



called IAGOU-NADI¹—you cross it by a very long bridge built of cut stone, and called IAULCAPOUL.²

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

It is not far from this bridge that they examine goods, so that when you reach AGRA³ you are not able to evade the dues; but it is particularly to see if among the number of cases full of fruits preserved in vinegar, in glass pots, there are not any cases of wine.

From the bridge of IAULCAPOUL to AGRA, 4 *ross*.⁴

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

¹ Jajou on the Utangan river, a tributary of the ...

² Iaulcapoul, for Jajou ká pul, or the bridge of the Jajou.

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

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



CSL

CHAPTER V

*Route from SURAT to AGRA by AHMADÁBÁD*FROM SURAT to BAROCHE (BROACH),¹ 22 *cos*s.

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

BROACH is a large town, containing an ancient fortress which they have neglected to maintain ; but it has been widely renowned from all time on account of its river, which possesses a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes, and they bring them for this reason from all quarters of the empire of the GREAT MOGUL, where there is not the same abundance of water. In this place there is made a quantity of *baftas*² or pieces of long and narrow calico ; these are very beautiful and closely woven cloths, and the price of them ranges from 4 up to 100 rupees. Custom dues have to be paid at BROACH on all goods, whether imported or exported. The English have a very fine dwelling there ; and I remember that, on arrival one day when return-

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

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



ing from AGRA to SURAT¹ with the President of the English, some jugglers immediately came to ask him if he desired that they should show him some examples of their art, these he was curious to see. The first thing they did was to kindle a large fire, and heat iron chains to redness; these they wound round their bodies, making believe that they experienced some pain, but not really receiving any injury. Next, having taken a small piece of stick, and having planted it in the ground, they asked one of the company what fruit he wished to have. He replied that he desired *mangoes*,² and then one of the conjurers, covering himself with a sheet, stooped to the ground five or six times. I had the curiosity to ascend to a room in order to see from above, through an opening of the sheet, what this man did, and I saw that he cut himself under his arm-pits with a razor, and anointed the piece of wood with his blood. At each time that he raised himself, the stick increased under the eye, and at the third time it put forth branches and buds. At the fourth time the tree was covered with leaves, and at the fifth we saw the flowers themselves. The President of the English had his clergyman with him, having taken him to AHMADÁBÁD to baptize a child of

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

² Mango trick. Also described by Bernier, who, however, did not personally witness the performance. See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, for other early accounts of this famous trick. On the only occasion I myself witnessed it, I was not much impressed with it as an example of sleight of hand; but the juggler was not of the first class. It seems probable that the above-mentioned juggler knew he was being watched by Tavernier, and therefore distracted his attention by means of the razor. Chardin speaks of the incident contemptuously, and also of Tavernier for being deceived by it. (*Voyages*, Amsterdam, ed. 1711, vol. iv, p. 133.)



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

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

CAMBAY³ is a large town at the end of the gulf

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

² Here again leagues and *cos*s are treated as synonymous terms.

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

which bears its name. It is where they cut those beautiful agates which come from INDIA as cups, handles of knives, beads, and other objects of workmanship.¹ There is made, also, in the vicinity of the town, indigo² of the same kind as that of SHARKEJ³; and it was celebrated for its traffic at the time when the Portuguese flourished in INDIA. You still see to-day, in the quarter close to the sea, many fine houses, which they built and furnished richly, after the manner of PORTUGAL; but at present they are uninhabited, and they decay from day to day. They maintained at that time such good order in CAMBAY, that at two hours after dark every street was closed by two gates, which are still to be seen, and they even now close some of the principal of them, especially those of the approaches to the market-places. One of the principal reasons why this town has lost a part of her commerce is, that formerly the sea came close to CAMBAY, and small vessels were able to approach it easily; but for some years past the sea has been receding day by day, so that vessels are unable to come nearer than four or five leagues to the town.

There is an abundance of pea-fowl in INDIA, and especially in the territories of BROACH, CAMBAY, and BARODA. The flesh of the young bird is white and of good flavour, like that of our turkeys, and you see them

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

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

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



throughout the day in flocks in the fields; for during the night they perch in the trees. It is difficult to approach them by day, because if they see the sportsman they fly before him more rapidly than a partridge, and enter the jungle, where it is impossible to follow them, one's garment being torn at every step. Hence, you are only able to capture them easily at night; and this, in a few words, is the method. You approach the tree with a kind of banner, on which are painted life-like peacocks, on each side.¹ On the top of the stick there are two lighted candles, the light of which alarming the peacock, causes him to stretch out his neck almost to the end of the stick, where there is a cord with a running noose, which he who holds the banner draws when he sees that the peacock has placed his neck in it. However, you must be careful not to kill a bird, or any other animal, in the countries of *Rajas*, where the idolaters are the masters; it is not dangerous in the parts of INDIA where the rulers of the country are Muhammadans, and permit sport to be free. It happened one day that a rich merchant of PERSIA, passing by the territory of the *Raja* of DANTIVAR,² slew a peacock on the road by a shot from his gun, either out of bravado or from not knowing the customs of the country. The *Banians*, enraged by an act which is regarded among them as a horrible

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

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

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

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

From this pagoda to CHIIDABAD¹ it is 6 *cos*s.

It is one of the most beautiful houses of the GREAT MOGUL, and a vast enclosure, where there are extensive gardens and large tanks, with all the embellishments of which the genius of the Indians is capable.

From CHIIDABAD to AHMADÁBÁD it is but 5 *cos*s.

I return to BAROCHE and the ordinary route.

From BAROCHE to BROUDRA (BARODA)² . 22 *cos*s.

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

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

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



From BROUDRA to NERIADE (NADIAD) . 18 *cos.*

„ NERIADE to AMADABAT (AHMADÁBÁD)¹ 20 „

AHMADÁBÁD is one of the largest towns in INDIA, and one where there is a considerable trade in silken stuffs, gold and silver tapestries, and others mixed with silk; saltpetre, sugar, ginger, both candied and plain, tamarinds, *mirabolans*,² and indigo cakes, which are made at three leagues from AHMADÁBÁD, at a large town called SHARKEJ.

There was a pagoda in this place, which the Muhammadans took possession of in order to turn it into a mosque. Before entering it you traverse three great courts paved with marble, and surrounded by galleries, and you are not allowed to place foot in the third without removing your shoes. The exterior of the mosque is ornamented with mosaic, the greater part of which consists of agates of different colours, obtained from the mountains of CAMBAY, only two days' journey from thence. You see many tombs of ancient idolatrous kings, which are like so many small chapels of mosaic, with columns of marble sustaining a small vault by which the tomb is covered. A river³ flows past AHMADÁBÁD on the north-west, and during the rainy season, which lasts in INDIA three or four months, it becomes very wide and rapid, and does great injury every year. It is the same with all the rivers of INDIA, and when the rains have ceased, one must generally wait six weeks or two months before it is possible to ford that at AHMADÁBÁD, where there is

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

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

³ The Sabarmati.



no bridge. There are two or three boats, but one cannot make use of them, save when the water ceases to be so rapid, and it takes much time to cross. The peasants do not stand on ceremony, and in order to go from one bank to the other only make use of the skin of a goat,¹ which they fill with air and tie on between the chest and the abdomen. It is thus, by swimming this river, that the poor, both the men and women, cross, and when they wish to take their children across also they employ certain round earthen pots, which have mouths four fingers in width, and having placed their child in one of these pots they push it before them while swimming. This brings to mind a circumstance which happened at AHMADÁBÁD, while I was there in the year 1642,² which is too remarkable to pass by in silence.

