Puri on his return to Calcutta, and a rumour was then abroad that a special concession about entering the temple was to be made in his favour. The temple has been described by Hindus, and in especial detail by Dr. Rajendra, Lál Mittra, in his *Orissa*.

[2] Krishna. The bones of Krishna, who had been killed by a hunter, were placed inside an image, which was never completed owing to the impatience of King Indra, who, however, obtained from Bramha a concession that the idol should become famous as Jagannáth. (Ward, *History of the Hindoos*, vol. i, p. 206.)

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be otherwise so rich (for it supports up to 20,000 cows) is the great amount of the offerings made every day by the incredible multitude of people who arrive from all parts. But these alms are not altogether at the discretion of those who give them, as they are fixed by the High Priest, who before granting permission to the pilgrims to shave themselves, to wash themselves in the GANGES, and to do the other things necessary to fulfil their vows, taxes each one according to his means, of which he is very exactly informed. Thus he receives enormous sums, from which he himself derives no profit, all being expended on the feeding of the poor and the support of the pagoda. The Grand *Brahmin*, then, distributes to the pilgrims whatever food is required, each day, as butter, milk, rice, and flour; but to the poor, who are in want of utensils to cook their food with, it is given ready cooked. It is a surprising thing, and well worthy of notice, to observe how the food is distributed to the poor people who have no pots. In the morning the rice is cooked in earthen pots of different sizes, and when the hour has come when these poor pilgrims arrive to ask for food, if, for example, there are five, the Chief *Brahmin* orders another *Brahmin* to take a pot full of cooked rice, which he lets fall, and the pot breaks itself equally into five parts, of which each pilgrim takes one, and likewise in proportion, more or less, according to the number of people who present themselves to whom the rice is to be distributed. The *Brahmins* never cook twice in the same earthen pot, but use copper pots frequently, and they have for plates certain leaves larger than our walnut leaves,[1] which are stitched

[1] Probably the leaves of the Sál tree, *Shorea robusta* (Roxb.)

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together. They have, however, a kind of dish about a foot in diameter, which is used to melt butter, in which they dip the rice with their fingers when eating, and a small ladle for the melted butter, which is drunk as we drink a glass of Spanish wine after a repast.

I come now to a more detailed description of the idol on the altar of the pagoda of JAGANNÁTH. It is covered from the neck to the base with a grand mantle which hangs on the altar, and this mantle is of gold or silver brocade according to the nature of the ceremonies. From the first this idol had neither feet nor hands, and this is how this fact is explained. After one of their prophets was taken up into heaven, when they were all plunged in tears and laments at losing him, God sent to them from heaven an angel who was like the prophet, so they treated him with great honour and respect. But while the angel was afterwards engaged in making the idol, impatience seized upon them, and they removed it to place it in the pagoda, although, as yet, it was unprovided with feet and hands. But as it was too deformed, they made hands for it of the small pearls which we call "pearls by the ounce."[1] As for the feet, they cannot be seen, being concealed under the mantle. There is nothing left uncovered save the hands and face; the head and body are made of sandal wood.[2] Around the elevated dome in which the idol is seated, from the base up to the top, there are numerous niches containing other images, the majority of which represent

[1] Seed pearls, *aljofar* of the Portuguese. (See p. 118.)

[2] Jagannáth was a centre of Buddhism before it fell into Brahminical hands, and it has been suggested that the shapeless idol was some symbol belonging to the former which was adopted by the latter. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 355.)

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hideous monsters, and they are made of stone of various colours. On each side of this great pagoda there are other much smaller ones where the pilgrims make their smallest offerings, and those who, on account of sickness or in their business, have made a vow to some god, take there an image or semblance of the object in memory of the benefit which they believe they have received.[1] This idol is anointed every day with scented oils which make him quite black. He has on his right hand his sister who is called *Sotora*, who is also represented standing and clothed; and on his left his brother, also clothed, who is called *Balbader*.[2] In front of the great idol, somewhat to the left, his wife is to be seen, who is called *Kemui*,[3] she is of massive gold, and represented standing, the three others are made of sandal wood.

The two other pagodas are intended for the residence of the chief *Brahmin*, or High Priest, and the other priests who serve in the great pagoda. All these *Brahmins* go about with bare heads, and the majority are shaved, having for sole garment a piece of cloth, a part of which wraps round the body, and the remainder is worn like a scarf. Near the pagoda the tomb of one of their prophets, named CABIR,[4] to whom they do great honour, is to be seen. It should be remarked that all these idols are on a kind of altar surrounded by gratings, for no one is allowed to touch

[1] A similar custom is followed in some Catholic countries of Europe.

[2] The names are *Subhadrá* and *Balarámá*.

[3] I don't know who this stands for. *Rukmini* was one of *Krishna's* wives, but her image, according to Ward, was never represented with her spouse, nor indeed were those of any of his lawful wives.

[4] Possibly for Kabir, a Fakir or Saint, who flourished about the close of the fifteenth century. (See Forbes's *Hindustani Dictionary*, s.v. *Kabir*.)

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them, with the exception of certain *Brahmins* appointed by the High Priest for that purpose.

I come to the pagoda of BENARES, which, after that of JAGANNÁTH, is the most famous in all INDIA, with which it is even, as it were, on a par, being also built on the margin of the GANGES,[1] and in the town of which it bears the name. The most remarkable thing about it is that from the door of the pagoda to the river there is a descent by stone steps, where there are at intervals platforms and small, rather dark, chambers, some of which serve as dwellings for the *Brahmins*, and others as kitchens where they prepare their food. For after the idolaters have bathed, and have gone to pray and make their offerings in the pagoda, they prepare their food without any one but themselves touching it, through the fear they have lest any one who approached it might be unclean. But above all things, they ardently desire to drink the water of the GANGES, because, as soon as they have drunk it, they believe, as I have said, that they are cleansed from all their sins. Every day large numbers of these *Brahmins* are to be seen going to the clearest part of the river to fill this water into round, small-mouthed, earthen pots, which hold about a bucketful. When they are full they are taken to the chief priest, who directs the mouth to be covered with a very fine cloth of fire-colour, in three or four folds, upon which he applies his seal. The *Brahmins* carry this water at the end of a stick, which is flat like a lath, from which hang six small cords, and to each of them one of these pots is attached. They rest themselves by changing the

[1] Here the mistake about Jagannáth being on the Ganges (see p. 225, *n.*) is repeated, as it is also elsewhere in following pages.

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shoulder frequently, and they sometimes travel three or four hundred leagues of country with this load,[1] and then sell it, or make a present of it, but only to the richest persons, from whom they expect a liberal reward. There are some of these Idolaters who, when they celebrate any festival — especially when their children are married—drink this water at a cost of 400 or 500 *écus*. It is only drunk at the end of the repast, as we drink hypocras or muscat in EUROPE, each (guest) receiving a cup, or two, according to the liberality of the host. The principal reason why this water of the GANGES is so highly esteemed, is, that it never becomes bad, and engenders no vermin; but I do not know whether we should believe what is said about this, taking into consideration the number of bodies which are constantly being thrown into the GANGES.[2]

Returning to the pagoda at BENARES.[3] The building is in the figure of a cross, like all the other pagodas, having its four arms equal. In the middle a lofty dome rises like a kind of tower with many sides, which terminates in a point, and at the end of each arm of the

[1] This is what is known as a *banghy* in India. I have seen men accustomed to carrying weights in this way, when on occasion they have only a load for one end, make up an equipoise of a stone or clod of earth for the other. A similar carrying-stick is used in China. Formerly, if not still, troops of these water-carriers were to be seen on the Grand Trunk road, which, when I saw it first in the year 1864, afforded a scene of much animation and interest.

[2] The reader will do well not to believe this story, but rather to conclude that much of the water when drunk is in a very unwholesome condition, and is the cause of disease.

[3] Probably the indications given of this temple may be sufficient to those with local knowledge to identify it. I can only suggest doubtfully that it is either the Bisheswar (or Golden temple of Siva), or the temple of Bhaironáth. See Sherring's *Sacred City of the Hindus*, p. 61.

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cross another tower rises, which can be ascended from outside. Before reaching the top you meet several balconies and many niches, which project to intercept the fresh air; and all over the tower there are figures in relief of various kinds of animals, which are rudely executed. Under this great dome, and exactly in the middle of the pagoda, there is an altar like a kind of table, of 7 to 8 feet in length, and 5 to 6 wide, with two steps in front, which serve as a footstool, and this footstool is covered by a beautiful tapestry, sometimes of silk and sometimes of gold and silk, according to the solemnity of the ceremony which is being celebrated. The altar is covered with gold or silver brocade, or some beautiful painted cloth. From outside the pagoda this altar faces you with the idols which are upon it; for the women and girls must salute it from the outside, as they are not allowed to enter the pagoda, save only those of a certain tribe. Among the idols on the great altar there is one standing which is 5 or 6 feet in height; neither the arms, legs, nor trunk are seen, the head and neck only being visible; all the remainder of the body, down to the altar, is covered by a robe which increases in width below. Sometimes on its neck there is to be seen a rich chain of gold, rubies, pearls, or emeralds. This idol has been made in honour and after the likeness of BAINMADOU,[1] who was formerly a great and holy personage among them, whose name they often have on their lips. On the right side of the altar there is also to be seen the figure of an animal, or rather of a chimera, seeing that it represents in part an elephant, in part a horse, and in

[1] This looks like Bhim Mahádeba—a combination of names for Siva.

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part a mule. It is of massive gold, and is called *Garou*,[1] no person being allowed to approach it but the *Brahmins*. It is said to be the resemblance of the animal which this holy personage rode upon when he was in the world, and that he made long journeys on it, going about to see if the people were doing their duty and not injuring any one. At the entrance of the pagoda, between the principal door and the great altar, there is to the left a small altar, upon which an idol made of black marble is to be seen, seated, with the legs crossed, and about two feet high. When I was there it had near it, on the left, a small boy, who was son of the chief priest, and all the people who came there threw him pieces of *taffeta*, or brocaded cloth like handkerchiefs, with which he wiped the idol and then returned them to their owners. Others threw him chains made of beads like small nuts, which have a naturally sweet scent, which these idolaters wear on their necks and use to repeat their prayers over each bead. Others also throw chains of coral, others of yellow amber, others fruits and flowers. Finally, with everything which is thrown to the chief *Brahmin's* child he wipes the idol and makes him kiss it, and afterwards, as I have just said, returns it to the people. This idol is called MORLI RAM,[2] that is to say, the God Morli, brother of the idol on the great altar.

Under the principal entrance of the pagoda one of the chief *Brahmins* is to be seen seated, close to whom is a large dish full of yellow pigment mixed with water.

[1] Siva's Bull? The *garou* is possibly *gáo*, a cow, *nar gáo* being a bull. Perhaps, however, the chimera was a representation of the sacred bird *Garuda*.

[2] Morli Ram has not been identified.

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All the poor idolaters come one after the other to present themselves to him, and he anoints their foreheads with some of this colour, which is continued down between the eyes and on to the end of the nose, then on the arms and in front of the chest; and it is by these marks that those who have bathed in the GANGES are distinguished. Those who only bathe in their dwellings (for they are all obliged to bathe before eating, and even before cooking), those, I say, who have only bathed in well-water, or in water brought from the river, are not properly purified, and in consequence cannot be anointed with this colour. It may be remarked that the idolaters, according to their castes, are anointed with different colours; and in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, those who are anointed with yellow belong to the most important tribe, and are the least impure. For, when attending to the ordinary necessities of nature, the others content themselves with carrying a pot of water to wash themselves with, but these always use a handful of sand, with which having first rubbed themselves, they afterwards wash. So that they can say their bodies are clean, that no impurity remains, and they may then take their food without fear.

Adjoining this great pagoda, on the side which faces the setting sun at midsummer, there is a house which serves as a college, which the *Raja* JAI SINGH,[1] the most powerful of the idolatrous princes, who was then in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, has founded for the education of the youth of good families. I saw the children of this Prince, who were being educated there, and had as teachers several *Brahmins*, who

[1] At a later period than this, namely 1693, Jai Singh erected the famous observatory at Benares.

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taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved to the priests of the idols,[1] and is very different from that spoken by the people. Having entered the court of this college, being curious to see it, and throwing my eyes upwards, I perceived a double gallery which ran all round it, and in the lower one these two Princes were seated, accompanied by many young nobles and numerous *Brahmins*, who were making different figures, like those of mathematics, on the ground with chalk. As soon as I entered, these Princes sent to inquire who I was, and having learnt that I was a Frenchman they invited me to ascend, when they asked me many things about EUROPE, and especially about FRANCE. One of the *Brahmins* had two globes, which the Dutch had given him, and I pointed out the position of FRANCE upon them. After some conversation of this kind they presented me with *betel;* and before I took leave I asked the *Brahmins* at what hour I should be able to see the pagoda open. Having told me to come on the following morning a little before sunrise, I did not fail to be at the same house by that time, where the *Raja* had caused a pagoda to be built on the left of the entrance. In front of the door there is to be seen, as it were, a gallery sustained by pillars, where many people were already assembled—men, women, and children—awaiting the opening of the door. When the gallery and a part of the court are full of people, eight *Brahmins* approach, four on each side of the door of the pagoda, each carrying a censer; and there are many other *Brahmins* who make a great noise with drums and other instruments. The two oldest of the *Brahmins* chant a canticle, and all the people, after

[1] Sanskrit.

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they have intoned it, repeat the same while singing and playing instruments, each one waving a peacock's tail, or other kind of fan, to drive away the flies; so that when the door of the pagoda is opened the idol may not be inconvenienced by them. All this fanning and music lasted a good half-hour, then the two principal *Brahmins* began to sound two large bells three times, and, with a kind of small mallet, they then knocked at the door. At the same moment it was opened by six *Brahmins*, who were inside the pagoda, and 7 or 8 paces from the door an altar was to be seen with an idol upon it, which is called RAM KAM, who is the sister of MORLI RAM. She has on her right a child in the form of CUPID, who is known as the god LAKSHMI, and on her left arm she carries a small girl called the goddess SITA. As soon as the door of the pagoda was opened, and after a large curtain had been drawn, and the people present had seen the idol, all threw themselves on the ground, placing their hands upon their heads and prostrating themselves three times; then having risen they threw a quantity of bouquets and chains in form of chaplets, which the *Brahmins* placed in contact with the idol, and then returned to the people. An old *Brahmin* who was in front of the altar, held in his hand a lamp with nine lighted wicks, upon which, from time to time, he threw a kind of incense when approaching the lamp towards the idol. All these ceremonies lasted about an hour, after which the people retired, and the pagoda was closed. The people presented the idol with a quantity of rice, flour, butter, oil, and milk, of which the *Brahmins* let nothing be lost. As this idol has the form of a woman, all the women invoke her, and regard her as their patron; this is the

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reason why (the temple) is always crowded with women and children.

The *Raja*, in order to have this idol in the pagoda of his house and to get it from the great pagoda, has expended in gifts to the *Brahmins* and in alms to the poor more than five *lakhs* (500,000) of rupees, which make 750,000 *livres*[1] of our money.

On the other side of the street in which this College is situated, there is another pagoda called RICHOURDAS, from the name of the idol on the altar inside, and lower down on another small altar is the idol whom they call GOUPALDAS,[2] brother of this RICHOURDAS. Only the faces of these idols, which are made of stone or wood, are exposed to view. They are black as jet, with the exception of the image of MORLI RAM, which is in the great pagoda and is uncovered. As for the idol RAM KAM, which is in the pagoda of the *Raja*, it has two diamonds in the eyes which this Prince has had placed there, together with a large necklace of pearls, and a canopy sustained by four silver pillars over its head.

At eight days' journey from BENARES, due northwards, a mountainous country[3] is entered, which in the intervals has beautiful plains sometimes 2 to 3 leagues wide. They are very fertile, producing corn, rice, and vegetables, but that which injures and ruins the people of this country is the abundance of elephants[4] which eat a considerable proportion of the vegetables and grain. If a caravan of travellers passes through this country where there are no *caravansaráis*, as they are compelled to camp in the open

[1] £56,250.
[2] *Gopala.*
[3] The Sivalik ranges.
[4] See p. 262.

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fields, they have much trouble in defending themselves during the night from the elephants which often come to carry away the food. In order to prevent them the travellers light fires, fire numerous musket-shots, and from time to time some of them cry with all their might, and make a great noise to frighten these animals.

In this country there is another pagoda, well-built and very ancient, and ornamented within and without with many figures, which are representations of girls and women only. Men never go there to worship, and on that account it is called the girls' pagoda. It has an altar in the middle like the other pagodas, and upon this altar there is an idol of massive gold about 4 feet high, which represents a girl, standing, whom they call RAM MARION.[1] She has on her right a child, standing, made of massive silver, and nearly 2 feet in height, and it is said that this girl living a holy life, the infant was taken to her by the *Brahmins* to learn her creed and how to live well; but at the end of three or four years, during which the child had dwelt with the girl, it became so clever and accomplished that all the *Rajas* and Princes of the country wished for it, and, at last, one of them carried it off one night and it has not since been seen. This idol has on her left, at the base of the altar, another idol representing an old man, whom they say had been the servant of RAM MARION and the child, and the *Brahmins* pay great reverence to this idol. They come to it but once a year for worship, and it is necessary for them to arrive on a prescribed day, which is the first day of the moon in November, because the pagoda is only

[1] Marana, goddess of death, a form of Kali.

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opened at full moon. During the fifteen days which intervene all the pilgrims, both men and women, must fast from time to time, wash their bodies three times every day, without leaving a single hair in whatever place it may be, all being easily removed by the use of a certain earth with which they rub themselves.[1]

[1] A preparation of lime is sometimes used for this purpose.

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CHAPTER XII

Continuation of the description of the principal Pagodas of the Idolaters of India

AFTER the pagodas of JAGANNÁTH and BENARES, the most considerable used to be that of MUTTRA,[1] at about 18 *coss* from AGRA, on the road to DELHI. It is one of the most sumptuous buildings in all INDIA, and was the place where there was formerly the greatest concourse of pilgrims; but at present scarcely any are to be seen there, the idolaters having gradually lost the devotion which they had for this pagoda, since the river JUMNA, which used to pass close to it, has changed its course, and now flows half a league away. For when pilgrims have bathed in the river it takes them too much time to return to the pagoda, and during that time they may encounter something which renders them impure and unclean. Although this pagoda, which is very large, is in a hollow, one sees it from more than 5 or 6 *coss* distance, the building being very elevated and very magnificent. The stones which

[1] Matura in the original (see Book I, chap. vii, and Book III, chap. xi.) The Antiquities of Muttra, or, as it is also called, Mathurá, have been very fully described by Mr. Growse. The temple on the platform described by Tavernier was probably what is known as the Idgah or Katra. "It has been identified with the site of the ancient Buddhist monastery of Upagupta, and marks one of the oldest religious spots in India." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Art. "Muttra," vol. x, p. 53.)

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were used in its construction are of a red colour, and are obtained from a large quarry near AGRA. They split like our slates, and some of them, which are 15 feet long and 9 or 10 feet wide, are not six fingers in thickness, that is to say, they split according to wish, and as may be required; beautiful columns are made of them also. The fortress of AGRA, the walls of JAHÁNÁBÁD, the house of the King, the two mosques, and some houses of the great nobles are built of the same stone.[1]

Returning to the pagoda, it is seated on a great platform of octagonal shape faced over with cut stone, around which there are two courses of animals, chiefly monkeys, carved in relief. One of the courses is only 2 feet from the ground floor, and the other 2 feet from the level of the platform. It is ascended by two staircases of fifteen or sixteen steps each, the steps being only 2 feet long, so that two persons are unable to ascend side by side. One of these staircases leads to the great gate of the pagoda, and the other behind the choir. But the pagoda occupies scarcely half the platform, the other half serving as a grand area in front. Its form is that of a cross, like those of the other pagodas, and in the middle there rises a lofty dome, with two others a little smaller which are at the sides. On the exterior of the building, from base to summit, numerous figures of animals are to be seen, such as rams, monkeys, and elephants, carved in stone,

[1] For an account of these sandstones, which are derived from the Vindhyan formation, reference may be made to the chapter on Building Stones in the *Economic Geology of India*. Tavernier's statements as to the fissile character and the large size of the pieces which can be obtained, are quite accurate. One of the most remarkable, though not the most successful uses to which they have been put in modern times is in the manufacture of telegraph-wire posts. Latterly these have, I think, been replaced by metal posts.

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and all round are niches where there are different monsters. From the foot of each of the three domes up to the summits, at intervals, there are windows from 5 to 6 feet high, and at each a kind of balcony where four persons can sit. Each balcony is covered by a small canopy, and some are sustained by four columns, others by eight, but then they are in pairs and in contact with one another. Around these domes there are also niches full of figures which represent demons, one having four arms, another four legs; some of them have the heads of men on the bodies of beasts, with horns and long tails which twine round their legs. There are, finally, numerous images of monkeys, and it is a terrible thing to have before the eyes so many ugly representations. The pagoda has but one door, which is very high, and on both sides there are many columns and images of men and monsters. The choir is enclosed by a barricade made of stone columns of 5 to 6 inches in diameter, and no one may enter these except the principal *Brahmins*, who have access by a small secret door which I could not see. When at this pagoda I asked some *Brahmins* who were there if I might see the great RÁM RÁM, that is to say the great idol. They replied that if I gave them something they would go to ask leave of their Superior; this they did as soon as I had placed two rupees in their hands. I had not waited half an hour till the *Brahmins* opened a door which is inside the middle of the barricade (for on the outside there is none, the barricade itself being closed). I saw across it, at about 15 or 16 feet from the door, as it were a square altar covered with an old brocade of gold and silver, and on it the great idol which they call RÁM RÁM. Only the head, which is of

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black marble, can be seen, and he has for eyes what appear to be two rubies. All the body from the neck to the feet is covered by a robe of red velvet with some embroidery, and the arms cannot be seen. There are two other idols beside him of 2 feet in height or thereabouts; they are arranged in the same manner, save that they have the faces white, and they are called BECCHOR.[1] I also saw in this pagoda a machine of 15 to 16 feet square and about 12 to 15 feet high, covered with painted calicoes which represent all kinds of demons. This machine was supported on four small wheels, and I was told that it was the portable altar, whereon their great god is placed on the solemn days when he goes to visit the other gods, and is taken to the river by the people on the occasion of their principal festival.

The fourth pagoda is that of TIRUPATI,[2] in the province of CARNATIC, towards the COROMANDEL coast and CAPE COMORIN. I went to see it when going from MASULIPATAM to GANDIKOT[3] to join the *Nawáb* MIR JUMLÁ. It is a large pagoda, surrounded by numerous small ones, and by many dwellings for the *Brahmins;* this makes it appear like a town. It has around it many tanks, and the superstition is so great that a passer-by dare not take water from them unless a *Brahmin* give it to him.

[1] I don't know what this stands for, perhaps *beta*, a son.

[2] *Tripeti* in the original, more correctly it is Tirupati, and is commonly called Tripatty, situated in the District of North Arcot. In some respects it is regarded as the most sacred temple in Madras. The principal temple is at Tirumala, 6 miles distant. From all parts of India pilgrims flock there, bearing large offerings with them.

[3] *Indecote* in the original. In Book I, chap. xviii, p. 272 of vol. i, Tavernier gives his route between Madras and Gandikot, when he saw this temple. There he calls it, however, *Courua.*

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CHAPTER XIII

Concerning the pilgrimages of the Idolaters to their pagodas

ALL the idolaters who are subjects of the GREAT MOGUL and other Princes on either side of the GANGES, at least once in their lives make a pilgrimage to perform their devotion at one of the four pagodas which I have named, and most commonly to that of JAGANNÁTH, it being the principal and most considerable of all. The *Brahmins* and rich people make this pilgrimage oftener than once, some making it every four years, others every six or every eight years, when, placing the idols of their pagodas in litters they accompany their *Brahmins* in procession to the pagoda for which they have most reverence; but it is most frequently, as I have said, to that of JAGANNÁTH, and also to that of BENARES, because both are on the GANGES, the water of which is held in special veneration by them.

These pilgrimages are not made, as in EUROPE, one by one, or two by two, but the population of a town or of several villages assemble in order to travel together in company. The poor who come from afar, sometimes 300 or 400 leagues, and who, with all the savings which they have accumulated for that purpose during their

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lives are unable to sustain the expenses of the journey, are assisted by the rich, who expend very great sums in such alms. Each one travels according to his station and means, some in *pallankeens* or litters, others in carriages; and the poor, some on foot and others on oxen, the mother carrying her child, and the father the cooking utensils.

The god whom they carry in procession from the place they are leaving, in order that he may visit and pay the respect which he owes to the great RÁM RÁM, reposes at full length in a rich *pallankeen* covered with gold brocade with silver fringes, the mattress and cushion of the same material being under the head, feet, and elbows, as we see in the effigies on our tombs. The *Brahmins* distribute among the most important persons in the troop fans with handles 7 or 8 feet long, and covered with plates of gold and silver, the fan being at the end in the form of a kiln-shovel of 2 to 3 feet in diameter, and covered with the same brocade as the *pallankeens*. It is surrounded with peacock feathers, and makes a great current of air; to it bells are sometimes attached to give a kind of music, and there are generally five or six of these fans for driving away the flies from the face of the idol; those who carry them take turns from time to time, like those who carry the *pallankeens*, so that many may share in this honourable task. This custom should not appear more strange to us than that which I have seen practised in SAXONY, and in many other parts of GERMANY, where, while a funeral oration for a man or a woman is delivered in the church, the body reposes at full length on a bier which is uncovered, and the people on both sides fan it constantly, when it is

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summer time, to drive away the flies attracted to the face of the defunct, who has then no more power of feeling than an idol.

In the year 1653, being on the road from GOLCONDA to SURAT with M. D'ARDILLIÉRE, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, we met near DAULATÁBÁD more than 2000 persons, including men, women, and children, who came from the direction of TATTA[1] with their idol, which they carried in a rich *pallankeen*, on their way to visit the great idol of the pagoda at TIRUPATI. This idol was laid on a mattress of red crimson velvet, and the covering and cushions were of the same stuff. The bamboo or stick which served to carry the *pallankeen* was covered with gold and silver brocade, and no one except the *Brahmins* had permission to approach it. We saw this long procession pass, and it was not without feeling much compassion for the blindness of these poor people.

[Here are the figures of the most famous idols, which I had the curiosity to have drawn on the spot.[2]]

[1] M. Joret (*t.c.* p. 131) is I think mistaken in assuming that this occasion of meeting pilgrims is identical with one described in vol. i, p. 296, it having taken place in the year 1652 at *Emelipata*, *i.e.* Vamulpetta, a stage between Gandikot and Golconda. He adds as a further mistake of Tavernier's that M. d'Ardilliére had died before 1653. (See Preface.) As we know that Tavernier went back to Golconda in 1653, and was in Surat in 1654, he may very possibly have met the pilgrims exactly as he says, when on his return towards the end of 1653.

[2] These figures are not given in any of the editions which I have seen. Probably they were never reproduced.

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CHAPTER XIV

Concerning various customs of the Idolaters of INDIA

THE *Brahmins* possess much knowledge of astrology, and know how to predict eclipses of the sun and moon for the people. On the 2d of July 1666 at one o'clock P.M. an eclipse of the sun was visible at PATNA, a town of the Kingdom of BENGAL. It was a wonderful thing to see the multitude of people, men, women, and children, who came from all quarters to bathe in the GANGES. But they must begin this bathing three days before they see the eclipse, during which time they remain day and night on the banks of the river in order to prepare all kinds of rice, milk, and sweetmeats to throw to the fishes and crocodiles which are in the river. Immediately on the *Brahmins* giving the word, when they know it is the fortunate hour, whatever kind of eclipse it may be, whether of the sun or moon, the idolaters are accustomed to break all the earthen vessels used in their households, and not to leave one piece whole—this causes a terrible noise in a town.

Every *Brahmin* has his book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semicircles, of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures. They draw divers figures on the ground, and when they perceive that the fortunate hour has arrived they all

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unite in crying aloud to the people to throw food into the GANGES. A terrible noise is then made with drums, bells, and large disks made of similar metal to that of our cymbals, which they strike one against the other; and as soon as the food is thrown into the river all the people should enter and continue rubbing themselves, and bathing their bodies until the eclipse is over. As this eclipse appeared at a time when the GANGES is usually very low, after the end of the rains, which last from the month of July to the end of October, for more than 3 leagues above and below the town, and as many as the river extends in width, nothing was to be seen but heads on the water. As for the *Brahmins*, they remain on land to receive the richest and those who give them most, to dry their bodies, and give them dry clothes to cover the middle of their bodies. Then they make them sit in chairs, where the richest of the idolaters have brought an abundance of Indian corn, rice, and all kinds of vegetables, with milk, butter, sugar, flour, and wood. Before each chair the *Brahmin* makes a very clean place of about 5 or 6 feet square, after which he takes cattle droppings steeped in a great dish of yellow pigment, in order to rub over all the place, through fear lest some ant might come there and be burnt. If possible, their ceremonies are conducted without burning wood, and in order to cook their food they generally use cattle droppings. When they are obliged to use wood they take care that it has no maggots nor other insects inside it, through fear, as I have elsewhere remarked, because of their belief in the transmigration of souls into different bodies, that there may be the soul of a relative or friend burnt with this small animal. In this

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place which they have cleaned so well, they trace many kinds of figures, as triangles and half triangles, ovals and half ovals, these they make with powdered chalk. On each figure they place a little cow-dung, with two or three small branches of wood, which they rub well for fear any insect should be contained in them; and on these branches they place on one wheat, another rice, on the others vegetables, and all the kinds of food which they have. Then, having thrown on each heap a quantity of butter, and having set fire to them, according to the appearance of the flames they conclude whether there will be in that year an abundant harvest of corn, rice, and so with the rest.

At the March full moon there is a solemn festival for the idol which has the form of a serpent, of which I have spoken in the first Book of this account of INDIA.[1] This festival lasts nine days, and while it lasts both men and beasts remain idle; the majority of the latter are ornamented with circles of vermilion around the eyes, with which the horns are also painted, and when there is any special love for the animal leaves of tinsel are added. Each morning the idol is worshipped, the girls dancing round it for an hour to the sound of flutes and drums, after which all eat together and enjoy themselves till the evening, when they again worship the idol and dance round it a second time.

Although it is not the usual custom of the idolaters to use any kind of drink, nevertheless during this festival they drink palm wine, and, in villages far removed from the great routes, a spirit made from the same wine, because the Muhammadan governors do not allow them to make it, nor to sell wine brought from

[1] Snake worship. See Book I, chap. iii, p. 42.

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PERSIA or elsewhere. The spirit is made in this way—In large earthen vessels, glazed inside, which are called *martabans*,[1] and are of different sizes, and hold as much as 300 PARIS pints of palm wine, they place 50 or 60 pounds of black sugar—which is unrefined, and looks like yellow wax—with about 20 pounds of a thick black bark of a kind of thorn,[2] very like that which our tanners use in Europe to tan their leather. This bark serves to make the palm wine ferment; this it does in four or five days like our new wine, so that the sweetness changes into sourness equal to that of our wild pears. The whole is then distilled, and, according to the flavour which is wished for, there is thrown into a kettleful either a small bag of cloves, or three or four handfuls of aniseed or mace, large chaldrons serving for the distillation. This spirit can be made of whatever strength is desired. One day, having taken the fancy to distil some for myself, I filled ten of those bottles which come from ENGLAND, the glass of which is of the thickness of a white crown (*écu blanc*); they hold about 4 pints, PARIS measure, each, and are used for wines which it is desired to keep. But during the night the spirit having effervesced in the bottles I found them all cracked in the morning by the strength of the liquor.

When I was at AGRA in the year 1642 a somewhat strange thing happened. An idolater called VOLDAS, who was broker to the Dutch, and was about seventy years old, received news that the chief priest of the pagoda of MUTTRA was dead. Immediately he went to

[1] *Martavane* in the original. This name was given to large vessels of glazed pottery, which were made in Martaban, and thence largely exported. A number of examples of its use will be found in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 428.

[2] *Kutch?* *Acacia catechu* (Willd.)

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see the Chief of the Dutch factory to ask him to examine his accounts and close them, because, as he said, their Chief Priest being dead he also wished to die, to serve that holy man in the other world. As soon as his accounts had been examined he entered his carriage accompanied by some relatives who followed him, and as he had neither eaten nor drunk since he had received the news, he died on the road, having refused to take any food.

The idolaters of INDIA observe this custom, that when any one yawns they crack their fingers, while crying out many times *Ginarami*,[1] that is to say, remember NARAMI, who passes among the idolaters as a great saint. This cracking of the fingers is done, it is said, to prevent any evil spirit entering into the body of the yawner.

When I was at SURAT in the year 1653 one of the soldiers called *Rájputs*, who had upon his horse two or three pieces of cloth, was brought before the Governor to be made pay duty on them. The *Rájput* in a firm tone of voice asked the Governor boldly, if a soldier who had served the King all his life ought to pay duty on two or three miserable pieces of calico which were not worth more than 4 or 5 rupees, and said they were to clothe his wife and children. The Governor, stung by this discourse, called him *bethico*, that is to say, son of a strumpet,[2] adding that

[1] *Jái! Nárâin*, a name of Vishnu, with the exclamatory prefix *Jái!* signifying 'victory to.' Though the custom referred to is well known, its object being, as stated, to prevent evil spirits taking advantage of the involuntarily open mouth in order to obtain an entrance into the body of the yawner, I cannot find any reference to a detailed account of it.

[2] This is not an exact translation of the term, but may be allowed to pass as such here.

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even if he were a Prince he would make him pay the King's due. Then the soldier, exasperated by this abuse, made as though to take out the money to pay what was demanded, and advancing towards the Governor gave him seven or eight stabs of his dagger in the stomach, from which he died, and the soldier was at once hacked to pieces by the attendants.

Although these idolaters are in the depths of blindness as to a knowledge of the true God, that does not prevent them from living in many respects, according to nature, morally well. When married they are rarely unfaithful to their wives, adultery is very rare among them, and one never hears unnatural crime spoken of.[1] They marry their children at the age of seven or eight years, through fear lest they should abandon themselves to this crime. And, in a few words, these are the ceremonies which are observed at their marriages. On the eve of the nuptials the bridegroom, accompanied by all his relatives, goes to the house of the bride with a pair of large bracelets two fingers in thickness, but hollow inside, and in two pieces, with a hinge in the middle to open them by. According to the wealth of the bridegroom these bracelets are more or less costly, being of gold, silver, brass or tin,[2] those of the poorest being of lead only. The bridegroom having arrived, places one of these bracelets on each leg of his bride, to indicate that he holds her thenceforward enchained, and that she can never leave him. On the morrow the feast is prepared in the house of the bridegroom, where all the relatives on either side

[1] This testimony is very different from that given by some other writers of the same period as Tavernier.

[2] *Leton* and *estain* in the original.

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are present, and at 3 P.M. the bride is brought. Several *Brahmins* are there too, and their Chief, making the head of the bridegroom approach that of the bride, pronounces several words while sprinkling water on both their heads and bodies. Then on plates or on large leaves of the fig tree[1] many kinds of food and pieces of stuff and calico are brought. The *Brahmin* asks the bridegroom if in proportion as God gives to him whether he will share with his wife, and if he will strive to support her by his labour. When he has said yes, all the guests seat themselves at the feast which has been prepared for them, and where each one eats apart. According to the wealth of the bridegroom and the credit he enjoys with great persons, the nuptials are celebrated with pomp and great expenditure. He is seated on an elephant and his bride in a carriage, all who accompany them having torches in their hands. He borrows, moreover, for this ceremony from the Governor of the place and from other great nobles among his friends as many elephants as he can, together with show horses, and they march about thus for a part of the night with fireworks, which are thrown in the streets and open spaces. But one of the principal outlays is in the GANGES water,[2] for those who are sometimes 300 or 400 leagues distant from the river; for as this water is considered sacred, and is drunk from religious motives, it has to be brought from a great distance by the *Brahmins* in earthen vessels glazed inside, which the Grand *Brahmin* of JAGANNÁTH has himself filled with the cleanest water in the river,[3] and has subsequently placed his seal upon it. This

[1] That is to say, the plantain (see vol. i, p. 247, and vol. ii, p. 4).
[2] See p. 231. [3] See p. 230.

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water is not given except at the end of the repast, as I have before said; for each of the guests three or four cupfuls are poured out, and the more of it the bridegroom gives them to drink so is he esteemed the more generous and magnificent. As this water comes from so far, and the Chief *Brahmin* charges a certain tax on each pot, which is round and holds about as much as one of our buckets, there is sometimes 2000 or 3000 rupees worth of it consumed at a wedding.

On the 8th of April, when I was in BENGAL at a town called MALDAH,[1] the idolaters made a great feast which is peculiar to the inhabitants of that place. They all leave the town and attach hooks of iron to the branches of trees, to which many of these poor people hook themselves, some by the sides and others by the middle of the back. These hooks enter their bodies, and they remain suspended, some for an hour and others for two, till the weight of the body drags the flesh, when they are compelled to retire.[2] It is a surprising thing not to see a drop of blood come from this cut flesh, and not to see a sign of it even on the hook, and in two days they are entirely cured by the drugs which the *Brahmins* give them. There are others at this festival who make beds for themselves with points of iron and lie upon them; these points enter

[1] *Malde* in the original. See Book I, chap. viii, p. 134. Maldah is a well-known town at the junction of the Kalindri and Mahanadi rivers in the District of the same name in Bengal. Formerly it was a port and centre of manufactures, but is not now important.

[2] This is the so-called *Charak puja* or swinging festival, now forbidden in British India. On one occasion, in the Rájmahal hills, a deputation of Sonthâls waited on me to ask for my intercession with the Government to permit its resumption, on the ground that their neglected deities, out of revenge, caused injury to their families and flocks.

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very far into the flesh, and while both are doing these penances their relatives and friends bring them presents, as *betel*, money, or pieces of calico. When the penance is accomplished the penitent takes all these presents and distributes them to the poor, not wishing to profit by them himself. I asked some of these people wherefore they made this feast and these penances, and they said it was in memory of the first man, whom they called ADAM like us.

I shall relate also an example of a strange kind of penance which I saw when ascending the GANGES on the 12th of May 1666. A very clean place on the margin of the river had been prepared, in which one of these poor idolaters was condemned to place himself on the ground many times during the day, supported only on two hands and two feet, and kissing the ground three times before rising, without daring to touch it with the rest of his body. When he rose it was necessary for him to do so on the left foot, with the right foot in the air, and every morning during a whole moon, before drinking or eating, he was obliged to place himself in this position fifty times in succession, and consequently to kiss the ground one hundred and fifty times. I was told that the *Brahmins* had inflicted this penance on him for having allowed a cow to die in his house, not having taken it to the margin of the water according to custom, in order that it might be bathed while dying.[1]

Here is yet another somewhat curious custom. When an idolater loses a coin or a sum of gold, be it by mistake or that he has been robbed, he is bound to take as much as he has lost to the Chief *Brahmin*, and

[1] See p. 217.

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if he does not do so and it gets known he is driven with ignominy out of his caste, through policy, to make people careful.

Beyond the GANGES, northwards, towards the mountains of NAGARKOT,[1] there are two or three *Rajas* who like their people believe neither in God nor devil. Their *Brahmins* have a certain book which contains their creed, and which is only filled with rubbish for which the author, who is called BAUDOU, gives no reason.[2] These Princes are vassals of the GREAT MOGUL and pay tribute to him.

Finally, for a last remark and to finish this chapter, I may say that the *Malabaris* in general carefully preserve the nails of their left hands, and allow their hair to grow like that of a woman. These nails, which are sometimes half a finger long, serve them as combs, indeed they have no others, and it is with this left hand also that they perform all impure duties, never touching their faces nor that which they eat save only with the right hand.[3] I now come to some remarks which I have made in my journeys regarding kingdoms which lie to the north-east of the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, as those of BHUTÁN, TIPPERAH, ASSAM, and SIAM, of which I believe that we

[1] *Naugrocot* in the original. Nagarkot is to a certain extent synonymous with Kangra, the capital of which is situated on the Ravi Bangangá Torrent. The name occurs in many early travels to indicate the mountainous region of the N.W. Himalayas.

[2] This is rather an unceremonious way of discussing the tenets of Buddhism. The Buddhists form a comparatively small part of the population of Kangra at present. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, Art. "Kangra.")

[3] The Nairs of Malabar let their nails grow, according to Linschoten, to show that they are "gentlemen" and do not engage in manual labour. As is well known, the Chinese do so likewise, for the same reason. (See *Voyage of Van Linschoten*, in Hak. Society, vol. i, p. 282.)

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Europeans have not much knowledge; and I would also speak of the Kingdom of TONQUIN, if I did not know that two different authors have filled two volumes with it.

[1] In his third volume Tavernier gives an account of Tonquin, or Tunquin as he calls it. I have not tested it, but in the opinion of some critics it is very inaccurate. Our author's reputation would stand higher if he had limited his descriptions to places of which he had personal knowledge.

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CHAPTER XV

Concerning the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, *from whence comes musk, good rhubarb, and some furs*

THE Kingdom of BHUTÁN is of very wide extent, but we have not been able to acquire an exact knowledge of it as yet. This is what I have ascertained during several journeys which I have made in INDIA, from people of the country who come from it to trade; but I was better informed regarding it on the last occasion than I had been previously, as I was at PATNA, the largest town in BENGAL and the most famous for trade—at the time that the merchants of BHUTÁN arrive to sell their musk. During the two months I spent there I bought to the extent of 26,000 rupees worth of musk, an *once* (Fr.) in the capsule costing me 4 *livres* and 4 *sols* of our money, and out of the capsule at the rate of 8 *francs*,[1] and were it not for the custom duties which have to be paid in INDIA, as well as in EUROPE, there would be a great profit to be made on it. The best kind of rhubarb[2] also comes from the Kingdom of BHUTÁN; the same country produces also the seed which yields

[1] See Book II, chap. xxiv, p. 146, for another account of this purchase, and a comparison showing the discrepancy. Here for *francs* we should probably read *livres*.

[2] See p. 260.

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worm powder,[1] and other kinds of drugs, and from thence also beautiful furs are brought. But as for rhubarb, you risk much in its carriage, by whatever road you take it; for if you go by the north towards KABUL the damp spoils it, and if you take the southern direction, as the way is long, the rains which may supervene are still more to be feared, so that there is no kind of merchandise which is more subject to be spoilt, and requires more care than it does.

As for musk, during the hot season the merchant does not make any profit by it, because it becomes dry and loses weight. Upon this article 25 per cent duty has generally to be paid at GORAKHPUR,[2] the frontier town of the territories of the GREAT MOGUL in the direction of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN,[3] although they extend 5 or 6 leagues farther. When Indian merchants arrive in that town they call on the customs officer, and tell him that they are going to the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, one to buy musk, another rhubarb, and they make declarations of the sums which they intend to expend, these the customs officer enters in his register with the names of the merchants. Then the merchants,

[1] This is probably a species of *Artemisia—A. maritima* (Var)? It is the *Flores cinæ*, or *Semen cinæ*, or *Santonica* of the pharmacopœias. Most of it which reaches Europe comes through Russia, but the drug now to be found in Indian bazaars is similar, consisting of the small unopened flower heads. It is found in great abundance on the steppes of the Kirghiz, in the northern part of Turkestan. (See *Pharmacographia*, by Fluckiger and Hanbury. London, 1874.)

[2] *Goorochepour* in the original. Gorakhpur is the chief town of the District of the same name in the North-West Provinces. It adjoins Nepal on the north, through which territory the merchants travelled to Bhután.

