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TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

EAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH EDITION OF 1676

WITH A

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

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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,



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



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



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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INTRODUCTION¹

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.



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 Daniel¹ 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 cartographer; he died in 1665, during the last of Jean Baptiste's voyages to the East.

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

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



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.



six weeks at Aleppo he left it on the 27th December¹ 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.)



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* Daulatabád 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



Surat in the Dutch vessel called *Maastricht*. 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



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



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*.



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



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-one¹ 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 Ah-nadá-bád, where he had been invited to bring his jewels by Sháístá 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.)



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



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 Sháístá 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 Sháístá Khán 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 Gousse, a daughter of Jean Gousse, a jeweller, with whom he had had some business transactions, and who was a connection by marriage of his brother Melchior.



SIXTH VOYAGE.—Tavernier's original intention, expressed shortly after his marriage in 1662, was, however, to make a short journey to the East in order to close 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-



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 Sháh 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



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 Sháístá 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."



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



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, Sháístá 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 Sháístá Khán's instructions, offered to pay him the debt, less by 20,000 rupees. Tavernier enlarges on the causes which led



to this treatment, attributing it to the machinations of Aurangzeb's officers to spite him for not having sold the jewels to them, in order that they might resell them to their master at an enhanced rate. There is no direct record of his subsequent movements, but he appears to have spent June and July in Patna, where, on the second day of the last-named month, he witnessed an eclipse of the sun. In August he probably reached Agra, where he seems to have met the representatives of the French company "for establishing commerce in Persia and India." He ultimately reached Surat on the 1st of November, and met there M. 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.



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



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.



Boileau printed underneath it. The ~~figure~~ 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 Careri¹ 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. Hyde² 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."



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 Cyclopaedia*, alone, of all the biographies, does full justice to his character.

During the period which elapsed from the publication in 1679 of his last volume up to 1684, there is reason for believing that Tavernier lived an active, commercial, though somewhat retired life. In 1684 he started from Paris for Berlin, being called thither by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, to advise with him on his projects of 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



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—¹. Moreover, M. Tokmakof discovered documents proving that Tavernier, carrying with him the passport of the King of Sweden, arrived in Russia early in February 1689, and that instructions were sent to the frontier to facilitate the journey of the illustrious visitor to Moscow.



M. Joret concludes with a well merited panegyric on the subject of his biography—the merchant-traveler 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.



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.

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



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 été 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'observations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes & 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 Barbín, &c. au Palais MDCLXXVI. 2 vols. 4to.*

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

3. 1677.—A reprint of the above, but the pages are, I think, smaller. I have seen two copies.
4. 1678.—*Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du serrail du Grand Seigneur, etc. 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)



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 6½ 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.



13. 1718.—*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 $6\frac{1}{4}$ 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'éclaircissements, historiques et critiques etc. par J. B. J. Breton, Paris, Veuve Lepetit.* 7 vols. 18mo.

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

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

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

II

TRANSLATIONS OF TAVERNIER'S TRAVELS INTO
DIFFERENT LANGUAGES.

A.—ENGLISH.

1. 1677.—*A New Relation of the Inner Part of the Grand Seignors Seraglio containing Several Remarkable Particulars never before exposed to publick View by J. B. Tavernier Baron of Aubonne London Printed and Sold by R(ober) Littlebury and Moses Pitt 1677*
2. 1677.—*The Six Voyages of John Baptiste Tavernier Baron of Aubonne through Turkey 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 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 Pit² 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.



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 | Turkey 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.



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(iti) 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 nebst der Beschreibung des Turkischen serails und der Kronung des Königs 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. Générale* mentions a German edition of 1684, perhaps a mistake for the English Ed. of that year.
4. *John B. Tavernier weyl Ritters und Freyherrn von Aubonne in der Schweiz, Beobachtungen über das Serrail des Grossherrn.* Auf seiner sechsmaligen Reise nach der Turkey gesammelt. Nebst vielen eingestreuten Bemerkungen über die Sitten und Gewohnheiten der Türken. Memmingen 1789 bei Andreas Seiler. In 12mo. 179 pages. (According to Joret.)

C.—DUTCH.

1. An edition in Dutch in 1682. 4to. According to *Nouv. Biog. Générale*.

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.



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

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

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



A PARIS,
 { G E R V A I S C L O U Z I E R , sur les degrez }
 { en montant pour aller à la S^e Chapelle, }
 { à l'Enseigne du Voyageur. } au
 Chez { E T } Palais
 { C L A U D E B A R B I N , sur le second Perron }
 { de la sainte Chapelle. }

M. D. C. LXXVI.
 AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.



DEDICATION

TO THE KING

SIRE—

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



exalting YOUR MAJESTY by my words above all the monarchs of Europe and these Kings of the East—even in their very presence. I have emerged with honour from all these dangers by impressing a respect for your name in the hearts of these barbarians. Under the shadow of this august name, respected throughout the world, I have travelled more than 60,000 leagues by land in perfect safety. I have six times traversed Turkey, Persia, and the better part of India, and was the first to attempt to go to the famous diamond mines. Too happy to have brought precious stones which YOUR MAJESTY has condescended to join to the jewels of your throne, but still more happy to have made observations in all these places, to which YOUR MAJESTY will possibly not deem it unworthy to devote some moments, as you will find there many details of three of the most powerful Empires of Asia. You will see the manners and customs of the people dwelling there at present. I have interposed in certain places stories, which may relieve the mind after a tedious march of caravans, imitating in that the Orientals, who establish *caravan-sardis* 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.



CSL

DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR¹

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.



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 displeasing 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



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



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



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



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



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.



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 M.M. 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



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.



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 *caravansarâi*, 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

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.



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



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 *cortège* on the day when he had audience with his Highness, as I have stated in my account of the *Serraglio*.

At length, after eleven months delay, a well-equipped and numerous caravan left Constantinople for 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.



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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