A peasant and his wife were crossing the river one day in the manner I have just described, and having an infant of about two years, they placed him in one of these pots, so that only his head, which was outside, could be seen. Having reached the middle of the river, they encountered a small bank of sand where there was a large tree, which the water had carried down, and the father pushed the pot containing the infant on to this place, to rest himself a little. As he approached the foot of the tree, the trunk of which was somewhat elevated above the water, a snake came out from between the roots, and jumped into the pot where the

¹ This is the so-called *mussuck* (*mashak*, Hind.) or *deri*, consisting of the inflated skin of a goat; sometimes, as on the Sutlej, in the Himalayan regions, the skin of a buffalo is used for the same purpose.

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



infant was. The father and mother, startled by this occurrence, and having lost their wits, let the pot go, which the river carried away, and they remained some time half dead at the foot of the tree. About two leagues lower down a *Banian* and his wife, with a little child, were washing themselves in the river before going to take their meal. They beheld from afar the pot upon the water, and half the head of a child, which appeared outside the mouth. The *Banian* immediately went to rescue it, and having reached it, pushed it ashore. The woman, followed by her child, came presently to take the other which was in the pot, in order to withdraw it. And at the same moment the snake, which had done no injury to the first child, left the pot, and entwined itself about the body of the other child which was close to its mother, bit it, and injected its poison, which caused its immediate death.

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

About the same time there happened a somewhat



amusing matter in the same town of AHMADÁBÁD. The wife of a rich *Banian* merchant, named SAINTIDAS, not having any children, and causing it to be well known that she wished for some, an attendant of the house one day took her apart, and said to her that if she was willing to eat what he would give her, she might feel certain that she would have a child. The woman desiring to know what she ought to eat, the attendant added that it was a little fish, and that she need only eat three or four.¹ The religion of the *Banians* forbidding them, as I have elsewhere said, to eat anything which has had life, the woman was at first unable to bring herself to do that which he suggested; but the attendant having said that he knew how to disguise it so well that she would not know that what she was eating was fish, she resolved at length to try the remedy, and she lay the night following with her husband, according to the instruction she had received from the attendant. Some time after, the woman perceiving that she was *enceinte*, her husband died, and the relatives of the defunct wished to take possession of his effects. The widow objected, and told them that they should have patience till they knew if the infant which she carried would arrive safely.

The relatives, surprised by this news, which they had not expected, treated it as a lie and a joke, the woman having been fifteen or sixteen years with her husband without bearing. When she found that these people tormented her, she threw herself at the feet of the Governor, to whom she related what had

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



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

I remember also another amusing thing which was told me at AHMADÁBÁD—where I have been ten or twelve times—during the sojourn which I made there on one of my journeys, on my return from DELHI.¹ A merchant with whom I often dealt, and who was much loved by SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, Governor of the Province and uncle of

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



the King, had the reputation of never having lied. SHÁISTÁ KHÁN having completed the three years of his government, according to the custom of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and AURANGZEB, son of SHÁH JAHÁN, having succeeded him, he withdrew to AGRA, where the court then was. One day, when he conversed with the King, he said that he had seen many uncommon things in all the governments with which his majesty had honoured him, but one thing alone surprised him, which was to have discovered a rich merchant who had never told a lie, and who was upwards of seventy years old. The King, surprised on his own part with so extraordinary a fact, told SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that he desired to see the man of whom he had told him, and ordered him to send him forthwith to AGRA, which was done. This much distressed the old man, both on account of the length of the road, which is from twenty-five to thirty days, and because it was necessary for him to make a present to the King. In fact, he made him one valued at 40,000 rupees, and it was a gold box for keeping *betel*, ornamented with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. After he had saluted the King, and had made his present to him, the King merely asked his name, to which he replied that he called himself the man who had never lied. The King asking him further what his father's name was: "Sire," replied he, "I know not." His majesty, satisfied with this reply, stopped there, and, not desiring to know more, ordered them to give him an elephant, which is a great honour, and 10,000 rupees for his journey.

The *Banians* have a great veneration for monkeys, and they even feed them in some pagodas where they go to worship. There are in AHMADÁBÁD two or three



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

I have said that the *Banians* have an especial veneration for the monkey, and this is an example in point among several others which I could quote. Being one day at AHMADÁBÁD, at the dwelling of the Dutch, a young man of that nation, who had arrived but a few days to serve in the office, and who was ignorant of the customs of the country, having perceived a large monkey upon a tree which was in the courtyard, wished to give an example of his skill, or rather of his youth, by slaying it with a shot from his gun. I was at the time at table with the Dutch Commander,

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

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



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

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



of more than sixty, descended immediately, in a rage, and jumped on the carriage of the President, and would have strangled him, but for the prompt assistance that some gave by closing the windows, and the crowd of attendants who were present drove them off. Although they did not come to my carriage, which followed at some paces distant from that of the President, I nevertheless feared for myself the fury of these monkeys, which were both large and powerful, and they pursued the carriage of the President for nearly a league, so much were they enraged.

Continuing our route from SURAT to AGRA.

From	AMADABAT TO PANSER (PAUNSIK)	. . .	13	cos.
,,	PANSER TO MASANA (MESANA)	. . .	14	,,
,,	MASANA TO CHITPOUR (SIDHPUR) ¹	. . .	14	,,

SIDHPUR is a fairly good town, so named on account of the great trade which it does in those coloured cottons which they call *chites*,² and at four or five hundred paces on the south side there flows a small river. Arriving at SIDHPUR, on one of my journeys, I was encamped under two or three trees at one of the ends of a great open space which is near the town. A short time afterwards I saw four or five lions³ appearing, which they brought to train, and they told me it generally took five or six months, and they do it in this way. They tie the lions, at twelve paces distance

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

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

³ It is very probable that these were true lions, and not *chetahs*, or hunting leopards, as lions are known to have been so tamed, and the region is one in which they may very possibly have been obtained. In a recent number of the *Graphic* there was a representation of a tamed lion being led by hand through the crowded bazaar of a Moorish town.



from each other, by their hind feet, to a cord attached to a large wooden post firmly planted in the ground, and they have another about the neck which the lion-master holds in his hand. These posts are planted in a straight line, and upon another parallel one, from fifteen to twenty paces distant, they stretch another cord of the length of the space which the lions occupy, when arranged as above. These two cords which hold the lion fastened by his two hind feet, permit him to rush up to this long cord, which serves as a limit to those outside it, beyond which they ought not to venture to pass when harassing and irritating the lions by throwing small stones or little bits of wood at them. A number of people come to this spectacle, and when the provoked lion jumps towards the cord, he has another round his neck which the master holds in his hand, and with which he pulls him back. It is by this means that they accustom the lion by degrees to become tame with people, and on my arrival at SIDHPUR I witnessed this spectacle without leaving my carriage.

The following day I had another experience, which was a meeting I had with a party of *Fakirs*, or Muhammadan *Dervishes*.¹ I counted fifty-seven of them, of whom he who was their Chief or Superior had been master of the horse to SHÁH JAHÁNGIR,² having left the court when Sultan BOLÁKI, his grandson, was strangled by order of SHÁH JAHÁN, his uncle, as I shall relate elsewhere. There were four others who, under the Superior, were Chiefs of the band, and had been the first nobles of the court of the same SHÁH JAHÁN. The only garment of these five *Dervishes* consisted of three

¹ Dervichs in original, for Dervishes.