[3] This geographical indication is not correct, as Northern Bengal lies nearer to Bhután; but it is evident from other references that Tavernier's knowledge of the extent and position of Bhután was vague.

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instead of 25 per cent, which they ought to pay, agree for 7 or 8 per cent, and take a certificate from the customs officer or the *Kazi*, so that on their return they may not be asked for any more. If it should happen that they are unable to obtain a fair composition from the customs officer, they take a different road, which is both very long and very difficult, on account of the mountains being nearly always covered with snow, and because in the level country there are vast deserts to be traversed. They have to go up to the 60th degree of latitude, and then they turn towards the west to KÁBUL,[1] which is at the 40th, and it is in that town that the caravan divides, one portion going to BALKH,[2] and the other to GREAT TARTARY. It is where those who come from BHUTÁN barter their goods for horses, mules, and camels, for there is little money in these countries. Then these Tartars carry their goods into PERSIA, to ARDABIL,[3] and TABRIZ; this it is which makes Europeans believe that rhubarb and the seeds (*semencine*)[4] come from TARTARY. It is quite true that rhubarb comes from thence, but it is not nearly so good as that which comes from the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, as it is much more tainted, rhubarb being subject to decay at the heart. The Tartars carry away from PERSIA silken stuffs of small value which are made at TABRIZ and ARDABIL, and some English and Dutch cloths

[1] That they travelled so far north as the 60th degree is most improbable. That there was a northern route is well known, however. The true latitude of Kábul (Cabool) is only 34° 30′.

[2] *Balch* in the original. Balkh is an ancient city of Turkestan, south of the Oxus. (See vol. i, pp. 92, *n.*, and 382, *n.*)

[3] *Arduiel* in the original. Ardabil is near the Caspian, in the rugged northern province of Persia called Azerbijaun, wherein Tabriz is also included.

[4] See *ante*, p. 259.

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which the Armenians bring from CONSTANTINOPLE and SMYRNA, whither they are brought from EUROPE. Those of the merchants who come from BHUTÁN and KÁBUL go to KANDAHAR and on to ISPAHAN, and they generally take back coral beads, yellow amber, and lapis wrought into beads when they can obtain them. The other merchants, returning from the regions about MULTAN, LAHORE, and AGRA, take calicoes, indigo, and an abundance of carnelian and crystal beads. Finally, those who return by GORAKHPUR, and have an understanding with the customs officer, take from PATNA and DACCA coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell bracelets, and others of sea shells, with numerous round and square pieces of the size of our 15 *sol* coins, which are also of the same tortoise-shell and sea shells. When I was at PATNA four Armenians, who had previously made a journey to the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, came from DANTZIC, where they had had made numerous images of yellow amber, which represented all kinds of animals and monsters, these they were taking to the King of BHUTÁN to place in his pagodas, he being, like his people, exceedingly idolatrous. Wherever the Armenians see that money is to be made they have no scruple about supplying materials for the purposes of idolatry,[1] and they told me that if they had been able to get an idol made which the King had ordered from them they would have been enriched. It was a head in the form of a monster, which had six horns, four ears, and four arms, with six fingers on each hand, the whole to be of yellow amber,[2] but the

[1] Bohemia, it is said, at present sends idols made of cast glass to India, which undersell the marble images of Agra.

[2] Huge pieces of amber were employed in the manufacture of the

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Armenians could not find sufficiently large pieces for the purpose. I was inclined to believe that money lacked them, for it did not appear that they had much of it; it is, however, an infamous trade to furnish the instruments of idolatry to these poor people.

Coming now to the road which must be followed from PATNA to the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, upon which the caravan spends three months.[1] It leaves PATNA generally at the end of December and arrives on the eighth day at GORAKHPUR, which, as I have said, is the last town in this direction in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, where the merchants obtain their supplies for a portion of the journey. From GORAKHPUR to the foot of the high mountains there are still eight or nine days' marching, during which the caravan suffers much, because the whole country is full of forests, where there are numerous wild elephants,[2] and the merchants instead of sleeping at night must remain on the watch, making large fires and firing their muskets to frighten these animals. As the elephant moves without noise, he takes the people by surprise, and is close to the caravan before they are aware of it. It is not that he comes to do injury to man, for he

boxes made in the shape of geese included in the King of Burmah's treasure, which is in the South Kensington Museum.

It has been stated that the largest piece of amber ever known was recently discovered near the Nobis Gate at Altona. It weighed 850 grammes. Dr. Meyer of Dresden (*Nature*, 29th November 1888), commenting on this, says that besides smaller pieces, elsewhere, there are specimens in the Berlin Mineralogical Museum weighing 6.5 and 9.5 *kilogrammes;* they were obtained on the sea-coast of North Germany.

[1] Three months is a long time for the journey to have lasted between Patna and any portion of Bhután territory, as now known.

[2] The Tarái. It was in a part of this region that the Prince of Wales took part in the elephant captures arranged for him by Sir Jang Bahádur.

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contents himself with carrying off whatever food he can seize, as a sack of rice or flour, or a pot of butter, of which there is always a large supply. One can go from PATNA to the foot of these mountains in Indian carriages or *pallankeens*, but oxen, camels, or the horses of the country are generally used. These horses are by nature so small that when a man is upon them his feet nearly touch the ground, but they are otherwise strong, and all go at an amble, doing up to 20 leagues at a stretch, and eating and drinking but little. There are some of them which cost as much as 200 *écus*,[1] and when you enter the mountains you can only use that means of carriage, it being necessary to leave behind all the others, which become useless on account of the numerous passes, which are very narrow. The horses even, though strong and small, often have difficulty in getting through, and it is for this reason, as I shall presently say, that one has recourse to other expedients for traversing these lofty mountains.

At 5 or 6 leagues beyond GORAKHPUR you enter the territories of the *Raja* of NEPAL,[2] which extend to the frontiers of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN. This Prince is a vassal of the GREAT MOGUL, and sends him an elephant every year as tribute.[3] He resides in the town of NEPAL, of which he bears the name, and there is very little trade or money in his country, as it consists of forests and mountains.

The caravan having arrived at the foot of the high mountains, known to-day by the name of NAGAR-

[1] £45, a very high price indeed for a country pony nowadays.

[2] See p. 259 *n*. It is *Nupal* in the original.

[3] The finest elephant I ever saw I met on its way down the Grand Trunk Road to Calcutta from Nepal. It was a gift from Sir Jang Bahádur to Lord Mayo.

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KOT,[1] which one cannot cross in less than nine or ten days, as they are very high and narrow, with great precipices,—numerous people descend from diverse places, the majority being women and girls, who come to strike a bargain with the people of the caravan, to carry the men, goods, and provisions to the other side of the mountains. This is the method by which they carry them. The women have a strap on the shoulders to which a large cushion hanging on the back is attached; upon it the man seats himself.[2] It takes three women, who change in turns, to carry a man; and as for the baggage and provisions, they are loaded on goats which carry up to 150 *livres* weight each. Those who desire to take horses into these mountains are often obliged, in the narrow and difficult passes, to haul them up with ropes; and it is, as I have said, on account of this difficulty that but little use is made of horses in this country. They are fed only in the morning and evening. In the morning a pound of flour, half a pound of black sugar and half a pound of butter, are mixed together with water to give to the horse. In the evening it must be contented with a few horn peas, crushed and steeped in water for half an hour; in this consists all their food during the space of twenty-four hours. The women who carry the men only receive 2 rupees each, for the ten days of traverse, and as much is paid for every *quintal* that the goats or sheep carry, and for every led horse.

After passing these mountains there are to be had, for carriage to BHUTÁN, oxen, camels, and horses, and

[1] See p. 256, *n.*

[2] In some parts of the Himalayas women still offer themselves for carrying travellers on their backs.

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even *pallankeens*[1] for those who wish to travel more at their ease. The country is good, and produces corn, rice, vegetables, and wine in abundance. All the people, both men and women, are clad during the summer in coarse cotton or hempen cloth, and during the winter in a thick cloth which is like felt. The headdress for both sexes is a cap made very like those English caps which they call *bouquin-kans*,[2] and it has pigs' teeth around it for ornament, with round and square pieces of tortoiseshell of the size of one of our 15 *sol* coins; the richest persons add to them beads of coral or yellow amber, of which the women also make necklaces. The men, like the women, wear bracelets on the left arms only, and from the wrist to the elbow. Those worn by the women are very narrow, but those worn by the men are two fingers wide. They wear a silken cord on the neck, to which a bead of coral or yellow amber is suspended, or a pig's tooth, which hangs down to the waist; and on their left side they have bands from whence more of these same beads of coral, amber, or pigs' teeth hang in strings. Although they are great idolaters they eat all kinds of meat, except that of the cow, which they worship as the mother and nurse of all men, and they are very fond of spirits. They also observe some of the Chinese ceremonies; for, after having fed their friends, when the repast is finished they burn yellow amber, although they do not worship fire like the Chinese. I have elsewhere given the reason why the Chinese burn

[1] Probably a modified form of *pallankeen*, suitable for hill travelling.

[2] I have not found a full explanation of the term. *Bouquin* means an old book-cover. The caps of felt worn in these regions are somewhat similar to what used to be called "pork pie" hats a few years ago in England.

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amber at the conclusion of their feasts;[1] this causes this article to have a good sale in CHINA. In PATNA, even, pieces of yellow amber which are not worked, of the size of a good nut, clear and of good colour, are bought by these BHUTÁN merchants at 35 and 40 rupees the *seer*, and the *seer*, both for amber, as also for ambergris, musk, coral, rhubarb, and other drugs, is equal to 9 *onces* (Fr.) of our weight. Saltpetre, corn, rice, sugar, and other articles of food, are also sold by *seers* in BENGAL; but this *seer* is 72 of our *livres* at 16 *onces* to the *livre*, and 40 *seers* make a *maund*, which would amount to 2880 *livres* weight of PARIS.[2] When I left that country the *maund* of rice was selling for 2 rupees.

To return to the yellow amber, for a piece of a *seer* or 9 *onces* (Fr.) weight, according to its colour and beauty, from 250 to 300 rupees is paid, and the other pieces cost the same in proportion to their size and beauty.[3] Coral in the rough or worked into beads is saleable with sufficient profit, but the rough is much preferred, for this reason, that it can be cut according to their own fashion; and most frequently women and girls are employed at this work. They also make beads of crystal and agate, and the men make the bracelets of tortoiseshell and sea shells, as also those small pieces of the same shell, both round and square, of which I have spoken above.[4] All the people of the

[1] See Book II, chap. xxiii, p. 137.

[2] This is an extraordinary jumble of figures. A *seer* of 72 *livres*, 40 of which went to the *maund*, making a *maund* of 2880 *livres*, is surely due to a copyist's mistake. It is possible that a Bengal *maund* of 40 *seers* may have been equal to 72 *livres*, or more than double the Surat *maund* of 40 smaller *seers* = 34 *livres* (see vol. i, p. 418), but the statement as it stands is clearly wrong.

[3] See p. 137.

[4] See p. 261.

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north, men, women, girls, and boys, suspend them from their hair and ears. There are in PATNA and DACCA more than 2000 persons who occupy themselves with these trades, all that is produced by them being exported to the Kingdoms of BHUTÁN, ASSAM, SIAM, and other countries to the north and east of the territories of the GREAT MOGUL.

As for the *semencine*,[1] or worm powder, it cannot be harvested like other grains. It is a herb which grows in the fields, and must be allowed to die, and the evil is that when it approaches maturity the wind causes a great part to fall among the herbage, where it is lost, and this it is which makes it so dear. As it cannot be touched by the hand, because it would thereby be sooner spoilt, and even when making a sample, it is collected in a porringer; when it is wished to gather what remains in the ear, the following is the method adopted: The people who collect it have two baskets with handles, and when walking in the fields they wave one of these baskets from right to left, and the other from left to right, as though they cut the herb, which nevertheless they only touch the upper part of—that is to say, the ear, and all the grain thus falls into the baskets. *Semencine* also grows in the Province of KERMAN,[2] but it is not so good as that of BHUTÁN, and there is not more of it than is required in the country itself. This grain not only serves for driving worms from the bodies of children, but the Persians and all the people who live towards the north, and even the English and Dutch, use it as aniseed to put in comfits.

As for rhubarb, it is known to be a root which is cut

[1] See p. 259.

[2] Kumaon?

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in pieces, ten or twelve of them being strung together and then dried.

If the people of BHUTÁN had as much skill as the Muscovites in slaying the martin one might obtain from this country an abundance of rich furs, since there are numbers of these animals. As soon as the animal shows its head outside its hole the Muscovites, who are on the watch, shoot it without fail, generally in the nose or the eyes, for if it is shot in the body the skin will be worth nothing on account of the blood which flows from the wound, and causes the hair moistened by it to fall out.

The King of BHUTÁN always employs 7000 or 8000 men as his guard. These people are armed with the bow and arrow, and the majority also carry the axe and shield, the former having a point on one side like a war mace. It is a long time since the Bhutánese first acquired the use of the musket, iron cannon, and gunpowder,[1] which is of long grain, and is very strong. I have been assured that there is to be seen on their guns figures and letters which are more than

[1] In his paper on *Early Asiatic Fire Weapons* General Maclagan says, "While there appears to be no good evidence in support of the idea that Asia had a knowledge of gunpowder and used firearms before Europe, there are plain indications that the knowledge of the most improved weapons of war, both before and since the introduction of gunpowder, and the skill to make and use them, came from Europe to India and other Asiatic countries." *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlv, p. 64. He concludes, too, that there is not good evidence of the supposition that the Arabs were the first to use powder. He considers the European nations were the first to discover its most important form and application (p. 70). Were space available, much interesting information might be given here of the huge size of the guns which were used in India. One at Bijapur was 4 feet 8 in. diameter at the muzzle, and had a calibre of 2 feet 4 inches. It was cast at Ahmadnagar in 1549. *Asiatic Jour.* 1827, p. 65.

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500 years old.[1] They cannot be taken out of the kingdom without the express permission of the Governor, and no one dare carry away a musket unless his nearest relatives go bail that it will be faithfully returned. Except for this difficulty I would have brought one away with me. By the characters which were on the gun, as those who were able to read assured me, it had been made 180 years. It was very thick, the mouth shaped like a tulip, and the interior polished like a mirror. On two-thirds of the gun there were bands in relief, and some gilt and silvered flowers between two of them, and the ball which it carried was an *once* (Fr.) in weight. The merchant of BHUTÁN being so particular about the return of the musket, no matter what offer I made I could never persuade him to sell it to me, and he even refused to give me a sample of his powder. But I have brought to FRANCE two guns of nearly the same kind, one of which was made in the island of CEYLON, and the other in BENGAL.

There are always fifty elephants about the house of the King of BHUTÁN for his guard, and twenty or twenty-five camels, which carry on the saddle a small piece of artillery, with a ball of about half a pound in weight. There is a man seated on the crupper of the camel, as I have elsewhere described, and he manipulates this piece as he pleases, high or low, to the right or to the left, it being fixed on a fork which is attached to the saddle.

There is no king in the world who is more feared and more respected by his subjects than the King of BHUTÁN, and he is even worshipped by them. When on the seat of justice, or when he gives an audience, all those who present themselves before him have their

[1] This carries back to the year A.D. 1150 or thereabouts. See p. 277.

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joined hands elevated to their foreheads, and holding themselves aloof from the throne, prostrate themselves to the ground without daring to raise the head. It is in this humble posture that they make their supplications to the King, and when they withdraw they walk backwards till they are out of his presence. The *Brahmins* make these poor people believe that the King is a god upon earth, and principally those who come from the north.[1] . . .

These people of BHUTÁN are robust men and of fine stature, but have somewhat flat faces and noses. I am informed that the women are taller and more vigorous than the men, but that they are more subject than them to *goitre*, from which few of them escape. They know nothing of war, and have no one to fear but the GREAT MOGUL. But on his side, which lies to the south of them, it is, as I have said, a country of high mountains and narrow passes; on the north there is nothing but forests and almost perpetual snow, and both on the east and west there are vast deserts where one finds nothing but bitter waters; and whatever there is of inhabited country belongs to *Rajas* who have not much power.

There is apparently some mine of silver in the Kingdom of BHUTÁN,[2] for the King coins pieces which

[1] It seems probable that this so-called King of Bhután, who was described to Tavernier, was really the Grand Lama of Thibet, and this is the more likely from the statement as to his sanctity in the passage which is not reproduced, being unsuitable for publication. A similar statement occurs, I am informed, in other early but quite independent accounts of the Grand Lama. The armaments and elephants mentioned above seem, however, to be scarcely compatible with the surroundings of the Grand Lama.

[2] This is extremely probable; but it is inconsistent with our author's own statement on p. 162 that there are no silver mines in Asia except

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are of the value of rupees. These pieces are not round but octagonal, and there are characters on them which are neither Indian nor Chinese. Nevertheless, the merchants of BHUTÁN, who told me at PATNA of all these things, could not tell me where the mine was, and as for gold the little they have of it is brought to them by the merchants who come from the east.

This is all that I have been able to learn concerning the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, beyond which the ambassadors passed whom the Duke of MOSCOVIE sent to CHINA in the year 1659. They took their route through the length of GREAT TARTARY to the north of BHUTÁN, and arrived at the court of the King of CHINA with considerable presents. They were some of the most distinguished nobles of MOSCOVIE, and were at first very well received. But when it became necessary for them to salute the King—the custom being to prostrate oneself three times on the ground—they would not consent to do so, saying that they would salute according to their own method, and in the manner that they saluted their own Emperor, who was as great and as powerful as he of CHINA. As they remained firm in this resolution they had no audience, and returned with their presents without having seen the King.[1] It would have answered better if the Grand Duke had

in Japan. Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, 563) gives a number of references to authorities on the subject. Silver mines in the Patkái country, between Assam and Upper Burmah, have been recently described by Colonel Woodthorpe. (See *Pro. Geogl. Socy.*, January 1887.) A number of mines where argentiferous ores occur in India will be found enumerated in the chapter on silver in the *Economic Geology of India*.

[1] Envoys to the Emperor of China about the year 713, who refused to *kotow*, were tried and pronounced worthy of death, but were subsequently pardoned. See *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. i, p. lxxxi.

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chosen for this embassy some persons of lower rank than these three nobles, who would have shown themselves less scrupulous about formalities, which are often the cause of one's being unable to accomplish great designs. If these Moscovite ambassadors had consented to conform to the customs of CHINA (which they might have done without compromising the honour of their master), we should have, without doubt, at this time, a road opened by land from MOSCOVIE to CHINA, through the north of GREAT TARTARY, and a greater knowledge of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, which is in its vicinity, and of some others of which we scarce know the names; this would have been a great advantage for all EUROPE.[1]

As I have just spoken of the Moscovites, I remember that in my journeys, and particularly on the road from TABRIZ to ISPAHAN, where you generally meet Moscovite merchants, several of them have assured me that in the year 1654, in one of the towns of MOSCOVIE, a woman aged eighty-two gave birth to a male child, which was taken to the Grand Duke, who wished to see it, and had it brought up at his own court.[2]

[1] This passage is of considerable interest when regarded in connection with the subsequent extension of Russia's influence in this direction, and our own hitherto futile attempts to establish a regular trade route through Thibet.

[2] This tale, thrown in as an extra, may have an interest for the curious. There are undoubtedly cases on authentic record of the ordinary period of child-bearing having been abnormally prolonged, but whether to so advanced an age as eighty-two I cannot say.

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CHAPTER XVI

Concerning the Kingdom of TIPPERAH

SOME persons believe up to this hour that the Kingdom of PEGU bounds CHINA, and I myself shared this error until three merchants of the Kingdom of TIPPERAH drew me out of it. They made themselves pass as *Brahmins* in order that they might be treated with special respect, but they were in truth only merchants who came to PATNA and DACCA, where I saw them, to buy coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell, and sea-shell bracelets, and other toys which, as I have said in the preceding chapter, are made in these two towns of BENGAL. I saw one of them at DACCA, and met the two others at PATNA, and had them to dine with me. They were people who spoke but little, whether because it was their own particular nature, or was the usual custom of their country; one of them knew the Indian language. When they bought anything they made their calculations with small stones resembling agates, and of the size of the finger nail, upon which there were figures. They each had scales made like steelyards. The arms were not of iron, but of a kind of wood as hard as *bresil*,[1] and the ring which

[1] The Brazil wood of commerce is at present derived from *Cæsalpina Brasiliensis*, a native of Pernambuco. (See Lindley, *Vegetable Kingdom*,

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held the weights, when put in the arm to mark the *livres*, was a strong loop of silk. By this means they weighed from a dram up to ten of our *livres*. If all the inhabitants of the Kingdom of TIPPERAH resemble these two merchants whom I met at PATNA, one might conclude that this nation loves drinking very much; and I experienced a pleasure in giving them sometimes spirits, sometimes Spanish wine, and other kinds of wines, as those of SHIRAZ, RHEIMS, and MANTUA, never having been without a supply in all my journeys, except during the last, in the deserts of ARABIA, which I was unable to traverse in less than sixty-five days, for the reasons I have elsewhere stated. I should have been able to learn many things from these merchants of TIPPERAH in reference to the nature and extent of their country if they had known how to give me as good an account of it as they did of my good wine when I proposed a health. For my interpreter had scarce finished paying them a compliment, on my behalf, before the wine was drunk, and they gazed at one another while smacking their lips, and striking their hands two or three times on their stomachs with a sigh. These merchants had, all three, come by way of the Kingdom of ARAKAN, which lies to the south and west of that of TIPPERAH, which is partly bounded by PEGU in the direction of winter sunset, and they told me that they were about fifteen days in traversing their country, from which one cannot very well estimate its extent, because the

p. 550.) But according to Col. Yule this name was originally applied to a dye-wood obtained from a tree of the same genus indigenous to India, and the name was simply transferred to the American product. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 86.)

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stages are unequal, being sometimes longer and sometimes shorter, according as water is to be found.

For the conveyance of goods they use, as in India, oxen and horses, which are similar to those I have described above, low in stature, but otherwise excellent. As for the King and the great nobles, they travel in *pallankeens*, and have elephants which have been trained for war. The inhabitants of TIPPERAH are not less troubled by goitre than are those of BHUTÁN. I was told that it attacked some of the women on the breasts. Of the three men from TIPPERAH whom I saw in BENGAL, the one who was at DACCA had two goitres, each of the size of the fist; they are caused by the bad water, as in many other countries of ASIA and EUROPE.

Nothing is produced in TIPPERAH which is of use to foreigners. There is, however, a gold mine, which yields gold of very low standard; and silk, which is very coarse.[1] It is from these two articles that the King's revenue is derived. He levies no revenue from his subjects, save that those below the rank, corresponding to that of the nobility of Europe, have to work for him for six days every year either in the gold mine or at the silk. He sends both the gold and silk to be sold in CHINA, and receives silver in return, with which he coins money of the value of 10 *sols*.[2] He also coins small gold money like the *aspres*[3]

[1] Tipperah, as now understood, does not produce gold—the gold brought from thence may have been originally obtained elsewhere (see p. 157 *n*). In Assam, I believe, it was once the custom for the *Rajas* to require their subjects to wash for gold for a certain number of days every year. Regular gold washers were taxed.

[2] These coins were therefore worth 9d.

[3] The Turkish *asper* was both a small coin, and a money of account.

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of TURKEY, and has two kinds of them, of one of which it takes four to make an *écu*, and of the other it takes a dozen. This is all I have been able to ascertain concerning a country which has been unknown to us up to the present, but about which we shall hereafter have more information, as also of others which the accounts of travellers have made known to us, all not having been discovered in a day.

Its value varied with that of the *piastre*. It therefore represented about a halfpenny in value, if there were 80 to 100 in a *piastre*. The coins here mentioned by Tavernier were worth 1s. 1½d. and 4½d. respectively.

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CHAPTER XVII

Concerning the Kingdom of ASSAM

IT was never properly known what the Kingdom of ASSAM was till after that great Captain MIR JUMLÁ, to whom I have often referred in the history of the Moguls, had assured the Empire to AURANGZEB by the death of all his brothers and the imprisonment of his son. He concluded, that, the war being finished, he would be no longer esteemed at Court as highly as he had been when Commander-in-Chief of the armies of AURANGZEB, and all powerful in the Kingdom where he had a great number of supporters. In order, therefore, to retain for himself the command of the troops, he resolved to undertake the conquest of the Kingdom of ASSAM, where he knew he would not meet with much resistance, the country having had no war for 500 or 600 years, and the people being without experience in arms. It is believed that it is this same people who, in ancient times, first discovered gunpowder and guns, which passed from ASSAM to PEGU, and from PEGU to CHINA; this is the reason why the discovery is generally ascribed to the Chinese. MIR JUMLÁ brought back from this war numerous iron guns, and the gunpowder made in that country is excellent. Its grain is not long as in the Kingdom

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of BHUTÁN, but is round and small like ours, and is much more effective than the other powder.

MIR JUMLÁ left DACCA then with a powerful army for the conquest of the Kingdom of ASSAM.[1] At 5 leagues from DACCA one of the rivers which comes from the lake of CHIAMAY,[2] which like other rivers of INDIA takes different names according to the places it passes, joins an arm of the GANGES, and at the place where these two rivers meet there are forts on each side, both being armed with good pieces of bronze cannon, which shoot at a level with the water. This is where MIR JUMLÁ embarked,[3] his army ascending the river to the 29th or 30th degree, where the frontier of ASSAM is situated, and thence he led it by land through a country abounding with all the necessaries of life, and with but little means of defence, especially as the people were taken by surprise. As they are all idolaters, the army, which consisted wholly of Muhammadans, did not spare their pagodas, but destroyed them wherever they met with them, burning and sacking all, up to the 35th degree.[4] MIR JUMLÁ then heard that the King of ASSAM was in the field with a larger number of forces than had been expected;

[1] An account of Assam at the time of its conquest by Mir Jumlá in 1663, based on the *Alamgir námah* of Muhammad Kazim-ibn-Muhammad Amin Munshi, by Kaviráj Syámal Dás, translated by Bábu Rámá Prasádá, has recently been published in the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1887, pp. 222-226.

[2] Lake Chiamay was a myth believed in by early travellers.

[3] Gorághát on the west bank of the Karatoyá river in the District of Dinájpur, an ancient city now marked by ruins, according to Muhammad Kazim, was the starting point of Mir Jumlá on the 21st November 1662. This was after he had conquered Kuch Bihár.

[4] The Mogul forces can scarcely have gone beyond Garhgáon, or about the 28th degree of latitude, at the farthest.

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that he had many guns, and an abundance of fireworks, similar to our grenades or nearly so, which are fixed at the end of a stick of the length of a short pike, as I have elsewhere represented, and carry more than 500 paces.[1] MIR JUMLÁ, having received this intelligence, did not consider it prudent to advance farther, but the principal cause of his return was that the cold season had commenced, and in order to conquer all that country it would have been necessary to go as far as the 45th degree of latitude; this would have involved the loss of his army. For the Indians are so susceptible to cold, and fear it so much, that it is impossible to make them pass the 30th, or at the most the 35th degree, except at the risk of their lives, and of all the servants whom I took from INDIA to PERSIA, it was a great thing for them to come as far as KASVIN,[2] and I never succeeded in taking any of them to TABRIZ. As soon as they saw the mountains of MEDEA covered with snow I had to allow them to return home.

As MIR JUMLÁ was unable to go farther north, he resolved to turn to the south-west, and laid siege to a town called Azoo,[3] which he took in a short time, and found great riches there. Many are of opinion that his original design was merely to take this town and to pillage it, and afterwards return, as he in fact did.[4]

[1] Rockets (see vol. i, p. 390.)

[2] Casbin in the original.

[3] *Azoo* or Koch Há'jo, a kingdom on the left bank of the Brahmáputrá river, extending up to Kámrup. The town of Há'jo was on the frontier of Assam. A full account of it will be found in the *Pádísháh-námah*. (See Blochmann in *Jour. A. S. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xli, p. 53.)

[4] Muhammad Kazim says that Mir Jumlá, finding his army tired of the difficulties with which they were surrounded, "Came to terms with the Assamis (on the 17th January 1663), who, besides surrendering two districts, which were added to the crown lands, gave 20,000 *tolas* of

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It is in this town of Azoo that the tombs of the Kings of ASSAM and of all the members of the royal family are situated. Although the Assamese are idolaters, they do not burn the bodies of the defunct, but bury them. They believe that after death they go to another world, where those who have lived well in this world lack nothing, and enjoy all kinds of pleasure; while, on the contrary, those who have lived badly, and have taken the property of others, suffer much, principally hunger and thirst, and that, accordingly, it is prudent to bury something with them to serve them at need. Thus it was that MIR JUMLÁ found such a quantity of riches at Azoo,[1] since for many centuries every King has had built for himself in the great pagoda a sort of chapel where he was to be buried, and during their lifetime, each of them sent, to be placed in the grave where he was to be buried, a quantity of gold and silver, carpets and other articles. When the body of a dead king is buried in his grave all his most precious possessions are also placed there, as a private idol of gold or silver which he worshipped during life, and all things which it is believed will be required by him in the other world. But that which is most strange, and which savours much of barbarism is, that as soon as the King is dead, some of his most beloved wives and the principal officers of his house kill themselves by means of a poisoned decoction, in

gold, 128,000 rupees in hard cash, 120 elephants, and the King's daughter to the conqueror. He then returned to Bengal via Lakhughar and Kajli, and reached Khizarpur on the 8th April 1663 A.D., where he paid the debt of nature after suffering for a time from consumption" (*l.c.*, p. 223).

[1] Muhammad Kazim says 90,000 rupees worth of gold and silver was obtained by Mir Jumlá's soldiers from these graves (*l.c.* 225).

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order to be interred with him, so that they may serve him in the other world. Besides which an elephant, twelve camels,[1] six horses, and numerous sporting dogs are buried with him, it being believed that all these animals will come to life again, after they are dead, in order to serve the King.

This Kingdom of ASSAM is one of the best countries in ASIA, for it produces all that is necessary to the life of man, without there being need to go for anything to the neighbouring States. There are mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, and iron,[2] and much silk, but it is coarse. There is a kind of silk which is produced on trees, and is made by an animal having the form of our silkworm, but it is rounder and remains for a whole year on the trees.[3] The stuffs which are made of this silk are very brilliant, but soon fray and do not last long. It is in the southern direction where these silks are produced, and that the gold and silver mines are situated. The country also produces an abundance of shellac, there are two kinds of it. That which is formed on trees is of a red colour, and is what they dye their calicoes and other stuffs with, and when they have extracted this red colour they use the lac to lacquer cabinets and other objects of that kind, and to

[1] Muhammad Kazim gives a similar account, but does not mention camels. Elsewhere he states camels were unknown in Assam (*l.c.* p. 224). The climate of Assam does not suit camels.

[2] Muhammad Kazim says, "Gold and silver are got from the sand of the rivers draining the Gol (*i.e.* northern circle). About 12,000 Assamis according to some people, 20,000 as others state, are generally engaged in washing these noble metals, and have to pay one *tola* of gold per head per annum to the Chief" (*l.c.* 224). See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 231, for details as to the gold of Assam. See also *ante*, p. 162, where it is stated incorrectly that there are no silver mines in India.

[3] Tusser silkworms? but their silk is remarkably durable.

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make Spanish wax.[1] A large quantity of it is exported to CHINA and JAPAN, to be used in the manufacture of cabinets; it is the best lac in the whole of ASIA for these purposes. As for the gold, no one is permitted to remove it out of the Kingdom, and it is not coined into money, but is kept in large and small ingots, which the people make use of in local trade, not taking it elsewhere; but as for silver, the King coins it into money of the size and weight of rupees, and of an octagonal shape, and they may be taken outside the Kingdom. Although the country abounds, as I have said, with all things necessary to life, among all articles of food the flesh of the dog[2] is especially esteemed, it is the favourite dish at feasts, and every month, in each town in the Kingdom, the people hold markets where they only sell dogs, which are brought thither from all directions. There are also quantities of vines and good grapes, but no wine, the grapes being merely dried to distil spirits from. Finally, as regards salt, there is none in the Kingdom but what is manufactured, which is done in two ways.[3] The first is to collect vegetable matter which is found in stagnant water, such as ducks and frogs eat. It is dried and burnt, and the ashes derived from it being boiled and strained as is described below, serve as salt.

[1] See p. 21 for account of shellac and lac dye.

[2] Muhammad Kazim says the *Nanaks* (Nagas ?) eat the flesh of dogs, cats, serpents, etc. (*l.c.* p. 224). The Nagas, I think, still eat dog's flesh.

[3] The chief sources of supply of salt in Asia were formerly the brine springs at Borhát and Sadiyá in Lakhimpur. The vessels used in the manufacture for boiling the brine were simply sections of bamboos, which were pared so thin that the percolating moisture prevented their burning. Imported salt is now largely used in Assam. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 491.)

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The other method, which is that most commonly followed, is to take some of those large leaves of the kind of fig tree which we call Adam's fig,[1] they are dried in the same manner and burnt, and the ashes from them consist of a kind of salt which is so pungent that it is impossible to eat it unless it is softened, this is done in the following way. The ashes are put into water, where they are stirred about for ten or twelve hours, then this water is strained three times through a cloth and then boiled. As it boils the sediment thickens, and when the water is all consumed, the salt, which is white and fairly good, is found at the bottom of the pot.

It is from these ashes of fig leaves that in this country the lye is made to boil silk, which becomes as white as snow, and if the people of ASSAM had more figs than they have, they would make all their silks white, because white silk is much more valuable than the other, but they have not sufficient to bleach half the silks which are produced in the country.

KEMMEROUF[2] is the name of the town where the King of ASSAM resides, it is twenty-five or thirty days' journey from that which was formerly the capital of the Kingdom and bore the same name. The King takes no tribute from his people, but all the mines of

[1] This manufacture of salt from the leaves of the plantain is mentioned by Muhammad Kazim, *l.c.* p. 224. (See *ante*, p. 4.) The pungency is probably due to the presence of potash salts.

[2] Kámrup, now known as the name of a District in Assam of which Gauháti is the chief town. It is certain that Mir Jumlá was defeated by the Aháms here, and this was the seat of the Ahám Viceroy, but the King of Assam's capital was at Garhgáon (Kargánv) in the Sibságár District. The palace is described in Robinson's *Descriptive Account of Assam*. According to Muhammad Kazim, who also describes it, its circuit was 1 kos and 14 chains (= 840 yards.)

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gold, silver, lead, steel, and iron belong to him, and in order not to oppress his subjects, he only employs the slaves whom he buys from his neighbours for working in the mines.[1] Thus all the peasants of ASSAM are at their ease, and there is scarcely any one who has not a separate house in the middle of his land, a fountain surrounded by trees, and even the majority keep elephants for their wives. These idolaters, unlike those of INDIA, who have but one wife, have four, and when a man marries one, in order that there may be no dispute among them, he says to her, "I take you to serve me in my household for this purpose," and to another, "I destine you for another," and thus each of these women knows what she has to do in the house. The men and women are of fine build, and of very good blood; but the people dwelling on the southern frontier are somewhat olive coloured, and are not subject to goitre like those of the north. The latter are not of so fine a build, and the majority of their women have somewhat flat noses. These people of the southern part go about naked, having only a piece of calico with which they cover that which modesty requires them to conceal, with a cap like those English caps, around which they hang an abundance of pigs' teeth.[2] They have their ears pierced so that one might easily pass the thumb through the holes, some carry ornaments of gold in them and others of silver. The men wear their hair down to their shoulders, and the women leave it as long as it can

[1] This may have been true of the silver mines, but as above stated subjects had to wash for gold.

[2] Muhammad Kazim says: "A head-piece of gunny (*gonī*), a cloth round the loins, and a sheet over the shoulders, form all the articles of their dress" (*l.c.*, p. 225).

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grow. There is in the Kingdom of ASSAM, as well as in the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, a large trade in tortoise-shell bracelets, and sea shells as large as an egg, which are sawn into small circles, but the rich wear bracelets of coral and yellow amber. When a man dies all his relatives and friends should come to the interment, and when they place the body in the ground they take off all the bracelets which are on their arms and legs and bury them with the defunct.

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CHAPTER XVIII

Concerning the Kingdom of SIAM

THE greater part of the Kingdom of SIAM is situated between the Gulf of the same name and the Gulf of BENGAL, adjoining PEGU on the north and the peninsula of MALACCA on the south. The shortest road and the best which Europeans can take to reach this Kingdom is to go from ISPAHAN to HORMUZ, from HORMUZ to SURAT, from SURAT to GOLCONDA, and from GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM, where they should embark for DENOUSERIN,[1] which is one of the ports of the Kingdom of SIAM. From DENOUSERIN to the capital town, which bears the name of the Kingdom, there are about thirty-five days' journey; one part is traversed by ascending a river, and the remainder in a cart or upon elephants. The road both by land and water is uncomfortable, because on the land portion one must always be on guard against lions[2] and tigers; and by water, as the river makes rapids in many places, it is difficult to make the boats ascend, which is nevertheless accomplished by the aid of machinery. It is the route

[1] This appears to be Tenasserim, which, however, was included in the Kingdom of Pegu, though at times conquered and held by Siam. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Tenasserim.")

[2] There are no lions in Siam.

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which I recommended, on the return from one of my voyages to INDIA, to three bishops whom I met on the road. The first was the Bishop of BERYTE,[1] whom I met at ISPAHAN; the second the Bishop of MEGALOPOLIS,[2] when crossing the EUPHRATES; the third the Bishop of HELIOPOLIS,[3] who arrived at ALEXANDRETTA as I was leaving it for EUROPE. The whole of SIAM abounds with rice and fruits, the principal of which are called *mangues*, *durions*, and *mangoustans*.[4] The forests are full of deer, elephants, tigers, rhinoceros, and monkeys, and everywhere is to be seen an abundance of bamboos, which are large and very tall canes, hollow throughout, and as hard as iron.

At the ends of these canes you find nests, of the size of a man's head, suspended; they are made by ants from a fat earth which they carry up. There is but a small hole at the base of these nests, by which the ants enter, and in these nests each ant has his separate chamber, like honey bees. They build their nests on the canes, because if they made them on the ground, during the rainy season, which lasts four or five months, they would be exterminated, all the country being then inundated. One must take precautions after night-fall against snakes. There are there some snakes which are 22 feet long and have two heads,[5] but the head at

[1] Beyrout, in Syria.

[2] Metellopolis of Finlayson, *Mission to Siam*, p. 257.

[3] Heliopolis or Bambyke, near Carchermish on the Euphrates. Le Blanc identifies Hieropolis with Aleppo (*Voyages*, Paris Edition, 1648, p. 8).

[4] Mangoes, Durians, and Mangosteens.

[5] This fable of two-headed snakes is common in India; sometimes it is said of the *Daman* snake—*Ptyas mucosus*. The statement that the head, at the tail end, has no movement, and that the mouth does not open, is a charmingly ingenuous admission. Like the case of the birds-

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the extremity which answers to the tail, and where the snake ends, does not open the mouth and has no movement.

There is also in SIAM a very venomous animal which is not more than a foot long. Its tail is forked and has two points, and its form is somewhat like what we picture the salamander.[1]

The rivers of this Kingdom are very beautiful, and the one at SIAM is of nearly uniform size throughout.[2] The water in it is very wholesome, but it is full of crocodiles of enormous size, which often devour men who are not on their guard.[3] The rivers are in flood during the time that the sun traverses the northern signs; this contributes much to the fertility of the land where the waters spread themselves, and where, by a wonderful provision of nature, the ear of rice ascends to the surface as the waters rise.[4]

SIAM,[5] the capital town of the Kingdom, and the ordinary residence of the King, is surrounded by walls, and is more than 3 of our leagues in circuit. It is on

of-paradise, referred to on p. 15, the description illustrates the persistency of myths.

[1] This poisonous, forked-tailed reptile was certainly mythical. A species of *Eublepharis?* is called *bishkhuprá* by the natives of India, and though unprovided with fangs is believed to be very poisonous.

[2] The principal rivers of Siam are the Menam, Mekong, Meklong, Petriü, Tachin, and the Chantibun (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[3] The Siamese take their revenge by eating crocodiles' eggs.

[4] The period of floods is during the south-west monsoon, from June to November, and the plain fertilised by them has an area of 6750 geographical square miles.

[5] Bankok, on both banks of the Menam river, 24 miles from the sea, is the present capital of Siam. The old capital, called Siam or Yuthia, or Ayuthia, from Sanskrit *Ajudya*, is 54 miles farther to the north; it was destroyed by the Burmese in 1768, and Bankok was founded in 1769 (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

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an island, the river surrounding it on all sides; canals might easily be made through all the streets if the King were willing to expend on that work a part of the vast amount of gold which he lavishes on the temples of his idols.

The Siamese have thirty-three letters in their alphabet;[1] they write as we do, from left to right, or contrary to the people of JAPAN, CHINA, COCHIN-CHINA, and TONQUIN, who write from the right hand to the left, and from the top of the page to the bottom.

All the common people of this Kingdom are in slavery either to the King or to the nobles. The women cut their hair like the men, and their garments are not very copious. Among the civilities which the Siamese observe towards one another, one of the principal is never to pass any one to whom respect is due, without previously asking permission; this is done by elevating both hands. The richest have many wives, as is the case in the Kingdom of ASSAM.

The money of the country is of silver and nearly of the shape of a musket bullet.[2] The lowest denomination consists of small shells, which are brought from the MANILLAS. There are good tin mines in SIAM.[3]

[1] The Siamese alphabet contains 20 vowels and 43 consonants—in all, 63 distinct characters. The language consists of two dialects—the court and the vulgar. The sacred language is distinct, being Pali or Prakrit (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[2] The coins here referred to are probably those which our author figures in his chapter on coins (p. 22 of the original Paris edition of 1676). Whether this peculiar form has ever been explained I am unable to say, but it most undoubtedly imitates the curious-shaped *coco-de-mer*, or double cocoanut of the Seychelles islands, for which fabulous prices were given in the Malayan countries and India. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary* for an account of this cocoanut.)

[3] Tin is obtained in four of the provinces, which extend from Lat. 8° to Lat. 13°; and it is also obtained in the tributary Malay States.

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The King of SIAM is one of the wealthiest monarchs in the East, and he calls himself in his edicts King of heaven and earth, although he is a tributary to the Kings of CHINA. He shows himself but rarely to his subjects, and only gives audience to the principal persons of his court, strangers having no admission to his palace. He confides the government to his ministers, who very often make ill use of the authority with which they are invested. He only shows himself in public twice in the year; this he does with much splendour. The first time is in order to go in state to a pagoda which is in the town,[1] the tower of which is gilt throughout, both inside and outside. It contains three idols, which are from 6 to 7 feet high, and are made of massive gold; and by means of liberal alms to the poor, and presents to the priests of these false gods, he believes that he makes himself pleasing to them. He goes there accompanied by all his court, and displays all his richest possessions. Among other indications of magnificence there are 200 elephants in SIAM, one of them being white; and it is so highly esteemed by the King that he glories in calling himself "the King of the white elephant."[2] These elephants live for several centuries, as I have elsewhere remarked.[3]

The second time that the King goes forth in public is for the purpose of visiting another pagoda, which is

[1] This pagoda, or the one next referred to, is probably the one still standing, though much ruined, near Yuthia; it is 400 feet high, and has a gigantic gilt bronze statue of Buddha. It is said to have been built in the year 1387 A.D. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[2] In the year 1821-22 the envoys from the Governor-General of India found five white elephants in the possession of the King. Finlayson gives an interesting account of them (*Mission to Siam*, p. 154).