² Cha Gehan guir in original, for Shah Jahángír.



or four ells of orange-coloured cotton cloth, of which they made waistbands, one of the ends passing between the thighs and being tucked between the top of the waistband and the body of the *Dervish*, in order to cover what modesty requires should be concealed, both in front and behind. Each of them had also a skin of a tiger upon the shoulders, which was tied under the chin. They had eight fine horses, saddled and bridled, led by hand before them, three of which had bridles of gold and saddles covered with plates of gold; and the five others had bridles of silver, and the saddles also covered with plates of silver, and a leopard's skin on each. The other *Dervishes* had for their sole garment a cord, which served as a waistband, to which there was attached a small scrap of calico to cover, as in the case of the others, the parts which should be concealed. Their hair was bound in a tress about their heads, and made a kind of turban. They were all well armed, the majority with bows and arrows, some with muskets, and the remainder with short pikes, and a kind of weapon which we have not got in Europe. It is a sharp iron, made like the border of a plate which has no centre, and they pass eight or ten over the head, carrying them on the neck like a ruff.¹ They withdraw these circles as they require to use them, and when they throw them with force at a man, as we make a plate to fly, they almost cut him in two. Each of them had also a sort of hunting horn, which he sounds, and makes a great noise with when he arrives anywhere, and also when he departs, and also a rake, or instrument of

¹ These are the *chakars*, thin sharp-edged metal quoits, which can be flung with marvellous accuracy and effect against an enemy. The Sikhs are especially proficient in their use.

iron, made something like a trowel. It is with this instrument, which the Indians generally carry in their journeys, that they rake and level the places where they wish to halt, and some, having collected the dust in a heap, make use of it as a mattress and bolster in order to lie more comfortably. There were three of these *Dervishes* armed with long rapiers, which they had received, apparently, from some Englishman or Portuguese. Their baggage consisted of four boxes full of Arabian and Persian books and some cooking utensils, and they had ten or twelve oxen to carry those among the troop who were invalids. When these *Dervishes* arrived at the place where I was encamped with my carriage, having then with me fifty persons, both people of the country, whom one engages, as I have said, for travelling, as also my ordinary servants, the Chief or Superior of the troop, seeing me well accompanied, inquired who that *Aga*¹ was; and asked me subsequently to give up to him the position I occupied, it being more commodious than any other about the place for camping with his *Dervishes*. As they informed me of the quality of this Chief and the four *Dervishes* who followed him, I was willing to do them a civility, and to yield that which they asked with a good grace; and so I ceded the place to them, and took another which suited me as well as it. Immediately the place was watered with a quantity of water, and made smooth and level, and, as it was winter and was somewhat cold, they lighted two fires for the five principal *Dervishes*, who placed themselves between them in order to warm themselves both before and behind. During the same evening, after they had supped, the Governor of the town came

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



to pay his respects to these principal *Dervishes*, and during their sojourn in the place sent them rice and other things which they were accustomed to eat. When they arrive in any place the Superior sends some of them to beg in the towns and villages, and whatever food they bring, which is given them out of charity, is immediately distributed to all in equal portions, each being particular to cook his own rice for himself. Whatever they have over is given every evening to the poor, and they reserve nothing for the following day.

From CHITPOUR to BALAMBOUR (PÁLANPUR) . 12 *cos*.

„ BALAMBOUR to DANTIUAR (DÁNTAWÁRA)¹ 11 „

„ DANTIUAR to BARGANT (WUNGÁON?) . 17 „

BARGANT² is the territory of a *Raja*, where one has to pay customs. On one of my journeys to AGRA, when passing by BARGANT, I did not see the *Raja*, but only his lieutenant, who treated me with great civility, and presented me with rice, butter, and fruits of the season. In return I gave him three waistbands of calico, gold, and silk, and four handkerchiefs of coloured cotton, and two bottles, one of brandy and the other of Spanish wine. On my departure he ordered me to be escorted for 4 or 5 *cos* by twenty horsemen.)

When returning from the same journey I sent before me my heavier goods by waggon, and to shorten the road I purposed to repass by the same route. I had with me sixty *Peons* or people of the country, and seven or eight attendants who ordinarily waited on me. One evening, being encamped on the frontiers of

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

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



the territory of the *Raja* of BARGANT, all my *Peons*¹ assembled about me in order to tell me that by taking the route through BARGANT we should run the risk of being all strangled, and that the Prince of that country spared no one, and lived by robbery alone. That at the least, if I did not engage one hundred other *Peons*, there was no possibility of escaping the hands of the runners, whom he would send from both sides, and that they were obliged, as much for my safety as their own, to give me this advice. I spent some time disputing with them, and reproaching them with their cowardice; but from fear lest they should not also reproach me for my temerity, I resolved to employ fifty more, and they went to search for them in the neighbouring villages. For traversing the territories of the *Raja* during three days, only, they asked four rupees each, which is as much as one gives them for a month. On the following day, when I wished to start, my *Peons*, showing themselves to be obstructive and irremediable, came to tell me that they would leave me, and that they did not wish to risk their lives, asking me not to write to their Chief at AGRA, who was answerable for their not leaving me against my wish. There were three of my personal servants who also treated me as the others had done, and there remained with me he who led my horse, my coachman, and three other attendants only, with whom I started under the protection of God, who has always particularly aided me in my journeys. At about a *cosse* from the place from whence I started I perceived, on turning round, some of these *Peons*, who followed me at a distance. Having

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



ordered my carriage to stop to await them, I told the first who advanced that if they wished to come with me they should march around my carriage and not follow at a distance; and seeing them to be still timid and irresolute, I said that I did not require cowards in my service, and dismissed them for the last time. When I had travelled another *coss*, I perceived on the side of a mountain about fifty horsemen, of whom four separated to advance towards me. Immediately when I saw them I got out of the carriage, and having thirteen firearms, I gave a gun to each of my people. The horsemen approaching, I placed the carriage between them and me, and got ready to fire, in case they prepared to attack me. But they at once made me a sign that I had nothing to fear, and one of them having said that it was the Prince who was hunting, and who had sent them to ask what stranger passed through his territory, I replied I was the same *Frank*¹ who had passed five or six weeks previously. By good fortune, the same lieutenant of the *Raja*, to whom I had presented the brandy and Spanish wine, followed close behind these four horsemen, and after having assured me how rejoiced he was to see me again, asked me forthwith if I had any wine. I told him that I never travelled without it; and in fact I was provided, the English and Dutch having presented me at AGRA with several bottles. Immediately on the lieutenant returning to the *Raja*, he himself came to meet me, and assuring me that I was welcome, told me that he wished me to halt at a place which he indicated under certain trees, a *coss* and a half from where we were, and that he would not fail to come to drink with me. He came towards evening, and we

¹ *Franguy* in the original.



remained there two days together to amuse ourselves; the *Raja* having caused the *Baladines*¹ to come, without whom the Persians and Indians do not think they can enjoy themselves properly. On my departure, the *Raja* gave me two hundred horsemen to accompany me for three whole days to the frontiers of his country, and I was quitted for three or four pounds of tobacco, which was all the present I made them. When I arrived at AHMADÁBÁD it was scarcely believed that I had received such good treatment from a Prince who had the reputation of ill-treating all strangers who passed through his country.

From BARGANT to BIMAL (BHEENMÁL) 15 *cos.*

„ BIMAL TO MODRA (MODRÁ) . 15 „

„ MODRA TO CHALAOUR (JÁLOR) . 10 „

JÁLOR² is an ancient town upon a mountain surrounded with walls, and difficult of access; formerly it was a strong place. There is a tank on the top of the mountain, and another below, between which and the foot of the mountain is the road to the town.

From CHALAOUR to CANTAP (KHANDAP) 12 *cos.*

„ CANTAP TO SETLANA (SUTULÁNA) . 15 „

„ SETLANA TO PALAVASENY (?) . 14 „

„ PALAVASENY TO PIPARS (PIPÁR) . 11 „

„ PIPARS TO MIRDA (MERTÁ) . 16 „

¹ *Baladines*, from the Portuguese *Baladeira*; the more usual form is *Bayadère* among authors; but it is never heard, and is practically unknown in India, as a name for *Náchnis* or dancing girls. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s.v. *Bayadère*, for examples of its use.)

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



From DÁNTAWÁRA to MERTÁ it is three days' journey,¹ and it is a mountainous country belonging to semi-independent *Rajas* or Princes, who pay some tribute to the GREAT MOGUL. But in return, the GREAT MOGUL appoints them to important posts in his armies, from which they derive much more than the tribute which they are obliged to pay him.

MERTÁ² is a large town, but badly built. When I arrived there, during one of my journeys in India, all the *caravansaráis* were full of people, because the aunt of SHÁH JAHÁN, wife of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, was then on her way, taking her daughter to marry her to SULTAN SHUJÁ, second son of SHÁH JAHÁN. I was obliged to order my tent³ to be pitched upon a bank where there were large trees on both sides, and two hours afterwards I was much surprised to see fifteen or twenty elephants, which came to break off as much as they could of these great trees. It was a strange thing to see them break large branches with their trunks, as we break a piece of faggot.⁴ This injury was done by order of the Begum to avenge herself of an affront by the inhabitants of MERTÁ, who had not received her, and had not made a present as they ought to have done.

From MIRDA to BORONDA (BARUNDA)	. . .	12 <i>coiss</i> .
„ BORONDA to COETCHIEL (?)	. . .	18 „

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

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

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

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



From COETCHIEL to BANDER-SONNERY

(BANDAR-SINDRI)	14	<i>cośś.</i>
„ BANDER-SONNERY to LADONA (LUDÁNA) ¹	16	„
„ LADONA TOWN to CHASOU (CHAKSU)	12	„
„ CHASOU to NUALI (LAWÁLI?)	17	„
„ NUALI to HINDOO (HINDAUN) ²	19	„
„ HINDOO to BANIANA (BIÁNÁ) ³	10	„

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

From BANIANA to VETTAPOUR (FATEHPUR SIKRI),⁴
14 *cośś.*

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

From VETTAPOUR to AGRA 12 *cośś.*

„ SURAT to AGRA there are in all 415 „

If one were able to make regular stages of 13 *cośś* each, he would accomplish the journey in thirty-three days; but, since one rests and halts in certain places, the journey lasts generally from thirty-five to forty days.

¹ Ludána, or Ladoná on Bandi river in Jaipur, Rájputána.

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

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

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



CHAPTER VI

Route from ISPAHAN to AGRA by KANDAHÁR.¹

I HAVE given an exact description of a part of this route, and I have conducted the reader as far as KANDAHÁR.² It remains for me now to take him from KANDAHÁR to AGRA, to which one can go by two routes only, either by KÁBUL or by MULTÁN. This last is shorter than the other by ten days, but the caravan scarcely ever takes it, because from KANDAHÁR to MULTÁN there is nothing but deserts almost all the way, and because one marches sometimes for three or four days without finding water. Hence the most common and the most beaten track is by KÁBUL. From KANDAHÁR to KÁBUL they count it 24 stages; from KÁBUL to LAHORE, 22; from LAHORE to DELHI or JAHÁNÁBÁD, 18; and from DELHI to AGRA, 6: this, with the 60 stages from ISPAHAN to FARAH,³ and the 20 from FARAH to KANDAHÁR, make in all, from ISPAHAN to AGRA, 150 stages. But those merchants who have urgent business sometimes join in parties of three or four on horseback, and accomplish the journey in half the time, that is to say in 60 or 75 days.

MULTÁN⁴ is a town where quantities of calicoes are made, and they used to carry them all to TATTA before

¹ Candahar in original. See p. 4.

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

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



the sands had obstructed the mouth of the river ; but since the passage has been closed for large vessels they carry them to AGRA, and from AGRA to SURAT, as well as a portion of the goods which are made at LAHORE. As this carriage is very expensive, but few merchants go to make investments either at MULTÁN or LAHORE, and indeed many of the artisans have deserted ; this also causes the revenues of the King to be much diminished in these provinces. MULTÁN is the place from whence migrate all the *Banians* who come to trade in PERSIA, where they follow the same occupation as the Jews, as I have elsewhere said, and they surpass them in their usury. They have a special law which permits them on certain days to eat fowls, and to take only one wife between two or three brothers, of whom the eldest is regarded as the father of the children.

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

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

From CANDAHAR to CHARISAFAR (SHAHR-I-SAFÁ)¹ 10000.

„ CHARISAFAR to ZELATÉ (KALÁT-I-GHILZÁI) 12 „

„ ZELATÉ to BETAZY (AB-I-TÁZI) . . . 8 „

„ BETAZY to MEZOUR (MANSUR) . . . 6 „

„ MEZOUR to CARABAT (KÁRÁBÁGH) . . . 17 „

„ CARABAT to CHAKENICOUZÉ (SHIGÁNU ?) . 17 „

Between KANDAHÁR and CHAKENICOUZÉ,² on the

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

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



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

From CHAKENICOUZÉ to CÁBOUL (KÁBUL) 40 *ross*.¹

In these forty *ross* of road you only find three poor villages, where they have seldom got bread, and barley for the horses, and the safest plan is to carry a supply with you. In the months of July and August a hot wind prevails in these quarters, which suffocates and kills suddenly, being of the same kind as the wind of which I have spoken in my accounts of PERSIA, which prevails also in certain seasons near BABYLON and MOSUL.

KÁBUL is a large town, fairly well fortified, and it is there the people of USBEK² come every year to sell their horses; they estimate that the trade in them amounts annually to more than 60,000.³ They take there from PERSIA also, many sheep and other cattle, and it is the great meeting-place for TARTARY, INDIA, and PERSIA. You can obtain wine there, and articles of food are very cheap.

Before passing further it is necessary to note here a curious fact concerning the people called *Augans*,⁴ who inhabit (the country) from KANDAHÁR to KÁBUL, towards the mountains of BALCH,⁵ and are powerful men, and great thieves at night. It is the custom

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

² For Tartars of Turkestan.

³ Rupees?

⁴ Afgháns.

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



of these Indians to clean and scrape the tongue every morning with a small curved piece of a particular root. This causes them to throw up a quantity of foul matter, and excites them to vomit. And those who inhabit the country on these frontiers of PERSIA and INDIA practice the same thing, nevertheless they vomit but little in the morning; but instead, when they take their meals, as soon as they have eaten two or three mouthfuls, their heart is disturbed, and they are obliged to vomit, after which they return to eat with appetite. If they do not do so they only live to the age of thirty years, and they become dropsical.