[3] See vol. i, p. 279.

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5 or 6 leagues from the town up the river. No one can enter this pagoda save the King and his priests. As for the people, as soon as they see the door of it each one must throw himself with his face to the ground. On this occasion the King appears on the river with 200 richly gilt and decorated galleys of an enormous length, each having 400 rowers. As this second sortie of the King happens in the month of November, when the river begins to fall, the priests make the people believe that it is the King alone who is able to arrest the course of the waters by the prayers and offerings which he makes in this pagoda; and these poor people persuade themselves that the King goes to cut the waters with his sword, to dismiss them and order them to retire into the sea.

The King goes, moreover, but on this occasion without any state, to a pagoda which is in the island where the Dutch have their factory. There is, at the entrance, an idol seated after the manner of our tailors, having one hand on one of his knees and the other at his side. It is more than 60 feet high,[1] and around this large idol there are more than 300 others of different sizes, which represent all kinds of attitudes of men and women.[2] All these idols are gilt, and there is a prodigious quantity of these pagodas in all the country. This results from the fact that there is no rich Siamese who does not have one built to perpetuate his memory. These pagodas have towers and bells,

[1] This was one of the famous images of Buddha. Perhaps it is that which is referred to in a previous note, which ought, therefore, to refer to this second pagoda, which the King was in the habit of visiting.

[2] It is possible that this is a mistake, as images of women are, I think, not to be found in these pagodas. But some of those of Buddha have an effeminate appearance.

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and the walls inside are painted and gilt, but the windows are so narrow that they afford but little light. The altars are laden with costly idols, among which there are generally three of different sizes close to one another.[1] The two pagodas to which, as I have said, the King goes in state, are surrounded by many beautiful pyramids, all well gilt; and that which is in the island where the Dutch have their house has associated with it a cloister, the façade of which is very fine. In the middle there is, as it were, a great chapel all gilded within, where a lamp and three wax candles are kept alight in front of the altar, which is covered with idols, some being of fine gold and the others of gilt copper. The pagoda, which is in the middle of the town, and is one of the two which the King visits once in the year, as I have related, contains nearly 4000 idols, and it has around it, as has that which is at 6 leagues from SIAM, a quantity of pyramids, the beauty of which causes one to wonder at the industry of this nation.

When the King appears all the doors and windows of the houses have to be closed, and all the people prostrate themselves on the ground without daring to raise their eyes towards him. As no one should be in a place more elevated than the King when he is passing through the streets, all those who are in their houses must descend. When his hair is cut one of his wives is employed on that duty, as he does not allow a barber to place a hand upon him. This prince is passionately

[1] Vast accumulations of figures of Buddha characterise these temples, even those which are deserted. The well-known seated and recumbent figures of Buddha, made of marble or lacquered wood, which are brought to Europe, have generally been obtained from deserted pagodas in Burmah or Siam.

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attached to certain elephants, which he supports as the favourites and ornaments of his kingdom. When they are sick the greatest nobles of the court show the utmost care for them in order to please their sovereign; and when the elephants die, as much magnificence is displayed for them as at the funerals of the nobles of the Kingdom. These funerals of the nobles are conducted in the following manner:—A kind of mausoleum is adorned with reeds covered on both sides with paper of many colours. As all kinds of scented wood are sold by weight, as much as the body weighs is placed in the middle of the mausoleum, and after the priests have finished pronouncing some benedictions they burn the whole to ashes. Those of the rich are preserved in urns of gold or silver, but as for those of the poor they are cast to the winds. As for criminals who have finished their lives with a disgraceful death, the Siamese do not burn their bodies, but bury them.

The King authorises public women, but they have to live in their own separate quarter, under a chief who protects them from insult from any one. When one of them dies her body is not burnt as is that of a respectable woman, but is thrown into a place where it becomes the food of dogs and crows.

It is estimated that there are in this Kingdom more than 200,000 priests called *Bonzes*,[1] who are held in great veneration both by the court and by the people. The King himself regards some of them with such awe as to humiliate himself in their presence. The extraordinary respect which every one shows them has in-

[1] This is the ordinary term to denote the priests of Buddha in Siam. Its origin is said to be somewhat obscure. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Bonze.")

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spired in them, sometimes, so much pride, that some of them have pushed their desires as far as the throne. But when the King discovers anything of the kind he takes their lives, as was the case some time ago in a rebellion, the author of which was a *Bonze*, whom the King executed.

These *Bonzes* are clad in yellow, and wear on their loins a small red cloth as a waistband. They make an outward show of great modesty, and one never sees them manifest the smallest degree of passion. At four o'clock in the morning they rise at the sound of bells to say their prayers, and they do the same towards evening. There are certain days of the year when they withdraw from the conversation of men to live in retreat. Some live on charity, and others have well-endowed dwellings. As long as they wear the garb of *Bonzes* they cannot possess wives, and they must relinquish it if they desire to marry. They are for the most part very ignorant, and know not what they believe. It appears, however, that like the idolaters of INDIA they believe in the transmigration of the soul into many bodies. It is forbidden to them to take the lives of animals; nevertheless, they make no scruple about eating animals which others have slain, or have died naturally.[1] The god whom they worship is a phantom, of whom they speak blindly, and they are so

[1] I have heard a story, which may be a libel, of Burmese chasing fowls till they died of exhaustion, by which kind of "killing no murder" they believed they had not done wrong, though they ate the fowls. The Burmese are always glad to dispose of any animal a sportsman may shoot, and will even eat snakes if he kills them.

The King of Burmah (Ava), it is said, used to keep sheep, one of which would conveniently die whenever meat was required at the palace. (See *The Prisoner in Burmah*, H. Gouger, London, 1860, p. 52.)

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obstinate in maintaining their gross errors that it is difficult to cure them of them. They say that the God of the Christians and theirs are brothers, but that theirs is the elder. If any one asks them where their god is they reply that he has disappeared, and that they know not where he is.

As for the standing army of the kingdom, it consists mainly of infantry, which is fairly good. The soldiers are inured to fatigue, and have for sole garment a piece of calico to cover the middle of the body. All the remainder of the body—the chest, back, arms, and thighs —are uncovered, and the skin, which is all cut (tattooed),[1] as when one applies cupping-glasses, represents many kinds of flowers and animals. After the skin is cut and the blood has flowed from it, these figures of flowers and animals are rubbed in with whatever colours are wished for; and one would say, on seeing these soldiers from a distance, that they were clad with some flowered silken stuff or painted calico, for the colours once applied never fade. They have for arms bow and arrow, musket and pike, and an *azagaye*,[2] which is a stick of 5 or 6 feet long, tipped with iron at the end, which can be hurled with skill against an enemy.

In the year 1665 there was in the town of SIAM a Neapolitan Jesuit called Father THOMAS. He fortified the town and the King's palace, which is on the margin of the river, and he had previously erected good bastions on both sides. It was on account of this that the King allowed him to dwell in the town, where he had a small church with a house where M. LAMBERT, Bishop of BEYROUT, went to lodge on arriving in SIAM.

[1] As is well known, tattooing is a fine art in Siam.

[2] *Assegai*. (See p. 161, for etymology of the word.)

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But these two did not long remain on good terms together, and the Bishop found it advisable to have a separate chapel.

The port where vessels arrive from COCHIN-CHINA and other places is only half a league from the town, and as there are always some Christian sailors there, the Bishop built a small house and a chapel there in order to perform mass.[1]

[1] On the whole, this must be allowed to be an excellent account of Siam. Very probably Tavernier obtained his information from the bishops and Jesuit priests. The reader is referred to Crawfurd's *Dictionary of the Malayan Islands* for a valuable epitome of information on this subject. Finlayson's *Account of the Mission to Siam*, London, 1826, contains an interesting account referring to a period when Siam had scarcely been affected by European nations. On Siam as it now is, there are numerous authorities.

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CHAPTER XIX

Concerning the Kingdom of MACASSAR *and the Dutch Embassy to* CHINA

THE Kingdom of MACASSAR, otherwise called the Island of CELEBES,[1] commences at the 5th degree of south latitude. The heat is excessive during the day, but the nights are fairly temperate, and as for the land it is beautiful and very fertile; but the people of this island do not know how to build well. The capital town bears the same name as the kingdom, and is situated close to the sea. The port is free; and the vessels which carry thither a quantity of merchandise from the neighbouring islands do not pay any custom dues. The inhabitants poison their weapons, and the most dangerous poison which they use is made of the juice of certain trees which grow in the island of BORNEO; they temper it according to the effect, whether slow or quick, which they wish the poison to produce. It is said that the King alone knows the secret of weakening its effect, and he boasts of having some of it so quick that there is no remedy in the world capable of neutralising it. One of my brothers,[2] whom I had taken to INDIA, and who died there, one

[1] The Island of Celebes extends from Lat. 1° 45′ north to 5° 45′ south.

[2] This was his brother Daniel. (See Introduction, vol. i, p. xii.)

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day witnessed a remarkable proof of the quickness with which this poison takes effect. An Englishman, when in a rage, having killed one of the subjects of the King of MACASSAR, and this Prince having forgiven him, all the *Franks*, English as well as Dutch and Portuguese, who were in MACASSAR, fearing if this murder was left unpunished the islanders would take their revenge by attacking some of them, besought the King to execute the Englishman, and urged him so strongly that at length he consented. My brother was much beloved by the King, who invited him to take part in all his amusements, and especially when drinking was in question. The death of the Englishman having been decided on, the King told my brother that he would not allow the victim to languish long, and in order to prove at the same time the extraordinary power of his poison, he would wound the criminal himself with one of his arrows. These are small poisoned arrows which are fired with a *sampitan*,[1] and the King, in order to show his skill, asked my brother in what part of the body he wished him to strike the criminal. My brother, who was anxious to see if what the King had told him of the rapid effect of his poison were true, asked him to strike him on the great toe of the right foot, this the King did exactly and with wonderful skill. Two surgeons, one English and the other Dutch, were ready to cut the toe well below the

[1] The word is *sarbatane* in the original; it means a blow-tube, or rather the object blown through. Owing to the virulence of the poison on the darts it is a terrible instrument of offence. Though frequently mentioned by writers, I know of no stronger testimony of its powers than that given by our author. As an alleged antidote *stercus humanum*, diluted with water, is mentioned by Friar Odoric (see Yule's *Cathay*, p. 91).

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wound, but they were unable to accomplish it so skilfully but that the poison, more rapid, had reached the heart, and the Englishman died at the same moment. All the kings and princes of the East similarly cherish with care the strongest poisons, and the King of ACHIN one day made a present of fifteen or twenty of these poisoned arrows to M. CROKE, Envoy-General of BATAVIA, who was subsequently Chief of the factory at SURAT. It was already some years since he had received these arrows without having thought of trying them, and one day when I was with him we shot many squirrels which fell dead immediately on being struck.

The King of MACASSAR is a Muhammadan, and he allows none of his subjects to become Christians. The Jesuit fathers in the year 1656 had found means to build a fairly good church at MACASSAR, but in the following year the King ordered it to be thrown down, as also that of the Dominican fathers, who performed mass for the Portuguese traders in the kingdom. The parochial church, which was conducted by some secular priests, remained standing until the Dutch attacked MACASSAR with a powerful fleet, and by force of arms they compelled the King to drive all the Portuguese out of his territories. The bad conduct of this Prince was partly the cause of this war, to which the Dutch were also driven by the resentment they felt in consequence of the Portuguese Jesuits having crossed their embassy to CHINA. Besides which they had committed serious outrages against the Dutch at MACASSAR, having even flung on the ground the hat of one of the envoys who had come to conclude a treaty with the King. Thus the Dutch, unable to avoid

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resenting this affront, resolved to unite their forces with the *Bugis*,[1] who were in rebellion against their King, and to avenge, at whatever cost, so gross an insult. On the other hand, as I have said, the Dutch had been much ill-used by the Portuguese Jesuits, who by their intrigues prevented the Deputy whom the former sent to the King of CHINA from accomplishing what he desired, and it happened in this way :—

Towards the end of the year 1658 the General of BATAVIA and his Council sent one of the chiefs of the Dutch Company to the King of CHINA. Having arrived at the Court with splendid presents, he sought to obtain access to the Mandarins, who are the great nobles of the kingdom, so that by their credit he might obtain permission to trade in CHINA. But the Jesuits, who knew the language and were acquainted with the nobles of the Court, in consequence of the long sojourn they had made in the country, in order to prevent the Dutch Company from gaining a footing, to the prejudice of the Portuguese nation, represented many things to the King's Council to the disadvantage of the Dutch. They told them that in CEYLON they had broken the promise they had given to the King of that island to make over to him the places which they jointly captured from the Portuguese; that they were not people of good faith; and that they had likewise fooled the King of ACHIN after the capture of MALACCA, and many other Princes in the MOLUCCA islands; that after having taken, by terms of capitulation, the country of some of them together with their persons, promising to maintain them all their lives

[1] *Bouquins* in the original. The Bugis are so called by the Malays, their proper name is Wugi. They are the dominant race in Celebes.

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according to their dignity, they had not treated them with any further consideration once they got them into their power, but had transported them as slaves to the Island of MAURICE[1] to cut ebony wood. All these things and many others of the same kind having been represented to the King's Council, the Dutch deputy was immediately dismissed, and left CHINA without having accomplished anything. Having learnt from a letter which a spy had written to him after his departure, the bad turn which the Portuguese Jesuits had played him, on his return to BATAVIA he reported it to the General and his Council, who were much annoyed, and resolved to take strong vengeance. According to the accounts which the Deputy handed in, the cost of the voyage amounted to 50,000 *écus*;[2] and the Council reflected on the means whereby they could reimburse themselves with double that amount from the Portuguese. They were aware of the trade which the Jesuit fathers engaged in annually in the island of MACAO and the Kingdom of MACASSAR, and that they fitted out on their own account as many as six or seven vessels laden with all kinds of Indian as well as Chinese goods. The Dutch calculated the time when these vessels should arrive at MACASSAR, and on the 7th of June 1660 there appeared at that port two of the Company's vessels, which came in advance to facilitate the withdrawal of the Dutch who were on land. The Dutch fleet was composed of more than thirty sail, and anchored at the island of TANAKEKE,[3] at 7 leagues from BUTAGNE.[4]

[1] Mauritius.

[2] £11,250.

[3] Tanahkeke, or the "Island of Sorcerers," in S. Lat. 5° 30′ towards the extreme end of the south-western peninsula of Celebes.

[4] Bontaing on S. coast of Celebes.

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The King felt compelled to defend himself against these enemies whose power he feared, and with the vessels of MACAO, which were in the roads, sought for some time to resist the Dutch attack. The combat being obstinate on both sides, the Dutch divided their fleet, and while thirteen vessels devoted themselves to the Portuguese, the remainder incessantly battered the fortress, which was carried without much resistance. It is said that on this day the Dutch fired more than 7000 cannon shots, and that the King was so much terrified that he ordered the Portuguese not to fire any more, so as not to further irritate the enemy. The Prince PATINSALOA died during this engagement, and this was a great loss to the King of MACASSAR, who had become formidable to his neighbours by the diplomacy of this minister, upon whom he entirely relied. As the vessels of MACAO found themselves surprised and unprepared for defence, it was not difficult for the Dutch fleet to destroy the Portuguese; they burnt three of their vessels, sent two to the bottom, and took from them a quantity of costly goods; thus it was that the Dutch reimbursed themselves profitably for the cost of the deputation to CHINA.

On the 13th of June the King of MACASSAR, named SUMBACO, through fear of seeing himself reduced to the last extremity, ordered a white flag to be hoisted on another fortress, from whence, surrounded by his wives, he watched the fight. During the truce which they granted him, he sent one of the highest of the nobles of his court to the General of the Dutch fleet to ask for peace, which was only granted to him on condition that he would send an ambassador to BATAVIA, that he would drive all the Portuguese from

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the island, and that his subjects should no longer trade with them.

As the articles of the treaty were to be ratified at BATAVIA by the General and his Council, the King of MACASSAR equipped his galleys and sent there eleven of the grandest nobles of his court with a following of 700 men, and the chief of this embassy was the brother of the late Prince PATINSALOA. They were to present to the General of BATAVIA 200 loaves (*pains*)[1] of gold to redeem the royal fortress, and had orders to submit to all the conditions which the Dutch proposed to them, provided that they did not affect the law of MUHAMMAD. The General having received this embassy, which was a great honour for him, and profiting by the opportunity, and the good fortune of his arms, he himself prepared the terms of the capitulation, which were signed by the ambassadors of MACASSAR and were strictly observed. For immediately all the Portuguese left the country, some passing to the Kingdoms of SIAM and CAMBODIA,[2] and the remainder withdrawing to MACAO and GOA. MACAO, which was some years ago regarded as one of the most famous and richest towns of the East, was the principal object of the Dutch embassy to CHINA, and as it was the best port which the Portuguese then had in these regions, the design of the Dutch was to ruin it completely. To-day this town, which is at the 22° of north latitude, in a small peninsula of the Province of CANTON,[3] which is a part of CHINA, has lost much of its former renown.

[1] "Loaves" of gold. (See Appendix, vol. i, p. 416. 200 = £9000.)

[2] *Camboye* in the original.

[3] *Xanton* in the original. Macao is near the mouth of the Canton

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The Jesuit fathers and the Portuguese merchants were not recompensed by it for the disgrace which they had experienced at MACASSAR, and they sustained still another blow close to GOA. The Chief of the Dutch factory at VENGURLA, which is only 8 leagues from that town, having heard of the ill-success of Dutch affairs in CHINA, thought on his side of a means to avenge it. He was not ignorant of the fact that the Jesuit fathers of GOA and other places in INDIA did a large trade in rough diamonds which they sent to EUROPE, whither they carried them when returning to PORTUGAL. And in order to conceal this trade they used to send one or two from among their number in the garb of *Fakirs* or Indian pilgrims; this was easy for them to do, because there are fathers among them who are born in the country, and know the Indian language perfectly. This garb of the *Fakirs* consists of the skin of a tiger, which is worn on the back, and one of a goat which covers the waist and hangs down to the knees. For cap they have the skin of a lamb or of a kid, the four feet of which hang on the forehead, neck, and ears which are pierced, and in which they insert large rings of crystal. Their legs are naked, and they have large wooden sandals on the feet, and carry a bundle of peacocks' feathers to fan themselves with, and drive away the flies. One day as I was dining with the Augustine fathers who reside at the Court of the King of GOLCONDA in company with M.M. LESCOT and RAISIN, one of these Jesuit fathers who had come from GOA entered the chamber clothed in the manner I have described. He told us that he was going to ST. THOME on the

river and belongs to the Portuguese, while Hong Kong, similarly situated, belongs to the British.

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business of the Viceroy of GOA; upon which I remarked that to travel throughout INDIA it was not necessary to disguise himself, and that other religious persons, to whatever order they belonged, did not disguise themselves in that manner.

The Chief of the VENGURLA factory seized his opportunity then to revenge himself on the Jesuit fathers, and having learnt that there were two of them going to the mines to buy 400,000 *pardos*[1] worth of diamonds, he gave orders to two men who purchased some for him, that as soon as the fathers had completed their purchase they should give notice of it to the master of the customs at BICHOLIM.[2] BICHOLIM is a large town on the frontier, which separates the territories of the King of BIJAPUR from those of the Portuguese, and there is no other road but by this place, because one cannot elsewhere pass the river which forms the island of SALSETTE where the town of GOA is built. The Jesuit fathers, believing that the officer of customs knew nothing of the purchase which they had made, went into the boat to cross the water, and they had no sooner entered it, than they were searched, and all the diamonds found on them were confiscated.

I return to the King of MACASSAR, whom the reverend Jesuit fathers strove to convert, and they would possibly have accomplished their design, except for a condition which he imposed on them, and which they neglected to fulfil. For at the same time that

[1] This, with the *pardao* at 2s., would represent a sum of £40,000.

[2] Bicholi in the original, and called Bicholly in vol. i, p. 181, it is now known as Bicholim, and the District bearing the name is included judicially in Burdez in the "old conquests."

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the Jesuits laboured to draw him to Christianity, the Muhammadans on their side made equal efforts to induce him to embrace their law; and this Prince, who wished to relinquish idolatry, not knowing well which side he should take, told the Muhammadans to summon two or three of their most accomplished *Mullas* from MECCA, and the Jesuits also, that they should send him an equal number of their ablest men, that he might hear them and instruct himself thoroughly in the respective religions; both promised to do so. But the Muhammadans made more haste than the Christians, and eight months afterwards, having brought two skilled *Mullas* from MECCA, the King, as the Jesuits sent no one, embraced the law of MUHAMMAD.[1] It is true that three years afterwards two Portuguese Jesuits arrived at MACASSAR, but it was too late, and the King was no longer inclined to become a Christian.

The King of MACASSAR having been made a MUHAMMADAN, the Prince, his brother, was so annoyed that he was unable to restrain himself from giving signs of it by the committal of a deed which resulted in his disgrace. As he knew that the Muhammadans had a horror of pork, which is one of the common articles of food of the idolaters of MACASSAR, as soon as the mosque which the King built was finished, he entered it one night, and having ten or twelve pigs slaughtered in his presence, he had the blood sprinkled in all directions, and both the walls and the niche where the *Mulla* places himself to offer up prayers were soiled

[1] This, according to Crawfurd (*Dictionary*), took place in the year 1603; but the people generally did not follow his example till 1616, or a century after the Portuguese had been in occupation of Malacca and the Moluccas.

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with it. The King, by the laws of the religion which he had embraced, was obliged to demolish the mosque and to build a new one; and the Prince, his brother, withdrawing with some other idolatrous nobles, has never again appeared at Court since that time.

This is all that I have been able to collect of the most singular facts regarding the Kingdoms of the East included in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL and the Empire of CHINA, of which I also have good memoirs; but as I know that several persons have written fully regarding them, I think the reader would prefer that I should give him the result of my voyages, and that I should only amuse him with things which I have seen with my own eyes.

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CHAPTER XX

The Author pursues his journey in the East and embarks at VENGURLA *for* BATAVIA; *the danger which he runs on the sea, and his arrival in the Island of* CEYLON

I LEFT VENGURLA, a large town of the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, 8 leagues from GOA, on the 14th of April 1648, and embarked on a Dutch vessel which had just brought silks from PERSIA and was going to BATAVIA. It had orders to stop at BAKANOR[1] *en route*, in order to take in rice, and we arrived there on the 18th of the same month. I landed with the captain, who went to see the King to ask his permission to take the rice; this he gave willingly. It was necessary for us to ascend by the river nearly 3 leagues, and we found the King close to the water, where there were only ten or twelve huts made of palm leaves. He had, in his own, a Persian carpet spread underneath him, and we saw there five or six women, some of whom fanned him with fans made of peacocks' tails, and the

[1] Barcoor of A.S., Barkur is an old port on an estuary on the west coast of India, Lat. 13° 28½'. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* it was "the capital of the Jain Kings of Tulava . . . and subsequently a stronghold of the Vijáyanagar Rajas. It is often mentioned by the older travellers (see *Anglo-Indian Gazetteer*, p. 33).

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others gave him *betel* and filled his pipe with tobacco. The most important persons of the country were in the other huts, and we counted about 200 men, the majority of whom were armed with bows and arrows. They also had with them two elephants. It appeared as if they had some retreat elsewhere, and that they had merely come to this place to enjoy the coolness afforded by the trees and some streams. Having left the King and re-embarked on our boat, he sent us, as a present, a dozen fowl and five or six pots of palm wine. We slept the same evening, after having made a league of way, in a hamlet where there were but three or four houses, but we had taken with us ample provisions from our vessel. In the morning when we were ready to leave we saw on the river one of our pilots with three or four young men, who came up to us and brought the necessaries for breakfast. When they were landed and we had commenced to eat they asked for some *târi*[1] or palm wine, and the owner of the hut where we had slept offered to bring us some, which was very good, but he told us that it was strong, and that it might send fumes to the head. Our sailors jeered at that because they drank it often, and some of them had even drunk much of it without being inconvenienced. But since you drink it as soon as it is drawn from the tree, and do not allow it to ferment, if you take too much you feel it ferment in the stomach. This peasant having then brought a pot of his palm wine, each drank of it as he felt inclined, one three glasses, another four or five, and for myself I was contented with only one, which might contain nearly half a pint. But to tell the truth, we all suffered such

[1] See vol. i, p. 158.

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severe headaches from it that we were two days before we were able to cure ourselves. We asked the natives of the country why this wine had thus troubled us, and they said that it was caused by the fact that pepper was planted around the palms, and that it was that which gave so much strength to this wine. We were still somewhat giddy from it when we returned on board, where a governor of the country immediately arrived to meet us and settle the price of the rice and know the quantity of it which was required. It had to be brought from some distance; this troubled us much, because the wind commenced to change, and the captain was unwilling to leave, as he had not all the cargo which he required.

During the night, between the 28th and 29th, the wind began to change, and the pilots told the captain, who had never before sailed along the coasts of INDIA, that he ought to hoist the anchor and set sail, although we had not received our full cargo; but the captain would not consent, replying that we wanted water. The wind having been strong throughout the night, on the following day it calmed a little, and loading up with the rice was continued. On the day after we strongly urged the captain to leave, and as he saw that all murmured he sent two boats to get water. But they had scarcely reached the mouth of the river when the wind became so furious that the sailors hastened to return without water, this they accomplished with much trouble and danger of being lost. When they came on board the two boats were tied astern of the vessel, according to custom, and fourteen men were put in the larger one in order to take care of her and to prevent the waves breaking her against

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the vessel. We desired then to begin to hoist the anchor, but the wind became still stronger and more adverse; of thirty or forty men who were about the winch more than twelve were injured by the bars, the violence of the wind driving them backwards. The captain, wishing also to assist in the work in order to ease the cable, had his hand badly crushed. At length the sea became so rough that instead of hoisting the anchor it became necessary to put out others, as the wind was driving us on shore. Every one then commenced to examine his conscience, and prayed thrice in two hours' time. By midnight we had lost all our anchors, to the number of seven, so that not having more and not knowing what to do further, our pilots called out that each one should strive to save himself as soon as the vessel touched the land, and being exhausted they went to lie down on their beds. It was already a long time since the captain had taken to his, on account of the great pain which his hand gave him, as it was in a dreadful condition. As for me, as the moon was shining, I leant against the bulwarks of the vessel watching how the billows urged it towards the shore. While I was in this position the vessel touched land, and each one believed then that it would go to pieces. At this moment two sailors came to me to say that I need fear nothing, and they would take precautions to ensure our safety, but if God permitted us by His grace to reach the land I should reward them for their trouble. I exhorted them to do their best to save us, and told them there would be 500 *écus* ready for them as soon as we reached the land. They were two Hamburghers, who had seen me previously at BANDAR-ABBAS and SURAT, and they well knew that I carried

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all my goods on my person, without having need of camels or mules to carry them. As soon as I promised them this sum they took a spar of wood of the thickness of a man's thigh and 8 or 10 feet long, attaching to it thick ropes in five or six places, to each of which they allowed a length of only 3 or 4 feet. As they worked at it I kept my eyes constantly fixed in the direction of the land, and I observed that the vessel did not go straight as it had done previously. I feared that it was only the darkness which made me think so, for the moon began to set. I hastened at once to the compass to assure myself, and I saw as a matter of fact that the wind had altogether changed and came from the land. Immediately I cried out to the sailors that the wind had become favourable, and at the same moment the boatswain, who directs all that appertains to the vessel, made a great noise and called all the sailors. He also hailed the fourteen men whom they had placed in the large boat, believing that they were there still; but no one replied, and we saw at daybreak that the cable had parted, and we were never able to ascertain what had become of them. As for the captain, he was unable to rise on account of a severe attack of fever which the pain in his hand had caused him. At first every one took courage, although they were in difficulty as to how they should steer the vessel, the top of the rudder being broken. In order to remedy this evil the pilot set a small sail, which was set first on one side and then on the other as he directed, and a rope was tied to the rudder to make it work, for it was only the socket above which was broken, where they were consequently unable to fix the piece (tiller) which comes on board for the steers-

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man. At length the wind blew from the north-east, and the darker night became, on account of the setting of the moon, the more the wind freshened and each one gave thanks to God. We were nevertheless not beyond all danger, because it was necessary for us to pass three great rocks which projected above the water, but which we were unable to see, the night being so dark. When ships come to this port where we had taken the rice, they do not generally pass (inside) these rocks; but our captain, as he had but little time to spare for loading, brought his vessel as closely as possible to the mouth of the river for the convenience of those who carried the rice, who were in consequence able to make more frequent trips. At length by God's grace we were, at daybreak, some 3 or 4 leagues from the land. Then we held a consultation in order to settle what direction we should take, because we had no anchors left. Some advised that we should return to GOA to winter there, others that we should go to POINT DE GALLE, which is the first town which the Dutch took from the Portuguese in the Island of CEYLON, for we were about equidistant from both, and the wind was equally favourable for both places. My opinion was that we should not take the route to GOA, but that for POINT DE GALLE; because it was to be feared that by going to GOA the sailors, who are much addicted to drink, would say or commit some folly which would give an occasion to the Inquisition for arresting them, joined to which there are in that town many facilities for dissipation, so that when it would be time to put to sea again, the captain would not find, it may be, a single man in his vessel. But by going to POINT DE GALLE there would be no danger, it

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would be to go to friends, and we should be able to change to another vessel in order to continue the voyage; this in fact happened. However we were always in terror lest some tempest might not come and throw us on land, not having a single anchor left to moor the vessel with.

Among our sailors there was, by chance, one who had served for many years in the same vessel, who said that certainly there was at the bottom of the hold a very heavy anchor, but that it had only one arm. Although we desired to get it, we foresaw great difficulty on account of the quantity of goods which were in the vessel. Nevertheless it was resolved to move the whole, and four or five very skilful carpenters, who had worked at the house at GOMBROON for the Company, and were returning to BATAVIA, said that if they could only get up the anchor they would fix it so as to work as well as if it had two arms. This they did, and in two days both the anchor and the rudder were in a condition to serve us. It cost three or four cases of SHIRAZ wine, which were distributed to all those who assisted in removing the goods and getting out the anchor—for the purpose of inciting them to work well.

Eight days afterwards we found that we were off POINT DE GALLE, and we took in some of our sails in order to gain the port, one of the worst in all INDIA, on account of the rocks, which are at a level with the water in many places. It is for this reason that as soon as a vessel is sighted at sea the Governor-General sends two pilots to direct and bring her into port. But as we had both weather and sea sufficiently favourable, the captain and pilots, who had never been there before, not realising that we had passed

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the reefs, which they thought were nearer to land, and seeing that no pilot came to bring the vessel into port, turned to sea again; this caused much surprise to the Governor and the pilots, who did not come out because they saw that we had passed the danger. The wind then commencing to change, drove us 9 or 10 leagues out to sea, and consequently we were two or three days beating about before we could remake the port. If the wind had driven us a little farther to sea we should have been obliged to go to winter at MASULIPATAM, in the Gulf of BENGAL. At length the pilots of POINT DE GALLE having come out for us, we entered the port and landed on the 12th of May. I immediately went to visit the Governor MADSUERE,[1] who is at present General at BATAVIA, and he did me the honour to invite me to eat always with him during the sojourn which I made there.

I did not find anything remarkable in this town, and there remains scarcely anything but the ruins, and mines, and the marks which the cannons made when the Dutch besieged it and drove away the Portuguese. The Company gave land and sites for building to those who wished to dwell there, and had already erected two good bastions, which command the port. If it had accomplished the design which it then formed, it would have made of this town a fine place.

The Dutch, before they had captured all the settlements which the Portuguese had in the Island of CEYLON, from whence they have been entirely driven, persuaded themselves that the trade of this island would yield them enormous sums if they were sole

[1] In the edition of 1713 he is called Masudere.

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masters. This might have happened if they had kept to the agreement which they had made with the King of KANDY—who is the King of the country—when they began to make war with the Portuguese. But they broke faith with him, and that gave them a very bad character in these parts.

The treaty with the King of KANDY was so drawn that this King was always to be in charge of the passes, with 18,000 or 20,000 men, to prevent the reinforcements which might come from COLOMBO, NEGOMBO, MANAR, and many other places which the Portuguese held along the coast. And the Dutch were to bring in their large vessels as many troops as were sufficient to besiege POINT DE GALLE both by sea and land. They agreed, also, with the King of ACHIN that he should hold the coast with a sufficient number of small armed frigates, as he always maintained a good number of them.

The Dutch, having taken the town, began to repair some breaches, seeing which the King of KANDY sent to know when he might come there to receive possession of it. For it had been agreed in the event of the Dutch taking the town that they would give it back to the King, who by way of recompense was to give them a certain quantity of cinnamon every year, and, in case of necessity, to aid them as far as he was able. The Dutch replied to what the King had communicated to them, that they were willing to hand over the town to him provided he paid them the costs of the war, which they said amounted to many millions; but if he had possessed three kingdoms like his own he could not have paid half the sum. In truth money is scarce in that country, and I do not believe that the

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King has ever seen a sum equal to 50,000 *écus*[1] at one time. His whole trade consisted in cinnamon and elephants; but since the Portuguese have been in INDIA he has derived no profit from either. As for the elephants, that is a small matter, for only five or six are captured in a year; but at the same time those of CEYLON are more highly esteemed than all the elephants of other countries, because they are more courageous in war; and there is not a King in INDIA who does not desire to have one. There should be related here a thing which it is possible one may have a difficulty in believing, but it is nevertheless quite true; it is that when any king or noble possesses one of these CEYLON elephants, and when there is brought into its presence some other one from the places where the merchants obtain them, as ACHIN, SIAM, ARAKAN, PEGU, the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, the Kingdom of ASSAM, the territories of COCHIN and the coast of MELINDA,[2] as soon as these latter elephants see one of CEYLON, by a natural instinct they pay it reverence by placing the ends of their trunks on the ground, and then elevating them.[3]

[1] £11,250.

[2] This reference to Melinda would seem to imply that the African elephant was domesticated in Tavernier's time (see vol. i, p. 277).

[3] Sir Emerson Tennent, alluding to the common belief that Tavernier had made a statement to this effect, adds that "a reference to the original shows that Tavernier's observations are not only fanciful in themselves but are restricted to the supposed excellence of the Ceylon animal *in war*." This statement is simply incomprehensible, since Tavernier's original passage, which is here translated, is quoted in full in a footnote on the same page (*Nat.-Hist. Ceylon*, pp. 209, 210.) (See *ante*, Book I, chap. xviii, p. 278.) Fryer also says that the Ceylon elephants exact homage from all others, which prostrate themselves submissively before them (*Account*, Calcutta Edition, p. 169). In reference to the fact that the elephants of Sumatra have points of affinity with the Ceylon variety, it has been suggested that the original stock of the Sumatra ele-

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It is true that the elephants which the great nobles keep, when brought before them to be examined whether they are in good condition, make a sort of salute thrice with their trunk. This I have often seen; but they are trained to it, and their masters teach them to do so when young.

The King of ACHIN, with whom the Dutch failed to keep their promise, had other means for revenging himself than the King of KANDY, because the Dutch were not allowed to ship the pepper which comes from his territories; for a long time he refused them permission, and even declared war upon them; and without this pepper their trade could not prosper.

It is the kind of pepper which we call "small," and all Orientals prefer it, because without skinning or crushing they place it whole on their plates of rice, as I have elsewhere said.[1] At length the Dutch were compelled to agree with the King of ACHIN, and ambassadors were sent from one side and the other for this purpose. He who arrived on behalf of the King at BATAVIA, was treated with much magnificence. When he was about to depart the General and all his Council entertained him splendidly, and the ladies sat at table —this surprised this Muhammadan ambassador very much, who was not accustomed to see women drink and eat with men. But that which astonished him still more was that at the end of the repast, after having drunk many healths, they drank that of the Queen of

phants was introduced in the domesticated condition from Ceylon. It is on record that some elephants sent as a present to the Sultan of Sulu (or Soolo) by the East Indian Company, as he was unable to maintain them, were let loose on Cape Unsang in Borneo. (See Hornaday, *Two Years in the Jungle*, p. 220.)

[1] See p. 14.

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ACHIN, who ruled the state during the minority of the King, her son. And in order to honour him still more, the General desired Madame la Générale to kiss the ambassador. The King and Queen of ACHIN did not receive the ambassador who was sent to them from BATAVIA less well. He was M. CROC, who for fifteen years suffered from a languishing sickness; and it was believed that some one had administered to him some kind of slow poison. On the occasion of the third audience which he had with the King, who knew that he had lived for so long a time in languor and without appetite, he asked him if he had ever formerly kept any girl of the country, and how he had left her, if by mutual agreement or whether he had sent her away by force. He admitted that he had left one in order to get married in his own country, and that since that time he had always been languishing and indisposed, upon which the King said to three of his physicians, who were by his side, that having heard the cause of the ambassador's sickness he would give them fifteen days to cure him, and that if they did not accomplish it in that time he would cause them all to be executed. These physicians having replied that they would answer to him for the cure of the ambassador, provided he consented to take the remedies which they would give him, M. CROC resolved to consent. They gave him in the morning a decoction, and in the evening a small pill, and at the end of nine days a great fit of vomiting seized him. It was thought he would die of the strange efforts which he made; and at length he vomited a bundle of hair as large as a small nut, after which he was at once healed. Subsequently the King took him to a rhinoceros hunt, and invited him to give the

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mortal shot to the animal. As soon as it was killed they cut off the horn, which the King also presented to the ambassador; and at the conclusion of the hunt there was a great feast. At the end of it the King drank to the health of the General of BATAVIA and his wife, and ordered one of his own wives to kiss the ambassador. On his departure he presented him with a pebble of the size of a goose's egg, in which large veins of gold were to be seen as you see the tendons in the hand of a man, and it is thus that gold occurs in this country.

M. CROC, when at SURAT as chief of the factory, broke the pebble in two, and gave half to M. CONSTANT, who, subordinate to him, held the highest authority there, to whom, when he was returning to Holland, I offered 150 *pistoles* for it in order to present it to the late Monseigneur LE DUC D'ORLEANS, but he would not consent to part with it.

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CHAPTER XXI

Departure of the Author from the Island of CEYLON, *and his arrival at* BATAVIA

ON the 25th of *July*[1] we left POINT DE GALLE on a different vessel from that upon which we had arrived, because, on its being examined, it was found that it could not make the journey without danger. Accordingly, all the goods were discharged from it and transhipped to that in which we embarked for BATAVIA.

On the 2d of June[2] we crossed the line, and on the 6th reached the island called NAZACOS.[3] On the 17th we sighted the coast of SUMATRA, on the 18th the island of INGAGNE,[4] and on the 19th the island of FORTUNE. On the 20th we saw several other small islands, and the coast of JAVA, and among these islands there are three which are called PRINCE'S ISLANDS. On the 21st we saw the island of BANTAM, and on the 22d we anchored in the roads at BATAVIA.

[1] The July of the original and the June of the edition of 1713 appear to be both wrong, as the month must, I think, have been May.

[2] In the 1713 edition this is given, I think incorrectly, as July—June appears to be correct.

[3] Not identified, but it may be remarked that *nusa* is Javanese for a small island, and like *pulo* is used as a prefix to the true name. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[4] Not identified; perhaps it may be for Indragiri, a Malay State on the coast of Sumatra.

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On the following day I landed, and went to salute General VANDERLIN and M. CARON[1] the Director-General, who was the second person in the council.

On the 25th, two days after my arrival, the General sent one of his guards to invite me to dinner, where there were assembled, M. CARON, two other councillors, the *Avocat-Fiscal*, the Major, and their wives. Whilst we were at table they conversed about the news from foreign countries, and principally of the court of the King of PERSIA, and after dinner some began to play at backgammon, while awaiting the coolness in order to take exercise outside the town by the river's bank, where there are very fine places for bathing. As for the General, he went to his office, where he asked me to accompany him. After some conversation on indifferent matters he asked me for what purpose I had come to BATAVIA. I told him that I had principally come to see so renowned a place; and having had an opportunity of doing service to the Company at the request of the Chief of the factory at VENGURLA, I had been led to undertake the voyage, as he might see for himself by the letter which he had written to him. I told him, at the same time, as the Commander of VENGURLA had requested me, of the discovery which had been made by a *caravel* of PORTUGAL, which a storm had driven into a bay situated 30 leagues from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, as I have related at length in the description of the town of GOA.[1] The Commander thought that the General

[1] M. Caron was afterwards appointed Chief of the French Company at Surat. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv, p. 451.)

[2] See Book I, chap. xiv, p. 216, for accounts of this discovery. The details there given are somewhat different.

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would be able to send a small vessel there from BATAVIA, and that by conveying the news I would do a service to the Company; and it was also with this in view that he offered me a passage in the vessel which was in the roads at VENGURLA. After I had finished my account of the matter to the General, he thanked me somewhat coldly, as being a thing of small importance, although I have since learnt that he sent to seek for the bay, but the vessel was unable to find it. After about half an hour's interview I left him in his office, into which three councillors entered at the same moment, and as I left he said that if I would wait for a little we should go together to promenade outside the town. I then joined Madame la Générale, and the other ladies who were keeping her company, and one hour afterwards two trumpets commenced to sound. The General and Madame, with four of the wives of the councillors, entered a carriage with six horses, and the councillors rode on horseback. I was allotted a horse with Persian saddle and bridle, the furniture of which was very beautiful. There are always forty or fifty saddle-horses in the stables of the General, for there is not a vessel that does not bring him some, either from ARABIA or PERSIA or other places. A company of cavalry marched in front of the General's carriage, each dragoon having a collar of buffalo skin and long scarlet hose with silver lace, the hat with a bundle of plumes, the great scarf with a fringe of silver, the sword-guard and spurs of massive silver, and all the horses had very beautiful trappings. Three bodyguards marched at each door carrying halberds, and being well clad. Each had a doublet of yellow satin, and the upper part of the hose of scarlet covered

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with silver lace, and below with yellow silk, and very fine linen. Behind the carriage there marched a company of infantry, besides another which went an hour or two in advance to clear the way. As for the councillors, when they move about, as well as when they are in their houses, they have each two musketeers for their guard, and when they wish for horses the General's equerry sends them what they require. They have also their small boats in order to row about either on the sea, the river, or on the canals, where each of them has his garden. Our promenade was not long, the reason being that when leaving the fort two vessels were seen approaching, no one being able to say what they were. As the General and councillors were impatient to hear the news, they returned to the fort sooner than they had intended; and as soon as we had re-entered I took leave of the General, the councillors, and the ladies, and withdrew to my lodging.

During three or four days I received numerous visits, this caused me no small expenditure, because custom requires that when any one comes to see you you offer him wine. One hundred *écus* are soon spent; for a pint of wine, of about PARIS measure, holds but four glasses. Spanish wine, when cheap, costs an *écu* at BATAVIA, Rhine and French wine cost two, and one must pay 40 *sols* for a pint of beer, whether English or of BRONCEVIMONT.[1]

The greatest joy known to the people of BATAVIA is experienced when vessels come from HOLLAND, for they bring all kinds of drinks, which the publicans buy from the Company, it being permitted also to every

[1] These prices in English money were, for Spanish wine, 4s. 6d.; for Rhine and French wine, 9s.; and for a pint of beer, 3s.

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private person to buy them. But be it that they find more pleasure in drinking at the publichouses than in their own houses, be it that it is more convenient to them, when they wish to amuse themselves together, they generally make all their rejoicings in these places. It is a time of great festival when these new drinks arrive, and you meet women and girls in the streets who wager you for a pint or two of wine or beer. Whether one loses or gains, out of honour one never allows the women to pay, and there come others in addition at the same time to whom the occasion demands you should drink their healths. This often empties the purses of young people.

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CHAPTER XXII[1]

Concerning an affair which was raised unseasonably for the Author in the Council at BATAVIA

THERE are two Councils in BATAVIA, the Council of the fort, at which the General presides, where the affairs of the Company are discussed; and the Council that sits in the Town Hall, and deals with the police and the minor disputes which arise among the citizens. M. FAURE, one of the members of this Town Council, was among the number of those who came to visit me on my arrival, and during the space of nine or ten days he, together with one of his friends, was with me four times. Both spoke frequently of M. CONSTANT, who had been commander at GOMBROON, and was for many years the second person of the factory at SURAT, where he had amassed much wealth. He had often trusted me with a part of it, and we had always been good friends. One day, as I was about leaving SURAT in order to go to the diamond mine, he asked me to purchase (diamonds) on his account to the extent of 16,000[2] rupees worth, giving me a letter of credit for

[1] This chapter is omitted in the English Translation by John Phillips, but an abstract of its contents is included in chapter xxi.

[2] £1800. (See Index for further accounts of this traffic carried on by Tavernier on behalf of the Dutch officials.)

At a later period we find English officials engaging in the same trade.

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that sum at GOLCONDA, where it was paid to me, and I invested it as he desired. I expected on my return to find him at SURAT; but during my journey he had received orders to start for BATAVIA at once, and as soon as he got there he married the widow of General VANDIME and went with her to HOLLAND. I was much surprised on my return to SURAT to find that he had left without giving orders to any of his friends, whether Dutch or English, to receive what I had for him, and send it to him by one of the vessels which go to ENGLAND. Having remained at SURAT about two months, and wishing to travel, in order not to risk what M. CONSTANT had entrusted to me I placed the whole in the hands of SIR FRANCIS BRETON, who was the second person in the factory of the English Company at SURAT, who, at M. CONSTANT'S request, afterwards forwarded it to him in HOLLAND. I had previously asked the Dutch Commander, named ARNEBAR, to be good enough to take charge of this parcel, he being a friend of M. CONSTANT; but he excused himself altogether, telling me that if the General or Council at BATAVIA came to know that he had such a thing in his hands they would treat him as a receiver who had not declared, in other words, he would be deposed from his office and all his property confiscated.

One day, then, while I was at BATAVIA, M. FAURE, whom I have just mentioned, came to see me with

(See Colonel Yule's recently published account of the Pitt diamond in *Hedge's Diary, Hakluyt Society.*) Another Pitt, who was Governor of Madras from 1698 to 1709, namely, George Morton Pitt, appears to have been somewhat notable, also, for his private trade in diamonds. (See *Kistna Manual*, p. 106 *n.*, and Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, p. 505.)

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three others, bringing a large bottle of Rheims wine and another of English beer. For my part I had contributed a collation, and as we began to drink they asked me if I had not heard the news of M. CONSTANT which had come by land while I was at SURAT; to which I replied that I had not received any, neither by sea nor land, since he had left BATAVIA. They expressed surprise at this reply, and told me that they were much astonished, that having been such great friends, and having done such considerable trade together which lasted still, he had not made me acquainted with his news. I saw from the first that they were come with no other design than to seek to discover whether I had with me the parcel of diamonds which I had bought at the mine for M. CONSTANT, or whether I had left it with some Dutchman to send to him. I thought it advisable to remove this doubt from their minds, and that unless I did so they would be unable to drink the wine they had brought, with comfort. Without keeping them longer in suspense, therefore, I told them that I was astonished that they had not spoken to me of this matter on the first occasion when they had done me the honour to visit me, and I perceived clearly that they wished to know if the last time I had been at the diamond mine M. CONSTANT had not given me a commission to buy for him; that they need not have brought wine for that purpose to make me drink, because I was altogether different from the majority of men, who speak much and say more than they know when they have drunk, but, as for me, it is then I talk least; nevertheless, since I desired to satisfy them, so that they might not have any regret for their good wine, I would tell them

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the truth frankly. It is true, then, I told them, that M. CONSTANT not only gave me a commission to buy him a parcel of diamonds, but he has also given me money to pay for them, and I purchased them for 16,000 rupees. I had no sooner finished speaking than M. FAURE, turning to the three others, "Gentlemen," said he, "you will bear me witness that M. TAVERNIER has 16,000 rupees worth of diamonds for M. CONSTANT, which he left me an order to receive when he parted for HOLLAND." I replied to him without disturbing myself, that if he wished for them he would have to run after them, but that I did not believe he would overtake them; that it was more than six months since I had dispatched them by land, and that I was much surprised at his having taken this commission, and wondered how M. CONSTANT and he could have known that I would go to BATAVIA. I saw that it annoyed him to find that he had not got what he expected, and as they did not wish to drink any more they all four departed.

On the following day, early in the morning, an officer of the Company handed me a summons, which cited me to appear at 11 o'clock before the council of the town, where the *Avocat Fiscal* was present to take the case in hands on behalf of the Company. I did not fail to be present at the Town Hall at the hour indicated, when, immediately, these gentlemen made me enter, and with great compliments asked me if it was true that M. CONSTANT had asked me to make an investment in diamonds to the amount of 16,000 rupees, and also where they were. I said that as regards the purchase of the diamonds I had indeed made it, but that I knew not where they were, because

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more than six months had elapsed since I had forwarded them to him from SURAT by land. Upon that these gentlemen of the law delivered sentence, by which it was affirmed that it was not for M. FAURE to mix in the matter, but it was for the *Avocat Fiscal* to follow it up; that at that time M. CONSTANT was in the Company's service, and that, without having defrauded, he could not out of his wages have amassed so large a sum. At this mention of his having defrauded the Company I was unable to prevent myself from laughing; this astonished them, and the President of the Council asked me why I laughed. I told him that it was at seeing that he was astonished at the fact that M. CONSTANT had defrauded the Company of 16,000 rupees, and that if he had only carried off so much, it would have been a small matter, adding that there was scarcely a servant of the Company who had held the offices which M. CONSTANT had held, and had enjoyed the opportunity of trading, as he had, without fear of the *Fiscal*, who had not at least made 100,000 *écus*.[1] There were two or three in the Council, then present, who were uneasy at hearing me talk in this way, as these remarks particularly affected them. For to say the truth, the commanders and those subordinate to them in authority in the factories know well how to appropriate large sums for their own benefit, to the great detriment of the Company; and as they cannot do so without having an understanding with the broker, he does the same on his own account, those below him also taking what they can. I made an estimate once of all the money of which the Company is defrauded on the trade in each

[1] £22,500.

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factory, and I ascertained that as they annually defraud it in all the factories taken together to the extent of 1,500,000 or 1,600,000 *livres*,[1] they have abundant opportunity for consoling themselves. For to speak but of PERSIA alone, I have known commanders who, both by the sale of spices and on the purchase of silks, have placed apart for themselves in one year more than 100,000 *piastres*.[2] They practice marvellous artifices which it is difficult for the Company, especially the directors and shareholders of the Company, who are in HOLLAND, to discover. For, as regards the commanders in INDIA, the fact must become very patent before the General of BATAVIA and his council have recourse to law, and most frequently the commanders close the mouth of the *Avocat Fiscal*, to whom they make a present which amounts to more than the third part which would come to him if all were confiscated, another third belongs to the Company, and the other to the Hospital. Thus all passes in silence, for there is not one of these commanders who has not his patron at BATAVIA, to whom he sends valuable presents yearly, joined to which there is not one of these gentlemen of the council who has not done the same himself. Moreover, if any one who is cognisant of an injury done by a commander to the Company reports it to the General, he is certain never to be appointed to any factory, and sooner or later an opportunity is found for removing him from the office which he holds, and he is sent as a soldier to some island to end his life miserably.

As for the trade which these commanders do on their own account, there is no one who knows better

[1] £112,500 to £120,000. [2] £22,500.

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about it than the poor sailors, who being sometimes very badly treated by the commanders themselves, or the officers of the vessels, when they go on shore report to the chief of the factory that such an one has so many bales of goods on his private account. Most frequently the chief of the factory, who knows his part, sends to advise the person to whom the goods belong to have them removed, and to arrange to have them carried on shore by night. In order to give him time to discharge all, the informer is so well supplied with drink that he is drunk for one or two days, and when all has been removed the commander goes to the vessel to make an examination, well assured that he will find nothing. Then the poor sailor or soldier, for the falsehood which they force him to believe he has told, is severely punished, his wages are confiscated, and in most cases he is sent for three or four years to work on the galley which goes to load up with stones. There are, then, some of these commanders who have defrauded the Company, and have returned to HOLLAND with great booty, having 400,000 or 500,000 *livres*[1] worth of diamonds, pearls, ambergris, and other goods which occupy but small space. For if all is not well concealed, and if the Company is able to discover it, it is lost for them, and their wages are confiscated. But they have wonderful ways for escaping, even when they have bulky goods, as calicoes and other things which occupy much space, for all cannot go to the places where diamonds are to be purchased, and moreover they more frequently experience loss than gain by carrying them, while on coarse goods there is always much profit to be made.

[1] £30,000 to £37,500.

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As the captain and other officers of the vessel strive to do private trade as well as the commanders, knowing that it will be difficult to take their goods out of the vessels without being discovered, they sometimes discharge them on the coast of NORWAY, making believe that it is bad weather which has driven them thither. Moreover, when the Dutch are at war with the English, they send vessels of war to meet those coming from INDIA, and into these vessels those who wish to defraud the Company tranship their bales of goods, before arriving in HOLLAND. They also have recourse, for the same purpose, to the fleet of herring fishers when they meet them. In short, there is no kind of artifice of which they do not make use. But when the Company entertains a suspicion that any one has exceeded, it orders the commanders to undress and put on other clothes, and more than once diamonds have been found in those which were taken off. In conclusion, it has been remarked that the majority of those who have defrauded the Company and have returned to HOLLAND with great wealth have not left their heirs any the richer; all this wealth being, as it were, evaporated in a few years. This proves that wealth ill-acquired does not profit.

Returning to the affair which had been stirred up against me at BATAVIA. On the sentence which the members of the Council had given, that the *Avocat Fiscal* should take the cause in hand on the Company's behalf, three days afterwards he sent me many pages of paper containing written charges, so that I might reply to each. The first demanded that I should declare to what extent M. CONSTANT and I had traded together since we had known one another. The others

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were only nonsense, and among others that which ordered me to reply to them at all, I, who was in no wise responsible to the Company, and had only come to BATAVIA to render it a service, and consequently need trouble myself very little about the *Fiscal's* order. There was a special query which stated that the General and his council wished to know what M. CONSTANT had done at BANDAR ABBÁS, where he had been sent as commander; that they were aware of the fact that we were together day and night, and that consequently I must be well acquainted with his affairs. They were right in this, but I was not bound to render an account to them. This lasted fully four or five weeks, during which an officer came to summon me several times to accompany him to the Town Hall to give a reply. That which I gave was always the same, that I knew nothing of M. CONSTANT'S affairs, and that when he did anything he did not call me in to give him advice. As they saw they could get nothing from me by sweetness, they commenced to threaten me, saying they would arrest me. I replied boldly that I did not fear them, and that if they arrested me I had the honour to serve a Prince who was the late Monseigneur LE DUC D'ORLEANS, who would get me in safety out of their hands, and would himself resent the affront they had done me. At the same time I departed from their presence without saying another word, and they also said nothing to me. Fifteen days passed without their speaking of this affair, and during this time I went to take exercise and even to dine with some of these gentlemen. One day the *Avocat Fiscal*, who had read much and liked to hear about foreign countries, asked me to supper; when we had left the table he

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took me apart and told me that he had to summon me on the following day, having received an order from the General, who wished to know, absolutely, what I had seen M. CONSTANT do at GOMBROON. "If it is to say what I have seen," I replied, "I shall do so willingly, but I desire to be in the presence of the judges." Morning having come, the officer did not fail to summon me. I followed him forthwith, and having entered the chamber, the President asked me at first if I would tell them something of what I had seen of M. CONSTANT. I said, "I would satisfy him, and that I desired to give the account at full length," with which the President and the Council told me they were quite content. As they had ordered silence for me, and I saw they awaited what I had to say to them with impatience, I spoke to them in the following manner:—

"The day on which M. CONSTANT disembarked at GOMBROON the *Khán* or Governor of the town and country made much of him, and kept him to supper, together with those who had accompanied him. The repast was magnificent, and the dishes were much better prepared than usual; I have been at many feasts of *Kháns* or Governors of Provinces in PERSIA, where they know of nothing but ragouts, not even understanding how to roast a fowl properly. But at this repast all was well arranged, and it had the appearance as if a *Frank* cook had a hand in it. All the *baladines* of GOMBROON were present, to dance in their own manner according to custom, and the repast was accomplished with much gaiety. On the following day M. CONSTANT had at dinner several *Franks*, and at the close of the repast the *Khán* sent one of his

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officers to present his compliments to Commander CONSTANT, and to tell him that he would come to supper with him; this he received very well, in consequence of his appreciation of the honour which the *Khán* wished to do him. Compliments being finished, the Commander took a large glass and drank to the health of the *Khán*, and all those who were at table did likewise. As soon as the officer had left, the Commander asked some of those who were dining with him, in what manner a governor should be treated when he did the honour to a commander of coming to see him at home; there was one who told him that the first care he should have would be that as soon as night had come he should light numbers of lamps, both out and inside the house. In that country these consist of little saucers full of oil attached to the walls of the house, and at a distance of about one foot from each other. But the Commander desiring to do more honour than that to the *Khán* and to the Company, instead of these lamps ordered white wax candles to be placed throughout, and both within and without the house there was light everywhere. The *Khán* declared himself to be highly pleased with this liberal expenditure, which was done to specially honour him; and all the merchants, both Christians and Muhammadans, were also surprised at it. It is true," said I to these members of the Council, "that you know that this wax does not cost so much to the Company as it does to private persons, because all the Dutch vessels which come from MOCHA carry much of it, as it is very cheap there.

"The *baladines* were present in large numbers at this repast, in order to amuse the company with their

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dances and their graceful attitudes, for there was money to be earned, as they know that the commanders pay them well, and that it is not with them as with the *Khán*, who generally considers he has paid liberally when he gives them supper.

"On the following day those who were in charge of these *baladines* (for each troupe had an old woman as guardian and directress, whom the *baladines* call their mother) came to pay their respects to M. CONSTANT, who showed himself so liberal toward them that there was not one who asked for anything from the guests—this is very contrary to their usual custom. Some of those who had slept there, and had passed all the night in making these women dance, were much surprised, on leaving in the morning, at not being compelled to put their hands in their purses, and took occasion to extol the generosity of the Commander who had so liberally paid for all. Throughout the night the signals which were on the terrace of the lodge were fired, and at each health a dozen were fired to warn the vessels to make a salute.

"Two hours before sunrise the *Khán* rose from the place where he had seated himself on arrival, which was where they had drunk and eaten, and his officers bore him away, observing that the wine began to heat him. As soon as he had left, a part of the company returned to eat and drink and the others to see the *baladines* dance, and the debauch lasted till ten o'clock in the morning. Each one, when leaving, remarked to another, 'It must be admitted that this new Commander is honourable, and does all things with a good grace.'

"When M. CONSTANT," I continued to these

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gentlemen of the Council, "arrived at GOMBROON, and had to go to the dwelling of the *Khán*, the finest horses in the Company's stable were brought to him. That which was for the Commander had rich brocaded trappings, but as the bridle was only of silver he appeared to be surprised at it, and asked why there was not a golden bridle on his horse, considering that he was not inferior to the other commanders who had preceded him at GOMBROON. They told him that, by order of the Company, the Commander VANDERLIN had sent the two golden bridles which were at GOMBROON to BATAVIA, the gold of one of which weighed 600, and of the other 450 *ducats*, and that it had been ordered that, for the future, no commander should use one of gold on his horse, but must content himself with one of silver. As I saw that this annoyed M. CONSTANT, I told him privately that it would be easy for him to have a golden bridle on his horse without the Company being able to reproach him. That he had only to send to the *Khán* the present which he had to make him on behalf of the Company on a little more liberal scale than had the other commanders, his predecessors, and he should see that he would soon have a golden bridle. M. CONSTANT believed me, and made a very handsome present to the *Khán*.

"These presents consist generally of all kinds of spices, porcelain, Japanese cabinets, Dutch cloths, and other things of that kind. But the best part of the present was a ring of diamonds for which he had paid me 1500 *écus*;[1] and 1000 *ducats* of gold with which the King caused a golden bridle to be made, which he sent as a present to the Commander; it weighed but

[1] £337 : 10s.

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643 *ducats* of gold, the balance having remained in the *Khán's* purse. It is the custom in PERSIA, when a stranger makes a present to a great person, that he gives another in return, but certainly when one makes one to a King he does not ever receive in return nearly the value of that which he has given. The *Khán* was altogether amazed with so magnificent a present, and although, according to custom, he should have sent his, on the following day, which is usually a valuable horse, and sometimes two, he waited for five or six days, because it required that time to make the bridle. As soon as it was finished the *Khán* sent two fine horses to the Commander, one with the bridle of gold, and the other with a bridle of silver, the saddles being of the Turkish pattern with brocade of gold and silver. Out of politeness it was necessary that the Commander when mounting his horse had the golden bridle put on, and thus the Company was not able to say anything."

This was the account which I gave to the Council of BATAVIA of what I had seen at GOMBROON in reference to M. CONSTANT, and it should be remarked, before going further, that all the presents which the kings and great nobles make to the commanders and the other principal officers of the Company ought to be handed over, when they go to BATAVIA, to the charge of the General of the Council as property belonging to the Company, but they are sometimes allowed to retain them.

After having spoken in this way to these gentlemen of the Council of BATAVIA, and having told them ingenuously what M. CONSTANT had done during the first days after his arrival at GOMBROON, they wished

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to know what had happened subsequently, and told me that they had already been sufficiently informed of what I had just told them, but wished that I should let them know what trade M. CONSTANT had done. It was then I began to speak to them in a different way, and told them I was not dependent on them and was not their spy. That if they wished to know so much they should have ascertained it when he was at BATAVIA, or they might write to him in HOLLAND, and would be able by that means to satisfy themselves. The President, who saw that I mocked them, rose from his place to talk with some of the councillors, and then told me that they would give me four days to reflect on my reply to the Council, both in reference to the trade which I had done with M. CONSTANT, and that which I knew of his having done with other persons. Upon this I retired, without replying, and went to dine with one of the councillors without speaking further of the matter.

The four days having expired, I waited for them to send for me, but they delayed eight days longer, after which they sent an officer, who told me that the President would expect me at the Council at 11 o'clock. Having entered the chamber, the *Avocat Fiscal* delivered a long discourse, referring to my refusal to reply to the questions which had been given me in writing, and as for himself he required that I should be placed in *gesselin*, *i.e.* under arrest, until I had replied. I replied to that "that I was not the least astonished at what he said, and that I believed the gentlemen of the Council would think more than once before they carried it into execution; that if he wished me to reply to what he asked, it was necessary

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to convey it to me in a language which I understood, and not in Dutch." He replied to this "that he had often heard me speak Dutch," to which I responded "that in truth I did know something of the language, but did not know enough to enable me to read and understand chicanery." As I perceived that he was offended by the use of the word chicanery, I said to him again in a firmer tone than before, "that I was not in receipt of wages from the Company, and that I had not been appointed to observe the conduct and actions of M. CONSTANT." The Council at length ordered the *Fiscal* to give me his questions in French; this he did, and fixed the period for replying at eight days. I laughed at all these questions, being well assured that I was able to put an end to the proceedings whenever I pleased. I deferred replying for another eight days beyond the eight which they had given me; but seeing that the Council began to be annoyed, I thought that it was time to put an end to the affair.

As soon as the *Fiscal* had given me his questions in French, I communicated them to M. POTRE, the ablest counsel in BATAVIA, who told me that, not being employed by the Company, I was not obliged to reply to any of these articles, nevertheless, being desirous of putting an end to the affair, I went to the President's house shortly after sunrise, and he came to receive me in his sleeping garment, "preferring," he said, "to come to me in that condition rather than make me wait while he dressed." The reply which I made to this compliment was "that since he wished me absolutely to tell him all that I knew of M. CONSTANT, I would conceal nothing that had come to my knowledge, even

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were it to the disadvantage of the General himself and many members of the Council, and of you yourself who urge me to speak," I added, after he had made his guard withdraw, and he and I remained alone. I told him, then, that "when leaving SURAT to go to the diamond mine, M. CONSTANT entrusted me with 44,000[1] rupees, asking me to expend it on diamonds, and especially on large stones, that my services would be well rewarded, and that as this sum belonged to the General he would be glad to have an opportunity of obliging him. Moreover, that the General himself had purchased from M. CONSTANT, when he visited BATAVIA, all the parcels I had sold him while he was the second in authority at the factory of SURAT. They were all stones which I had had cut, their value being more than 40,000 *écus*.[2] As for the pearls which the said M. CONSTANT had bought for the General during the time he was at HORMUZ, I did not exactly know the value, but I so far knew that they included two pear-shaped pearls which cost 170 *tomans*.[3] That I had also received somewhat considerable sums to invest for M. CARLES RENAL, M. CAM, and some others, and that he himself could not have forgotten that when M. CONSTANT left BATAVIA to go to be Commander in PERSIA, he entrusted to him 36,000 rupees,[4] asking him to give it to some of his friends to invest it in a parcel of diamonds. That the said M. CONSTANT expected to find me at SURAT in order to place this sum in my hands, but as I had left for HORMUZ some days previously on an English vessel, he thought to

[1] £4950. [2] £9000.
[3] £586 : 10s., the *toman* being equal to £3 : 9s.
[4] £4050.

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find me there, where he would place the sum in my hands, supposing that during the same season I should return to INDIA, and to the diamond mine. And in order to make you see," I further said to the President, "how M. CONSTANT was devoted to your interest, he purchased with the greater part of your money goods of SIRONJ and BURHÁNPUR, and as soon as he arrived at GOMBROON he was offered 30 per cent profit on them. It is true, I added, that to calculate it at the rate which the other merchants have to pay it would only amount to 5 per cent, but he made all pass as if on the account of the Company, which neither pays the freight of the vessel nor the customs at GOMBROON, these two items amounting, in the case of the merchants, to 25 per cent. That when the vessel which had carried him, returned to BATAVIA, although the goods were not sold, he did not omit to write to you that he had refused 30 per cent profit in the hope of receiving more. That, however, three vessels arrived at GOMBROON laden with the same kinds of goods, so that he had difficulty in getting for them what they had cost in INDIA; this compelled him to give those which he had bought for you at the current price. That, nevertheless, M. CONSTANT had been so generous that he never asked anything from you, but that he had told me in private that he had lost more than 15 per cent by the transaction."

Having given all this detail to the President, he appeared to be very much alarmed, and besought me to make no noise about it, in which he did wisely, for I could have named others, all the addresses of the chiefs of the Company having come to my knowledge, and the principal part of the large sums which they

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had invested in diamonds having passed through my hands. Observing then that the President did not wish to hear more, I took leave of him and went to tell my counsel all that had passed. His dwelling being near that of the President, I observed that the latter went to the fort, apparently to see the General. Between 11 o'clock and noon I was about to go the Town Hall to know what the *Avocat Fiscal* would say to me, because I knew that the President had gone there when leaving the fort, and that they had conversed together. But I met him half way, and approaching me with a laughing face he asked me where I was going. I replied that I was going to the Town Hall to reply to some of his questions. "I beg you," he replied quickly, "let us leave that affair to go and have dinner together. I was presented yesterday with two cases, one of French wine and the other of Rhine wine, we shall see which is the best. All I ask from you is a word written with your own hand, that you have nothing belonging to M. CONSTANT." This I gave very willingly, and in this way the whole process came to an end.

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CHAPTER XXIII

The Author goes to see the King of BANTAM,[1] *and describes several adventures in connection therewith*

HAVING freed myself of an affair which had been raised so inconveniently for me, I forthwith formed a resolution to visit the King of BANTAM, having often heard that he was very fond of men of our nation; this it is easy for me to acknowledge on account of the good treatment which I received from him. As soon as one passes beyond the Kingdoms which yield obedience to the GREAT MOGUL, the language which is called Malay is, among Orientals, what the Latin language is in EUROPE.[2] On the voyage which I made to INDIA in the year 1638 I took with me one of my brothers[3] who was my junior, and who had a special talent for foreign languages. He required but five or six months in order to learn one, and he spoke eight

[1] In the native language, Bantan. It forms the western end of Java and has an area of 2568 geographical square miles. It is a mountainous country of volcanic formation. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately proved the superior in this region. It is now a Dutch Province, having been taken possession of in 1643. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*.)

[2] This is still the case, Malay being the *lingua franca* in these regions.

[3] This was his brother Daniel (see Introduction, pp. xii and xvi).

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of them perfectly well. Moreover he was well made in person and was considered brave, of which he gave many proofs. Having one day fought a duel at BATAVIA with an infantry captain, over whom he obtained considerable advantage, General VANDIME, who liked men of spirit, and the principals of the council, who had much esteem for him, permitted the matter to pass in silence, and as a mark of the affection with which they regarded him they gave him permission to equip a vessel on his own private account and to trade in such goods as he pleased, with the exception of spices. Accordingly my brother bought a vessel of fourteen guns, with which he made many voyages. The first was to SIAM, where he made a sufficiently large profit, but he lost 5000 or 6000 *écus* of it to the King, who invited him to gamble with him and five of the principal nobles of his court, being much pleased at meeting a European who spoke the Malay language so well. It cannot be doubted that the profits are great in this kind of trade, since those who advance the money to traders, on loan, obtain for it cent per cent. But it is also true that they risk much, because if the vessel is lost the money is lost to them also, and this is called "the great speculation." He also made some voyages to the King of MACASSAR, but they did not yield so much profit as those to the Kingdoms of SIAM, TONQUIN, and COCHINCHINA.

Having, then, resolved to go to BANTAM, and not knowing the Malayan language, I took with me my brother, who was then at BATAVIA. It was necessary for me to have the permission of the General, according to custom, and he refused because he was not on good terms with the King of BANTAM. But two hours

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afterwards M. CARON, who was at that time Director-General, sent to me to say that I might leave on my voyage for BANTAM in all safety, as soon as I wished. Accordingly I set out with my brother in a small barque which we hired to carry us to BANTAM, where, on arrival, our first visit was to the English President, who gave us a grand reception, and desired that we should not take other quarters but stay with him. He had still about fifty pots of MANTUA wine with which he desired to regale us. This wine is not exported in glass bottles, in which it goes bad, but in earthen pots, in which it always keeps good.

On the following morning my brother went to the King's palace, where he was well known and welcome, in order to ascertain when his majesty would be able to receive us. But as soon as the King knew that he was there, he would not allow him to return to fetch me, but ordered a messenger to be sent to seek me, and tell me that if I had any rare jewels I should please him by bringing them.

When the King's people came to conduct me to the palace, not seeing my brother with them, I was on the point of refusing to follow them, and I recalled before my eyes the manner in which the King of ACHIN had treated M. RENAUD, who had left NANTES with his brother on the vessels which M. DE MONTMORENCY sent to INDIA. I shall record the history of it in a few words, and this short digression will possibly not be displeasing to the reader. A French Company of Commerce was established for INDIA, whither it sent four vessels, three large and one small one of eight guns, upon which among others the two brothers RENAUD, who entered the service of the Com-

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pany, embarked. Their journey was the shortest and the most fortunate of any ever heard of, as they arrived before BANTAM in less than four months. The King received them with great joy, and in eight or ten days' time he gave them as much pepper as they asked for, and at a very fair price, they having received it at more than 20 per cent cheaper than the Dutch do. But as our Frenchmen had not come for pepper only, but wished also to obtain information as to the trade in cloves, nutmegs, and mace, they sent the smaller vessel with the greater part of their money to MACASSAR, where the King's stores are generally full, as I have elsewhere said, the Dutch, with all their skill, not being able to prevent the people of this island trading with the other islands where the spices grow,[1] this annoys them much, since they desire to compel [the trade of] all other nations to pass through their hands.

Our Frenchmen having obtained their cargo of pepper so quickly at BANTAM, had not patience to await the return of the small vessel which they had sent to MACASSAR, and, in order to amuse themselves, decided to go to BATAVIA, that town not being more than 14 leagues distant from BANTAM. When the wind is favourable one can go there in a single tide, and they reached the roads at 8 o'clock in the morning. As soon as they had cast anchor the General of the French fleet sent to pay his compliments to the General of BATAVIA, who did not fail to reply to this civility by asking the General to come on shore that he might entertain him. He sent at the same time to those who remained in the vessel a quantity of refreshments, and especially Spanish and Rhine wine, with

[1] See p. 16.

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instructions to those who carried it to make them drink well in order to intoxicate them. This order was so well followed that it was easy for the Dutch afterwards to set fire to the vessels according to the orders which they had received, and as, from the saloon of the fort where the General of BATAVIA receives strangers, all the roads are visible, one of the Indian Councillors who was at the table, seeing the flame, cried out saying that he believed the French vessels were on fire. The General of BATAVIA appeared to be much astonished, and the French General, who rightly concluded how it had come about, looking unmoved at the company: "But that," said he, "need not prevent us from continuing to drink—those who have lighted the fire shall pay for it." But he did not remember then that time was worth money, and the Dutch did not pay for a quarter of the damage. The French vessels were all burnt and the crews were saved on the *frigates* which were despatched for them in haste. The General of BATAVIA made the men liberal offers, which they refused, and they returned to BANTAM to await their small vessel. When it arrived they could find no better plan than to sell their goods and the vessel itself to the English, and the money was divided among all according to the rank of each. The English offered them a passage to EUROPE, but the General and some of the principal officers alone accepted it. The greater part of the French remained in INDIA and took service with the Portuguese, with whom there was some advantage to be gained at that time.

The Dutch did not ill-treat the French, alone, after this fashion, as they did a still more serious injury to the English. The English were the first to realise that

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the voyage to JAPAN from SURAT, MASULIPATAM, and other places, was too dangerous to attempt in one stretch, without having some place in which to rest when the winds were contrary. They found it desirable to build a fort in the island of FORMOSA; and this has spared the loss of many vessels, in addition to the great profit which it brought them. The Dutch being jealous that the English should have seized so good a position as that, being the sole place in all the island where vessels could lie in safety, and as they were unable to take it by force, decided on treachery to accomplish their design. They sent two of their vessels, upon which they put their best soldiers, who feigned to have been very badly injured by a storm, making their vessels appear dismasted and broken in many directions, and all the soldiers pretending sickness. The English, touched by this misery, which was only a sham, invited the chief officers to come on shore in order to refresh themselves; this invitation they immediately accepted, ordering as many of their people as possible to leave the vessel, under pretext that they were ill, and could be treated better on shore than on board. While the principal officers were at table with the English, who had civilly invited them to dinner, and where, to accomplish their object, they took with them more persons than politeness permitted, and, in order to make more come on shore they ordered them to bring from the vessels, from time to time, many kinds of wine, and those who brought them had the word to remain there, of which the English, who were not on their defence, took no notice. The Dutch, seeing that they had drunk well, and that it was time to execute their design, started a quarrel with the English chief; and drawing their arms

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which they had concealed, threw themselves upon the English garrison, whom they murdered without meeting with much resistance. It was thus they made themselves masters of the fort, which they possessed till they were driven from it by the Chinese. I could tell of many other treacheries by the Dutch,[1] but it is time to return to that which followed the burning of the French vessels in the BATAVIA roads.

The two brothers RENAUD, of whom I have above spoken, having received at BANTAM a small amount of money from the distribution which was made of the proceeds of the sale of the small vessel, and the goods which it had brought from MACASSAR, found means to go to GOA, and knew so well how to gain the good opinion of the Portuguese, that they were permitted to trade in all places where the Portuguese were in authority. In five or six years they had each earned to the value of 10,000 *écus*.[2] The elder one dealt in cottons and other coarse goods, and the younger in precious stones. The Portuguese had been accustomed to send three or four vessels to ACHIN every year to obtain pepper, elephants,[3] and gold, and they took there all kinds of white and coloured calicoes, especially blue and black. They also sent jewels to the King, because he loved and highly valued them. The two brothers RENAUD decided to go there, each for his own particular trade, the elder one carrying cottons, and the younger

[1] Tavernier subsequently resolved to do so, and in his third volume we have his accumulated charges against the Dutch, under the title, *Conduite des Hollandois en Asie.*

[2] £2250.

[3] This statement as to the importation of Sumatran elephants is of interest, but requires confirmation. See p. 317 for suggested origin of elephants in Sumatra.

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jewels, amongst which he had four rings of the value of about 18,000 *écus*. Having arrived at ACHIN, they went with the other Portuguese to the King's palace, which is at 2 leagues from the sea, and each of them showed the King and the nobles who were with him whatever he had brought. As for the jewels, as soon as the King had cast his eyes on the four rings he desired to have them, but refused to pay more than 15,000 *écus* for them, but the younger RENAUD asked 18,000 *écus*. Not having been able to agree, he took them away, which much displeased the King, who sent for him on the following day. RENAUD, who had returned to the vessel, was a long time in doubt whether he should go to the King again or not; but the officers of the vessel advising him to go, he at length resolved to do so, and the King took the four rings for the 18,000 *écus*, which he paid him forthwith. But after RENAUD left the presence of the King no one ever knew what became of him; apparently he was secretly murdered in the palace.

This adventure came to my memory when I saw that the King of BANTAM sent to ask for me, and that my brother was not with those who came to summon me. Nevertheless, I resolved to go, and took with me 12,000 or 13,000 rupees worth of jewels, the largest part consisting of rings with diamonds arranged in roses, some of seven stones, others of nine, and others of eleven, with some bracelets of diamonds and rubies. I found the King with three of his captains and my brother seated in the Oriental fashion, and they had before them five large plates of rice of different colours. For their drink they had Spanish wine and brandy, with many kinds of sherbets. After I had saluted the

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King, and had presented him with a diamond ring, and another of blue sapphires, and a small bracelet of diamonds, rubies, and blue sapphires, he invited me to be seated, and told the attendants to give me a cup of brandy to excite my appetite. This cup held about half a *septier* of PARIS,[1] but I refused the officer who presented it to me; this astonished the King. My brother then asked him to excuse me, saying that I never drank brandy; but that as for Spanish wine I could drink a little of it, upon which the King ordered me to be given some.

Whether because the repast had already lasted a long time, or that the King was impatient to see what I had brought, he did not delay about finishing, and seated himself in a kind of armchair, the woodwork of which was gilt with gold and moulded like the frames of our pictures. His feet and legs were uncovered, and underneath him there was a small Persian carpet of gold and silk. His garment was a piece of calico, a part of which covered the body from the waist to the knees, the remainder being on his back and about his neck like a scarf. He wore as a head-band a kind of handkerchief, having three ends; and his hair, which was very long, was twisted and bound together on the top of his head. In place of slippers he had placed by the side of his chair sandles with leather straps to go over the feet, like those attached to a spur, which were embroidered with gold and small pearls. Two of his officers stood behind him with large fans, the handles of which were 5 or 6 feet long, and at the ends there were bundles of peacocks' plumes, which equalled in

[1] Equal to one-fourth of an English pint. It is apparently the one-seventh of a *litre*, whence the name.

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size the bottom of one of our barrels. On his right side there was an old black woman, who held in her hands a small mortar and a pestle of gold, in which she crushed the *betel* leaves, with which she mixed *areca*[1] nuts and dissolved seed pearls. When she saw that the whole was well pounded she placed her hand on the King's back, who at once opened his mouth, and she put the *betel* in with her fingers as women do who give pap to their infants,[2] because the King had no teeth; for he had eaten so much of these *betel* leaves, and smoked so much tobacco, that his teeth had fallen out.

The palace of the King of BANTAM has not had need of a very skilful architect. It is a square building surrounded by small lacquered pillars of different colours, 2 feet in height, against which one leans when seated. There are at the four corners four large pillars planted in the earth at 40 feet distance from each other, and the floor is covered by a mat woven of the bark of a kind of tree, as if it were a piece of cloth, and neither fleas nor bugs will approach it. The roof is of cocoanut fronds. Close by under another roof, sustained also by four large pillars, there were sixteen elephants, the most courageous of those which the King keeps (for he has a large number of them), which are destined for war and do not fear fireworks. For his guard he has about 2000 men, who were seated in squads under the shade of some trees. They are good soldiers both on sea and

[1] *Araque* in the original.

[2] I recently saw the famous hairy woman of Mandalay being supplied with *betel* by her Burmese attendant in much the same way; being blind, the packet had to be prepared for her and placed in her mouth.

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land, strict Muhammadans who do not fear death. His harem, where his women dwell, must be a small affair, for when he had seen what I had brought he summoned two old black women, to whom he gave some of the jewels in order that they should go to show them. These two old women entered by a miserable door, and it had for enclosure only a kind of palisade, with earth mixed with cow dung between the posts. I observed that nothing was brought back of what he sent by these women, this made me conclude that I should stick to the price. Thus I sold him profitably what he took from me, and I was paid at once. After having drunk a cup of sherbet (while my brother drank spirits with the King) we took leave of him, and he made us promise that, on the following day towards evening, we should return to see him, because he wished to show me a dagger which he was having made after the Turkish fashion, but he had not got sufficient diamonds to cover the handle, and he desired that I should procure enough to finish it. We withdrew then with our money to the dwelling of the English, who were much astonished that the King had disbursed 20,000 rupees, saying that they believed it was the greatest part of his treasure.[1]

On the following day my brother and I went to see the King again at the hour which he had fixed for us, and we found him seated in the same place where he had been on the preceding day. A *Mulla* read and interpreted to him something from the *Koran*, which was in Arabic. The reading being finished, the

[1] As the value of the jewels is stated on page 352 to have been only 12,000 to 13,000 rupees, the transaction was a profitable one for Tavernier.

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King and the *Mulla* rose to pray, which having been concluded, the King sent for the dagger, the handle and sheath of which were of gold. The upper part of the handle was already covered with diamonds, and in the *plaque* which was at the end there was a large one cut into facettes, which, as far as I could judge, was worth at the least 15,000 or 16,000 *écus*.[1] The King told me that he had received it as a present from the Queen of BORNEO, and that he had sent it to be cut at GOA, but he valued it much higher than what I considered it to be worth. All the handle and likewise all the sheath were covered with *bezels*[2] applied without order, this proved to me that he did not understand design. The King had no other stones, neither diamonds nor rubies, nor anything to place in these *bezels*, and he wished to induce me to obtain for him some that would fit. I made him understand that that would be impossible, and that he ought not to limit himself to these *bezels*. That when he had acquired the quantity of stones which were required to cover the dagger, other *bezels* of the shapes of the stones should be made, and that in EUROPE when we begin a work of this kind we first arrange all the available stones on wax; this I exemplified to him at the same time, but that was beyond his understanding, and he told me that he did not care to destroy a design which he had himself taken the trouble to arrange, and to have made for his own use. In spite of any reasons which I could give for the purpose of escaping from a commission which I was not able to execute, the King wished positively that I should take the dagger with

[1] £3375 to £3600.

[2] *Bezels* (*chatons* in the original), mountings for individual stones.

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me to BATAVIA. I represented to him then that as I was a stranger he risked much, and that I might go off with the dagger without again returning, but he said to me smiling that he feared nothing on that account, and that he well knew that Frenchmen were incapable of so disgraceful an action. At length, being unable to excuse myself further, I took charge of the dagger, and having taken leave of the King, my brother and I went to bid farewell to the English President, and to thank him for the civilities which we had received from him.

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CHAPTER XXIV

The Author returns to BATAVIA, *and some days afterwards goes again to visit the King of* BANTAM, *giving an account, in connection therewith, of the dangerous extravagances of some Fakirs, or pilgrims, on their return from* MECCA

MY brother and I, after having supped this evening with the English President, went on board a barque between 11 o'clock and midnight, for the land-wind that we required generally blows at night, and on the following day between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning we arrived at BATAVIA. I remained there twenty days, merely to make the King of BANTAM believe that I had not misrepresented the matter, and that during that time I had been looking for what it was impossible to find. As I had nothing to do then, these twenty days appeared very long to me; for at BATAVIA there is scarcely any other amusement but gambling, and all the gain goes in drink; this did not suit me. During the day, on account of the great heat, one cannot even think of taking exercise, this can only be done towards the cool of the evening, and it is moreover necessary to make it very short, because as soon as the sun sets they close the gates, unless the General or Madame or some of the Councillors of INDIA are outside the town

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in their gardens. During these twenty days M. CANT, one of the Councillors of INDIA, died, and was buried with great honour. A company of infantry attended and bore a large standard, upon which were the arms of the defunct, although when he first came to INDIA he held the most degraded office in the vessel. A stick, at the end of which there were attached spurs, was borne behind, though, to say the truth, I do not believe he had ever mounted a horse save to go for exercise outside the town. One of the captains carried his sword, another his helmet, and his body was borne by eight military officers. The son-in-law of the defunct followed with the General, after whom walked the gentlemen of the Council; a number of people followed from the fort and town. The four corners of the pall with which the bier was covered were carried by four captains, and all these honours were rendered to him in consideration of the good services which the Company had received from him—as the General and members of the Council proclaimed; but the people used a very different language, and complained bitterly of the great injustice which he had done, both to sailors and soldiers.

Having passed these twenty days at BATAVIA, I resolved to carry back the dagger to the King of BANTAM, without having looked for the diamonds or other stones, for if I had remained years I should not have found any suitable for these *bezels*. My brother accompanied me again, and I took with me some jewels which the King had not yet seen. Having arrived at BANTAM we intended to go first to visit the English President, but, before we had done so, there came to us one of the King's officers, who told us that

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he had been instructed that we should be lodged in one of the houses which the King has in the town. These houses are made of bamboos, which are, as I have elsewhere said, hollow canes, and which, though they are as hard as iron, nevertheless split like our osiers, and it is of them that the Indians make nearly everything. We had not spent more than half an hour in this house when the King sent us some *pateches*,[1] which are very sweet water-melons, and are red as scarlet inside. There were also *mangoes*, of which I have elsewhere spoken, and another large fruit called *pompone*,[2] which is also red inside, and the flesh is soft resembling a sponge, and is very good. He who brought these fruits told us that as soon as we had taken our repast we were to go to see the King; this we did, and we found him again in the same place with the old *betel* pounder, who from time to time made him open his mouth and then gave him some with her fingers in the way I have described. There were five or six captains seated round the room, who were looking at some fireworks which the Chinese had brought, such as grenades, fusees, and other things of that kind to run on the water; for the Chinese surpass all the nations of the world in this respect. As soon as I saw the King in a condition to speak to me, I presented to him his dagger in the same condition as he had given it to me, and told him that BATAVIA was not a place where one could obtain precious stones, and when I did find some

[1] More properly *pateca*, a water-melon, *Citrullus vulgaris* (Schrader). The name is from the Arabic *al-battikh*. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, art. "Pateca.")

[2] More properly *pommelo*, *Citrus decumana* (L.), the same as the shaddock of the West Indies. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, art. "Pommelo.")

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they wanted double their value for them. That this commission could not be fulfilled except by some one who went to GOA, and that I could have accomplished it when at GOA, or at GOLCONDA, or, better still, at the diamond mine, where one meets with parcels of stones of all shapes and sizes, which one might cut with but little loss to suit the *bezels*. Upon this the old woman took the dagger and conveyed it into the harem, the King never having spoken to me of it since. I showed him subsequently what jewels I had brought, and I sold a parcel of them as advantageously as on the first journey. As the sun was setting, which is the time when the Muhammadans go to say their prayers, the King told us to return on the following day, and said that he would arrange for our payment being made. On arriving at our lodging we found one of the servants of the English President, who came to invite us to go to have supper with him, and taste some new liquors which had arrived from ENGLAND on the Company's account. For during the twenty days which we had been at BATAVIA two vessels had arrived, which had brought French and Spanish wine, and especially a large quantity of beer. We remained till midnight with the President, who manifested much joy at seeing us again.