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

¹ I am informed by Col. Yule that Barikáb is often mentioned by writers (Baber's *Memoirs by Erskine*, pp. 275, 278, 290, and Moorcroft, ii, p. 373). There are caves hollowed in a bank there for the accommodation of travellers (Vigne, *Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, etc.*, 1840, pp. 239-240).

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

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



ATTOCK is a town situated on a promontory where two great rivers meet. It is one of the best fortresses of the GREAT MOGUL, and they do not permit any stranger to enter it if he does not hold a passport from the King. The Reverend Jesuit Father ROUX, and his companion, wishing to go by this route to ISPAHAN, and not having obtained a passport from the King, were sent back from thence, and returned to LAHORE, where they embarked upon the river to go to SIND, from whence they passed into PERSIA.

From ATEK to CALAPANÉ (KÁLÁ KI SARÁI?)	16	<i>cos.</i>
„ CALAPANÉ to ROUPATÉ (RAWÁT) ¹	16	„
„ ROUPATÉ to TOULAPÉCA (TULPURI)	16	„
„ TOULAPÉCA to KERALY (KARIÁLÁ or SARÁI ALAMGIR)	19	„
„ KERALY to ZERABAD (WAZIRÁBÁD)	16	„
„ ZERABAD to IMIABAD (EMINÁBÁD) ²	18	„
„ IMIABAD to LAHOR (LAHORE)	18	„

LAHORE is the capital of a kingdom, and is built on one of the five rivers³ which descend from the mountains of the north to go to swell the INDUS, and give the name of PENJAB⁴ to all the region which they water. This river at the present day flows at a quarter of a league distant from the town, being liable to change its bed, and the neighbouring fields often sustain much damage from its great overflowings. The town is

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

² Eminábád is 32 miles south of Lahore.

³ Lahore on the Rávi.

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



large, and extends more than a *cooss* in length, but the greater part of the houses, which are higher than those of AGRA and DELHI, are falling into ruins, the excessive rains having overthrown a large number. The palace of the King is rather fine, and is no longer, as it was formerly, on the margin of the river, which has withdrawn, as I have said, about a quarter of a league. One can obtain wine at LAHORE.¹

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

From LAHOR to MENAT-KAN (AMÁNAT KHÁN)	12	<i>cooss</i> .
„ MENAT-KAN to FATY-ABAD (FATEH-PUR)	15	„
„ FATY-ABAD to SERA-DAKAN (DEKHÁN)	15	„
„ SERA-DAKAN to SERA-BALOUR (PHIL-LÁUR)	15	„
„ SERA-BALOUR to SERA-DOURAI (DOUR-ÁHÁI)	12	„
„ SERA-DOURAI to SERINDE (SIRHIND)	17	„
„ SERINDE TOWN to SERA MOGOUL (MO-GULSARÁI)	15	„
„ SERA MOGOUL to SERA CHABAS (SHÁH-ÁBÁD)	14	„
„ SERA CHABAS to DIRAURIL (TARÁWARI)	17	„
„ DIRAURIL to SERA-CRINDAL (KURNÁL)	14	„

¹ No inconsiderable recommendation in the eyes of Tavernier, who makes frequent references to the wine which he carried with him on his journeys, and with which he delighted to entertain his friends.

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



FROM SERA-CRINDAL TO GINENAOUR (GANNAUR) 21 *COSS.*
,, GINENAOUR TO DEHLY (DELHI) . . . 24 ,,

Before proceeding further it should be remarked that nearly all the way from LAHORE to DELHI, and from DELHI to AGRA, is like a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides, which is very pleasant to the view;¹ but in some places they have been allowed to perish, and the people have not taken care to plant others.

DELHI is a large town, near the river JUMNA,² which runs from north to south, then from west to east, and after having passed AGRA and KADIOUE,³ loses itself in the GANGES. Since SHÁH JAHÁN has caused the new town of JAHÁNÁBÁD to be built, to which he has given his name, and where he preferred to reside rather than at AGRA, because the climate is more temperate, DELHI has become much broken down and is nearly all in ruins, only sufficient of it remaining standing to afford a habitation to the poor. There are narrow streets and houses of bamboo as in all INDIA, and there are but three or four nobles of the court who reside at DELHI, in great enclosures, in which they have their tents pitched. It is also where the Reverend Jesuit Father who was at the court had his dwelling.

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

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

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

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

private persons are large enclosures, in the middle of which is the dwelling, so that no one can approach the place where the women are shut up. The greater part of the nobles do not live in the town, but have their houses outside, so as to be near the water. When entering JAHÁNÁBÁD from the DELHI side, a long and wide street is to be seen, where, on both sides, there are arches under which the merchants carry on their business, and overhead there is a kind of platform. This street leads to the great square, where the King's palace is; and there is another very straight and wide one, which leads to the same square near another gate of the palace, in which there are the houses of the principal merchants who keep no shops.

The King's palace is a good half league in circuit. The walls are of fine cut stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement there is a tower. The fosses are full of water and are lined with cut stone. The principal gate of the palace has nothing magnificent about it, nor has the first court, where the nobles are permitted to enter on their elephants.

From this court one enters a long and wide passage which has on both sides handsome porticoes, under which there are many small chambers where some of the horse-guards lodge. These porticoes are elevated about two feet from the ground, and the horses, which are fastened to rings outside, take their feed on the edge. In certain places there are large doors which lead to different apartments, as to that of the women, and to the quarter where justice is administered. In the middle of this passage there is a channel full of water, which leaves a good roadway on either side, and forms little basins at equal distances. This long passage



leads to a large court where the *Omrahs*,¹ i.e. the great nobles of the kingdom, like the *Bachas*² in TURKEY, and the *Kháns* in PERSIA, constitute the bodyguard. There are low chambers around this court for their use, and their horses are tethered outside their doors.

From this second court a third is entered by a large gate, by the side of which there is, as it were, a small room raised two or three feet from the ground. It is where the royal wardrobe is kept, and from whence the *khil'at*³ is obtained whenever the King wishes to honour a stranger or one of his subjects. A little further on, over the same gate, is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are kept, which are heard some moments before the King enters his throne of justice, to give notice to the *Omrahs*, and again when the King is about to rise. When entering this third court you face the *divan* where the King gives audience. It is a grand hall elevated some four feet above the ground floor, and open on three sides. Thirty-two marble columns sustain as many arches, and these columns are about four feet square with their pedestals and some mouldings. When SHÁH JÁHÁN commenced the building of this hall he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the chapel of the Grand Duke in ITALY; but having made a trial upon two or three pillars to the height of

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

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

³ *Khil'at*. (See p. 20.)

two or three feet, he considered that it would be impossible to find enough stones for so considerable a design, and that moreover it would cost an enormous sum of money; this compelled him to stop the work, contenting himself with a representation of different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, and near the side overlooking the court, as in a theatre, they place the throne when the King comes to give audience and to render justice. It is a small bed of the size of our camp beds, with its four columns, the canopy, the back, a bolster, and counterpane; all of which are covered with diamonds.

When the King takes his seat, however, they spread on the bed a cover of gold brocade, or of some other rich quilted stuff, and he ascends it by three small steps of two feet in length. On one side of the bed there is a parasol elevated on a handle of the length of a short pike,¹ and to each column of the bed is attached one of the King's weapons, to one his shield, to another his sword, next his bow, his quiver, and his arrows, and other things of that nature.

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

¹ *Demi pique* in the original.



noise that it does not disturb the thoughts from the serious occupations with which they are engaged. When the King is seated on his throne, some great noble stands by him, most frequently his own children. Between eleven o'clock and noon the *Narwáb*,¹ who is the first Minister of State, like the Grand *Vizir* in Turkey, comes to make a report of whatever has passed in the chamber where he presides, which is at the entry of the first court, and when he has finished speaking, the King rises. But it must be remarked that from the time the King seats himself on his throne till he rises, no one, whosoever he may be, is allowed to leave the palace; though I am bound to say that the King was pleased to exempt me from this rule, which is general for every one—and here, in a few words, is how it occurred.

Wishing one day, while the King was in the *divan*, to leave the palace on urgent business, which could not by any means be deferred, the Captain of the guard caught me by the arm, and told me roughly that I should not pass out. I argued with him some time, but at length, seeing that he would treat me with violence, I put my hand to my *canjare*,² and would have struck him in the rage I was in if three or four guards, who saw my action, had not restrained me. Happily for me the *Narwáb*, who was uncle of the King, passed at the moment, and being informed of the subject of our quarrel, ordered the Captain of the guards to let me go out. He reported to the King in due course how the matter had occurred, and in the evening the *Narwáb*

¹ Nabab in original, for Nawáb.

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

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

Towards the middle of the same court there is a small channel which is about six inches wide, where, while the King is on his seat of justice, all strangers who come to the audience must stop. They are not allowed to pass it without being called, and even ambassadors themselves are not exempted from this rule. When an ambassador has arrived at the channel, the officer in charge of the introductions calls out towards the *divan*, where the King is seated, that such an ambassador wishes to speak to his majesty. Then a Secretary of State repeats it to the King, who very often does not appear to hear, but some time after he lifts his eyes, and throwing them upon the ambassador, makes through the same Secretary a sign that he may approach.

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

To the left of this same court where the *divan* is, there is a small well-built mosque, the dome of which is entirely covered by lead, and so thoroughly well gilt that some indeed believe that the whole is of massive gold. This is where the King goes daily to pray, save on Friday, when he goes to the Grand Mosque, which is very magnificent, and is situate on a lofty platform higher than the houses of the town, and it is



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

The right side of the court is occupied by porticoes which form a long gallery, elevated about half a foot above the ground, and it is the whole extent of these porticoes which constitute the King's stables, which one may enter by several doors. They are always full of very fine horses, the least valuable of which has cost 3000 *écus*, and there are some which are worth up to 10,000 *écus*. In front of each door of the stables there is hung a kind of screen made of bamboos split like our osiers; but, unlike the way in which we weave our little twigs of osier with osier itself, the bamboo is woven with twisted silk which represents flowers, and the work is very tedious and requires much patience. These screens serve to prevent the flies from tormenting the horses, but that is not considered sufficient, for two grooms are appointed to each horse, one of whom is generally occupied in fanning it. There are also screens stretched before the porticoes, as before the doors of the stables, and they are lowered and elevated according to necessity; and the floor of the gallery is covered with beautiful carpets, which are taken up in the evening in order to spread the bedding of the horses. This bedding is made of the horse's own droppings dried in the sun, and afterwards somewhat crushed. The horses imported into INDIA, whether from PERSIA or ARABIA, or the country of the Usbeks, have a complete change of food, for in INDIA

they are given neither hay nor oats. Each horse receives for its portion in the morning two or three balls made of wheaten flour and butter, of the size of our penny rolls. There is much difficulty in accustoming them to this kind of food, and often four or five months pass before it can be accomplished. The groom is obliged to hold the horse's tongue in one hand, and with the other he has to force the ball down the throat. In the sugar-cane or millet season they are given some of them at mid-day; and in the evening, an hour or two before sunset, they receive a measure of chick-peas which the groom has crushed between two stones and steeped in water. It is these which take the place of hay and oats. As for the other stables of the King, where he has also some fine horses, they are poor places, badly built, and do not deserve to be mentioned.

The JUMNA is a fine river which has large boats upon it, and, after having passed AGRA, it loses its name in the GANGES at ALLAHABAD. The King keeps many small brigantines at JAHÁNÁBÁD for pleasure, and they are highly decorated after the manner of the country.



CHAPTER VII

Sequence of the same Route, from DELHI up to AGRA

FROM DEHLY TO BADELPOURA (BUDURPUR)	8 coss.
„ BADELPOURA TO PELUEL-KI-SERA (PULWAL)	18 „
„ PELUEL-KI-SERA TO COTKI-SERA (KOTWÁN?)	15 „
„ COTKI-SERA TO CHEKI-SERA ¹ (SHEIKH-I- SARÁI?)	16 „

At CHEKI-SERA there is one of the grandest pagodas in India with an asylum for apes, both for those commonly in the place and for those which come from the neighbouring country, where the *Banians* provide them with food. This pagoda is called MATHURA;² formerly it was held in much greater veneration by the idolaters than it is at present. That was because the JUMNA then flowed at the foot of the pagoda, and because the *Banians*, both those of the place and those who came from afar in pilgrimage to perform their devotions there, were able to wash themselves in the river before entering the pagoda, and on coming

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

² Mathura, or Muttra, on the right bank of the Jumna, about 30 miles above Agra. It was a centre of the Buddhist faith about the year A.D. 400, when visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hian. Its antiquities have been fully described by Mr. Growse. Monkeys still swarm in the city, where they are fed by the inhabitants. In 1669-70 Aurangzeb visited the city, and destroyed many of its temples and shrines.

out of it before preparing to eat, which they must not do without being washed; besides, they believe that by washing themselves in running water their sins are more effectually removed. But for some years back the river has taken its course to the north, and flows at a good *ross* distance from the pagoda; this is the reason why so many pilgrims do not visit it now.

From CHEKI-SERA to GOODKI-SERA (?) . . . 5 *ross*.
 „ GOODKI-SERA to AGRA 6 „

AGRA is in $27^{\circ} 31'$ latitude,¹ in a sandy soil; which is the cause of excessive heat in summer. It is the largest town in INDIA, and was formerly the residence of the Kings. The houses of the nobles are beautiful and well built, but those of private persons have nothing fine about them, no more than in all the other towns of INDIA. They are separated from one another, and are concealed by the height of the walls, from fear lest any one should see the women; so it is easy to understand that all these towns have nothing cheerful about them like our towns in EUROPE. It should be added to this that, AGRA being surrounded by sands, the heat in summer is excessive, and it is, in part, this which induced SHÁH JAHÁN not to make his ordinary dwelling there any more, and to remove his court to JAHÁNÁBÁD.

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

¹ The true latitude of Agra is $27^{\circ} 10' 6''$. The *Handbook to Agra*, by Mr. H. G. Keene, may be referred to for an account of this city by those who desire to learn of its present condition and past history.

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



terraced in some places, and above the wall small dwellings have been built for certain officers of the court. The JUMNA flows in front of the palace; but between the wall and the river there is a large square where the King makes his elephants fight. They have purposely selected this spot near the water, because the elephant which has been victorious being enraged, they would not be able to pacify him for a long time if they did not urge him into the river, to effect which it is necessary to use artifice, by attaching to the end of a hand-pike fuses and petards, which are set on fire to drive him into the water; and when he is two or three feet deep in it he forthwith becomes appeased.