On the following day at 10 o'clock A.M., when going to the palace, together with my brother and a Dutch surgeon, who was prescribing for one of the King's wives, we passed along a road where one has the river on one side and on the other a large garden enclosed by a palisade, and there were intervals between each pair of posts. Behind the palisade there was concealed a rascal of a Bantamese who had

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returned from MECCA and was running *a muck*,[1] which means in their language, that when some one of the lower class of Muhammadans, who has returned from MECCA, takes it into his head to seize his *crease*[2] in hand, which is a kind of dagger with generally half of the blade poisoned, he runs through the streets and kills all whom he meets who are not of the Muhammadan faith, until he is himself killed. These enraged persons think they do a service to God and to Muhammad by killing the enemies of his law, and that in consequence they will be saved. As soon as they are killed the Muhammadan mob inter them as though they were saints, and every one contributes to give them splendid tombs. Often some great mendicant who dresses himself as a *Dervish* makes a hut close to the tomb, which he is careful to keep tidy and on which he places flowers. According as donations are given he adds some ornament, because the more beautiful the grave is, so much the more worship and sanctity does it acquire, and by so much the more do the donations increase. I remember that in the year 1642 there arrived at SUWALI,[3] which is the port of SURAT, a vessel of the GREAT MOGUL which returned from

[1] *À Moqua* in the original. The French edition of 1713 has it 'jüoit, a *Mocca*.' This is what is more commonly known as running *a muck*. See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "A Muck," for etymology and examples of the use of the term.

[2] *Cric* in the original. The term crease or cris, signifying a dagger, is adopted in the Malay from the Javanese *Kris* or *Kiris*. I have seen an ingenious explanation for the waved form of these blades, it is that it is a survival of the outlines of the knives and spears made of obsidian by flaking, and indeed the resemblance is somewhat striking. (See Romilly, *West Pacific and New Guinea*. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, for examples of the use of the term.

[3] Souali in the original (see vol. i, p. 6).

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MECCA, where there were a number of these *Fakirs* or *Dervishes*. For every year the GREAT MOGUL sends two large vessels there to carry pilgrims, who thus get a free passage. At the time when these vessels are ready to depart the *Fakirs* come from all parts of INDIA in order to embark. The vessels are laden with good articles of trade, which are disposed of at MECCA, and all the profit which is made is given in charity to the poor pilgrims. The principal only is retained, and it serves for another year, and this principal is, at the least, 600,000 rupees.[1] It is considered a small matter when 30 or 40 per cent only is made on these goods, for some yield cent per cent. Added to which all the principal persons of the GREAT MOGUL'S harem, and other private persons, send considerable donations to MECCA. I have mentioned at the end of my account of the seraglio of the GRAND SEIGNEUR the rich and magnificent present which the GREAT MOGUL sent to MECCA in the year 1644, over and above the ordinary presents which he makes annually.

There was one of these *Fakirs* who returned from MECCA in the year 1642, and having landed at SUWALI he forthwith showed signs of diabolical fury. He had no sooner said his prayers than he took his dagger and ran to attack some Dutch sailors, who were on shore discharging goods from four vessels which were in the port. Before they saw him and were able to put themselves on their defence, this maddened *Fakir* wounded seventeen, of whom thirteen died. The *khanjar*[2] which he had was a kind of dagger, the

[1] £67,500.

[2] Canjare in the original (see vol. i, pp. 100 and 308). It is not necessary to reproduce the figure here.

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upper part of the blade of which was three fingers wide, and as it is a very dangerous weapon I give the figure of it here. At length the Dutch soldier who was on guard at the entrance to the tent where the Commander and the merchants were, gave this madman a shot from a gun through the body, of which he fell dead. Forthwith all the other *Fakirs* who were in the place, and even the other Muhammadans, carried off the body and interred it, and at the end of fifteen days a handsome tomb had been built (over it). It is broken each year by the English and Dutch sailors when their vessels are in port, because they are then strong; but as soon as they have departed the Muhammadans have it rebuilt and place about it many standards. Some also say their prayers at it.

Returning to the *Fakir* of BANTAM. This rascal was concealed, as I have said, behind the palisades, and as my brother and I and the Dutch surgeon went along, all three, side by side, having come opposite to him, he thrust out his spear, thinking to transfix one of the three in the body. By God's grace he was too quick, and the point passed in front of all three of us. The Dutchman being on my left on the river side, and slightly in advance of my brother and me, the point of the spear cut his high hose and immediately he and I caught hold of the handle, the *Fakir* pulling with all his might to recover his spear. My brother, who was on my right on the palisade side, being young and strong, leaped over it, gave him three sword cuts in the body of which he died on the spot. Immediately a number of Chinese and other idolaters who were close by came to kiss my brother's hands and to

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thank him for having slain this enraged *Fakir*. From thence we went to see the King, who had already heard of what my brother had done, and testified his approval by making him a present of a waistband. For the Kings and Governors, although they are Muhammadans, are very well contented at some one's slaying these wicked men, knowing well that they are desperadoes of whom it is well to be rid.

The King paid me for what he had purchased on the preceding day; but he was unwilling that my brother should return with me, because of a great rejoicing which he was going to make, and at which he wished him to be present. It was on account of four large vessels which he had had built and intended to launch. Never had any King of BANTAM built such large ones, and for five or six days there was to be nothing but feasts, dances, and fireworks. Thus I took leave of the King, who presented me with a beautiful embroidered waistband, and we went to take supper and sleep at the Dutch surgeon's house.

On the following day I went to bid farewell to the English President, who kept me for dinner. While waiting for it to be served, he showed me two strings of diamonds which had come to him from ENGLAND, and two services of silver, the whole being worth, perhaps, 25,000 *écus*. He wanted to sell me all, but I only bought one of the strings of diamonds for 2600 *reales*, for the stones on the other string were too foul; and as for the vessels of silver, if money had still been coined at BATAVIA I would have certainly been able to buy them. They coined there formerly, but all contained more than ten per cent of alloy. This was done on account of the Chinese, who preferring silver to gold, as I have

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elsewhere remarked,[1] because having no silver mines in their own country,[2] they used to carry into CHINA as much as they could of the silver money which was coined at BATAVIA. These were *reales*, half *reales*, and quarter *reales*, which have no other mark than that of the Company, as is to be seen in the figure which I give here.[3] On one side was a vessel, and on the other a V, an O, and a C, interlaced, these three letters signifying in Dutch *Vor Ost Indien Compagnie*, *i.e.* for the Company of the East Indies.

This lasted for some years; but in the end all the nations of the East, who had trade with the Dutch, commenced to weary of it, especially the people whose sovereigns did not coin silver money; for in fact there are very few who coin after one passes beyond the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and it is still bar silver only which comes from JAPAN. As for gold, there are many Kings who coin it, as the King of PEGU, the King of ACHIN, and the King of MACASSAR; and besides their golden money, they have also copper and tin money. The Chinese—who are careful in all things—in selling their goods calculate according to the standard of the silver; for all that they receive in foreign countries, when they have arrived in their own, they reduce to their own standard, and make it into ingots.

The principal part of the profit derived from these *reales* which are coined at BATAVIA, went into the purses of the General, the Councillors, and the Master of the Mint. The "States-General" having had notice of it, considered it very singular that the gentlemen of

[1] See p. 155.

[2] It is probable that there are silver mines in China.

[3] This figure is not reproduced here.

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the Company had assumed authority to coin money without having asked permission, and forbade the Company to continue to do so. They condemned them likewise to a large fine, and to make a careful search for all these *reales*, in order to give an equal number of good ones to those who had received the bad ones. On this voyage which I made to BATAVIA, when in the island of CEYLON, I sold some jewels to a lady of POINT DE GALLE, who paid me with these *reales*. When about to depart, an officer of the Company came on board to ask if I had not received some of these *reales*, and added that if I had he would give me good ones, piece for piece, without my losing anything; this he did forthwith.

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CHAPTER XXV

Concerning the Dutch war with the Emperor of JAVA[1]

BEFORE leaving the English President, with whom I dined on the day I left BANTAM, he discussed with me the reasons why the General of BATAVIA and his Council had refused me a passage to enable me to return to SURAT or the coast of BENGAL, where they often send vessels. The President, to compensate me for this refusal, kindly offered me a passage to ENGLAND; for the season was then past for returning to INDIA. Being attracted by his offer, I accepted without ceremony; and he told me he would be much gratified at having my company, because he himself intended to go home, the period of his service having expired. But the vessels, whether English or Dutch, could not leave for EUROPE for more than three months; and I thought I should do best to pass that time at BATAVIA, where I should be able to buy something to make my money yield a profit during the voyage. Accordingly, I took leave of the President till the time when the vessels should sail; and he presented me with a large cask of English beer to take with me to BATAVIA, where he said I should find scarcely any, because the General had made it contraband, knowing that it had come to

[1] *Iave* in the original.

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the English Company. "But if he only does us this injury," continued the President, "the Company will not trouble itself, and will not be the poorer because its beer remains unsold." It is not really the case that if this prohibition of the Dutch General and his Council had continued it would not have been injurious to the English, for they make a considerable profit on beer, and it yields them a large sum of money annually. I have above said that it is the principal delight of the people of BATAVIA to see new drinks arrive, especially English beer, and that which they call *mom*, which comes from BRUNSWICK. It is thought that they contribute to health; and the majority fear that they will not survive for the remainder of the year if they do not receive these supplies. Accordingly all the people murmured loudly against the General and his Council; and even the publicans risked going to buy the beer from the English, the General closing his eyes, and the wives of the Councillors being very glad to drink it.

As soon as I had landed at BATAVIA one of the guards ran to the entry office to give notice that I had arrived with a cask of beer; which, however, I landed from the barque and placed near the guard. The chief of the office having come to me, said that he could not give permission for the cask to be carried to my lodging; that I must be aware of the order of Council; and that it would be best to reship it on the barque, and send it back to BANTAM. Seeing that there was no favour to be hoped for, and as there are close to the guard-house cannons, in position, for the defence of the port, and an abundance of cannon balls, I took one of these balls and with it stove in one end of the cask. That being done, I cried out to the soldiers

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and passers-by :—"*Children, come to empty this cask, and drink the health of the King of France, my sovereign lord, and that of the Prince of Orange*," after which I mentioned the General and the members of the Council. As no one refused to drink, the cask was already half emptied when an officer on the part of the General came to tell me that I might carry my cask of beer to my lodging. Immediately I replaced the end (of the cask) and had it carried away, after which I filled a canteen of six bottles, which I sent as a present to the General, knowing well that it would be the first he had to drink that year, and with the rest I regaled my friends.

I had designed, as I have said, to spend at BATAVIA the three months which remained till the departure of the vessels for Christendom, but the life which is led in that place being one of idleness is tiresome, and not having any other amusement than gambling and drinking, I resolved to employ a part of the time in going to see the King of JAPARA,[1] who is otherwise called the Emperor of JAVA. He it is who was formerly King of all the island, before the King of BANTAM, who was only governor of a province, rebelled against him, the Dutch being maintained in this country by the division of these two powers. For whenever the King of JAPARA wished to besiege BATAVIA, the King of BANTAM immediately aided the Dutch, and when they have been attacked by the King of BANTAM, which has happened many times, the King of

[1] *Japar* in the original. Japara is the name of a province of Java, comprehending Juwana, situated in the country of the proper Javanese. Its area is 672 square miles, and the population amounts to 671 per square mile, it being the most thickly inhabited region of Java. (See Crawfurd, *Dictionary*.)

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JAPARA has come to their aid. In the same way, when these two Kings make war upon one another, the Dutch assist whichever of them is the weakest.

The King of JAPARA resides in a town of which he bears the name. It is about 30 leagues distance from BATAVIA, and is only accessible by sea from the coast, but lies nearly 8 leagues inland. From the town you pass down a fine river to the sea, where there is a good port and finer houses than there are in the town. The King would prefer to make his ordinary residence at this place, but thinks he would not be safe there.

On the eve of the day upon which I had intended to start, I went to take leave of one of the Councillors of INDIA, and having mentioned to him that I was going to the King of JAPARA, he was much astonished, because this King and the Dutch were then mortal enemies. He explained the matter to me in this way. The deceased King, he said, father of the King who reigns at present, ever since the Dutch Company had built the fort at BATAVIA in his territories, has never been willing to make peace with it. That during the war the King had taken some Dutchmen prisoners, and the Dutch, on their side, had taken twenty times as many of his subjects, offering to give in exchange ten of his for one of theirs; but he would not give up one, either on that condition, or for money, and on his death-bed he advised his son, who succeeded him, never to give liberty to one of them. This obstinacy troubled the General and all the people of BATAVIA very much, and obliged them to think of some means to bring him to reason. It is the custom that as soon as a Muhammadan King is dead, his successor sends some of the principal nobles of his court to MECCA with presents in

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order to make the priests pray for the soul of the deceased, and also to give thanks to God and to MUHAMMAD because the new King has come to the throne without any obstruction, and to pray that he may always be victorious over his enemies. This new King and his Council were in much difficulty as to how they should make this voyage for two reasons, one because the King had only small vessels, and to undertake so long a journey on such vessels was risking much, joined to which the native pilots and sailors are only fit for going along the coasts, sighting from point to point, because they do not understand how to take observations. The other difficulty was that the King of JAPARA could not ignore the fact that the Dutch were always (cruising) about his harbours to capture his subjects if they went outside them. In order, then, to secure that those who went on the pilgrimage should be in safety, he bethought him that it would be best to come to an understanding with the English, believing that the Dutch would not dare to do anything to the pilgrims if they were in English vessels. With this object, an envoy was despatched to BANTAM to the English President and his Council, who promised to give the King one of the largest and best appointed vessels of all those which the Company sent to INDIA. They stipulated as a recompense that on the trade which the English might do in the future in the Kingdom of the King of JAPARA, they should not have to pay more than half the custom dues which they had hitherto paid, and that this privilege should continue to them always. This treaty being made, the English equipped a very fine vessel and placed a larger crew on her and more guns than usual. The King of

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JAPARA'S Envoy and two English merchants embarked on the vessel in order to ratify the treaty with the King, who at once signed it, being very well satisfied, on seeing so fine a vessel, and concluded that both in going and coming the voyage would be accomplished in all safety. Nine of the principal persons of his court, and the majority of his relatives, with eighty or a hundred servants, and some other private persons, who were delighted to find so good an opportunity of accomplishing their pilgrimage, embarked with much joy on this large vessel. All this was not done without the Dutch being aware of it, as they had their spies everywhere, like the English. As it was necessary to pass in front of BANTAM in order to get out of the Straits, there being no other route but that, the General of BATAVIA, who had notice of the time of departure, kept three large war-vessels ready, on which M. CHEVRES, a Councillor of INDIA, and the Major were placed in command. They met the English vessel off BANTAM, and as it was about to enter the Straits sent a cannon-shot as a signal to her to bring to; this the English were unwilling to do, on seeing which the Dutch commenced to fire their guns from all three vessels. The English, who well knew that if this continued they would be sent to the bottom, lowered sails and prepared to yield; but all the Javanese nobles, and those who accompanied them, cried out to the English that they were traitors, and that the agreement which had been made was merely to sell them and deliver them over to the mercy of the Dutch. The Javanese at length seeing that no hope of safety was left to them, and that the Dutch commenced to board the vessel, seized their *creases*, or poisoned daggers, and began to run

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a muck[1] against the English, of whom they killed a large number before the latter had time to place themselves on the defence. It is possible that not one would have escaped if the Dutch had not speedily come on board, and some of the Javanese nobles, and twenty or thirty of their servants, and the passengers refused to accept quarter. The combat was bloody, and seven or eight Dutchmen succumbed. The English vessel having been taken to BATAVIA, the General treated the crew with much civility, and sent them back with their vessel, and afterwards gave notice to the King of JAPARA that if he consented to make an exchange of the Dutch prisoners, he would give him all kinds of satisfaction. But the King would not listen to it, and replied that if the General had taken three times as many of his subjects he would not give up the Dutch prisoners whom he had in his power. Thus the poor Dutch always remained as slaves, and the Javanese died of poverty at BATAVIA, although, through policy, they were assisted sometimes stealthily, so that the King of JAPARA coming to know of it, through his spies, it might cause him to treat the Dutch prisoners less harshly.

The Javanese are very good soldiers. While BATAVIA was besieged by the King of BANTAM in the year 1659, a Dutch soldier being in ambuscade in a marsh, a Javanese advanced to see what the enemy were doing, not thinking any of them were so close. The Dutchman thrust a pike into his body, and the Javanese feeling himself wounded, instead of with-

[1] *A Mocca* in the original. The French edition of 1713 has it "to cry *Mocca*." (See p. 362, *n.*)

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drawing the pike, pushed it into his body up to the hilt, where the Dutchman held it, in order to be able to get near him, and give him two stabs with his dagger in the stomach, of which the Dutchman died.

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Author renders the last duties to his brother, who died at BATAVIA, *and has fresh difficulties with the General and his Council*

FINDING myself without hope of being able to go to visit the King of JAPARA, I resolved to embark in a small vessel which belonged to one of the citizens of BATAVIA, and traded along the whole length of the western coast of SUMATRA. It is where the principal part of the trade of this island, which consists of very poor gold and pepper, is carried on. What induced me to go was the opportunity it afforded of disposing of some diamond rings made according to the custom of the country. For although these people have for sole garment only two or three ells of calico, they, nevertheless, always like to have some diamond rings or earrings, and they pay well for them. When at the port, about to embark, a small barque arrived from BANTAM with my brother, who was very ill with a bloody flux, which arose from the debauches he had indulged in with the King of BANTAM. The sight of him in this condition caused me to give up my voyage in order to do what I could for his cure, but all my cares and all the remedies which could be applied availed nothing, and at the end of thirty days God

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took him from this world. In order to bury him I was obliged to follow the somewhat strange customs, which the Dutch have invented to cause an expenditure of money by the heirs of a defunct[1] person. The first is to those who go to pray at the interment, for the more prayers one employs the more honourable is the interment. If one engages only one he pays him but 2 *écus*, but if he takes two he must pay 4 *écus* to each; if he takes three, each ought to receive 6; and if he employs twelve, the payment goes on increasing in the same ratio. As I wished that the thing should be done in an honourable manner, and was ignorant of this pleasant custom, I engaged six of these persons, and when it came to paying them I was astonished to find that each one asked for 12 *écus*, and that I had to pay 72 for this single item. As for the pall which is placed on the bier, it has to be hired at the hospital, and it is a right which the poor enjoy who derive profit therefrom. The commonest is of cloth, and the three others of velvet, one without fringe, another with fringe, and a third with fringe and large tassels at the four corners. This causes an expenditure of from 5 to 30 *écus*, and I paid 20 for the one which was placed on my brother's bier. A cask of Spanish wine, which was drunk at the interment, cost me 200 *piastres*.[2] I gave 26 for three hams and some ox tongues, and 22 for some pastry. It is also the custom to send on the following day some money to enable those who have carried the body to

[1] The foregoing lines of this chapter are in the English translation by John Phillips, compressed into the following quaintly expressed sentence:—"While I stay'd at Batavia my brother dy'd; and it was pretty to consider what the Dutch made me pay for his funeral."

[2] £45.

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the ground to rejoice, and as there were eight of them I paid them 20 *écus*. It cost 16 for the place in the cemetery where the body was interred—100 *écus* being asked for interment in the church. Thus the whole funeral cost me 1223 *livres*[1] of French money, and after I had paid this sum it made me resolve, for my own part, not to die in a country where it cost so much to be interred. I praised God that notwithstanding the troubles which I had experienced in BATAVIA, and of which I have only as yet told 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, nor 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 suffered from sorrow on account of any misfortune which has happened to me. I have sometimes made great profits, and I have sometimes also experienced severe losses; but when in unpleasant circumstances I have never been more than half an hour in deciding what course I should adopt in the future, 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 to us, whether it be good or evil.

Seeing that the two voyages which I had proposed to myself to make, one to JAPARA and the other to the coast of SUMATRA, in order to dispose of some jewels which remained in my hands, had been prevented, I at length resolved to sell the jewels at BATAVIA with

[1] £91 : 14 : 6.

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the least possible loss, and then seek to invest the money in something which would yield me a profit in HOLLAND. My jewels having been sold, three or four of my friends told me that as I had ready money I could not invest it better than by buying *rekenings* from the Company's servants. These *rekenings*[1] are their accounts of the balance the Company owes them, which are paid when they return to HOLLAND. But as there are many of them who, after their term of service is completed, remain at BATAVIA and become citizens there, or in other places where the Company has settlements, as MALACCA, the island of CEYLON, the coast of COROMANDEL, and other places, each has his account closed with what balance the Company owes him. In order to obtain this money, since they are habituated there, and do not think of ever returning to EUROPE, they sell these statements of account to those who have money and are returning home, and the Company pays them in HOLLAND. Those who buy these accounts get them as cheaply as they can—thus, for 100 *piastres* they generally give but 60 or 70, or at the most 80, being allowed by the notary to sign a declaration that the seller is content, and had received his payment. Whenever these poor people sold their statements of account thus, to reasonable persons, it was a convenience to them; but most frequently they sold them to hotel keepers and publicans, from whom they did not obtain more than 40 or 50 per cent at the most. When the latter had thus purchased up to 2000 or 3000 *écus*, they placed the "statements" in the hands of a notary to resell them

[1] *Requenings* (for rekenings) in the original, meaning statements of account or pay certificates.

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to the commanders who were returning to HOLLAND, and who generally gave for them 85 or 90 per cent, contenting themselves with being thus able to conceal what they have taken from the Company, while they have been chiefs of the factories.

The Company freely borrows all the money of those who are willing to lend it, and gives them 25 per cent interest, but the commanders and other officers take care not to lend it the full amount which they have amassed, because they may be asked by what means they have gained so much money, and be obliged to render an account; for some of them, as I have said, on their return to HOLLAND take with them from 400,000 up to 500,000 *livres*.[1] I dealt then with one of these notaries of BATAVIA who had about the value of 11,000 *guilders*[2] of these "statements" at 82 per cent, and on the following day, the transfer having been completed, I paid for them. As I was taking these papers to my lodging I met the *Avocat Fiscal*, who asked me what papers they were which my servant carried. I told him they were "statements" which I had just purchased at a certain price, to which he replied that it was a little too dear, and that he knew of some amounting to 6000 *guilders*, at a cheaper rate; these I obtained with his assistance at 79 per cent. I sought to buy more, but more were not to be found, for a ship's captain who was returning had bought

[1] £30,000 to £37,500. (See p. 417).

[2] *Guldes* in the original. The *florin* or *guilder* of Batavia is given by Kelly as being of the intrinsic value of 1s. 7.77d., and the Dutch coin of the same denomination at 1s. 8.49d. The currency value was about 1s. 8d. and 1s. 9d. respectively in round numbers. Perhaps the true exchange value of the latter was about 1s. 9½d. At 1s. 9d. the 11,000 *guilders* represented a sum of £9625.

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for himself alone some to the amount of upwards of 100,000 *guilders*; many other persons had also done so, and the whole amounted in value to more than 400,000 *livres*.

Five or six days afterwards, while I was still seeking for something in which to invest the remainder of my money, I met the *Avocat Fiscal*, who asked me if I had bought many of those *rekenings*. I told him that I had not found any more, and that I had only the two parcels of which he knew, amounting to about 17,500 *guilders*; upon which he told me with a great compliment that he was much distressed for those who had bought them, because the General and his Council had ordered him to make them give back all these *rekenings*, as it had been decided that it was not just that a poor man should lose so much of his wages. I told him that I would willingly give them back into the hands of the parties from whom I had purchased them, provided that I was repaid my money at the same time, and that I would get them over from BANTAM, where I had sent them with my baggage, where I intended to return in a few days in order to go to ENGLAND with the English President, who had civilly offered me a passage. At 6 P.M. one of the General's halberdiers came to tell me that the General wished to speak to me. I immediately went to him and he asked me forthwith wherefore I had not given these *rekenings* to the *Avocat Fiscal* when he had asked for them in the names of himself and his Council. I replied to him coldly that I was unable to give him that which I had not got, and that they were in BANTAM. "*You intend then*," he said, "*to go to* EUROPE?" "*Yes*," I replied, "*and the President of*

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the English has done me the honour to give me a passage and the use of his table." I added that it was very true that the long journey which I was about to make in order to reach SURAT, and from thence the diamond mine, where my usual trade was, would cause me much loss, and that if he had so willed it he might have enabled me to save all this time and avoid the dangers inseparable from these long journeys, by allowing me to embark, as I had asked, on one of the vessels which sailed for BENGAL, SURAT, or HORMUZ; that it would have caused no injury to the Company, and that I believed such courtesy was a thing which the General and his Council should not have refused me, since I had only come to BATAVIA in their service. When I had finished speaking all the members of the Council looked at one another, and the General having whispered to M. CARON, told me that as I was resolved to go by sea, their vessels were as good as those of the English, and that I should enjoy equally good treatment, and he offered me a passage by one of them. This offer, which I did not expect, amazed me a little, and I did not at first know whether I ought to accept it or not. But at length I accepted, fearing that by refusing it they might detain me for another year without my having power to leave in any direction, a friend having told me in confidence that the design of the General and his Council was to so manage it, that, whether from BATAVIA or from EUROPE, I should not return to INDIA any more, and that by this means they hoped to prevent the commanders or chiefs of the factories, which they have both in INDIA and PERSIA, from making further use of me to invest for them in diamonds the money of which the Company was de-

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frauded.[1] It was this which led me to accept the passage, for which I thanked the General and his Council. Subsequently the General told me to select the particular vessel I preferred to go by, and that when I informed him he would order a cabin to be prepared for my own special convenience, but if I would take his advice I should go on the Vice-Admiral,[2] because of the good company which would be on board, and that I should find old friends whom I had known in PERSIA and in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL. I tendered him my thanks for having placed me in such good company; but after he had made this obliging offer he added that it was absolutely necessary that I should place all the *rekenings* which I had bought, in the hands of the *Avocat Fiscal*, and that without having done so I should not be permitted to leave BATAVIA. He received no further reply from me than that which I had already given, that the *rekenings* were at BANTAM, and that I should have them sent for, provided he returned my money, on which he told me that for what I had disbursed, when I was about to leave, he would give me an order from himself and the Council to be paid in HOLLAND by the Company. Some days passed without the matter being mentioned to me, save that once or twice I met the *Fiscal*, who asked me whether I had not yet obtained the *rekenings* from BANTAM. My last reply was that I had written about them to the English President, who had my box in his house, and that I had asked him to send them to me; but that he

[1] The object of the Dutch was in short to deport Tavernier, whom they regarded as a dangerous interloper.

[2] The second ship of the fleet.

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had replied that I must go for them in person, or at the least should send a man with an order in my own hand, and without that he could not send back my box. The truth was that it would have been difficult for him to send them, for the whole were with me, and I wished to see whether the time would not come when I should be asked no more about them. However, all those who had purchased these *rekenings*, merchants as well as captains and other persons who were returning this year, were put in prison, and the Council took from them, by force, all their papers, deposed them from their offices, and they were sent to HOLLAND as common soldiers.

Four or five days before the fleet left, the *Avocat Fiscal* came to tell me that he had the General's command to arrest me if I was still unwilling to place in his hands the *rekenings* which he had already so often asked me for. Having replied that I had nothing to give him, he said, "*be so good then as to follow me*," this I did willingly. He conducted me to a beautiful place on one of the bastions, called "sapphire," where there is a pleasant house devoted to the amusement of the officers, and where the majority of the respectable people of the town came to visit me, and sent me presents of the best wines. On the following day two Councillors came to see me, and told me that they knew not to what to attribute the objection which I had to place in their hands that which they asked for, especially as they, with good grace, offered me an order for payment on the Company in HOLLAND. I replied that it was not with a sufficiently good grace, and that when I saw the order I should make it my business to get back the *rekenings*. Two or three days more

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passed, during which the vessels commenced to set sail, this caused these gentlemen, both those of the Council of INDIA and those of the town, to come to see me, to the number of eight or ten. The Major, a very respectable man, was in their company, and he promised me that as soon as I had got the papers and handed them to the members of the Council to calculate the amount, he would so arrange it that the General would give me the order to be paid in HOLLAND on my arrival there. Seeing that the vessels were about to leave and that I could not do otherwise, I told them that they must allow me to go to BANTAM; this they were unwilling to agree to, preferring to send some one on my behalf to bring them. Having given my word, they told me that I might go out on *parole*, and that they were much distressed by what had happened. I replied that they had reason to be distressed, because that having the honour to belong to a great Prince, who was the late M. LE DUC D'ORLEANS, who did me the honour to love me, he would be able to resent fully the injustice which they had done me, and complain of it to the "States." At length, forced by their unjust pressure, and by the necessity of leaving with the fleet, of which I did not wish to lose the opportunity, I gave them my *rekenings*, and from day to day I went to see if they had counted them, so as to give me the order which they had promised. For the Vice-Admiral on which I was to embark remained more than fifteen days after the other vessels, because it was desired to send news by it, to HOLLAND, of what had been accomplished by a fleet which the General had sent to take possession of the PHILIPPINES by capturing them from the Spanish. The bad

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weather experienced by these vessels when going there was the reason that three or four were lost; and they were obliged to return without accomplishing anything.

It is the custom, when the vessels are about returning to HOLLAND, that the General entertains all the principal officers of the fleet with the Council and the most important personages of the town, and he did me the honour to send to invite me also. The repast commenced at 2 P.M., and at four tables there were fully sixty persons of both sexes. I was seated between the Major and the Secretary of the Grand Council; they were both men of worth, whose conversation was agreeable. We had been seven or eight hours at table, and they had already asked the General if it pleased him that the comedy should commence, which the youth of the town were to enact; whereupon I reminded the Major that he had promised me that as soon as I had delivered my papers to the Council they would give me an order to be paid on my arrival in HOLLAND. I told him that the Secretary, to whom I had spoken in the morning, had given me reason to hope that I should have it before dinner; but the same Secretary then said in my ear that I need not expect it, and having finished speaking he rose from the table in order to go to the comedy. I then asked our Vice-Admiral and three or four merchants who were returning to HOLLAND to bear in mind what I should say to the General and his reply to me, to serve me as witnesses before the Directors of the Company when we arrived in HOLLAND. In the *entre-acts* of the comedy every one took a glass and drank healths, and the General having a glass in his hand, and addressing our

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Vice-Admiral, "it is to your health," said he, "and that of M. TAVERNIER, whom may God vouchsafe to bless and protect on sea during this journey, as he has done in all the others which he has made by land." I replied that I thanked him, and that I sincerely hoped that God would bless our journey, but that I should not make it without displeasure and without resentment for their failure to keep their promise—neither he nor his Council having kept the promise which they had made me to give an order on my handing them my *rekenings*, which amounted to 17,500 *guilders*. That now, when they had the papers which they asked for, they mocked me; but that I assured them I would publish their proceedings throughout the world. The General replied to this that I should not trouble myself, and that I might be cheerful during the voyage, as the order which he had promised me would be in HOLLAND as soon as myself, and that I should have no cause to complain of them. Though but ill satisfied with the General, I took leave of him, and did not await the remainder of the comedy, being anxious, amongst other things, to prepare for my departure.

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CHAPTER XXVII

The Author embarks on a Dutch Vessel in order to return to EUROPE

ON the day following, at a very early hour, I took a small Chinese boat to go on board, where, having arrived, I found one of the General's bodyguards, who came to convey to me once more his good wishes for my voyage, and to tell me that Madame la Générale begged me to accept a cask of RHINE wine, and some pots of fruits preserved in vinegar, which she sent me. There were cucumbers, mangos, citrons, and eggs with their shells, which prevent them from becoming salt. I had taken no provisions with me, because some days before our departure the captain of the vessel told me that if I brought any they would not be received on board, he having been forbidden by the General. It is the custom that the General gives 200 *écus* to each captain of a vessel in order to furnish himself with all kinds of stores, and as I embarked by his advice on the Vice-Admiral, he caused double the sum to be given to the captain on my account, in order to have the honour to cause no expenditure to a stranger to whom he had offered a passage. Madame la Générale, when sending this present, bethought herself, possibly, of that which I had done some days previously for her

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daughter. Some friends seeing that I had easy access to the principal ladies of BATAVIA, begged me to intercede for a young man, a native of PARIS, who in consequence of dissipation had come out to INDIA as a soldier, and was in danger of the surgeons cutting off his leg, where he had an ulcer. To accomplish it I made a present to the General's daughter, in order that she might ask the Major and the *Avocat Fiscal* not to appear to see this young man when he was leaving.

We were still three days in the roads before setting sail. On the first day the principal merchant of the fort, who kept a record of all the goods which had been embarked, both for HOLLAND and other places, came to the vessel according to custom to examine the bill of lading, and have it read over by the captain of the vessel and the merchants who came with him, whom he made sign it. This bill of lading was placed in the same box where they shut up all the account books and records of all that had passed in the factories of INDIA, both concerning trade and as regards civil and criminal justice, and the covering over all the goods was then sealed.

On the second day the Major with the *Avocat Fiscal* and the chief surgeon also came, according to custom, to examine all those who were in the vessel returning to HOLLAND—the Major in order to see whether there were any soldiers who were going without leave, for every one must have his passport with him; the *Avocat Fiscal* to ascertain if any of the writers were concealed who wished to escape before their term was accomplished. The Chief Surgeon of the fort comes to see that all the sick persons who are being sent home have ailments which are incurable in the country,

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because some soldiers may obtain leave from the Major by means of friends, as he did, whom as I have said, I carried off; for the surgeon is obliged by oath not to allow any one to go unless he considers that he cannot be cured but by going to EUROPE. The Major is bound to give the roll of all the soldiers, both of those who are well and those who are ill, to the *Avocat Fiscal*, who makes them come on the vessel one after the other; and it is then that the sick ones are examined by the surgeon. It was perhaps not impossible that he whom I took might have been healed of his illness in the country; but by the favour of the *Fiscal* he was not called with the others, and escaped in that way.

On the third day the principal persons of the town and many ladies came to bid adieu to their friends who were leaving, and brought with them wine and food to entertain them, music accompanying the good cheer, and at 6 P.M. all of them returned home.

On the following day at daybreak we set sail, and were clear of the Straits sooner than we expected, because generally the wind is contrary, and besides we were leaving twenty-four days after all the others, the season for going to sea being nearly over. As soon as we had left the Straits we saw PRINCE'S ISLAND.[1] From thence our direction was to make for the Cocos ISLANDS,[2] and when in the latitude of these islands we

[1] Prince's Island is at the western end of the Straits of Sunda.

[2] There are several groups of islands called Cocos: first, there is one in the Bay of Bengal between the Andamans and the mainland; second, a group of four coral-girt islands, in Lat. 3° N., near Hog (or Sinalu) Island on the W. coast of Sumatra; and third, the Cocos or Keeling Islands, from 700 to 800 miles S.W. of Sumatra, in Lat. 12° 10′ S. and Long. 97° E. It was probably the last which Tavernier refers to. They produce cocoanuts in abundance, and have for many

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spent two or three days scouring the sea, expecting to sight them, but were unable to do so, this caused us to direct our course straight for the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

On the forty-fifth day after our departure from BATAVIA (for I do not wish to weary the reader with a journal of our voyage), our Vice-Admiral neglected to order the ship's lantern to be lighted, in the belief that the whole fleet had already arrived at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. It happened that a vessel of the same fleet called the "MAESTRICHT" also omitted to light its lantern on the same night, and as it was very dark and the sea was high, it came into collison with our vessel, this threw every one on either side into great consternation. Each one set himself to pray to God, believing that one or other of the vessels would be lost. Ours, which was called "LES PROVINCES," was considered to be the largest and the best of the vessels which sailed to INDIA, this was apparent from this collision, it having received so severe a shock. Every one realising the danger we were in, laboured to disengage the other vessel from ours, and good fortune willed that the yards of the "MAESTRICHT," which were entangled in our rigging, broke away, and in order to help matters we cut some of them with an axe. Thus, with great trouble, the "MAESTRICHT" was disengaged, and drifting all along the length of our vessel, when she was passing the prow she broke off the "beak-head."

years been in the possession of an English family, several of whose members reside there, and there are a few Malays there too. A recent account of this group will be found in *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, by A. D. Forbes.

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On the fifty-fifth day of our voyage we came in view of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, where we remained at sea five or six days, because the waves being very high we did not venture to enter the roads to cast anchor. This was not because there was much wind then, but because the south wind had blown so long that it had driven the sea on the coast. The sea having calmed down, we cast anchor, and this is what I have been able to observe there.

Of all the races of men I have seen in my travels I have found none so hideous nor so brutal as the *Comouks*,[1] whom I have mentioned in my account of PERSIA, and as the inhabitants of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, whom they call *Cafres* or *Hottentots*. When the latter speak they make the tongue click (*peter*) in the mouth, and although their voice is scarcely articulate they easily understand one another. They have for sole garments the skins of wild beasts which they kill in the forests, and when it becomes cold in the winter in this place, which is in 35° and some minutes of latitude, they turn the fur inside, and when it is warm they turn it outside. But it is only the more well-to-do among them who are thus clothed, the others having only some miserable scrap of cloth to cover their nakedness. Both men and women are of spare habit and small stature, and as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him

[1] *Comouks* in the original, and *Comouchs* in the *Persian Travels*, Book III, chap. xi, where Tavernier describes them as robbers living at the foot of the mountains of *Comanie* (*i.e.* the region between the Caucasus and the north-western shores of the Caspian Sea, bounded on the north by the Terek river). He distinguishes them from another people, the *Kalmouchs* (Kalmucks), who, he says, inhabit the coast of the Caspian between Moscovie and Great Tartary.

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sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat. They perform this partial castration because it makes them swifter in running, so they say. It is true that there are some of them who can capture roebucks by running them down. I have had the curiosity to examine many of these *Cafres*, and I found they had all been castrated on the right side. They have no knowledge of gold, silver, nor any kind of money, and have not, so to speak, any religion.

On our arrival in this place after we had cast anchor, four women came on board bringing with them four young ostriches, which were cooked for some of our sick men. Subsequently they brought us numerous turtles and ostrich eggs, and another kind of eggs as large as the eggs of a goose. The birds which lay these eggs are a kind of goose, and have so much fat that it is impossible to eat them, they taste rather of fish than of flesh.[1] These women, observing that our cook threw into a wooden bucket the entrails of two fowls and a goose which were for our supper, took them, and having squeezed them from one end to the other in order to express the contents, of which only half was ejected, they eat them in that condition, being much pleased

[1] These birds were in all probability penguins. (See vol. i, p. 216, *n.*, and p. 399.) They are mentioned by Castanheda as occurring at St. Blaze, 60 leagues to the east of the Cape of Good Hope:—"On the rock also there are great numbers of birds as large as ducks, which do not fly, having no feathers in their wings, and which bray like so many asses." *Note.*—Lichfield calls them *stares*, as large as ducks. Osorius says that the natives called them *solitario*, and that they were as big as geese. (See Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 309 and 393.) Sir T. Roe says, "They are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird. Confuting that definition of man to be *Animal bips implume*, which is nearer to a description of this creature." (*Journal*, Calcutta edition, p. 2.)

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also because our captain gave each of them two cups of spirits to drink. Neither men nor women have the slightest shame about exposing their nudity, and they live almost like beasts.

When they see vessels arriving they drive cattle to the shore and bring what they have to barter for tobacco, spirits, and beads of crystal and agate, which are cheap at SURAT, and for some hardware. When they are not content with what is offered them they immediately take to flight, and at the sound of a whistle from their mouths all their animals follow them, and you see no more of them. Some persons on one occasion, seeing them fly, fired musket-shots in order to slay the cattle, but since then, for some years, these *Cafres* have not brought their beasts, and there has been much trouble experienced in inducing them to return. It is a great convenience for the vessels which touch there to obtain supplies, and the Dutch have had good reason for building a fort there. There is now a fine village inhabited by people of all nationalities who live with the Dutch, and all kinds of grains which are brought thither, both from EUROPE and ASIA, on being sown, grow much better than in the places from whence they have been brought. It is a very good country which is, as I have said, at the 35th degree and some minutes of latitude, and it is neither the air nor the heat which makes these *Cafres* so black as they are. Desiring to know the explanation of it, and wherefore they smell so strongly, I inquired from a young girl who was taken as soon as her mother had brought her forth, and was nursed and reared in the fort, being as white as one of our European women. She told me that the reason that

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the *Cafres* are so black, is that they rub themselves with an ointment which they make of different simples known to them, and that if they do not rub themselves often, and as soon as they are born, they become dropsical like other blacks of AFRICA, and like the Abyssinians, and the inhabitants of SABA, who have one leg twice the size of the other;[1] few of these people ever living more than forty years. It is true that these *Cafres*, brutal as they are, have nevertheless a special knowledge of simples, and know how to apply them to the maladies for which they are specifics; this the Dutch have very often proved. Be it that the *Cafres* are bitten by a venomous animal, or that an ulcer or other disease appears, by means of these simples, which they know how to select, they accomplish the healing in a short time. Of nineteen sick men who were in our vessel, fifteen were placed in the hands of the *Cafres*, the maladies consisted of ulcers in the legs or arose from wounds received in war, and in less than fifteen days all were perfectly cured. Each sick man had two of these *Cafres* to attend upon him, and as soon as they saw what the condition of the wound or ulcer was, they sought for the drugs, and crushing them between two pebbles applied them to the sore. As for the four others they were not given into their hands, being so permeated with the ailments which accompany venereal disease that they could not be cured at BATAVIA. They all four died between the CAPE and the Island of SAINT HELENA.

In the year 1661 there returned from BATAVIA on a vessel named the "WEST FRISLAND," a young BRETON gentleman, who, after having squandered all

[1] The disease known as elephantiasis.

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his money in HOLLAND, entered the Company's service. Having arrived at BATAVIA a multitude of mosquitos bit him on one leg during the night, and an ulcer appeared on which all the surgeons of BATAVIA had expended their skill and remedies; and if the General had not given him permission to go home it would have been necessary to amputate his leg. When the ship arrived at the CAPE, the captain having sent the Breton on shore to give him some ease, these *Cafres* began to examine him, and said that if they were allowed to treat him they would cure him in a short time. The captain placed him in their hands, and in less than fifteen days his leg was rendered as sound as the other which had never had anything the matter with it.

As soon as a vessel has anchored at the CAPE, the commander gives some of the soldiers and sailors permission to go on shore to refresh themselves. Those who during the voyage have been most indisposed go first, each in his turn, and they go to the town, where they are fed for 7 or 8 *sols* a-day, and enjoy good cheer.

It is the custom of the Dutch to send parties from time to time to explore the country, and those who go furthest are best rewarded. A number of soldiers having gone in a party with a sergeant who commanded them, and having advanced far into the country, they made a large fire at midnight, both to protect themselves from lions and for warmth, and they lay round it to rest. Having gone to sleep, a lion seized one of the soldiers by the arm, and immediately the sergeant, firing a shot from his gun, slew the animal. When it was dead its jaws had to be forced open, with great

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effort, in order to release the soldier's arm, which was pierced from side to side. It is apparent from this story that it is an error to suppose that lions do not approach a fire.[1] These *Cafres* healed the soldier's arm in twelve days. You see in the fort an abundance of skins of lions and tigers.[2] Among others there is the skin of a horse which these *Cafres* killed. It is white barred with black stripes pricked out like a leopard, and without a tail.[3] At a distance of 2 or 3 leagues from the fort the Dutch found a dead lion which had four porcupine's quills in its body, which had penetrated the flesh three-fourths of their length. It was accordingly concluded that the porcupine had killed the lion. The skin is still kept with the spines sticking in the foot.[4]

At one league's distance from the fort there is a fine village which grows from day to day. When the vessels of the Dutch Company arrive, if any soldier or sailor wishes to remain there he is welcomed. He takes as much land as he can manage,[5] and, as I have above said, all kinds of vegetables and pulse, and even grapes grow readily, and rice also is cultivated. These people have young ostriches, beef, and sea and fresh

[1] I think some African travellers have been of opinion that a fire attracts lions, and that a substantial fence is requisite for the protection of a camp.

[2] By tigers here we must understand leopards, as tigers do not occur in Africa any more than lions do in the eastern and southern parts of India, where Tavernier has so often referred to their presence in previous pages.

[3] Zebra; it should have had a tail.

[4] Numerous cases are recorded of tigers having died in India from this cause, and also of occasionally having been found, when shot, to have porcupine quills sticking in them.

[5] Here we have an early reference to the establishment of the Dutch Boer colony at the Cape.

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water fish in abundance. In order to obtain the young ostriches when they wish, as soon as the birds are seven or eight days old they go to the nests, and driving a stake into the ground tie the young birds by one of their feet in the nest, so that they cannot escape, leaving them to be fed by their parents till they are of good size, afterwards they are taken to be sold or eaten.

When the Dutch began to inhabit the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, they took, as I have said, the daughter of one of these *Cafres* as soon as she was born. She is white and beautiful, save that she has a slightly depressed nose, and she serves as interpreter to the Dutch. She had a child by a Frenchman, but the Company would not allow him to marry her. On the contrary, they confiscated 800 *livres* of his wages; this was somewhat severe on him.

There are in this country quantities of lions and tigers, and the Dutch have discovered a contrivance which answers well for killing them. They bind a gun to a stake driven into the ground, and place some meat at the end of the gun, which is bound to a cord attached to the trigger. When the animal comes to take this meat the cord draws the trigger, and the gun discharging the balls lodge in the mouth or body of the animal. The *Cafres* eat a root which resembles our root of *cherüy*,[1] which they roast, and it serves them as bread. Sometimes they make it into flour, and it tastes like chestnuts. As for flesh, they eat it raw, and fish also in the same condition; and as for the entrails of animals, as I have already said,[2] they merely squeeze them to exclude the digested matter

[1] This was apparently a kind of yam.

[2] See p. 393.

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and then eat them. The majority of the women bind these entrails, when dried, round their legs, especially those of wild beasts which their husbands slay in the woods, and they wear them as ornaments. They also eat turtles after they have roasted them for a short time, so that the shells can be removed. They are very skilful in hurling the *assegai*, which is a kind of dart, and those who have not got any, use a stick an inch thick, of a very hard wood, and of the same length as the dart. They make a point on it and hurl it to a considerable distance with their hands. They take these sticks with them to the margin of the sea, and as soon as a fish comes to the surface they do not fail to transfix it.

As for those birds which are like our ducks, their eggs contain no yolk; there are a great number in the country, and in a bay which is 18 miles from the CAPE they are killed with blows of a stick.[1]

. . . . .

During the time while M. VANDIME was General, the Dutch captured a young *Cafre* boy at the CAPE and sent him to BATAVIA. The General took great pains to have him instructed in languages, so that in seven or eight years he learned Dutch and Portuguese in perfection. He then wished to return to his country, and the General not desiring to constrain him to remain, equipped him with linen and clothes, thinking that when he arrived at the CAPE he would live like the Dutchmen, and would aid them in obtaining supplies for their vessels whenever they arrived. But he was no sooner at the CAPE than he threw his garments into the sea and fled with the other blacks, eating

[1] See vol. i. p. 216, *n.*, and p. 393.

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raw flesh as before, and since then he has remained with them without having any intercourse with the Dutch.[1]

When these *Cafres* go to hunt in the forest they assemble in large numbers, and have certain terrific cries and shouts, so that the beasts are all frightened by them, and it is then easy to slaughter large numbers of them when thus terrified. I have even been told that these cries frighten the lion.

[1] Some curious examples of this kind of speedy relapse into savagery, after a long course of education from infancy, have occurred among the inhabitants of the Andaman islands.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

The Dutch fleet arrives at ST. HELENA, *and the Author gives a description of that Island*

AFTER having been twenty-two days at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, seeing that the wind was very favourable to us, our Vice-Admiral ordered the anchor to be hoisted, and we directed our course for the Island of ST. HELENA. As soon as the sails were set and prayers had been said, all the sailors and soldiers declared they would go to rest and sleep till they got to ST. HELENA. For one steady wind always prevails and bears you, generally in sixteen or eighteen days, to the anchorage at that island. During the whole course the sails were not touched, because the wind was always astern, and the only trouble which the sailors had was that fourteen days after our departure two of them were sent to the mainmast top to watch, in order to sight the island; for as soon as it is sighted the pilots should take good care to be ready to cast anchor on the side facing northwards, and it is necessary to approach the land in order to cast it, otherwise there is no bottom found. If these precautions are not properly taken, and if the anchors do not find bottom, the currents in the air and ocean quickly carry the vessel past the anchorage and there is then no

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hope of returning, because the wind is always contrary and never changes.

As soon as two of our anchors were cast into the sea the soldiers and sailors were summoned, and the crew made the vessel as tight as they could. They also fixed stages outside to scrape the hull and grease it; this was accomplished in two days. Then all the persons on board were divided into two parties, and the Vice-Admiral addressed them from the quarter-deck as follows: "Gentlemen, we shall remain here twenty-two days, arrange which of you desire to go first on shore to refresh yourselves and hunt, and let all return here on the eleventh day so that the others may also go (in turn)." Each of the men who went on shore was given a pair of shoes, and they carried large chaldrons, and supplies of rice, biscuit, spirits, and salt. On reaching land they ascended the mountain, but three or four remained below to collect sorrel, which grows to 2 or 3 feet in height and is very good. When they had collected a load of it they went to find the others, who were in pursuit of wild pigs, which abound in the island. When they had killed some they cooked the flesh with the rice and sorrel, which make a fairly good kind of soup, and purges insensibly without one's knowing it. While on shore they did nothing but sing, drink, and eat, and they had to send some of the pigs to the vessel every day. For each pig an *écu* and a pair of shoes were given them, because, on account of the mountain being high and steep, this chase gave the men much trouble. I have elsewhere spoken of the Persian greyhounds which are taken to ST. HELENA for hunting wild pigs, and after having been used they are thrown into the sea,

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not being carried farther for the reason I have pointed out in the same place.

While those who are on land occupy themselves with this sport, those who remain in the vessel employ the time in fishing; for there is a great abundance of fish around this island, especially mackerel. Each sailor and soldier is given a measure of salt, with which they salt the fish, and then hang them to dry in the wind. They feed themselves upon this dried fish after leaving the island, and generally have sufficient for thirty or forty days, and each receives only a little oil and rice cooked in water; this saves the Company a quantity of food.

All the pigs, sheep, geese, ducks, and hens which were on board were sent on shore, and as soon as these animals had eaten the sorrel, which purges them as well as it does men, in a few days they became so fat that when we approached HOLLAND it was almost impossible to eat them, especially the geese and ducks, on account of the fat.

There are two places off the coast of ST. HELENA where one can anchor. The best of them is the one where we were, because the bottom is very good for anchorage there, and the (drinking) water which comes from the top of the mountain is the best on the island. In this part of the island there is no level ground, the mountain rising from the very shore. There is but a small place close to the sea, where formerly there was a chapel where a Portuguese priest of the sect of ST. FRANCIS lived for fourteen years; but at present this chapel is half ruined. While this priest lived there he made presents to the vessels which touched there, furnishing them with fish, which he caught and dried,

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and they gave him in exchange rice, biscuit, and Spanish wine. After he had dwelt there for the time I have said, and had lived a very austere life, he fell ill, and by good fortune it happened that a Portuguese vessel arrived just then. All that could be was done to relieve him, but he died five days after the vessel had anchored, and was interred by people of his own nationality.

The anchorage is less good at the other roads, but on shore there is a beautiful plain where all that is sown arrives at maturity. The orders of the Dutch Company are at present, that, if a vessel takes cabbages, salad, or other vegetables, seeds must be sown for the benefit of those who may come afterwards. There are an abundance of lemon and some orange trees, which the Portuguese formerly planted. For this nationality has that much good about it, that wherever it goes it seeks to do something for the benefit of whoever visits the same place subsequently. The Dutch act altogether otherwise and seek to destroy all, to the end that those who come afterwards shall find nothing. It is true that it is not the superior officers who act in this way, but the majority of the sailors and soldiers, who say to one another, "We shall not return any more," and in order to obtain the fruit from the tree more quickly, they cut it down to the ground instead of plucking (the fruit itself).

A serious disturbance in the fleet was on the point of breaking out. Although our vessel left BATAVIA the last of all, since she was a good sailer, she was the second to arrive at ST. HELENA. One day the Vice-Admiral, the captain, and other officers of the vessel determined to go in the skiff towards this plain, in

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order to obtain some vegetables and lemons. When we arrived there (for I was with the party) we were much surprised to find nothing on the trees, and only some remains of cabbages and radishes on the ground. We did not doubt that the crew of the vessel called the *Encuse*, which had arrived some days before us, had done all this damage, and our Vice-Admiral resolved to go on board to inquire into the matter. When we got there we found quantities of lemons and vegetables in the cabins of the captain and pilot, and all the sailors presented lemons, with which they were well provided, to our men. The captain of the vessel offered a present of some to the Vice-Admiral, which he refused to accept, saying that it was treason to all the fleet, and that all these refreshments must be collected and put together in one place until all the vessels had arrived, so that each poor invalid might have some of them. The sailors and soldiers who had filled their chests with them were very unwilling to consent; but the Vice-Admiral, making use of his authority, said that if they did not bring all the lemons which were still remaining, he would hang a number of them, when the Admiral and the remainder of the fleet, which consisted of eleven vessels, arrived. The captain, fearing this threat, used so much compulsion with his crew that the whole were brought into his cabin and properly shut up until the fleet had arrived, so that each vessel had its share of this small refreshment.

When all the fleet had anchored in the roads of ST. HELENA, there was nothing but feasting and rejoicing, sometimes on one vessel and sometimes on another; and the English fleet, which consisted of nine vessels,

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arrived soon afterwards.[1] There arrived, moreover, two Portuguese vessels laden with slaves of both sexes, which came from the GUINEA coast, and was taking them to the mines of PERU. There were some Dutchmen in our fleet who had dwelt at CASTEL DE MINE, and knew the language of these poor people. They went on board, both to see them, and also to see some Dutch sailors who were in the Portuguese service; and on the following night about 250 of these poor blacks threw themselves into the sea. It was believed that the Dutch, who knew their language, had told them that they would be miserably treated when they reached the mines, and that it was that which had driven them to this action in despair. It is true that it is a very hard and miserable slavery; for frequently, after having mined for some days, there are parts of the ground more movable or softer than others, and this ground collapsing it suddenly buries 400 or 500 of these poor people. As soon as they are put to mine, their faces, eyes, and skin entirely change in colour; this is caused by the vapours of these hollows, and the slaves only exist in these places by the quantity of spirits which both the men and women are given to drink.

Some of these people are no longer slaves, their masters having given them liberty, but they do not cease to work in the mines and earn large wages. But as they leave the mines on Saturday evening to return on Monday morning, during the interval they drink so much spirit, which is very dear, that they spend all they earn during the week,

[1] It may be mentioned here that the first English vessels to visit India were despatched in 1591, the object then in view being rather to attack the Portuguese than to open up trade with the natives.

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and thus they are always in a miserable condition of poverty.

While the two fleets were in the roads at ST. HELENA the English and the Dutch entertained each other in turns, and there was continual festivity. The day our Vice-Admiral entertained our Admiral and some of the chiefs of the English fleet, it was not on board our vessel, for as soon as he told me of his intention, I advised him to give his feast on land; this he did with greater credit and more freedom than the others had done. I offered him for the purpose my tent, and the carpet and cushions which I had still with me, and had used in my journeys by land; and I further promised to open, on his account, my cask of RHINE wine, which Madame la Générale had presented me with, and even to contribute to the collation half a dozen bottles of MANTUA wine, and a similar quantity of that of SHIRAZ. He was delighted with the offer I made him, and immediately we went on shore to pitch the tent; this gave us some trouble, because we could not find any level spot even of the size of the tent; but our sailors made one near the river, from whence, while eating, we might contemplate the high mountains and the pointed rocks, where we saw the male and female goats leaping from one side to the other.

On the following day, between 9 and 10 A.M., he had the pleasure of seeing all the guests in their boats, some with trumpets and drums, others with violins and other musical instruments; this could not have been if the Vice-Admiral had given his entertainment in the vessel, where all these different classes of people could not have come. As the feast, then, was on land, the majority of the ladies, both English and Dutch, who

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were in the fleet also came, without being invited; and so instead of one table three were required, and those who expected to eat in the tent, under shade, were obliged to yield their places out of politeness to the ladies. During the repast there was a great noise of trumpets and other musical instruments, and at each health all the guns of the vessels fired a discharge. The first health which was drunk was that of the King of ENGLAND, after which followed those of the States General, of the Prince of ORANGE, and of the Companies, and then came the healths of the chief officers of the fleet and of some private persons. At the close of the repast, when we were ready to return on board, a disaster happened which somewhat marred the enjoyment of the company. The Admiral's trumpeter having drunk a little more than he ought to have done, mounted on a high rock in order to blow his trumpet, and from time to time he rolled down large stones. Although ordered to stop, because it was seen that some injury might happen, he did not cease, however, finding some amusement in it; and at length he let go a very large one, which, jumping from rock to rock, went through the tent, where it broke a case of wine and killed a small boy born at BATAVIA of Dutch parentage. He was being sent to HOLLAND to learn the language properly, and to be taught to read and write. For these children, though born of parents who have come from HOLLAND, never learn Dutch properly while they remain at BATAVIA, being brought up among servants and slaves, who addict themselves more to the Portuguese language than to Dutch. These children also learn from them a thousand wickednesses, and at the age of nine years they know more lechery than do

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youths of twenty years in EUROPE.[1] After having buried the child the company returned on board sooner than they would otherwise have done, and they were distressed that a day which had been so joyful had so sad a termination.

On the two following days we had numerous visits, and there was not a lady who did not come to our vessel; I believe it was less on our own account than to ascertain if we had still any RHINE wine, which they had found to be excellent at our Vice-Admiral's feast.

After our vessel had been twenty days at anchor (for the others which arrived later had less time to refresh themselves) the Admiral fired three cannon shots, and hoisted a large flag on the poop of his vessel, as a signal to all the captains and pilots to come on board, where, having arrived, they held council in order to settle what route should be taken for HOLLAND. The majority maintained that they should go to the west rather than to the south, because the season for navigation was much advanced, and by sailing towards the WEST INDIES we should find the proper winds for HOLLAND. But it happened altogether otherwise; for as soon as we had passed the line we found the winds contrary to what our pilots had expected; this was the reason why we were afterwards obliged to go to the 64th degree in the latitude of ICELAND, and return to HOLLAND from the north.

[1] There is, it is to be feared, some applicability in these remarks to the case of children reared in India at the present time.

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CHAPTER XXIX

The Dutch fleet leaves the Island of ST. HELENA, *and the Author arrives safely with it in* HOLLAND

ON the day after the council had been held, the Admiral ordered the three signal shots for parting, to be fired, and at ten o'clock P.M. all the fleet set sail. The English still remained there and we did not know why, unless it was to try to catch one of their sailors, who, having been ill-treated by his pilot, and having one day gone on shore with him to get water, slew him with two stabs of his dagger, after which he escaped into the mountain. If he remained there he must have passed a bad time, there being no house in the island. Three days after our departure from ST. HELENA the crew commenced to pray every morning and evening, but I remarked that they had not done so during the twenty-two days we spent in the roads; this I thought strange, as if one should not pray to God when out of danger as well as while in danger.

On the eleventh day after our departure we crossed the line with a favourable wind. I know that many have written that the heat is insupportable under the line, and that the water and some of the provisions become decomposed, but we experienced nothing of

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the kind; elsewhere in the voyage we felt much greater heat. I am quite ready to admit that if a calm had caught us under the line, instead of the propitious wind which we experienced, we should have felt the heat more than we did.

After some days' sailing we spent three in passing a bank where the sea is full of a plant, the leaf of which resembles the leaves of the olive.[1] This plant has fruits like large white gooseberries, but they contain nothing inside. At length, after many more days' sailing, we sighted the coasts of ICELAND, and afterwards the Island of FERELLE,[2] where the Dutch fleet already awaited us, constantly firing cannon shots to intimate to us its position. As soon as the two fleets sighted one another, each vessel fired all its guns, and took up position by its patron, that of the Admiral by the Admiral, that of the Vice-Admiral by the Vice-Admiral, and so of all the others. We numbered eleven vessels, there came also eleven other vessels to meet us, and after each had recognised its mate, the first thing that was done was to send on board the vessels from INDIA a quantity of supplies, as casks of beer, smoked meat, butter, cheese, good white biscuit, and for every vessel one cask each of Rhine, French, and Spanish wines. As soon as the supplies were on board our vessel, the soldiers and sailors took three or four of the casks of beer, which they placed on end close to the mainmast, breaking them open with a cannon-ball, and they were then free to whoever wished to drink. It was the same with the food, for both drink

[1] This was the *sargossa* weed, *Fucus natans*, which is found in the Pacific. The so-called fruits are the floats.

[2] Faroe islands.

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and food were at the discretion of the crew during the remainder of the voyage. On the following day each pilot resigned his charge, giving over the direction to the pilots brought by the convoy. There were three of them for each vessel, and for that purpose pilots of from sixty to eighty years of age, who knew these seas perfectly, and how the sand-banks had changed during the current year, were selected.

On the following day the Admiral of the convoy fired three cannon shots, and hoisted his flag on the poop, to give notice to all the officers of both fleets to assemble in council. All the reports and processes which have been made against those who have misbehaved during the voyage are taken to it, and the whole being examined, according as the council adjudicates the accused are brought from each vessel on the following day, and judgment is pronounced. Formerly they took them to HOLLAND, but when it was so, they found friends who obtained their pardon, and they all got off. But at present all are afraid, as there is no longer chance of pardon. This is the reason why the soldiers and sailors are not guilty of insolence and mutiny during the voyage as they were formerly. There were two of our fleet hung for having stabbed officers; many were sentenced to the stocks and whipping before the mainmast, and the wages of others were confiscated.

We passed through a fleet of herring fishers, and they did not fail to bring casksful to each vessel. The captains presented them with rice, pepper, and other spices.

As soon as we had sighted the coasts of HOLLAND, all the soldiers of our fleet who had been with those

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who went to beseige the MANILLAS, from joy at beholding their country again, fixed a quantity of large and small wax tapers about the poop and bow of the vessel, where the wind, when they were lit, could not extinguish them. The same was done in five or six of the vessels; this gave out such an extraordinary light that the whole fleet was alarmed. On our vessel alone, there were more than 1700 of these wax tapers, both large and small. The sailors had kept them since they were at the MANILLAS, from whence they had brought a large quantity, as also from POINT DE GALLE in the Island of CEYLON. For when on shore they pillaged and burnt some convents which were in the country, and as wax is cheap throughout INDIA, and is easily bleached, every religious house always has a large supply of wax tapers on account of the festivals, when numbers are lighted before the grand altar and in all the chapels. Thus the least of the Dutch sailors had thirty or forty of these tapers for his share, and some of them had some as thick as the thigh.

The command was, according to custom, that our vessel, as Vice-Admiral, should go to ZEALAND. We were on the coast seven whole days without being able to enter FLUSHING,[1] on account of the sand which frequently changes its position. As soon as we had cast anchor, more than fifty small boats came about our vessel, but keeping a short distance off, being forbidden to come alongside. Each then began to call out and ask the names of persons in order to carry the news of their arrival to their relatives and friends.

On the day following that on which we anchored off FLUSHING, two of the members of the Company

[1] Flessingue in the original.

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came on board to give welcome to all, and to tell them to close their chests and place their marks thereon. They were then carried into a hall of the INDIA HOUSE, and the day was fixed upon which each should return to claim what belonged to him. It is the custom that before the chests are given up they are opened in order to be examined, through fear lest they should contain anything contraband.

These two gentlemen summoned the crew on deck between the poop and the mainmast, and taking the captain, whom they placed at their side in front of all, "Gentlemen," they said to all on board, "on behalf of the Directors we order you to tell us whether the captain has ill-treated you during this voyage." The crew, who wanted to be on shore, where the majority saw father or mother, brothers or sisters, or friends who awaited them, began to cry out that the captain was a good man, that he knew how to act for the interests of the Company, and his own also, and that if when leaving BATAVIA God had delivered them from him, they would have been much more happy during the voyage. At once, without another word, they all jumped into the boats and went on shore, where they received many kisses and embraces, and immediately all hastened to the publichouse. It is where most of the soldiers and sailors first go on the occasion of their debarkations, and generally they do not leave it save to claim their baggage or receive their pay, or to join a party. Some of these soldiers and sailors returning from INDIA have been known to expend, in two months' continual debauch, nearly 1000 *écus*, which they had had much trouble in earning in fifteen or twenty years' service to the Company. I have

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known a sailor at MIDDELBURG, who in a debauch broke glass to the value of 250 *livres*, when drinking to the health of his friends. But the publicans do not receive all the money of these people, as the women of pleasure get their share of it too.

The two Directors of the Company, who came on board as soon as the anchor was cast, to give permission to the crew to go on shore, and appoint persons for the protection of the vessel, did me the honour to salute me at once, and I received many expressions of kindness from them. They ordered a collation to be served at the same time, and, drinking to my health, asked me if I had anything to complain of with regard to any of the officers of the vessel. I replied that on the contrary I had every reason to praise them, that they had all treated me with great civility, and that I gave thanks to the Vice-Admiral, to the captain, and to all the merchants of the vessel for the good friendship they had shown me during the voyage. For it should be stated that besides the Vice-Admiral we had a captain under him. The Directors told me that they were much pleased that I was satisfied with the treatment I had received, telling me that if I had any chests I had only to place my mark on them, and that they would take care to have them carried to the Company's House at MIDDELBURG, where I might come to claim them in four days. It required fully this time for them to discharge a part of what was in the vessel, which could not reach MIDDELBURG with a full cargo. I thanked them for their goodwill, and, having placed my mark on my chests, left the vessel and went by land to MIDDELBURG.

It was the year that the Chamber General was

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held there, for it is held for four years in sequence at AMSTERDAM, and two years at MIDDELBURG. The reason of which is, that AMSTERDAM owns half the Company; MIDDELBURG a quarter; and ROTTERDAM, DELFT, HORNE, and ENCUSE each a sixteenth; the Company not being bound to hold the Chamber in either of these four last, which only make up one-fourth, and have only the right to have a vessel each year between the four, one year at ROTTERDAM, one year at DELFT, and similarly the others. For the same reason AMSTERDAM has eight Directors, MIDDELBURG four, and the other four towns each his own one; this makes the number sixteen, though they always speak of seventeen Directors, because the President has two votes.

On the fourth day of my arrival at MIDDELBURG I went to the INDIA HOUSE, where I found two of the Directors, who were already engaged in delivering the chests to those to whom they belonged, and as soon as they saw me they told me to claim mine; this I did, at the same time handing them the keys of my boxes, so that they might see for themselves whether I carried anything which was contraband. Of these two gentlemen one was from ZEALAND, and the other from HORNE, and the latter took the keys to open my boxes. But the ZEALAND Director, more civil than he of NORTH HOLLAND, told him I was free, that I was not subject to the Company, and that it had afforded me a free passage. My keys were at once returned to me, and one of the people of the store was ordered to summon some sledges, which are used in HOLLAND instead of waggons, in order to convey my chests. I may say in passing, that it is not only on this occasion that I have

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remarked that the more one approaches the north the less one meets with civility and honesty among the inhabitants, and that manners follow the harshness and roughness of the climate.

The very same evening the Directors did me the honour to send one of their officers to invite me to dine with them on the following day. Many persons interested in the Company were at the repast, and I believe that they were there less for the good cheer than to hear me talk, thinking that I might know many things in regard to the private trade which the representatives of the Company engage in, in INDIA. They were not mistaken; and I may say that no one could be better informed than I was of the methods which these agents, who have the management of the factories in PERSIA and INDIA, practise in order to enrich themselves. For they never return to HOLLAND empty-handed, and when they take but 100,000 or 150,000 *florins* they count it a poor thing. I have known many of them who have amassed up to 600,000 and 700,000 *florins;* as, for instance, among others the *Sieur* NICOLAS OBRECHIT, who was chief of the Dutch factories both at ISPAHAN and HORMUZ and other places in PERSIA, during the years from 1635 to 1640. Those who were his friends and had done trade with him estimated that he carried away more than 15,000 *tomans*, which are equal to about 690,000 *livres*,[1] without estimating what he had expended on the gout with which he was afflicted, and the other ailments which oftener arise from relationships with the courtesans of PERSIA, than from the trouble expended in packing silk, weighing it, examining its quality, and

[1] Equal to £51,750.

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seeing whether it has any bad skeins mixed with the good. The *Sieur* OBRECHIT was well able to spend freely, for his profits were large, but such as are rarely permitted or approved of by honest people. All the spices, sugar, and other goods of the Company are sold wholesale, generally at HORMUZ or GOMBROON, and amount in value, annually, to 15 or 16 *tonnes* of gold, each *tonne* being equal to 100,000 *guilders*, which are equivalent in our money to 120,000 *livres*, and the 16 *tonnes* of gold to 1,920,000 *livres*. The *Sieur* OBRECHIT did not sell all these goods without receiving annually for himself, 80,000 or 100,000 *guilders*,[1] which the Persian merchants presented to him, underhand, through the broker, so that he might allow the goods to be sold at a low price. But he was not the inventor of this fine means of enriching himself, others practised it before him, and since his time others have employed it, especially the *Sieurs* CONSTANT and VAN WÜCK.

Moroever, there is also the profit that these gentry make on silk. It is true that for some years past the Company has not esteemed Persian silk so highly as it did formerly, because it has not so great a sale in JAPAN as it would have had if the trade had continued as it was in the years 1636 and 1637. All the chiefs of the factory who succeeded OBRECHIT could (not?) have made as much as he did; for in the two above-named years silk was dear in JAPAN, because the people of CHINA and TONQUIN being then at war with the Dutch, the latter prevented them from trading with JAPAN; and the

[1] Taking the Dutch *guilder* or *florin* at 1s. 9½d. (see vol. i, p. 413) the value of the *tonne* would be about £9000. Perhaps the *guilder* ought to be a fraction more, but it is important to have here independent testimony that the *livre* as understood by Tavernier was about 1s. 6d. —the proportion being 5 *guilders* = 6 *livres*, or 9s.

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Chinese and Tonquinese could not obtain silk except through the hands of the Dutch. Whatever it may cost they must have it to clothe themselves with, as they use no other materials for their garments. It was in these two years, 1636 and 1637, that the *Sieur* OBRECHIT filled his purse; for instead of 500 or 600 bales of silk, which is the most they receive from the King of PERSIA, the General of BATAVIA and his Council wrote to him that whatever the price he must send them 2000 loads. I have alluded, in the first volume of my history, to the agreement made between the King of PERSIA and the Dutch Company; and I have also made mention, in connection with this subject, of the small success of the negotiation of the Ambassadors of HOLSTEIN, of which the Secretary of that embassy has without doubt not boasted in the account which he has given to the public. Therefore, for fear of wearying the reader, I shall not repeat it here, and I shall only ask him to remember that the arrival of these Ambassadors, which caused apprehension and jealousy among the Dutch, was the cause that the latter raised the price of silk so much that they removed all desire in other nations to outbid them.

Thus OBRECHIT, having then received an order from BATAVIA for 2000 loads of silk, irrespective of cost, and this quantity being all that PERSIA could supply, as he was shrewd and loved profit beyond all things, he succeeded so well in intriguing with the Armenians and other merchants in PERSIA that he obtained the 2000 loads of silk which had been ordered. It is true that beyond the 500 or 600 loads which the Dutch receive from the King, according to the agreement made between his Majesty and the Company, OBRECHIT was obliged to pay at a high rate for

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the others; and he bought them from the Armenians, who sold them to him at the same rate as those they had sold to ALEPPO and SMYRNA. During these two years there was not a single load of silk for which he did not place 4 *tomans* in his purse, and he said some loads cost him 60 *tomans*. It was represented to him that it would be better not to send so large a quantity of silk, as it was so dear, and that the merchants of the country, both Christians and Muhammadans, were laughing at him; but he only replied that he must obey the Company's order. One day when I was alone with him we were talking together about my travels, and he told me how astonished he was, seeing that I understood the greater part of the trade of ASIA, that I took so much trouble in my long journeys; that I should do much better by serving the Company, and that if I wished he would send me to the diamond mines on its account; but I believe it would have been on his own. When I had thanked him for his goodwill, and told him I had no such intention, he replied that I did not know what I was refusing, that I would derive great profit, and that in his factory, with a scratch of the pen, or by changing a figure, he obtained what he wished. I replied to him that on three or four occasions my horoscope had been cast, and on all occasions it had been agreed that I should live to a good age; and so, if I was able to acquire wealth, I desired to acquire it honestly and by my labour, as God had ordained for me, in order to be able to possess it with greater security and comfort to my soul for the remainder of my days, and that my heirs might enjoy it peaceably. If we were not to act in this way, replied he, we should be miserable; for the wages the Company gives us

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would not suffice to clothe us. On my return from one of my voyages I went to see him at a village bearing his name, situated one league from the HAGUE. I saw him ill in bed, and suffering from several diseases, and I believe that he often then recalled to mind what I had said to him at ISPAHAN.

I must now return to the Directors and the members of the Company with whom I dined at MIDDELBURG. Most of them desired that I should inform them of the manner in which the agents of the Company behaved in PERSIA and INDIA, and the others asked me to speak of my travels. I preferred to satisfy the latter, and avoided all reference to trade. It is true that if I had not had some suspicion of the deception which they played me subsequently, I would possibly have told them many things from which they might have derived benefit. For in the space of the forty years during which I have often visited PERSIA and INDIA, there have been few persons in the service of the Company who have not told me of all the tricks they made use of in order to acquire money. In return for this confidence, when they were about to return home, I endeavoured to furnish them with a good parcel of diamonds, which occupy but little space. If then I had declared to these gentlemen what I knew of this matter, they would have gained much in studying the record I should have given, and by discovering the knavery of their servants, and by doing rightly by me, their conscience would not be charged as it is, concerning the 17,500 *florins* which General VANDERLIN and his Council seized from me at BATAVIA. That which astonishes me most is, as I have elsewhere remarked, that when the General and

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his Council took from me the value of these 17,500 *florins*, they made a hundred promises that I should be paid immediately I set foot in HOLLAND, but this was not done in spite of all the steps I could take for its accomplishment. For when leaving the feast that was given at BATAVIA on the departure of the fleet, I took four witnesses of the fact, namely, our Vice-Admiral and three merchants, to whom, when taking leave of the General and Council, I said aloud in their presence that they would be my witnesses if God permitted us to arrive in HOLLAND or ZEALAND, and would remember that the General and his Council did not give me on my departure that which they had promised, namely, an order which I could show to the Directors of the Company, by which they would see that 17,500 *florins* were due and payable to me on my arrival. The General's response was to take a glass of wine and wish me a pleasant journey, assuring me that the order would arrive in HOLLAND before me. The Directors, to justify their refusal to pay me, told me that the General and his Council had written nothing to them concerning the matter, and that when they received an advice of it they would at once pay it. I was at length obliged to bring an action against them which lasted two years, before I was able to find, either at AMSTERDAM or the HAGUE, a notary who would serve a summons, every one fearing them, as they were both judges and parties to the suit. During these two years I often entered their assembly, where they always gave me some hope, but in reality they were laughing at me. I have hardly ever been deceived when looking a man in the face, as I know almost exactly what is in his mind. I remarked that

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many of these men had the appearance of loving their own interests and caring little for those of others, and among others there was a young man who represented ENCUSE, who gazed earnestly at me. After having looked at me for some time he asked why I had been at BATAVIA, where strangers have no business. I replied to him that all these gentlemen were sufficiently acquainted with it, and that as he was the only one who did not know, his beard was too young to oblige me to explain to him. As their procedure annoyed me, and I was enraged at seeing myself treated so unjustly, I added in speaking to this young man that he would do better at ENCUSE selling his butter and cheese than where he was. The President interrupted me gently, and told me that I must offend no one, to which I replied that I had seen too much to render an account of my doings in this manner, and that what I did at GOA and BATAVIA was at the request of the Chief of the factory at VENGURLA, and solely for the purpose of rendering a service to the Company. This discourse being finished, the President asked me to go outside for a short time, which I did. Afterwards, having returned, he told me that he still knew nothing about the matter, and that all these gentlemen believed that I would not remain there, but would still make another journey to ASIA, and as I praised the good treatment I had received on their vessels on my return voyage, they again offered me a passage, and would give orders that I should be treated even still better than before; that as soon as I arrived at BATAVIA I should be paid; that they would send an order to that effect to the General and his Council, and that I might embark on the first vessel which left for SURAT or

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HORMUZ. I thanked these gentlemen for all their fine offers, and told them that I preferred to make three journeys by land rather than one voyage by sea. In conclusion, at the end of five years the Directors wrote to my brother (for I had then returned to INDIA) that if he was willing to take 10,000 *livres* in satisfaction of my claim, he might come to receive them. This my brother did, and he gave them a receipt in full. I leave the reader to judge of the equity and conscience of these gentry. For either they owed me 17,500 *florins* or they did not. If they did not, why pay me 10,000 *livres?* And if they did owe me, why not pay me fully. I am not the only person to whom they have done injustice of this kind. I know many other more serious cases, the recital of which would not be to their advantage.[1]

Such was my return from INDIA in the year 1649, the only time I returned by sea, having made, as I have said, all my Asiatic journeys by land, both when going and returning, counting as nothing the short passage in the MEDITERRANEAN; and my first journey was wholly by land, from PARIS by GERMANY and HUNGARY to CONSTANTINOPLE, where I also went on the return from my last journey in the year 1669. From CONSTANTINOPLE I went to SMYRNA, where I embarked for LEGHORN, and from LEGHORN I travelled by land to GENOA, from GENOA to TURIN, and from TURIN to PARIS, where I took the King that beautiful parcel of diamonds of which I have spoken in the discourse on

[1] As to the merits of this case, without the other side of the question before us, we cannot venture to decide. But, on the whole, Tavernier got off much easier than did the Dutch subjects, who also bought *rekenings* at the same time, for they not only had to give them up but were imprisoned and sent to Holland as common soldiers (see p. 384).

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precious stones.[1] His Majesty had the goodness to give me a very favourable reception, which was a glorious conclusion to my long journeys, in which I have always had for my primary object to spare nothing in order to make known to the great monarchs of ASIA, that there is one grander than them all, in EUROPE, and that our King infinitely surpasses them both in power and glory.

My first thoughts on finding myself in PARIS, on the return from my sixth journey, were to return thanks to God for having preserved me, during the space of forty years, among so many perils which I had run, by sea and land, in regions so far distant.

[1] See p. 126.

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THE KING'S LICENCE

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to our beloved and liege Councillors, the Members of our Courts of Parliament, Masters of the Requests ordinary of our House, Bailiffs, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants, and to all others whom it may concern, greeting: our well beloved Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Esq., Baron of Aubonne, having informed us that he has written a book which has for title, *Six Voyages made in Turkey, Persia, and India, during the space of forty years, and by all the routes that can be taken*, which he desires to print and sell, if it pleases us to grant our letters, necessary to him who humbly seeks them. For these reasons we have permitted and shall permit the Petitioner to have the said Book printed in such volume, margin, or type, as he may be advised, and to sell and dispose of it throughout our Kingdom and the territories subject to us, during the space of fifteen years, to date from the date on which the said impression may be completed; during which time we expressly inhibit all Booksellers and Printers from printing, selling, or disposing of the said Book, and also of reprinting it, except with the consent of the Petitioner or of those who hold the right to do so from him, on pain, to those acting otherwise, of a penalty of three thousand *livres* fine, one-third to us, one-third to the Hotel Dieu of our City of Paris, and the remaining third to the said Petitioner; also of confiscation of the counterfeit copies, and of all expenditure, damages, and interest; on condition of placing two copies of the said Book in our Public Library, one in that of our Chamber in the Palace of the Louvre, and one in that of our beloved and loyal Chevalier and Chancellor of France, the *Sieur* Daligre, before offering it for sale, on pain of nullifying these presents, which will be registered in the proper place; and in placing at the beginning and end of them a statement acknowledging that they are bound by the terms agreed upon, and of their willingness to allow the Petitioner to enjoy them quietly and peaceably.

We command in the first place our Usher or Sergeant, on this

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requisition, to undertake for the execution of these presents all necessary deeds and actions without further permission, notwithstanding "*Clameur de Haro*," "*Charte Normande*," and all else to the contrary. For such is our pleasure. Given at Versailles the 7th day of October, in the year of Grace one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and of our reign the thirty-third. By the King in Council.

DESVIEUX.

Registered on the Book of the Society of Booksellers and Printers of Paris, the 14th November 1675, according to the resolution of Parliament of the 8th April 1653, and that of the King's Privy Council of the 27th February 1665.

(Signed) THIERRY, *Syndic.*

And the said Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Esq., Baron of Aubonne, has ceded and transferred his rights to Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin, Merchant Booksellers, in accordance with the agreement made between them.

Printed for the first time the 1st of October 1676.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

1. The Great Mogul's Diamond, and the true history of the *Koh-i-nur*.
2. Summary history of the *Koh-i-nur*.
3. The Grand Duke of Tuscany's Diamond, otherwise known as the Austrian Yellow, or the Florentine; and some further notes on the absolute weights of the carat and *rati* as they were used by Tavernier.
4. On the Weights of the Diamonds, other precious stones and Pearls, mentioned by Tavernier.

APPENDIX II

List of all the Diamond Mines in India of which there are authentic records; and extracts from an Early Account of the Diamond Mines of Southern India.

APPENDIX III

The Diamond Mines of Bengal.

APPENDIX IV

The Diamond Mines of Borneo.

APPENDIX V

1. The Ruby Mines of Burmah.
2. The Sapphire Washings of Ceylon.

APPENDIX VI

A Review in the Philosophical Transactions of Chapuzeau's (*sic*) work, entitled *Histoire des Joyaux*, published in 1665 or 1666.

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APPENDIX I

1. *The Great Mogul's Diamond and the true History of the Koh-i-nur*

ALTHOUGH the writers on this subject are very numerous, still it is believed that almost every one of them who has contributed to its elucidation has been consulted in the preparation of this account; and it is certain that many, whose writings have also been consulted, are chiefly noteworthy for the amount of confusion which they have unfortunately introduced into it. The principal authorities are enumerated in the note below.[1] It would only prove puzzling to the reader and cloud the main issue were any considerable space

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[1] It will be convenient to classify the principal authorities according to the theories which they have respectively adopted, as follows :—

FIRST, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BÁBAR'S DIAMOND :—

Erskine, *Life of Bábar*, p. 308; Rev. C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones*, Bohn's Ed., 1870, p. 70; E. W. Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, p. 116.

SECOND, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH THE GREAT MOGUL'S DIAMOND, AND WHO EITHER TREAT BÁBAR'S DIAMOND AS DISTINCT OR MAKE NO SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IT :—

James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1834, vol. ii, p. 175; Major-General Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, 1844, vol. i, p. 361; James Tennant, *Lecture on Gems and Precious Stones*, 1852, p. 84; V. Ball, *Jour. As. Socy. of Bengal*, 1880, vol. l, Pt. ii, p. 31, and *Economic Geology of India*, 1881, p. 19.

THIRD, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BOTH BÁBAR'S AND THE GREAT MOGUL'S DIAMONDS :—

Official descriptive Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851, Pt. iii, p. 695; Kluge, *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 240; Professor N. S. Maskelyne, Roy. Inst. of Great Britain, March 1860, and *Edb. Rev.*, 1866, pp. 247-8; Genl. Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, vol. ii, p. 390; Professor Nicol, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. "Diamond."

It would not be difficult to add to the above a score of names of writers who have supported one or other of these theories.

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devoted to refuting the errors and correcting the misquotations regarding it, which are so common in works on precious stones. It seems to be a better course to endeavour to secure close attention to the facts of the case, supported by well-verified references, so that the reader may be in a position to pronounce for himself a verdict on definite evidence alone, and accept or reject the conclusions which are here suggested.

In order, so to speak, to clear the way for the discussion, it will be necessary, as a preliminary, to give short accounts of all the large diamonds with which authors have sought to identify the *Koh-i-nur*.

Firstly, there is the diamond of Sultan Bábar, which his son Humáyun received in the year A.D. 1526 from the family of Rájá Bikermajit, when he took possession of Agra. It had already then a recorded history, having been acquired from the Rájá of Málwá by Alá-ud-din in the year 1304.[1] Regarding its traditional history, which extends 5000 years further back, nothing need be said here; though it has afforded sundry imaginative writers a subject for highly characteristic paragraphs.

According to Sultan Bábar the diamond was equal in value to one day's food of all the people in the world. Its estimated weight was about 8 *mishkals*, and as he gives a value of 40 *ratis* to the *mishkal*—it weighed, in other words, *about* 320 *ratis*. Ferishta[2] states that Bábar accepted the diamond in lieu of any other ransom, for the private property of individuals, and that it weighed 8 *mishkals* or 224 *ratis*. Hence 1 *mishkal* = 28 *ratis*, from which we may deduce that the *ratis* Ferishta referred to were to those of Bábar, of which 40 went to the *mishkal*, as 28:40; and this, on the supposition that the smaller *rati* was equal to 1.842 troy grs., gives a value of 2.63 troy grs. for the larger, which closely approximates to the value of the pearl *rati* of Tavernier. If on the other hand we deduce the smaller from the larger (at 2.66 grs. for the pearl rati) we obtain for it a value of 1.86. So far as I am aware, this explanation of Ferishta's figures[3] has not been published before. The value of the *mishkal* in Bábar's time, as being a more tangible weight than the variable *rati*, has been investigated by Prof. Maskelyne,[4] and he concludes that it was equal to about 74 grs. troy, and that if taken at 73.69

[1] See Erskine's *Memoirs of Sultan Bábar*, p. 308.

[2] *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, etc., trans. by J. Briggs, London, 1829, vol. ii, p. 46.

[3] See also Dow, *History of Hindostan*, 1812, vol. ii, p. 105.

[4] *Lecture at the Royal Institution*, March 1860.

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grs. troy, and multiplied by 8, it would yield a weight exactly corresponding to that of the *Koh-i-nur* when brought to England, namely 186.06 carats. Accepting the second estimate for the value of the *mishkal*, that of Bábar's *rati* would be 1.842 gr. troy, and the value of his diamond in carats might be expressed by the following equation.

$$\frac{320 \times 1.842}{3.168 \text{ (troy grs. in a carat)}} = 186.06 \text{ carats.}$$

In such a calculation it is well to bear in mind that a very slight variation in the *rati*, as a unit, would, when multiplied, produce a considerable difference in the result. Thus, if 1.86 were put instead of 1.842, the resultant would be enhanced *above* the desired figure, namely the weight of the *Koh-i-nur*.