There is a large square on the side of the town in front of the palace, and the first gate, which has nothing magnificent about it, is guarded by some soldiers. Before the King had given up his residence at AGRA for that at JAHÁNÁBÁD, whenever he went to the country on a visit he entrusted the custody of the palace, where his treasure was, to one of the principal and most trustworthy of his *Omrahs*, who, until the return of the King, never moved, neither day nor night, from this gate where his lodging was. It was during such an absence that I was permitted to see the palace at AGRA. The King having left for JAHÁNÁBÁD, where all the court followed, and even the women too, the government of the palace was conferred on a noble who was a great friend of the Dutch, and, in general, of all the *Franks*.¹

M. VELANT, chief of the Dutch factory at AGRA, as soon as the King had left, went to salute this noble and to make him a present, according to the custom.

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



It was worth about 6000¹ *écus*, and consisted of spices, Japanese cabinets, and beautiful Dutch cloths. He invited me to go with him when he went to pay his compliments to the Governor; but this noble was offended at being offered a present, and obliged him to take it back, telling him that, in consideration of the friendship he had for the *Franks*, he would only take one small cane out of six which formed a part of the gift. They were those Japanese canes which grow in short nodes; it was even necessary to remove the gold with which it had been embellished, as he would not receive it except in its unadorned condition. Compliments having passed on both sides, the Governor asked M. Velant what he desired him to do to serve him; and he having prayed him to have the goodness, as the court was absent, to permit him to see the interior of the palace, it was granted him, and six men were given to accompany us.

The first gate, where, as I have said, the dwelling of the Governor of the palace is situated, is a long and dark arch, after which you enter a large court surrounded with porticoes, like the PLACE ROYALE OF LUXEMBOURG at PARIS. The gallery which is opposite is larger and higher than the others, and is sustained by three rows of columns, and under those, on the three other sides of the court, which are narrower and lower, there are several small chambers for the soldiers of the guard. In the middle of the great gallery you see a niche in the wall to which the King obtains access from his harem by a small concealed staircase, and when seated there he looks like a statue. He has no guards about him then, because he has nothing to fear; and because

¹ About £1350.

neither before nor behind, from the right nor from the left, can any one approach him. During the great heat he keeps only one eunuch by him, and most frequently one of his children, to fan him. The nobles of the court remain below in the gallery under this niche.

At the end of the court there is, on the left hand, a second gateway which gives entrance to another great court, which is also surrounded by galleries, under which there are also small rooms for some officers of the palace. From this second court you pass into a third, where the King's apartments are situated. SHÁH JAHÁN had intended to cover the arch of a great gallery which is on the right hand with silver, and a Frenchman, named AUGUSTIN DE BORDEAUX, was to have done the work. But the GREAT MOGUL seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was more capable to send to GOA to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done, for, as the ability of AUGUSTIN was feared, he was poisoned on his return from COCHIN. This gallery is painted with foliage of gold and azure, and the floor is covered over with a carpet. There are doors under the gallery giving entrance into very small square chambers. I saw two or three of them which were opened for us, and we were told that the others were similar. The three other sides of the court are altogether open, and there is but a simple wall to the height of the support. On the side overlooking the river there is a projecting *divan* or belvedere, where the King comes to sit when he wishes to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his brigantines, and making his elephants fight. In front of this *divan* there is a gallery which serves as a vestibule, and the design of SHÁH JAHÁN was to cover

it throughout by a trellis of rubies and emeralds, which would represent, after nature, green grapes and those commencing to become red; but this design, which made a great noise throughout the world, and which required more wealth than he had been able to furnish, remains unfinished, only having two or three wreaths of gold with their leaves, as all the rest ought to be, and enamelled in their natural colours, emeralds, rubies, and garnets making the grapes. About the middle of the court you see a great tank for bathing, of forty feet in diameter, and of a single piece of sandstone, with steps cut in the stone itself, both within and without.¹

As for the tombs which are in AGRA and its environs, there are some which are very beautiful, and there is not one of the eunuchs in the King's harem who is not ambitious to have a magnificent tomb built for himself. When they have amassed large sums they earnestly desire to go to MECCA, and to take with them rich presents; but the GREAT MOGUL, who does not wish the money to leave his country, very seldom grants them permission, and consequently, not knowing what to do with their wealth, they expend the greater part of it in these burying-places, in order to leave some monument to their names.

Of all the tombs which one sees at AGRA, that of the wife of SHÁH JAHÁN² is the most splendid. He purposely made it near the TASIMACAN,³ where all foreigners come, so that the whole world should see and admire its magnificence. The TASIMACAN is a large bazaar,

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

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

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



consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which there are chambers for the use of merchants, and an enormous quantity of cottons is sold there. The tomb of this *Begum*, or sultan queen, is at the east end of the town by the side of the river in a great square surrounded by walls, upon which there is a small gallery, as on the walls of many towns in EUROPE. This square is a kind of garden divided into compartments like our parterres, but in the places where we put gravel there is white and black marble. You enter this square by a large gate, and at first you see, on the left hand, a beautiful gallery which faces in the direction of MECCA, where there are three or four niches where the *Moufli*¹ comes at fixed times to pray. A little farther than the middle of the square, on the side of the water, you see three great platforms elevated, one upon the other, with four towers at the four corners of each, and a staircase inside, for proclaiming the hour of prayer. There is a dome above, which is scarcely less magnificent than that of VAL DE GRACE at PARIS. It is covered within and without with white marble, the middle being of brick. Under this dome there is an empty tomb, for the *Begum* is interred under a vault which is beneath the first platform. The same changes which are made below in this subterranean place are made above around the tomb, for from time to time they change the carpet, chandeliers, and other ornaments of that kind, and there are always there some *Mollahs*² to pray. I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which they have expended twenty-two years, during

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

² More correctly *Mullá*.

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

On one side of the town the tomb of King AKBAR¹ is to be seen; as for those of the eunuchs they have but a single platform with small chambers at each of the four corners.

When you reach AGRA from the DELHI side you meet a large bazaar, close to which there is a garden where the king JAHÁNGIR, father of SHÁH JAHÁN, is interred. Over the gate of this garden you see a painting which represents his tomb covered by a great black pall with many torches of white wax, and two Jesuit Fathers at the ends. One is much astounded at seeing that SHÁH JAHÁN, contrary to the practice of the Muhammadans, who hold images in abhorrence, has allowed this painting to remain, and it can only be in consequence of the fact that the King his father and he himself had learnt from the Jesuits some principles of mathematics and astrology. But he had not the same indulgence for them in another matter, for on going

¹ This was built by Sháh Jahángir at Sikandrá.



one day to see a sick Armenian, named COTGIA,¹ . . . whom he much loved, and whom he had honoured with splendid appointments, and the Jesuits, who had their house close to that of the Armenian, happening to ring their bell just then, the noise proved d'spleasing to the King, and as he thought it might inconvenience the sick man, in a rage he commanded it to be removed and hung on the neck of his elephant; this was promptly done. Some days after, the King seeing the elephant with this heavy bell suspended from its neck, he thought that so great a weight might injure it, and he therefore ordered it to be carried into the office of the *Conteval*,² which is a sort of barrier where a provost administers justice to those of the quarter, and it has remained there ever since. This Armenian had been brought up with SHÁH JAHÁN, and, as he was very clever and was an excellent poet, he was high in the good graces of the King, who had given him valuable governorships, but had never been able, either by promises or threats, to induce him to become a Muhammadan.