Here I must leave Bábar's diamond for the present, without expressing any more decided opinion as to the absolute accuracy of the *data* which make its weight appear to be actually identical with that of the *Koh-i-nur*, being, however, as will be seen in the sequel, quite content not to dispute their general correctness, though my deduction therefrom does not accord with Professor Maskelyne's.

In the year 1563 Garcia de Orta, in his famous work on the Simples and Drugs of India,[1] mentioned four large diamonds, one of which he was told had been seen at Bisnager, *i.e.* Vyáyánagar, and was the size of a small hen's egg. The others weighed respectively—

120	*mangelis*	= 200	*ratis*	= 150	*carats.*[2]
148	„	= 233⅓	„	= 175	„
250	„	= 416⅔	„	= 312½	„

None of these three last can be identified with the Great Mogul's diamond, because, even supposing it had been already discovered at so early a date as 1563, it must then, as will be seen hereafter, have been uncut, and had a weight of 787½ carats, or more than double the weight of the largest of them; but it might have been the one spoken of as being of the size of a small hen's egg, as that was probably its form in its early condition when acquired by Mir Jumlá. As to whether any of the stones mentioned by Garcia could have been the same as Bábar's diamond, it is quite useless to speculate; but, as none of them are said to have belonged to the Mogul, it seems to be most improbable.

In the year 1609, De Boot, in his work on gems, etc., referred to

[1] *Colloquios dos Simples e drogas e cousas medicinaes da India*, p. 159.

[2] He says the *mangeli* = 5 grs., the carat 4 grs., and the *rati* 3 grs. (of wheat).

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all these diamonds mentioned by Garcia, but when doing so, was guilty of three serious blunders, which have hitherto been undetected, except by his editor, Adrian Toll; they have misled many subsequent authors, who have overlooked the editorial comments, including the Rev. Mr. King and Professor Maskelyne. The first was in giving Monardes instead of Garcia as his authority; the second in treating the *mangeli* as though it were the equivalent of the carat; and thirdly, in making, on the supposed authority of Monardes, a statement to the effect that the largest known diamond weighed 187½ carats.[1]

The explanation of De Boot's confusion between the names of Monardes and Garcia is that Ecluze (Clusius), published a work in 1574, in which he incorporated in the same volume the writings of these two authors; and, as pointed out by Adrian Toll, Monardes does not even allude to diamonds, his work being on the drugs of the West Indies.[2]

The question remains—Where did De Boot obtain the figure 187½, which approximates to the weight of the *Koh-i-nur*, when brought to England, and the weight of Bábar's diamond as estimated above? It has been seized upon by Professor Maskelyne, who quotes it from King, as a link in the chain connecting the two first-mentioned diamonds. It is a worthless link, however. It originated in a further manifestation of De Boot's carelessness.[3] What he really quoted from was not a passage in Monardes's work, as he says, nor in that of Garcia this time, but it was a commentary or note on the latter's statement about Indian diamonds, by the editor Ecluze; and, as will be seen in the note itself, which is of sufficient importance to be given in the original Latin, it refers to the largest diamond ever seen in Belgium![4] its weight being 47½ carats, or 190 grs. There can be no doubt that the statement by De Boot regarding a diamond weighing 187½ carats was, as pointed out by Adrian Toll and De Laet, utterly spurious. It was therefore quite unworthy of the notice it has received from the above-named authors, and is of no value whatever for the purposes of this history.

[1] *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*, 3d ed., by De Laet, 1647, p. 29.

[2] It was first printed at Seville in 1565.

[3] Rosnel, in *Le Mercure Indien*, Paris 1667, evidently quoting from De Boot, makes the same mistake.

[4] Majorem vero Adamantem in Belgio conspectum haud puto, quam Philippus II. Hispaniarum Rex ducturus Elizabetham, Henr. II. Gall. Regis filiam majorem natu emit de Carolo Assetato Antwerpia, Anno 1559, Octogies Millenis Cronatis; pendebat autem Car. xlvii, cum semine (= 47½), id est grana 190.—*De Gemmis et Lapidibus*, Lib. II., J. de Laet, *Lug. Bat.* 1647, p. 9.

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No attention has hitherto been given by writers to a large diamond which, as pointed out in a footnote,[1] was obtained by a Portuguese who worked the mine at Wajra Karur in Bellary about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It weighed, apparently, 434.7 carats. Nothing of its subsequent history is known; but it cannot have been the one presented by Mir Jumlá to Sháh Jahán. It may, however, have been the Pitt diamond, which, when offered to Pitt in 1701, weighed 426 carats; but if so, it remained uncut for nearly a century, and the generally accepted story of the Pitt diamond is that it was obtained at the mine at Partial.

We may now pass to a brief summary of the facts contained in Tavernier's several independent references to the Great Mogul's diamond—

First, In order of sequence, after describing the Mogul's jewels, he mentions (vol. i, Book II, chap. x, p. 395) its weight as being 319½ *ratis*, or 280 carats, the *rati* being $\frac{7}{8}$th of a carat. When first presented to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá it weighed, he says, *900* ratis or 787½ carats, and had several flaws, but when he saw it it was round, rose cut, very steep at one side, with a notch on the basal margin, and an internal flaw; its water was beautiful.

Secondly, When describing (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xvi, p. 74) the mine of Kollúr (Gani or Coulour) he says that there was found in it the great diamond which weighed 900 carats (?) before cutting, and was presented to Aurangzeb (?) by Mir Jumlá. This account, as already pointed out, contains several mistakes. Tavernier adds that the mine had been opened 100 years previously.

Thirdly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xviii, p. 97), he states that the Great Mogul's diamond was of perfect water and good form, and weighed 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats. Its value he estimated as amounting to 11,723,278 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*, or £879,245 : 18 : 1½. If it had weighed 279 carats only it would have been worth 11,676,150 *livres*, and consequently the value of the $\frac{9}{16}$th of a carat, owing to the geometrical method of calculation, amounted to 47,128 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*, or £3534 : 13 : 1½.

Fourthly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xxii, p. 123), he states that he was permitted to weigh the diamond, and ascertained its weight to be 319½ *ratis*, or 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats, and adds, "when in the rough it weighed, as I have elsewhere said, 907 *ratis*, or 793$\frac{5}{8}$ carats." Its form was as of an egg cut in two.

[1] See p. 54.

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Tavernier's figure of the diamond (see Plate II) has been referred to by Mr. King as being carefully drawn. It is true that very neat representations of it have appeared in works on mineralogy and precious stones, and glass models have been made on the same lines, but the original figure can only be correctly described as a very rude unprojected diagram, in which the facets are bounded by three transverse series of parallel lines which intersect one another irregularly.

The only other early mention of this diamond is by Bernier, who calls it "matchless," and states that it was presented to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá when he advised him to despatch an army for the conquest of Golconda.[1]

Let us now endeavour to reduce these statements to a common denomination. First, it must be stated that Tavernier and Bernier, both of whom refer expressly to the famous topaz belonging to Aurangzeb, are not likely to have been mistaken as to the nature of the stone examined; that it was a diamond may be safely accepted, in spite of any suggestions which have been made by authors to the contrary.

With regard to Tavernier's second statement, it is clearly wrong in two particulars, both of which may be attributed to the errors of a copyist, who wrote Aurangzeb for Sháh Jahán, and 900 carats in mistake for 900 *ratis*. This statement, therefore, being put aside from consideration, we have then left for comparison the following,

Original weight 900 *ratis* = $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats; after cutting $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis* = 280 carats.

Original weight 907 *ratis* = $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats; after cutting $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis* = $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats.

Calculated according to Tavernier's own statement that the *rati* was equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ of the carat, the equivalents would more correctly be stated as follows:—

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} 900 \text{ ratis} = 788\frac{1}{2} \text{ carats}^{2} \\ 907 \text{ ,, } = 793\frac{5}{8} \text{ ,,} \end{array}\right\} 319\tfrac{1}{2} \text{ ratis} = 279\tfrac{9}{16} \text{ carats.}$$

We have then, at first sight, the remarkable apparent coincidence in weights between this diamond, when cut, of $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, and Bábar's of about 8 *mishkals* (*i.e.* about 320 *ratis*); but the *ratis* were of very

[1] *History of the late Revolution*, Eng. Trans., vol. i, p. 44.

[2] The discrepancy between these two accounts of the original weight of the stone, which Tavernier probably obtained from native reports, one being 900 *ratis* and the other 907 *ratis*, does not in the least affect the question here discussed, as it is only the weight of the stone after cutting that we have to do with.

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different values, the former being equal to 2.66[1] troy grs., and the latter to about 1.842 (or 1.86?) grs., hence the respective weights, in carats, as already shown, are $186\frac{1}{16}$ and $279\frac{9}{16}$, the difference in weights of the two stones being therefore, apparently, $93\frac{1}{2}$ carats. But in anticipation of the discussion to be found on page 447 as to the reasons which have led to the conclusion that Tavernier used the light Florentine carat, it should be stated here that the weight of the Mogul's diamond, in English carats, was 4 per cent less than Tavernier's figures, in terms of Florentine carats; hence its weight, in order to be compared with other diamonds given in terms of English carats, should be $268\frac{12}{50}$, from which, if we subtract $186\frac{1}{16}$, the difference would be $82\frac{1}{3}$ carats, nearly. The similarity between the weight of Bábar's diamond at 320 *ratis*, and the Mogul's at $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, is delusive, as in *ratis* of the same denomination the former figure should be given at about 224 *ratis*, which is Ferishta's equivalent for 8 *mishkals*. So that the real difference amounts to $319\frac{1}{2} - 224 = 95\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, or, expressed in carats, at $\frac{7}{8}$ths of a carat = 1 *rati*, $83\frac{1}{2}$ carats. This is sufficiently close to the $82\frac{1}{3}$ carats, independently deduced, to justify the conclusion that the weight of Bábar's diamond was about 83 carats less than that of the Mogul's.

There is, I believe, no direct record of the size and weights of the diamonds carried away from Delhi by Nadir Sháh, but before dealing with that portion of the history, it will be convenient to refer here to an interesting statement by Forbes[2] which has been overlooked by most writers on the subject. He states that a Persian nobleman, who possessed a diamond weighing 117 carats, which was subsequently lost at sea, informed him when at Cambay in the year 1781, that there had been two diamonds in the Royal Treasury at Ispahan, one of which, called *Kooi toor* (*Koh-i-nur?*), "The Hill of Lustre," weighed 264 carats, and its value was estimated at £500,000. The other, called *Dorriainoor* (*Dariya-i-nur*), "The Ocean of Lustre," was of a flat surface. Both formed a portion of the treasure, amounting in value to from 70 to 80 millions sterling, which Nadir Sháh carried away from Delhi in 1739.

Forbes suggests that the first was the Mogul's diamond, described by Tavernier, remarking that the difference between the weights 264 and $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats may easily be allowed between the accounts given

[1] On page 448 my reasons for modifying the first conclusion, stated in vol. i, Appendix, as to the value of the pearl *rati* will be explained.

[2] *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 175.

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by a Persian and a European traveller. (If, as above suggested, the weight of the latter was 268$\frac{2}{10}$ English carats, the approximation is still closer.) The *Daríyá-i-nur*, as we shall presently see, still belongs to Persia, and as it weighs 186 carats, there is no known fact which in the slightest degree affects the possibility of its being identical with Bábar's diamond.

Several writers, among them Professor Schrauf of Vienna,[1] have suggested that the Mogul's diamond is to be identified with the similarly shaped Orloff, now belonging to Russia. Apart from the discrepancy in the weights and in the size, as shown by Tavernier's drawing, which was intended to represent the natural size of the former, it is tolerably certain that the Orloff was obtained from the temple of *Sri ranga*, on an island in the Cauvery river, in Mysore. It was therefore a possession of the Hindus, and it is most improbable that it ever belonged to the Moguls.

Reference has been made by some authors to the long historical chain which, they say, connects Bábar's diamond with the *Koh-i-nur*. As to the length of the supposed chain, it would extend over a period of 500 years at the least; but as to the links composing it, there is this to be said—they are all utterly unsound. In making so emphatic a statement I feel the necessity of being very sure of the grounds of my argument, especially as it is opposed to the views of many authorities, who, however, do not agree with one another as to details.

In deference to the opinions of Erskine, Professor Maskelyne, and General Cunningham, it may no doubt with perfect safety be admitted that the weight of Bábar's diamond in 1526 was, as stated above, about 8 *mishkals* or 320 *ratis*, and that these were equivalent to about 186 or 187 modern English carats. But it must be at once plainly stated that there is no direct evidence that any diamond of that weight was in the possession of the Mogul emperors at any subsequent period, up to the time of Nadir Sháh's invasion. We know nothing as to the weight of the *Koh-i-nur*, as such, till about the time it was brought to England, namely, the year 1850; and then, although its weight was 186$\frac{1}{16}$ carats, the evidence, as will be seen, is to the effect that it was not identical with Bábar's diamond.

In order to put this clearly it is necessary to summarise what has already been stated about other diamonds. Those mentioned by Garcia de Orta were not apparently in the possession of the Mogul, and their weights do not correspond to those of either the

[1] *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Vienna, 1869, p. 103.

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Mogul's or Bábar's diamonds. The diamond of 187½ carats referred to by De Boot has been shown to be mythical. Again, Tavernier did not see any stone of the weight above attributed to Bábar's diamond in the possession of the Great Mogul, Aurangzeb, nor can we suppose that he heard of any such diamond being in the possession of Sháh Jahán, who was then confined in prison, where he retained a number of jewels in his own possession.[1] If either he or Bernier had heard of such a stone he would surely have mentioned it. It is probable, however, that Bábar's diamond was really in Sháh Jahán's possession when Tavernier saw Aurangzeb's jewels, and that the latter obtained possession of it when Sháh Jahán died.[2]

Tavernier's statements, in so far as they relate to this history, are—I. That the Great Mogul's diamond was found in the mine at Kollúr, when, we cannot say, though Murray, Streeter, and other writers have ventured to assign precise dates. II. It was acquired by Mir Jumlá, and presented by him to Sháh Jahán about the year 1656. III. It originally weighed 900 *ratis* or 787½ carats; but having been placed in the hands of Hortensio Borgio, it was so much reduced by grinding, distinctly not by cleavage, that, when seen by Tavernier, he personally ascertained that it only weighed 319½ *ratis* or 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats. IV. The figure given by Tavernier, though very rudely drawn, is of a stone which must have weighed full 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats (Florentine), and it corresponds fairly with his description. V. This description mentions a steepness on one side and certain flaws, etc.

In order to identify the Mogul's diamond with Bábar's, certain authorities, notably Professor Maskelyne, have suggested that Tavernier's description did not really apply to the diamond presented by Mir Jumlá to Sháh Jahán; that the stone he describes had therefore not been found at Kollúr; that he was mistaken as to the particular kind of *ratis* which he mentions, and that consequently his equivalent in carats—calculated on the supposition that they were pearl *ratis*—was incorrect; finally, Professor Maskelyne maintains that Tavernier's drawing of the stone differs from his description of it, and was wholly incorrect and exaggerated in size.

Thus, in order to establish this supposed link of the chain, we are invited to whittle down Tavernier's account until it amounts to a bare statement that he saw a large diamond, about which all that he records as to its weight and history is incorrect.

[1] See vol. i, p. 371.

[2] See vol. i, p. 344.

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If I were not prepared to maintain that a jeweller of Tavernier's large experience could not possibly have made the mistakes which have thus been suggested, I should feel that I had rendered a very ill service in editing these volumes. It is incredible that having actually handled and weighed the stone, at his leisure, he could have made so great a mistake as to believe that it weighed $279\frac{9}{16}$, or in round numbers 280 carats (Florentine), while it was really one of only 186 carats (English).

The custom, which has been followed by many authors, of adopting or rejecting Tavernier's statements according as they agree or disagree with their independently conceived hypotheses, is one against which we are bound to protest. It is a kind of treatment which no author should receive. If supposed to be guilty of so many blunders and inaccuracies of statement, the proper course would be to leave all that such an author states severely alone.

Judging from Tavernier's drawing and description, the stone had been ground by Hortensio Borgio to a fairly symmetrical shape as a round rose, one side being, however, steeper than the other, which feature, though indicated to some extent in the original drawing, is not generally faithfully reproduced in the copies in various works on diamonds, and some of the glass models which have been made are not only defective in this respect, but are altogether too small. This is mentioned here because these models are sometimes referred to as though they afforded authentic evidence of the true form of the stone.

We have now arrived at a stage when we can agree with those authorities who have maintained that Babar's diamond and the Mogul's were [illegible] but with most if not all of them, we must [illegible] that the Mogul's diamond no longer existed, and that it was upon Babar's diamond that Nadir Shah [illegible] in the year 1739. But the Mogul's [illegible] and more immediate claim to be regarded [illegible] which was taken from Muhammad [illegible]. The stone was an eminently [illegible] the Mogul's stone as it was when seen [illegible] it in its subsequent [illegible] seen so confidently recognised [illegible]

[illegible] was taken by [illegible] rumours of its having been [illegible] Accept-

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ance of these stories has been rendered difficult by some authors having attempted to assign names and weights to these pieces, the sum of the latter being greater than the total weight of the Mogul's stone, as it was when seen by Tavernier. Thus the Orloff, the Great Mogul itself, and the *Koh-i-nur* have been spoken of as having formed parts of the same stone.[1] This hypothesis is in opposition to everything connected with the histories of these stones which can be relied on; but as regards the possibility of the *Koh-i-nur* alone having been carved out of the Great Mogul's diamond, it is not argument—but is simply begging the whole question—to assert that the *Koh-i-nur* existed 120 years before Borgio handled the Mogul's diamond. This Mr. Streeter has done,[2] and in his accounts of these diamonds he several times repeats that "all are agreed" that Bábar's diamond and the *Koh-i-nur* are identical, and the Mogul's distinct, which are precisely the points at issue. Indeed he might be reminded that in his own previously published work[3] he states that "any doubt as to the Mogul and *Koh-i-nur* being identical is but rarely entertained"; this, I venture to believe, was the sounder opinion than the one more recently advocated by him.

At the meeting of the British Association in 1851[4] Dr. Beke referred to a diamond found among the jewels of Reeza Kuli Khán at the conquest of Khorassan by Abbas Mirza in 1832. It weighed 130 carats, and showed marks of cutting on the flat or largest face. It was presented to the Sháh, and the jewellers of Teheran asked £16,000 for recutting it. Dr. Beke suggests that it was a part of the *Koh-i-nur*, meaning thereby the Mogul's diamond. This could not have been the case, because, as we have seen, the Mogul's diamond, if identical with the *Koh-i-nur*, had only a margin of about 82½ carats to lose, while if the latter be identical with Bábar's diamond it could have lost nothing. At the subsequent meeting of the Association[5] Professor Tennant improved on this by suggesting that the Russian diamond, *i.e.* the Orloff, formed a part of the same. Another suggestion about the Orloff has already been dealt with on a previous page.

A host of other writers have taken up this story, and lastly, Professor Nicol in his article on the diamond in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has unfortunately suggested that these three stones formed

[1] Quenstedt, *Klar and Wahr*, Tübingen, p. 79.
[2] *Great Diamonds of the World.*
[3] *Precious Stones*, Ed. p. 126.
[4] See *Athenæum*, July 5, 1851.
[5] *Ibid.* September 25, 1852.

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portions of the Mogul's stone seen by Tavernier, which amounts to saying that these three, weighing respectively 193, $186\frac{1}{16}$ and 130 carats,[1] or in all $509\frac{1}{16}$ carats, were portions of one which weighed only between 279 and 280 (Florentine) carats. His statement that "the three united would have nearly the form and size given by Tavernier" is simply incomprehensible.

If, however, we merely suppose that the Mogul's stone, while in the hands of one or other of its necessitous owners, after it was taken to Persia by Nadir, had pieces removed from it by cleavage, which altogether (there were at least three of them) amounted to the difference between its weight and that of the *Koh-i-nur* as it was when brought from India, namely, $279\frac{9}{16}$ Florentine carats = $268\frac{13}{16}$ English carats – $186\frac{1}{16} = 82\frac{1}{8}$ carats, we at once arrive at a simple explanation of the cause of the difference in weight between the stones, and are, moreover, thus enabled to show that Tavernier's account requires no whittling down, though the stone itself, after he saw it, appears to have been subjected to that process.

This would be but an hypothesis based on the rumours above referred to, were it not so strongly corroborated by the appearance presented by the *Koh-i-nur* itself when taken by the British from the Treasury at Lahore. Mr. Tennant[2] describes it as exhibiting, when brought to England, two large cleavage planes, *one of which had not even been polished, and had been distinctly produced by fracture.*

No one can examine the authentic sketches and models of the *Koh-i-nur* without feeling a strong presumption that it must have been mutilated, after cutting, and that it cannot have been left in such an incomplete condition by the jeweller who cut and polished it. In addition to its possessing defects similar to some of those described by Tavernier as having been in the Mogul's diamond, Mr. Tennant records that the *Koh-i-nur* had a flaw near the summit which, being on a line of cleavage parallel to the upper surface, may very possibly have been produced when the upper portion was removed—the weight of which, together with that of two portions removed from the sides, and the loss occasioned by the regrinding of four facets on the upper surface, may very easily have represented the difference in the weights of the two stones, namely $82\frac{1}{8}$ carats.

This too, in a measure, explains the discrepancies between

[1] Professor Nood gives the weights as $194\frac{1}{4}$, $186\frac{1}{16}$, and 132, the sum being $512\frac{1}{16}$.

[2] *Gems and Precious Stones*, London 1832, p. 83.

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Tavernier's description, which, as Prof. Maskelyne[1] admits, very fairly characterises the *Koh-i-nur* (*i.e.* certain flaws and defects in it, which happened to be in the portion preserved), and the figure, which, as it represents the whole stone, does not, at first sight, seem to resemble the *Koh-i-nur*. The accompanying illustration (Plate VI) and descriptive notes prove not only the possibility of the *Koh-i-nur* having been thus carved out of the Mogul's diamond, but they represent graphically the extreme probability of the truth of that suggestion.

Tavernier's account of the Mogul's diamond has, I think, been fully proved in the preceding pages to be quite inapplicable to Bábar's diamond, while all his facts and the balance of probability favour the view that in the *Koh-i-nur* we are justified in recognising the mutilated Mogul's diamond. Thus, while this theory, which has been built up on the basis of Tavernier's statements, is consistent with the literal acceptance of all of them, and with the physical condition of the *Koh-i-nur* when it came to Europe, of none of the other theories can the same be said; but, on the contrary, to suit their respective exigencies, they require the total rejection of one or more of the carefully recorded observations on the condition of the Mogul's stone when placed in the hands of this experienced jeweller for examination.[2]

The necessary conclusion is that it is not the Mogul's diamond which, through failure of being historically traced, as some authors assert, has disappeared, but it is Bábar's diamond of the history of which we are really left in doubt. The fixing of the weight of Bábar's diamond at a figure identical, or nearly so, with that of the *Koh-i-nur* when brought to England, though used as a link in the chain, has, as I think I have shown, effectively disposed of its claim to be identified with the Mogul's diamond in the first place, and secondly with the *Koh-i-nur*.

It has already been intimated that the *Dariyá-i-nur*, a flat stone, which weighs 186 carats, and is now in the Sháh's treasury,[3] may very possibly be Bábar's diamond, with regard to which I can only say that I have in vain sought for any well authenticated fact which in the slightest degree controverts or even throws doubt upon that suggestion.

[1] *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, March 1860.

[2] Among other difficulties introduced into the subject are such as follow from misquotation. Thus Kluge says that Tavernier himself described the stone as weighing 319½ *ratis* = 186 carats! For this unfortunate and mischievous error there can be no excuse, as he goes on to say quite correctly that the earlier weight was 793⅛ carats. *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Leipsig, 1860, p. 341.

[3] See Benjamin, *Persia*, p. 74.

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2. *Summary History of the Koh-i-nur*

This diamond, as related by Tavernier, was obtained in the mine of Kollúr on the Kistná (see vol. ii, p. 74). The precise date of its discovery is mere matter of conjecture; but about the year 1656 or 1657 it was presented, while still uncut, to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá, who had previously farmed the mines at Kollúr and elsewhere. The stone then weighed 900 *ratis* or 787½ carats (these, if Florentine carats, were equal to about 756 English carats).

In the year 1665 this diamond was seen by Tavernier in Aurangzeb's treasury, and it then weighed, as ascertained by himself, only 319½ *ratis*, or 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats (which, if Florentine carats, equalled 268$\frac{1}{50}$ English carats). It had been reduced to this size by the wasteful grinding treatment to which it had been subjected by a Venetian named Hortensio Borgio.

In the year 1739 it was taken from Aurangzeb's feeble descendant, Muhammad Sháh, by Nadir Sháh, when he sacked Delhi and carried away to Persia, it is said, £70,000,000 or £80,000,000 worth of treasure.[1] On first beholding it he is reported to have conferred upon it the title *Koh-i-nur* or Mountain of Light, a most suitable name for the stone described by Tavernier.

On the murder of Nadir Sháh at Kelat, in Khorassan, in 1747, it passed with the throne to his grandson Sháh Rukh, who resided at Meshed, where he was made a prisoner and cruelly tortured by Agá Muhammad (Mir Allum Khán), who in vain sought to obtain the *Koh-i-nur* from him. In the year 1751 Sháh Rukh gave it, as a reward for his assistance, to Ahmad Sháh, the founder of the Duráni dynasty at Kábul, and by him it was bequeathed to his son Táimur, who went to reside at Kábul. From him, in 1793, it passed by descent to his eldest son Sháh Zamán, who, when deposed by his brother Muhammad, and deprived of his eyes, still contrived to keep possession of the diamond in his prison, and two years afterwards it passed into the hands of his third brother Sultan Shujá. According to Elphinstone,[2] it was found secreted, together with some other jewels, in the walls of the cell which Sháh Zamán had occupied. After Shujá's accession to the throne of Kábul, on the dethronement and imprisonment of Muhammad, he was visited at Pesháwar by Elphinstone in 1809, who describes how he saw the diamond in a bracelet worn by

[1] According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* only £32,000,000. See vol. vi, p. 314.

[2] *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. ii, p. 325 *n.*

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Shujá, and he refers to it in a footnote as the diamond figured by Tavernier. Shujá was subsequently dethroned by his eldest brother Muhammad, who had escaped from the prison where he had been confined.

In 1812 the families of Zamán and Shujá went to Lahore, and Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab, promised the wife of the latter that he would release her husband and confer upon him the kingdom of Kashmir, for which service he expected to receive the *Koh-i-nur*.[1]

When Sháh Shujá reached Lahore, soon afterwards, he was detained there by Ranjit, who wished to secure both his person and the diamond; but the Sháh for a time evaded compliance with his demand for the stone, and refused offers of moderate sums of money for it. At length "the Máhárájá visited the Sháh in person, mutual friendship was declared, an exchange of turbans took place, the diamond was surrendered, and the Sháh received the assignment of a *jaghir* in the Punjab for his maintenance, and a promise of aid in recovering Kábul."[2] This was in 1813: the Sháh then escaped from Lahore to Rájáuri, in the hills, and from thence to Ludiána, after suffering great privations.[3] Here he and his brother Sháh Zamán were well received by the Honourable East India Company, and a liberal pension was assigned by the Government for their maintenance. The above statements, except where other authorities are quoted, are taken from General Sleeman's[4] account, which was founded on a narrative by Sháh Zamán, the blind old king himself, who communicated it to General Smith, he being at the time in command of the troops at Ludiána.

In the year 1839 Sháh Shujá, under Lord Auckland's Government, was set up on the throne of Kábul by a British force, which two years later was annihilated during its retreat.

The testimony of all the writers up to this period, and, it is said, the opinions of the jewellers of Delhi and Kábul also, concur in the view that the diamond which Ranjit thus acquired was the Mogul's, *i.e.* the one described by Tavernier. It seems probable that the mutilation and diminution in weight by about 83 carats, to which, as we have shown, it was subjected (see p. 442), took place while it was

[1] Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1849, p. 161.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 163. The Sháh's own account (*Autobiography*, chap. xxv) of Ranjit's methods to get possession of the diamond is more favourable to the latter than Captain Murray's. (See his *Rangeet Singh*, p. 96.)

[3] Dr. W. L. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 170.

[4] *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. i, p. 473.

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in the possession of Sháh Rukh, Sháh Zamán, or Sháh Shujá, whose necessities may have caused one of them to have pieces removed to furnish him with money.

Ranjit during his lifetime often wore the diamond on state occasions, and it is referred to by many English visitors to Lahore, who saw it during this period,[1] and is said to have then been dull and deficient in lustre.

In 1839 Ranjit died, and on his deathbed expressed a wish that the diamond, then valued at one million sterling, should be sent to Juggannath,[2] but this intention was not carried out,[3] and the stone was placed in the jewel chamber till the infant Rájá Dhulip Singh was acknowledged as Ranjit's successor.

When the Punjab was annexed, in the year 1849, the diamond was formally handed to the new Board of Government at one of its earliest meetings—and it was then personally entrusted by his colleagues to the care of John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, who, on receiving it, placed the small tin box containing it in his waistcoat pocket, and then forgot all about it till he was called upon to produce it six weeks later, in order that it might be sent to Her Majesty the Queen.

Recalling the circumstances when thus reminded of them, he hurried home and, with his heart in his mouth, asked his bearer whether he had got the box which had been in his pocket some time previously. Careful about trifles, like most Indian servants, the bearer had preserved it, though he thought it only contained a useless piece of glass. This strange vicissitude in the history of the stone is related by Bosworth Smith in his life of Lord Lawrence.[4] He adds that he had been told on good authority that it had passed through other dangers, on the way home, before it was safe in the possession of the Queen.

In 1851 the *Koh-i-nur* was exhibited in the first great Exhibition, and in 1852 the recutting of the stone was entrusted by Her Majesty to Messrs. Garrards, who employed Voorsanger, a diamond cutter from M. Coster's *atelier* at Amsterdam. The actual cutting lasted thirty-eight days, and by it the weight was reduced to $106\frac{1}{16}$ carats. The cost of the cutting amounted to £8000.

[1] Dr. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 216.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, London, 1846, p. 16.

[3] Miss Eden, *Up the Country*, vol. ii, p. 130, says that the Máhárájá ultimately consented to its not being sent.

[4] *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. i, p. 327.

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The conclusion thus arrived at as to the carat of Tavernier having been the light Florentine, involves a reduction in the value of the *rati*, which has been calculated in the earlier part of this work on the supposition that it was equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ths of the modern French and English carat. It must therefore be reduced by 4 per cent likewise, so that instead of 2.77 troy grs., it must stand at 2.66 troy grs. This value, it should be added, is identical with that derived from Tavernier's own statement, that 6 *melscals* or $181\frac{1}{8}$ *ratis* = 1 French ounce (*i.e.* 482.312 grs. troy), since $482.312 \div 181\frac{1}{8} = 2.66$. I am accordingly compelled to accept this value finally as being that of Tavernier's pearl *rati;* and I must ask readers to accept this conclusion, which was given as an alternative to 2.77, in the Appendix to vol. i,[1] instead of the latter, which was adopted in the text.

In the following table the weights in carats of the principal stones mentioned by Tavernier are enumerated, and in the last column these weights, reduced by 4 per cent, show the equivalent values in English carats.

4. *On the weights of some of the Diamonds, other Precious Stones, and Pearls, mentioned and figured by Tavernier*

Assuming that our argument is well founded as to the carats mentioned in the text having been Florentine carats, it is necessary, in order to reduce them to English carats, to subtract 4 per cent from them, as in the following table :—

DIAMONDS.

	Tavernier's Carats (Florentine).	English Carats.
1*a*. Great Mogul's (uncut)	$787\frac{1}{2}$	756
1*b*. Great Mogul's (cut)	$279\frac{9}{16}$	$268\frac{19}{50}$
2. Golconda	$242\frac{1}{16}$	$232\frac{43}{50}$
3*a*. Ahmadabad (uncut)	$157\frac{1}{4}$	$150\frac{24}{25}$
3*b*. Ahmadabad (cut)	$94\frac{1}{2}$	$90\frac{18}{25}$
4. Grand Duke of Tuscany's ($139\frac{1}{2}$)	$139\frac{1}{5}$	$133\frac{16}{25}$
5. Blue	$112\frac{3}{16}$	$107\frac{7}{10}$
6. Baau	104	$99\frac{21}{25}$
7. Mascarenha	$67\frac{1}{2}$	$64\frac{4}{5}$
8. Kollur	$63\frac{3}{8}$	$60\frac{21}{25}$

[1] See vol. i. pp. 416, 417, and 418.

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APPENDIX II

List of all the Diamond Mines in India of which there are authentic Records, arranged in Districts

SINCE this list was first published[1] it has been repeatedly checked, and it contains several additions. Although in various works on precious stones, etc., names are given as being those of diamond mines in India which are not to be found here, they are for the most part either synonymes of names that are, or are spurious. Want of space prevents such synonymes being dealt with, which is to be regretted, as the confusion in the nomenclature cannot be easily described without recourse to details. Names of villages, towns, rivers, provinces, etc., are misplaced and jumbled together in almost inextricable confusion. One author gives Pegu as a diamond mine in Southern India; in the Mount Catti of another we trace a reference to the *Ghâts* of Southern India; and in the Malacca of many authors we must recognise, not as they do, either a place supposed to be in Southern India or the true Malacca, but Borneo, which used to be so called by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. (See Appendix IV.) For some time I was unable to identify a certain Mr. Cullinger, who was quoted by one writer in connection with diamonds. Will it be believed that this *gentleman* ultimately proved on investigation to be the *fort* of Kálinjar?

MADRAS

KADAPA (OR CUDDAPAH) DISTRICT

Chennur on the Pennair River, Lat. 14° 34′; Long. 78° 51′ 30″.

Condapetta (or Kanuparti), opposite Chennur.

Gandikot? mentioned by some authors. Lat. 14° 49′; Long. 78° 20′ 30″.

Goorapur? close to Chennur. Not identified.

Goulagoonta (close to Jamalmadugu), Lat. 14° 51′; Long. 78° 26′.

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[1] See *Economic Geology of India*, chap. i. The Madras lists were founded originally on Dr. King's in *Mem. Geol. Surv. India*, vol. viii.

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(Jamalmadugu close to Goulagoonta, which see.)
(Kanuparti or Condapetta, which see.)
Lamdur? Not identified, mentioned by Heyne.
Ovalumpally (or Woblapully), Lat. 14° 34′; Long. 78° 51′ 35″.
Pinchetgapadu? Not identified, mentioned by Heyne.
(Woblapully or Ovalumpally, which see.)

Bellary District[1]

Gunjeegoonta, 2 miles south of Wajra Karur.
Gutidrug? Lat. 15° 7′; Long. 77° 42′.
Hotoor? 6 miles W.S.W. of Wajra Karur.
Wajra Karur, Lat. 15° 2′; Long. 77° 27′.

Karnul (or Kurnool) District

Banganapalle, Lat. 15° 18′; Long. 78° 16′; 37 miles S.E. of Karnul (see A.S. No. 76). Mines.

Bannur, close to Gudipaud; in Nandikotkur *Taluk*.

Baswapur, Lat. 15° 25′; Long. 78° 43′ 30″; in Nallamullay Hills; mines and alluvial washings.

Byanpalle, Lat. 15° 32′; Long. 78° 14′ 15″; 24 miles S.S.E. of Karnul.

Coomroly (close to Gooramankonda, which see); Nandial *Taluk*.

Deomurru, Lat. 15° 49′ 30″; Long. 78° 11′. Left bank of Tunghabhadra.

Devanur, Lat. 15° 44′; Long. 78° 19′. Diamonds found in banks of Kundur river; in Nandikotkur *Taluk*.

Dhone, Lat. 15° 23′ 30″; Long. 77° 56′.

(Gazerpalle close to Baswapur, which see.)

Gooramankonda, Lat. 15° 32′; Long. 78° 14′ 15″; 24 miles S.S.E. of Karnul. Rock workings.

Gudipaud, 2 miles W. of Devanur; in Nandikotkur *Taluk*.

Hassanapur in Doopaud. Not identified.

Jorapur. A diamond of 44 carats found in *débris* of irrigation works, near Karnul.

Kannamadakalu, Lat. 15° 42′; Long. 78° 14′ 30″. Alluvial.

Lanjapoleur, Lat. 15° 45′ 30″; Long. 78° 4′; 7 miles S.S.W. of Karnul; Ramulkota *Taluk*.

Muddavaram, Lat. 78° 9′ 30″; Long. 78° 30′. 7 miles E.S.E. of Ramulkota; Nandial *Taluk*.

Munimadagu, Lat. 15° 15′; Long. 78° 2′ 10″; in Pattikonda *Taluk*, 16 miles W. by S. of Banaganapalle (formerly included in Bellary District).

Muravakonda, Lat. 16° 1′; Long. 78° 19′; on the Kistná. Diamonds found below the ford, according to Ferishta and Newbold.

Oruvakal (or Woraykal of A.S.), Lat. 15° 41′; Long. 78° 14′; 14 miles S.E. of Karnul; Nandial *Taluk*.

Panchalingala, left bank of Tunghabhadra; Ramulkota *Taluk*.

[1] A locality called Nizam in Bellary is mentioned by M. Chaper. See *Engineering*, 1884, 29th February.

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Pendekallu, 5 miles S.E. of Ramulkota; Ramulkota *Taluk*.

Polúr? Lat. 15° 31′ 30″; Long. 78° 19′; 4 miles N.W. of Nandial; in Nandial *Taluk*.

Pyapali; Palikonda *Taluk*.

Ramulkota, Lat. 15° 34′; Long. 78° 3′ 15″; 18 miles W. by S. of Karnul. Rock and alluvial.

Saitankota, right bank of Tunghabhadra, E.N.E. of Karnul.

Tandrapad, Lat. 15° 51′; Long. 78° 71′; left bank of Tunghabhadra, opposite Karnul. Alluvial.

Timmapuram; Lat. 15° 32′ 30″; Long. 78° 6′ 30″; 6 miles E.S.E. of Ramulkota. Rock workings.

Yembye, Lat. 15° 32′; Long. 78° 14′ 15″; 24 miles E.S.E. of Karnul.

Kistná and Godavari Districts

Atkur, Lat. 16° 38′; Long. 80° 23′ 30″.

Barthenypadu, Lat. 16° 38′; Long. 80° 23′ 30″.

Bhadrachalum (doubtful; a diamond said by Newbold to have been found there), on the Godavari.

Damarapad, Lat. 16° 35′ 3″; Long. 79° 30′.

Golapalle (or Golapilly), Lat. 16° 43′ 30″; Long. 80° 57′.

*Kodavatakullu, Lat. 16° 40′; Long. 80° 23′ 30″ (A.S. 75).

Kollúr (the Gani or Coulour of Tavernier), Lat. 16° 42′ 30″; Long. 80° 5′; right bank of Kistná.

Madagalu? (in Palnad *Taluk*), 8 miles from the Kistná.

Malawaram, Lat. 16° 35′ 3″; Long. 79° 30′.

Moonaloor (or Moogaloor), Lat. 16° 38′; Long. 80° 23′ 20″.

Muléle (or Mullavilly), Lat. 16° 41′; Long. 80° 56′.

*Oostapully (or Ustapalle), Lat. 16° 40′; Long. 80° 23′ 30″.

*Partial, Lat. 16° 39′; Long. 80° 27′ (A.S. 75).

(Ustapalle or Oostapully, which see.)

CENTRAL PROVINCES

Sambalpur District

Sambalpur, town on the Mahánadi River, and some of the tributaries above the town. (The country of the Sabarai of Ptolemy.)

Chanda District

Wairágarh (the Beiragurh of the Ain-i-Akbári), Lat. 20° 26′; Long. 80° 10′ (A.S. 73). Probably the Kossala of the Chinese pilgrims.

WESTERN BENGAL

Lohardugga District

Sank River, a tributary of the Bráhmini.

* The three villages, so marked, were reserved by the Nizám on account of their diamond mines when the Kondupalle Circar was ceded to the East India Company in 1766.

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Semah, on the Koel (the Soumelpour on the Gouel of Tavernier), Lat. 23° 35′; Long. 84° 21′. This was probably the Sambalaka, in the country of the Mandalai, of Ptolomey.

BANDELKHAND

Panna

Baghin, Bargari, Brijpur, Etwa, Kamariya, Majgoha, Myra, Panna, Sakeriya, Saya-Luchmanpur, Udesna, and many others around Panna town. It is not known when these mines were first discovered. So far as I can ascertain, Tieffenthaler was the earliest European visitor to them who has left any record of them; he appears to have been at Panna in 1765. He says the diamonds found there could not compare either in hardness or fire with those of Orissa (Soumelpour?) or of Raoulcound (*i.e.* Ramulkota). There is no record of any exceptionally large diamonds having been found at Panna. Though it is believed by some that the mines are of very great antiquity, the history of them is defective. However, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, by Abdul Fazl (1590),[1] refers to diamonds having been found at 20 *coss* distance from the fort of Kálinjar, and that Raja Keerut Singh, a former Governor of that fort, had six valuable stones. It seems probable that these mines were worked in Tavernier's time, though he was not aware of the fact.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES

Simla? This is a very doubtful locality, but there are several diamonds in the Calcutta Museum which were said to have been found in a stream near Simla.

Note on the Golconda and Bijapur Diamond Mines

There is a very important early description of the diamond mines of these regions, which is of special interest, as it gives a clue to the original source of many names of diamond sites which are to be found in the modern literature of the subject. It was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907, having been *presented* to the Royal Society by the Earl Marshal of England, who was then Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk. His term of office as Earl Marshal lasted from 1672-1683. I am inclined to think it may have been written by Mr. Cholmley, who is described by Mr. Streynsham Master[2] as having been engaged for several years

[1] Gladwin's Ed., vol. i, p. 29.

[2] *Kistná Manual*, p. 147.

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before 1679 in making the annual purchases of diamonds for the Company, especially at the mines of Gollapalle (or Golapilly) and Malavalle (Muléli or Mullavilly).

The diamond mines of the Kistná District belonged to the Kings of Golconda, Kutab Sháh dynasty, from the downfall of the Báhmani Kings of Deccan (*circa* 1500) until their defeat and extinction in 1686. The mines in the Karnul District also belonged to them after the Rájás of Vijáyanagar were driven to the south in 1564. (See *Kistná Manual*, p. 244.)

It is curious to note that while Tavernier only mentions three localities in these regions by name, namely, Ramulkota (his Raolconda), Kollúr (his Coulour), and Gandikot, together with another unnamed locality (which was Gazerpalle, see p. 476), this paper, published only a year after Tavernier's first edition appeared, enumerates 23 mines in the Kingdom of Golconda, and 15 in the Kingdom of Bijapur—in all 38.

As will be seen, some of these names correspond with names in the preceding list, others seem to be identical with names of villages in the region, about which there is no independent evidence of their having been diamond producing. The remaining names I have failed to identify. As I hope on some future occasion to republish this paper of the Earl Marshal's, *in extenso*, with annotations, I shall at present limit myself to a brief enumeration of the localities, their proper modern names being given in brackets.

The Golconda Mines are—1. *Quolure;* this is Tavernier's Coulour or Gani [KOLLÚR]. This is said to have been the first mine worked in Golconda, but was then, 1677, almost exhausted. 2. *Codawillicul* [KODAVATAKULLU], 3. *Malabar* [MALAWARAM], 4. *Buttephalem* [BARTHENYPADU, near PARTIAL], 5. *Ramiah* [?], 6. *Gurem* [?], 7. *Muttampellee* [near *Kurur*?]. These five (? six) were under the same government as that of *Melwillee* [MALAVALLE or MULÉLI], see below. 8. *Currure* [WAJRA- or VAJRA-KARUR, in the Guty *Taluk* of the Bellary District]. This identification is confirmed by the statement that it, the most famous and most ancient of all the mines, was taken some years previously, with the Carnatic, by Mir Jumlá from the Hindu Rájás. It is said that diamonds up to "a *seize* (? seer) weight, which was equal to about 9 ounces troy, or 81½ *pagodas*, had been found there; the mine was privately worked by the King, and the stones produced from it were large and well spread," etc. I have elsewhere quoted, see vol. ii, p. 54, the account of this mine having been worked by a Portuguese gentleman. 9. *Ganjee-*

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conta [GUNJEEGONTA], 10. *Lattawar*[1] [LATTWARA]. These two last are respectively 1 and 10 miles S.W. of WAJRA-KARUR. 11. *Jonagerre* [?], 12. *Pirai* [?], 13. *Dugulle* [?], 14. *Purwillee* [?]. These four last I cannot identify. 15. *Anuntapellee* [ANANTAPUR? is 20 miles from WAJRA-KARUR. Dr. King (*Mem. Geol. Surv. India*, vol. viii, p. 101) alludes to a diamond being found there]. 16. *Girregeta* [GOULAGOONTA], 17. *Maarmood* [?], 18. *Wazzergerre* [WAJIRABAD?]. 19. *Munnemurg* [MUNIMADAGU in Karnul]. The two last are said to have been the deepest mines; they were carried to depths of 40 to 50 fathoms. Some interesting details are given as to the process of mining. 20. *Langumboot* [?]; process of mining as in the preceding. 21. *Whootoor* [HOTOOR?] near KARUR. 22. *Muddemurg* [MADAGULA? in centre of Palnad *Taluk*, Kistná District. This identification is founded on the statement that the locality was about 9 miles from the Kistná river]. 23. *Melwillee*, or new mine [MALAVALLE or MULÉLI], worked first from 1670-71, then closed, but reopened in 1673 by the King's licence, owing to the Kollúr mine becoming exhausted.

In BIJAPUR there were 15 mines, of which only those yielding the smallest stones were allowed by the King to be worked, partly to prevent large stones becoming too common, and partly to avoid exciting Aurangzeb's cupidity. The mines were—1. *Ramulconeta* [RAMULKOTA, *i.e.* Tavernier's Raolconda]; diamonds of a *mangelin* weight were seldom found there, generally they were much smaller. Broken diamonds, called *shemboes*, were found there. 2. *Banugunnapellee* [BANAGANAPALLE, 37 miles S.E. of Karnul], 3. *Pendekull* [PENDEKALLU], 4. *Moodawaram* [? MUDDAVARAM, 7 miles E.S.E. of Ramulkota], 5. *Cumerwille* [COOMROLY of A.S. close to GOORAMANKONDA], 6. *Paulkull* [?], 7. *Workull* [? ORUVAKAL], 8. *Lungeepoleur* [LANGAPOLEUR, 5 miles S. of Karnul], 9. *Pootloor* [POLUR], 10. *Punchelingull* [PANCHALINGALA, left bank of Tunghabhadra], 11. *Shingarrampent* [?], 12. *Tondarpaar* [TANDRAPAD, left bank of Tunghabhadra], 13. *Gundepelle* [?], 14. *Donee* [DHONE], 15. *Gazerpellee* [this is close to BASWAPUR].

I would venture to commend the identification of those mines which are unplaced in the above list to some one with local knowledge.

We are told in the Earl Marshal's paper that in Golconda the

[1] This, as also some of the other localities, are given by Dutens and Castellani as being in Asia!—a rather wide geographical expression; they have long been objects of search to me, till traced by means of this paper.

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miners and merchants were much oppressed, and in a miserable state of poverty, from having to submit to tyrannical squeezing and heavy duties on provisions, tobacco, and *betel*. With extraordinary inconsistency, although the King of Golconda, Abdul Kutab Sháh, and the King of Bijapur, Adil Sháh, had agreements with the miners that all diamonds above a certain weight were to be reserved for them, still they would not only pay highly for large stones conveyed to their capitals secretly by the merchants, but would bestow dresses of honour upon the merchants who brought such stones to them for sale.

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APPENDIX III

The Diamond Mines of Bengal

ALTHOUGH it is possible that many persons in India may be surprised at the statement that there were formerly diamond mines of considerable importance and value in the region of Bengal, which is about to be described; and although it is probably the case that many who have resided for long periods in the very District itself have never heard of the fact, all local traces of the industry being now extinct, still the cumulative evidence which can be brought forward is such that I do not anticipate that any serious objections can be urged to the natural conclusions derivable from that evidence.

Gibbon, in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, for some reason which he does not give, arrived at the conclusion that it was the mines described by Tavernier at Soumelpour[1] on the Gouel (*i.e.* Semah or Semulpur on the Koel, in the Sub-Division of Palámau), rather than any of the localities in Southern India, which supplied Rome with diamonds.

Ptolomey mentions Sambalaka[2] as a city in the country of the Mandalai which produced the finest diamonds in the world. Now, although it is possible that he may have referred to Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, where diamonds are known to occur, I prefer to identify it with Tavernier's Soumelpour, as above, because it was situated in the country generally recognised as that of the Mandali or Mundas, while Sambalpur is beyond its limits.

Further, it may be conveniently remarked here that Ptolomey's Adamas river, although he clearly indicates its origin in Chutiá Nágpur (Kokkonage or Kokrah), has by some authors been identified with the Mahánadi, while others have with greater probability

[1] By a misprint given as Jumelpur, in Bengal, *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii, p. 281, *note*.

[2] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiii, 1884, p. 364, where it is identified with Sambalpur.

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identified it with one or other of the rivers rising in Chutiá Nágpur, namely, the Dámuda, Subanrikhá or Bráhmani, with its tributaries the Sank and Southern Koel, to which we shall presently again refer. The Mahánadi is probably Ptolomey's Manada, rising in the country of the Sabaræ or Savaras, where diamonds were also obtained.

Our next reference to this locality is a very definite and explicit one; it is separated by a long period of time from Ptolomey. In Prof. Blochman's translation[1] of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángiri*, we find that "On the 3d Isfandiármuz of the 10th year of my reign (A.D. 1616) it was reported to me (Jahángir) that Ibráhim Khán (governor of Bihár) had overrun Kokrah and taken possession of its diamond washings. This District belongs to *Subah* Bihár, and the river which flows through it yields the diamonds." Then follow accounts of the mines and Ibráhim Khán's operations, all of which will be found quoted in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 25. The account goes on to say, "The District is now subject to me. All diamonds found in the river are forwarded to court. Only a few days ago a diamond arrived which had a value of Rs.50,000, and I hope many more will be added to my store of jewels." Among those received from Ibráhim Khán was one which was coloured like a sapphire, it weighed several *ratis*, and the lapidaries valued it at Rs.3000, though they would have given 20,000 had it been white and stood the test. Prof. Blochman gives a quotation from a MS. history of the Maháráj as of Chutiá Nágpur, in which a method of testing diamonds for flaws is described as consisting in fixing them on the horns of fighting rams.

General Dalton recorded that the family of the Rájá of Chutiá Nágpur possessed a diamond from these mines valued at Rs.40,000.[2] A large picture, representing the attack on the Palámau fort in 1660 by Dáud Khán, contains a figure of the *Zamindár-i-kán-i-álmás* or Lord of the Diamond Mine. General Dalton was, I believe, rather inclined to think these mines somewhat mythical, while Prof. Blochman[3] identified the river with the Sank. As I had conversations with both of them on the subject, I am satisfied that neither of them knew of Tavernier's references to this region, nor did I know of them then, and it was not till some time after I became aware of them, that I was able to show that his Soumelpour was quite a

[1] *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xl, p. 113.
[2] *Ethnology of Bengal*, 163, *n.*
[3] *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xliii, pt. i, p. 240.

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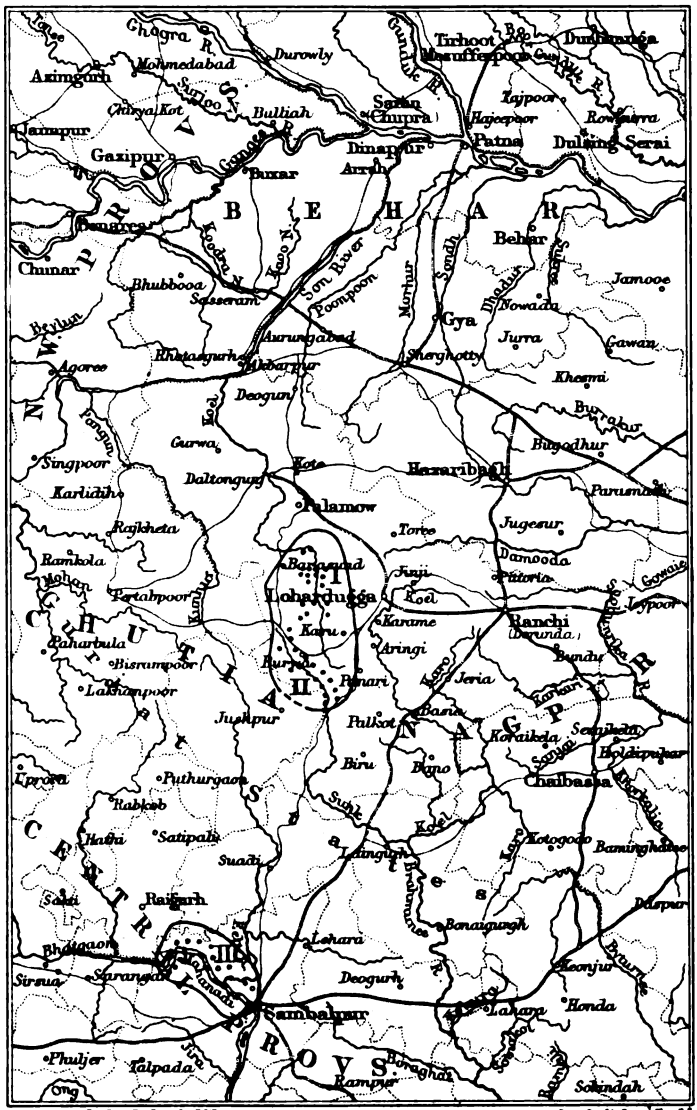
A MAP SHEWING THE POSITION OF THE DIAMOND RIVERS OF BENGAL

I *Soumelpour on the Gouel i.e. Semah on the Koel in the Palamow Subdivision.*

II *An intermediate locality on the Sunk river in Burwa, Palkot & Jushpur*

III *Position of the washings on the Mahanadi near Sambalpur in the Central Provinces.*

:::: *Diamond rivers*



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different locality from Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, with which most writers had identified it.

In addition to Tavernier's own direct account of this locality, there is another somewhat earlier in date, but which there is reason to believe was derived from information obtained from him. Reference will be found in Appendix VI to a work by Chappuzeau. In it there appears to be reference to the locality in Bengal which produced diamonds under the name Nage (*i.e.* Kokkonage or Chutiá Nágpur). In the year 1657 L'Escot of Orleans (see p. 304) went there to purchase a diamond of 42 carats, but he failed to get it.

Although Tavernier's locality was on the Gouel River, *i.e.* the Koel, which runs northwards to join the Sone, and so reaches the Ganges—the Sank and another Koel also take their rise close by, and running southwards they form the Bráhmani, which joins the delta of the Mahánadi, near the coast of the Bay of Bengal. The Ebe River, a tributary of the Mahánadi also, rises in the same neighbourhood, and it is locally called the *Hira* or diamond river, and its bed is said to have yielded diamonds. Hence it is a natural deduction that the source of the diamonds found in the beds of these rivers, which pursue such different courses, is common to all, and that the diamond-bearing rocks will be found there. Unfortunately before leaving India I had no opportunity of putting this theory to the test, and I am not aware that the area has been as yet fully explored.

The accompanying map will convey a clear idea of the relative positions of the three localities, which have hitherto been much confused in the accounts by different authors. In the south there is Sambalpur, on the Mahánadi, of which I have elsewhere[1] published detailed accounts of the geology, and of the records of the yield of diamonds there in former times; farther north is the locality on the Sank river, which, as stated above, is one of the tributaries of the Bráhmani; and lastly, on the other side of the watershed, is the site of the locality, Semah on the Koel, a tributary of the Sone, which I identify with the Soumelpour of Tavernier.

As Sambalpur is in the Central Provinces, and is therefore beyond the region of the present discussion, not being included in Bengal, we may now pass to the mention of the other two localities, as they are referred to by various authorities since Tavernier's time.

Sumelpur (*Mine de diamans*), near a tributary of the Solon (*i.e.*

[1] *Economic Geology of India*, p. 30.

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Sone, called in its upper portion Riverere d'Andi, see *ante*, vol. i, p. 55), is represented on the Carte de l'Indoustan by M. Bellin, which was published in 1752 in the *Histoire Genérale des Voyages.*

Tieffenthaler,[1] somewhere about the year 1766, wrote of Sommelpour as a place producing an abundance of diamonds of good quality in the river Gouel, 30 *milles* S.E. from Rohtas. He did not visit it himself, and perhaps he quoted from Tavernier.

Pennant,[2] in the year 1798, mentions that a diamond mine was then being worked on the Sank river, but he does not name his authority. He also states that Soumelpour on the Gouel was the most noted and most ancient locality for diamonds.[3] Here he evidently quotes from Tavernier, as also did Buffon,[4] who calls the locality Soonelpour on the Gouil, which Buchanan Hamilton in 1838[5] refers to as being probably identical with a diamond mine which he had heard of on the southern Koel. Karl Ritter in 1836 detected the incompatibility of Tavernier's statements as to the position of his Soumelpour with that of Sambalpur on the Mahánadi; but his correc tion did not serve to mitigate the confusion which is to be found even in the most recent authors upon the subject. I may add that I was pointed out on the map a locality on the Sank by a resident in Chutiá Nágpur, where local tradition asserts that diamonds used to be found.

Having referred above to Sambalpur in the Central Provinces, it may be of interest to add that this Indian Province includes another locality which, though of importance in early times, was so forgotten even a century ago, that Rennell, and after him Karl Ritter, altogether failed to identify it. It was mentioned as being in the country conquered by Ahmed Sháh Walli Bhamini, both by Garcia de Orta and Ferishtá. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* the locality is spoken of as at Beiragurh which is now identified with Wairágarh in the Chanda District, about 80 miles from Nágpur. It was probably the Kossala of the Chinese pilgrims and perhaps the Kossa of Ptolomey.

It is just possible that a locality mentioned by Nicol Conti in the fifteenth century as a diamond mine called Albenigaras, may have also been Wairágarh. He mentions that the diamonds were obtained then by means of pieces of meat, which were flung on to the mountain, where the diamonds could not be collected owing to the number of serpents. The pieces of meat with diamonds sticking to them were

[1] Bernoulli, *Descr. de l'Inde*, Berlin, 1791, vol. i, p. 433.
[2] *View of Hindoostan*, vol. ii, p. 140. [3] *Id.* p. 113.
[4] *Hist. Nat., Mineraux*, Paris, 1786, vol. iv, p. 280.
[5] Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, vol. i, p. 535.

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then carried to their nests by birds of prey, from whence they were recovered by the diamond seekers. This, with variations, is the story told by Marco Polo, and in the travels of Sindbad the Sailor. Elsewhere I have described the probable origin of this myth. It appears to be founded on the very common practice in India on the opening of a mine, to offer up cattle to propitiate the evil spirits who are supposed to guard treasures—these being represented by the serpents in the myth. At such sacrifices in India, birds of prey invariably assemble to pick up what they can, and in that fact we probably have the remainder of the foundation of the story.

It is probable, also, that the story by Pliny and other early writers of the diamond being softened by the blood of a he-goat, had its origin in such sacrifices.

As to whether these or other diamond mines in India could be profitably worked again I cannot now discuss here; but I may say that I do not believe that they can be truly described as being exhausted.

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APPENDIX IV

The Diamond Mines of Borneo

In the Colloquies of Garcia de Orta, in the Travels of Linschoten, in the works of De Boot[1] and De Laet,[2] and in many treatises on precious stones, up to some of those most recently published, we find, as has already been stated in the note on p. 87, that Malacca is mentioned as a locality where diamonds occur. This was for a long time a sore puzzle to me, especially as among modern writers on Malacca, with the exception of Miss Bird,[3] none claimed that Malacca was known to be a diamond producing country, while some local inquiries which I made through the late Mr. W. Wynne of the Straits Civil Service confirmed an opinion, founded on the character of the geological structure, that probably none had ever been found there.

The solution of the difficulty is afforded by the fact that the name Malacca was applied by the early Portuguese writers to Borneo, and that the Taniapura which they mention was Tanjongpura in Borneo.

I am indebted to Mr. D. F. A. Hervey for the information that Tanjong pûra (the Tandjong Poera of the Dutch) is situated about 30 miles up the river Pawán in the northern part of the Mátan District, adjoining Sukadana. The name, he states, is a hybrid, Tanjong being the Malay for a point (of land), and pura a Malayan version of the Sanskrit pûr, a town.

Such is the true explanation, and not that Malacca was a place situated in the Eastern Ghâts! as stated by Castellani; nor that the

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[1] *De Lapidi. et Gemm.*, 3d ed., by De Laet, Lug. Bat. 1647, p. 121. When enumerating the localities where the diamond is obtained, he says, "Alia est rupes ad fretum Tanian in Malacca que etiam profert adamantes qui de rupe veteri vocantur." De Boot's original work was published in 1609.

[2] *De Gemm. et Lapidi.*, Lug. Bat. 1647, p. 2, "Juxta fretum Taniapuræ haud longe ab Emporio celeberrimo Malacca alia earumdem gemmarum fodina est unde vulgo Malacenses appellantur."

[3] *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 261.

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idea originated in some jumble about malachite, as has I think been suggested by one writer.

As it was with Pliny, so it has been with a host of other compilers; we find in the literature of precious stones the same places or the same objects called by different names, and treated as though they were distinct. It has been shown on p. 72 that *Gani* was a prefix signifying "mine of" to the name Kollúr, a diamond locality on the Kistná, though it is commonly treated as though it were a name itself; and when we find Malacca mentioned side by side with Borneo, as a diamond-producing region, we should not suspect that its appearance in the lists is simply due to a survival of an old name for Borneo. It is perhaps needless to add, therefore, that it should be expunged from all future lists.

The following facts with regard to the occurrence of the diamond in Borneo are chiefly extracted from Crawfurd's *Dictionary* and a paper by Dr. Posewitz.[1] The original matrix of the diamonds of Borneo is, as yet, unknown; but, as they are found in alluvial deposits in the beds of certain rivers, and in older alluvial or diluvial deposits, together with gold and platinum, it may be concluded with some probability that all come from the same sources. The platinum is not known to have been met with in the original matrix, but gold has been found *in situ* in Palæozoic rocks.

The most famous and apparently the earliest known diamond mines were situated in West Borneo, in the Districts of Landak and Sangau, while some diamonds are reported to have been obtained in Sarawak. Dr. Posewitz does not refer to their occurrence at Tanjongpura, on the Pawán river, nor in Sukadana, where earlier writers state they were found.

In Southern Borneo the most abundant mines and washings are in the neighbourhood of the Tanahlaut hills, which form the boundary between Southern and Eastern Borneo, near Martapura and Tjempaka? The produce of these localities is best known in connection with the name Banjarmasin, a territory and seaport now held by the Dutch.

It should be added that there are some minor localities in the region between Banjarmasin and Sukadana.

In Eastern Borneo the territory of Kusan, to the east of the Tanahlaut range, also includes some mines.

In British North Borneo there are believed to be some diamond

[1] *Das Diamantvorkommen in Borneo Mith a. d. Jahrb d. K. Geol. Anst.*, Bd. vii, Budapesth, 1885.

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bearing localities, but as yet they have not been proved to be of any very great promise.

In connection with the subject of Borneo diamonds, mention is frequently made of a supposed diamond in the possession of the Rájá of Mátan. Its great size, 367 carats, and its reputed value, £269,378, as estimated by Crawfurd, have for many years caused it to be an object of Dutch cupidity, and many stories are told of the efforts made by them to induce the Rájá to part with it. It is stated that early in the century the Rájá was offered 150,000 dollars, two large war brigs fully equipped, besides other war material, in exchange for the diamond; but from superstitious or other reasons he refused to part with this emblem of royalty, and it has never been cut. Hugh Low states that the real diamond was not shown to visitors, but that a rock crystal was kept for the purpose. Dr. Posewitz, however, records that in 1868 the so-called diamond was itself definitely proved to be merely a piece of rock crystal, thus proving the accuracy of Von Gaffron's previous assertion that it could be scratched by corundum, and had a specific gravity of only 2.63 (namely, that of quartz).

Although diamonds weighing up to 70 and even 80 carats have been found in Borneo, for many years past stones of even 4 or 5 caráts have been but rarely met with.

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APPENDIX V

The Ruby Mines of Upper Burmah and the Sapphire Washings of Ceylon

Position.—The principal ruby mines of Burmah are situated in three valleys, which are known by the names of their chief villages respectively, namely Mogok (or Mogout), Kathé, and Kyatpyen. The elevated tract including these valleys is situated at a distance of about 90 miles N.N.W. from Mandalay, and is at elevations of from 4000 to 5500 feet above the sea. The mountains surrounding the Mogok valley culminate in the peaks of Chenedoung, 7362 feet, and Toungee, 7775 feet. The ruby tract, as now defined by the most recent scientific examination, occupies an area of 66 square miles, but mining is at present limited to an area of about 45 square miles. The region is described as being very beautiful, and presenting a thriving appearance; but the climate is somewhat malarious, and Europeans, although the country is so elevated, are subject to attacks of fever on first arrival there.

A totally distinct ruby tract is situated in the marble hills at Sagyin, which is only 16 miles from Mandalay. So far as is known, it is comparatively of little importance, the rubies and other gems which are found there being of inferior qualities. Other localities about 15 miles to the north and north-east of Sagyin are reported to produce rubies, but nothing certain is known about them.

History.—The ruby mines of Burmah were first made known by European writers towards the end of the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century there are more definite references by Portuguese travellers, but they are not of much practical importance. Tavernier,[1] as we have seen, gives an account of the mines and their produce from hearsay; from which it would appear that the reputation they then bore was not very high, or he would probably have made

[1] Book II, chap. xix, vol. ii, p. 100.

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an effort to visit them. The yield, he says, did not exceed 100,000 *écus* (say £22,500) per annum, and he found it profitable to carry rubies from Europe to Asia for sale.

The principal authorities of the present century previous to the conquest of Upper Burmah are Mr. Crawfurd[1]; the Père Guiseppe d'Amato,[2] who visited the mines about the year 1833; Dr. Oldham,[3] who visited Ava and collected information about the mines in the year 1855, when with Sir Arthur Phayre's mission; Mr. Bredmeyer, who was in the service of the King and visited the mines in the year 1868; and Mr. Spears and Capt. Strover of the British Burmah Commission, both of whom have placed on record their observations. From these authorities we learn that the rubies which were found were generally small, not averaging more than a quarter of a *rati*, and that the large stones were generally smuggled away, but few of them reaching the King. It was supposed that the Chinese and Tartar merchants who visited Mogok and Kyatpyen conveyed most of them out of Burmah. The large rubies were generally flawed, and Mr. Spears states that he never saw one exceeding half a rupee in weight, *i.e.* about 22 carats.

The King's revenue derivable from the monopoly was variously estimated by these authorities at from £12,500 to £15,000. The more recent information now available confirms these estimates. The figures stated on official authority are 90,000 to 100,000 rupees, the highest sum being 150,000 rupees paid in one year. Besides which, however, was the reservation of stones above a certain size; but it seems to be generally admitted that few large stones were found, and of these a proportion, in spite of severe punishments for concealment, never reached the King; there is no basis then for an estimate of the total revenue which he received from the mines.

If one may judge from the appearance of the rubies forming part of the treasure taken at Mandalay, and which are now exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, valuable stones were rare, as, except a few of the smaller ones, none seem to be perfect.

As is well known, recent accounts by experts have represented the prospects of the mines in a much more favourable light, and the true value will probably be ere long ascertained by the energetic operations of a Company conducted on scientific principles.

The different kinds of precious stones found in the mines.—Although

[1] "Mission to Ava," *Edinb. New Phil. Jour.*, 1827, p. 366.

[2] *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 75.

[3] Yule's *Mission to Ava*, p. 347.

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the rubies have given their name to the mines, several other varieties of corundum are also found, such as sapphires, oriental emeralds, oriental amethyst, oriental topaz, and white sapphires; and besides these there are to be found spinels of various colours, hyacinth (or zircon), iolite (or dichroite, a stone resembling sapphire), and lastly the semi-precious rubellite, which is a variety of the mineral called tourmaline, of which some exceptionally fine examples have been brought from Ava, one of which has long held an honoured position in the mineral collection of the British Museum.

According to Mr. Spears, the proportion of sapphires to rubies was as 1 to 100, but the former are often of large size and fine quality.

Pegu has been mentioned by some early writers[1] as producing diamonds, but there are no real grounds for supposing that either the diamond or true emerald occur in any part of Burmah.

Mode of occurrence and source of the gems.—Although it has for some time been known that the rubies of Sagyin were derived from crystalline limestones or marble, the source of the gems in the principal region at Mogok, Kyatpyen, and Kathé was not actually ascertained till recently, when these localities were visited by Mr. Barrington Brown. It was known that they were for the most part actually obtained in derivative gravels, and it had been inferred that the so-called clefts and lodes, of a report which appeared before his examination, were really fissures in limestones, where the stones had accumulated as the result of the solution of limestone, and by gravitation into these recesses.

Mr. Brown has shown that the geological formation consists of recent deposits of hill wash and alluvium and old crystalline limestones, schists, pegmatite, and other metamorphic rocks. In order to explain the relationship which exists between these formations and the rubies, it will be convenient to describe the various systems of mining, by which the mode of occurrence will be made apparent. The mines, as worked by the natives, may be divided into four classes, as follows:—

I. *Twinlones*, or pits sunk in the alluvium of the valleys.
II. *Mewdwins*, or open cuttings in the hill-wash over which water is led.
III. *Loodwins*, or workings in caves and fissures.

[1] See *Description of the Diamond Mines of India, Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907.

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IV. Quarries in a bed of coarse calcspar in the limestone, which appears to be the true original matrix of the gems.

The *Twinlones* are square pits which are sunk in the alluvium of the valleys down to the gem-bearing gravels, which occur at varying depths. These pits have to be timbered to support the sides and, as far as possible, exclude water, which, however, finds access, and the first operation, every day, is to bale out the water which has accumulated during the night. The gravel is hoisted out in baskets by means of balance poles similar to those which are used in India for raising water from wells. The gravel is then washed in shallow baskets made of closely-woven bamboo, and the rubies, as they are picked out, are placed in a bamboo tube full of water and are sorted at the close of the day's work. The larger pits are generally cleared out in about ten days and the smaller in half that time; when working in one is finished, the timber is removed and another pit is started.

Mewdwins.—These are open cuttings on the slopes of the hills to which water is conducted, often from a considerable distance, and discharged with as great a head as possible on the ruby clay and sand, which is shovelled under it by the miners. The lighter portions are carried down by the stream, the boulders removed by hand, and the residue placed in the sluice and washed, where it is caught by *riffles*, from whence it is removed and washed in baskets as in the preceding process. The circumstances appear to be such as would suit a more scientific application of hydraulic methods than are known to the natives.

Loodwins.—These are natural caves and fissures in the limestone rock, in the floors and crevices of which the rubies have accumulated in consequence of the solution by water of the limestone matrix. In the ordinary sense of the term these are not mines, *i.e.* the miners do not excavate the rock, but merely scramble through the natural passages and tunnels to the spots where the loam containing the rubies is found—this they either carry to the surface in baskets or it is hoisted up by means of balance poles—and it is then washed at the surface at the nearest watercourse.

From such caves the finest rubies ever found have been obtained, and from one in the Pingu Hill, near Kyatpyen, Mr. Brown states that, after the detritus had been passed, of every basketful of the ruby clay which was raised half consisted of rubies.

A certain Royal mine of this character is said to have produced a ruby as large as a walnut, and in another the rubies were found

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in association with the bones of some extinct animal of very large size.[1]

This description opens up a somewhat wide vista of speculation, and one can hardly resist the temptation of prophesying as to the wonderful discoveries which *may* be made when adits and shafts are driven to afford access to these natural caves and fissures in the mass of the marble hills. In such safe receptacles it is not unreasonable to suppose that stones which have suffered but little from attrition and fracture may be found, and that there the greatest prizes will be obtained.

Quarries.—To the north of Mogok village, at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, a bed of calcspar in the limestone, which is 20 feet wide, produces rubies, but in order to obtain them the use of powder has to be employed as well as the hammer, and when chipped out the gems are generally more or less fractured; but good stones have been obtained. Whether any method can be devised of avoiding the injury resulting from the use of explosives is at present doubtful. It is not easy to suggest how a firm rock, such as this calcspar, could be mined without recourse being had to violent methods of some kind.

The rose pink rubellite (a variety of tourmaline) is obtained on the margin of the Meobychoung river, 15 miles S. of Mogok and 3 miles from Mamlong. The mines in the alluvium are worked by a rude hydraulic system, and the produce is sent to China, large pieces obtaining a good price.

Under the arrangements which have been made with the New Burmah Ruby Mine Company, the rights and interests of the miners have apparently been very fully safeguarded, but whether the miners on their part will refrain from smuggling and comply with the regulations, and disclose their more valuable finds and submit them to taxation, remains to be seen. The total production of rubies in 1887, when the country was disturbed, amounted to only 42,486 rupees worth, but in the first two months of 1888 21,883 rupees worth had been obtained. Stones of from 5 to 20 carats' weight were sold during this period, and the highest price obtained for one was 500 rupees.

The mode of occurrence of the rubies in calcspar is, I believe, somewhat unusual, though spinel is known to be found in calcareous rocks. It is generally the case that the corundum minerals are

[1] The fossil remains of Mastodons and other large mammalia, allied to those found in the Sivalik hills of India, have long been known to occur in Burmah.

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found in mica schists, such is stated to be the case in Zanskar in the Himalayas, and also in Ceylon; with reference to the latter it may be of interest, in addition to the remarks on p. 102, to add here some particulars as to the sapphire washings of that island.

THE SAPPHIRES OF CEYLON.—Under British rule the monopoly in precious stones, which existed under the Kandyan sovereigns, was early abolished as a source of revenue, and no licence is now required by jewel hunters. Great numbers of people are attracted annually to the washings, to the great detriment of agriculture and the demoralisation of the villagers, who are brought into contact with dissolute adventurers. Sir Emerson Tennent, from whom the above facts are quoted, estimated the annual total value of the precious stones which were found as not exceeding £10,000 *per annum*.

According to the *Handbook for Ceylon*, recently published in connection with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the search is conducted in a rude fashion, and, despite the advice and reports by experts, there has been no improvement in the method. It is stated in the same work that, though some returns are attempted by the Government, it is impossible to estimate the annual yield at present, and the mines have never, I believe, been successfully worked by Europeans.

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APPENDIX VI

A Review or Abstract in the "Philosophical Transactions" of Chapuzeau's (sic) work, entitled "Histoire des Joyaux," published in 1665; and Note on the English edition of the same work.

THE following is a contemporary abstract published in the *Philosophical Transactions*[1] of a book which seems to be of extraordinary rarity—there being no copy of it, I believe, in any of the great libraries in Great Britain, nor even in the Bibliothéque Nationale—it is therefore of sufficient interest to justify its republication in its original quaint form. But it has in connection with Tavernier a special interest, because from the glimpse of the contents of the book which it affords, we can see that Chapuzeau (or rather Chappuzeau), by whatever means he acquired them, was in possession of many of the facts recorded in Tavernier's *Travels* at least ten years before the *Travels* were published, and while Tavernier was absent on his last journey. None of the biographies of Chappuzeau mention this work; and although I have not failed to make inquiries I have been unable as yet to find any explanation of the mystery.

In Emanuel's bibliography of works on precious stones,[2] the book is mentioned with its full title, and the place and date of publication are given as Geneva 1665.

An Account
Of a small Book in French, entituled
HISTOIRE DES JOYAUX
ET
*Des Principales Richesses de l'*Orient *et de l'*Occident,
par le Sr. Chapuzeau.

This History treats of Diamonds, Rubies, Emeraulds, Pearls, Coral, Bezoar, Yellow Amber, Ambergris, Indigo, &c.

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[1] Vol. ii, 1667, pp. 429-436.

[2] *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, second ed., London, 1867, p. 246.

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Of *Diamonds*, the Author shews:

I. The *Places* whence they are taken; of which he finds but five in all the *East-Indies*, whereof *two* are *Rivers*, vid. *Saccadan* in Borneo and *Nage* in the Kingdom of *Bengala*;[1] at the bottom of both which, *he saith*, the Diamonds are found among the sand, after the waters, that fall as great Torrents from the Mountains, are run off; and the three others are Mines, in the Kingdoms of *Decan*, *Cuncan*, and *Golconda*. In this Relation he observes, that the Diamonds which are found at the bottom of those Rivers, have the best *Water*; but those in Mines have often *Flaws* (which he imputes to the violent knockings of the Rock) and *Blebs*, ascribed to the condition of the Earth or Sand they are found in, *vid.* when that is not pure, but fattish or black. He takes also notice, that Diamonds are the heaviest of precious Stones, as Gold is of Mettals.

II. The *Manner*, how they are found and separated; which is the same in substance with that described *Num.* 18. p. 328.[2]

III. The *Price* of them, according to the proportion of their weight; for which he gives this Rule. Take, saith he, a Diamond of 10 *Carats*: this number is to be squared (which makes 100). Then, if the Stone be clean, each Carat, according to its perfection, may be worth 40 to 60 Crowns: if it have no good water, or have a Bleb or Flaw, the Carat will not be worth but from 10 to 30 Crowns. So multiplying the said 100 by the number, which each Carat of such or such a Stone may be worth, the product is the price of the Stone.

For *Rubies*, he discourses also of the *Places* where *they* are found, and of their *Price*.[3] The Places are, the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and the Isle of Ceylon; whence very few are suffered to be carried away. The Price is, that a good *Rubi* of the weight of 1 *Rati* (which is $\frac{7}{8}$ of a Carat) is esteemed at 20 old *Pagodes* in India, each *Pagode* being about ten shillings *English*.

(A Rubi) of	2 *Ratis*	is valued at		100	*Pagodes.*
,,	,, 3	,,	,,	250	,,
,,	,, 4	,,	,,	500	,,
,,	,, 5	,,	,,	900	,,
,,	, 6	,,	,,	1500	,,
,,	,, 7	,,	,,	2300	,,
,,	,, 12	,,	,,	12,000	,,

[1] See *ante*, p. 53 *et sq.* of *Travels*, and Appendix III, p. 459.

[2] This is a reference to another Review, on the *Voyage de l'Eveque de Beryte*, etc., it is in *Phil. Trans.*, vol. i, pp. 327-328.

[3] See *ante*, p. 101 of *Travels*.

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Concerning *Turquois*, they are found in *Persia*, in the Province *Chamaquay*, north of *Ispahan*, in two Mines, called the *Old* and the *New* Rock. These of the *New*, are of an ill, whitish Blew; but those of the *Old* are not suffered to be digged out, but by the King of *Persia* himself.[1]

Emeraulds are affirmed by him, never to be found in the *East-Indies* but in *Perou*,[2] whence they were carried by that trading people to the *Moluccas*, even before *America* was discovered by the Europeans; and so they come from the Orient; of much less value than they were formerly, by reason of their commonness. The Author notes, that Emeraulds grow in stones, just as Chrystals, forming a Vein, in which they are by little and little refined and thickened: and that some of them are seen, half white and half green: others, all white: and others all green and perfect.

To Pearls he assigns in the *Orient* four places where they are fished: The Isle of *Baharem*, in the *Persian Gulf:* the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, near the Town of *Catif*, over against *Baharem:* the Isle of Ceylon about Manar: the Isle of Japan. The best at *Ceylon*, but small: the biggest at *Japan*, but uneven. In the *West-Indies* they are fished in the *North-Sea*, in the Isles of *Marguerite*, *Cubagua*, *St. Marthe:* and at *Comana*, *Comanagote*, near the Continent: and in the *South-Sea*, near *Panama:* which *American* sort, though they are much inferiour to the *Oriental*, in Lustre, yet they far excel them in bigness, amounting sometimes (saith this *Author*) to 42 *Carats*.[3]

In this Relation 'tis mentioned, that sometimes 5, or 6 *Pearls* are found in one Oyster: That *Pearl-fishers* are fed with dry and roasted meat, to give them better breathing: That Pearl-bearing Oysters are not good to eat, being flat and hard of digestion, &c.

As to the *Price* of good *Pearls*, well fashioned, he marketh it, as follows:

Such a Pearl of

Grain 1	*Crowns* 1	*Carats* 2	*Crowns* 64
„ 2	„ 4	„ 2¼	„ 81
„ 3	„ 9	„ 2½	„ 100
Carats 1	„ 16	„ 2¾	„ 121
„ 1¼	„ 25	„ 3	„ 144
„ 1½	„ 36	„ 3¼	„ 160
„ 1¾	„ 49	„ 3½	„ 196

[1] See *ante*, p. 103 of *Travels*. [2] See *ante*, p. 104 of *Travels*.
[3] See *ante*, pp. 107 and 116 of *Travels*.

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Carats $3\frac{3}{4}$	*Crowns* 225	*Carats* 6	*Crowns* 576
„ 4	„ 256	„ $6\frac{1}{4}$	„ 625
„ $4\frac{1}{4}$	„ 289	„ $6\frac{1}{2}$	„ 675
„ $4\frac{1}{2}$	„ 324	„ $6\frac{3}{4}$	„ 729
„ $4\frac{3}{4}$	„ 361	„ 7	„ 784
„ 5	„ 400	„ $7\frac{1}{4}$	„ 841
„ $5\frac{1}{4}$	„ 441	„ $7\frac{1}{2}$	„ 900
„ $5\frac{1}{2}$	„ 484	„ $7\frac{3}{4}$	„ 960
„ $5\frac{3}{4}$	„ 529	„ 8	„ 1024

Of Corals, he taketh notice *where* they are fished, and *in what manner*.[1] The *Places*, *he saith*, to be *Eight: Three* upon the Coasts of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, *vid.* at *Argueil* (where is the best) *Baza*, and near the *Isle of St. Peter:* one upon the Coast of *Sicily*, near *Drepanum: Two* upon the coast of *Africa*, near the *Bastion of France*, and at *Tabarca: One* more, upon the Coast of *Catalonia*, at the *Cape* of *Quiers:* And the last, about *Majorca*. Observing, that red Coral is not found, but in the *Mediterranean* alone, where 'tis fished from the beginning of *April* till the end of *July*, employing commonly about 200 Boats. The *manner* of fishing them, is with two big beams of wood, laid crosswise, with a good piece of Lead on the middle, to make it sink, casting about it coarse Hemp, carelessly twisted, and tying this Wood to two Ropes, whereof one hangs at the Sterne, the other at the fore-part of the Boat: and so letting this contrivance fall into the Current, along the Rocks, where the Hemp being turned about, and engaged in the Coral, there need sometimes many Boats to draw away the Instrument.

Bezoar, he saith, is not only found in *Golconda*, in the Province of *Renquery*, in the Maw of Goats, whereof some are at times furnisht with a dozen a piece: but also at *Macassar*, in the Isle of *Celebes*, in the body of Apes: bigger than those found in *Golconda*. He mentions, that the people in those parts, to find whether a Goat hath any of those *Bezoar-stones* in its body, do beat his belly with their hands and rub it, till all the stones in the Animal come together, and tell them as you do stones in a bag, &c.[2]

[1] See *ante*, p. 132 of *Travels*.

[2] For account of Bezoar, see *ante* p. 146 of *Travels*.

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The English Edition of the "Histoire des Joyaux"

Since the foregoing pages were printed I have had the good fortune to obtain a copy of a small volume entitled *The History of Jewels, and of the Principal Riches of the East and West, Taken from the Relation of Divers of the most Famous Travellers of our Age; Attended with Fair Discoveries conducing to the Knowledge of the Universe and Trade.*[1] Although not stated to be a translation, the identity of its contents with those of Chappuzeau's *Histoire des Joyaux*, as shown by the above abstract, admit of no doubt that it is the same work in an English dress.

Neither Chappuzeau nor Tavernier are mentioned in it; but the internal evidence conclusively proves that it must have been largely founded on Tavernier's original memoirs. If it be the case that Chappuzeau appropriated these without acknowledgment, it would also appear that the English editor pirated Chappuzeau's book.

A general resemblance of facts alone would not prove Tavernier to have been the original author, but the *History* casually refers to certain dates in connection with places where we know Tavernier to have been in the same years. Thus on p. 26 reference is made to Mir Jumlá and his occupation at Gandikot in the year 1652, *i.e.* when Tavernier visited him (see vol. i, p. 284). On p. 23 the depreciated condition of the diamond mines at Kollur in the year 1660 is referred to, and Tavernier alludes (see *ante*, p. 75) to a falling off in the number of miners since his first visit, and we have otherwise seen that he had visited the mines in 1660 (see vol. i, Introduction, p. xxiii. On p. 123 the facts stated in reference to bezoar are substantially the same as Tavernier's own personal record (see p. 148 *ante*). Tavernier's personal stories about Bohemian rubies (see p. 103 *ante*) and a living worm in dead coral (see p. 134 *ante*) are both in the *History*, pp. 60 and 106.

Short as it is, the *History* contains some facts not given in the *Travels*, but they, for the most part, do not refer to India.

Of facts given in the *History* which are omitted accidentally or are misprinted in the *Travels*, some, as will be seen, confirm corrections and additions already made in the footnotes on preceding pages. On p. 24 of the *History* we find the name of the diamond

[1] London, printed by T. N. for Hobart Kemp, etc., 1671, small 8vo, pp. 128.

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mine which Tavernier omitted to mention (*ante*, pp. 53 *n.* and 78), it was Gazerpoli (*i.e.* Gazerpalle or Baswapur, see p. 451 *ante*) two days' journey from Raolconda (*i.e.* Ramulkota). It is said to have been discovered in 1448, which is not recorded in the *Travels*. On p. 54 Ava is correctly given instead of Siren, where a mistake occurs in the *Travels* (see p. 99 *n.*) On p. 20 there is the same mistake as occurs once in the *Travels* (see p. 74) in reference to the weight of the Mogul's diamond—it being given as 900 carats instead of 900 *ratis*.

The *History* also contains some important facts about the Bengal diamond mines; these have been already noticed (see p. 459).

The value of the rupee is stated in the *History* to be 28 pence, but I venture to think that 27 pence, which has been adopted in the footnotes and in Appendix I, vol. i, is a closer approximation to the value.

The principal discrepancy to be found between the *History* and the *Travels* is in the tables of values of rubies; they are quite discordant.

The concluding paragraph of the *History*—read in the light of this identification of Tavernier as the original author of the work—is of interest. The writer says: "This is all I have at present collected of what is remarkable in the modern and faithful Relations of our Travellers upon the subject of Jewels, and other rich productions of which I have given a short Account as a platform for a greater work."

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