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

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



CHAPTER VIII

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

I PARTED from AGRA for BENGAL on the 25th of November 1665¹ and lay the same day at a poor *cavansardi* distant from AGRA 3 *cos*s.

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

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

The 27th [Nov.] to SERAIL MORLIDES (?)	. 9 <i>cos</i> s.
28th „ „ ESTANJA (ETÁWAH ³)	. 14 „
29th „ „ HAIH-MAL (AJIT-MÁL)	. 12 „
30th „ „ SEKANDERA (SIKANDRA)	. 13 „
1st of Dec. to SANQUAL (near MUSANAGAR)	14 „

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

¹ Tavernier, in Book I, chap. x, describes how he witnessed the Mogul's festival on the 4th to the 9th of November, and then saw the jewels. Soon afterwards he must have left Delhi so as to reach Agra for this start. (See *Joret, op. cit.*, p. 193.)

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

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

It was the revenue of the Province of BENGAL, of which all charges being paid and the purse of the Governor well filled, amounted to 5,500,000 rupees.¹ At one league on this side of SANQUAL you cross a river called SENGAR,² which flows into the JUMNA, which is only half a league distant. You cross this river SENGAR by a stone bridge, and when you arrive from the BENGAL side, to go to SIRONJ and SURAT, if you wish to shorten the journey by ten days, when quitting the road to AGRA you must come as far as this bridge, and cross the river JUMNA by boat. Nevertheless the route by Agra is generally taken, because by the other there are five or six days' stony marches, and because one must pass through the territories of *Rajas* where there is danger of being robbed.

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

Halfway you pass JAHANABAD,⁴ (?) a small town near which, about a quarter of a league on this side, you pass a field of millet, where, I saw a rhinoceros eating stalks of this millet, which a small boy of nine or ten years⁵ presented to him. On my approaching

¹ Tieffenthaler places the revenue of Bengal at 13,006,590 rupees in Akbar's time, and he says that it was 40,000,000 rupees according to "Manouzzi," i.e. Manouchi, in the time of Shâh Jahân, subsequently it fell to 8,621,200 rupees. (*Géog. de l'Ind.*, p. 443.)

² Saingour in the original.

³ Not identified.

⁴ Gianabad in the original, to west of Korâ.

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



he gave me some stalks of millet, and immediately the rhinoceros came to me, opening his mouth four or five times; I placed some in it, and when he had eaten them he continued to open his mouth so that I might give him more.

The 3d [December] I came to SERRAIL CHAGEADA (SARAI SHAHZADA), 10 *cos*s.

The 4th, to SERRAIL ATAKAN (HUTGAON), 13 *cos*s.

The 5th, to AURANGABAD,¹ a large town, 9 *cos*s.

Formerly this town had another name, and it is the place where AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, gave battle to his brother Sultan SHUJA, who held the government of the whole of BENGAL. AURANGZEB having been victorious gave his name to the town, and he built there a handsome house with a garden and a small mosque.

The 6th [December] to ALINCHAN (ALUM CHAND), 9 *cos*s.

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

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

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

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



in front of the LOUVRE, it being perhaps thought that it equalled in width, at the least, the DANUBE below BELGRADE. There is actually so little water from the month of March to the month of June or July, when the rains commence, that boats are not able to ascend it. On arrival at the GANGES, we each drank a glass of wine which we mixed with water—this caused some internal disturbance; but our attendants who drank it alone were much more tormented than we were. The Dutch, who have a house on the banks of the GANGES, never drink the water of the river, except after it has been boiled; as for the native inhabitants, they have been accustomed to it from their youth; the King even and all his court drink no other. You see every day a large number of camels which do nothing else but fetch water from the GANGES.

The 7th [Dec.] we came to HALABAS¹ (ALLÁHÁBÁD), 8 *coss*.

ALLÁHÁBÁD is a large town built on a point of land where the GANGES and the JUMNA meet one another. It has a fine castle built of cut stone, with a double ditch, and it is the dwelling of the Governor. He is one of the greatest nobles in INDIA, and as he is troubled with bad health he employs some Persian Physicians, and he then also had in his service M. CLAUDE MAILLE of BOURGES,² who practised both surgery and medicine. It was he who advised us not to drink any of the GANGES water, which would produce disturbance of the

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

² M. Claude Maille of Bourges. As we shall see in Book I, chap. xviii, a man of this name, who had escaped from the Dutch service was, in the year 1652, a not very successful amateur gun-founder for Mir Jumlá; he had after his escape set up as a surgeon to the *Naróbb*, with



stomach, but to drink rather the water from wells. The chief of these Persian Physicians whom this Governor had in his pay, one day threw his wife down from the top of a terrace to the ground, impelled apparently to this cruel action by a freak of jealousy. He thought that she was killed, but she had only two or three ribs broken, and the relations of the woman threw themselves at the feet of the Governor to demand justice. The Governor summoned the Physician, and commanded him to withdraw, not wishing to keep him any longer in his service. He obeyed this order, and, having placed his disabled wife in a *pal-lankeen*, he departed with all his family. He was not more than three or four marches from the town when the Governor, finding himself unusually ill, sent to recall him, upon which the Physician stabbed his wife, four of his children, and thirteen female slaves, after which he returned to the Governor, who said nothing to him about it, and took him again into his service.

On the 8th I crossed the GANGES in a large boat, having waited from the morning till mid-day on the bank of the river, till M. MAILLE brought a letter from the Governor giving us permission to cross. For on each side there is a *Darogah*, who allows no one to pass without an order; and he takes note also of the kind of merchandise carried, each waggon being charged four rupees, and a chariot paying but one, without counting the boat, for which it is necessary to pay separately.

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

This day the halt was at SADOUL SERAIL ¹ (?)	16	<i>coiss</i> .
The 9th at YAKEDIL-SERA (JAGDIS SARÁI)	10	,,
10th at BOURAKY-SERA (BABOO SARÁI)	10	,,
11th at BANAROU (BENARES)	10	,,

BENARES² is a large and very well-built town, the majority of the houses being of brick and cut stone, and more lofty than those of other towns of INDIA; but it is very inconvenient that the streets are so narrow. It has several *caravansaráis*, and, among others, one very large and well built. In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cottons, silken stuffs, and other kinds of merchandise. The majority of those who vend the goods are the workers who have made the pieces, and in this manner foreigners obtain them at first hand. These workers, before exposing anything for sale, have to go to him who holds the contract, in order to get the King's stamp impressed on the pieces of calico or silk, otherwise they are fined and flogged. The town is situated to the north of the GANGES, which runs the whole length of the walls, and two leagues farther down a large river³ joins it from the west. The idolaters have one of their principal pagodas in BENARES, and I shall describe it in Book II, where I shall speak of the religion of the *Banians*.

About 500 paces from the town, in a north-western direction, there is a mosque where you see several Muhammadan tombs, of which some are of a very beauti-

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

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

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



ful design. The most beautiful are placed each in the middle of a garden enclosed by walls which have openings of half a foot square, through which the passers-by can see them. The most considerable of all is like a great square pedestal, each face of which is about forty paces long. In the middle of this platform you see a column of 32 to 35 feet in height, all of a piece, and which three men could with difficulty embrace.¹ It is of sandstone, so hard that I could not scratch it with my knife. It terminates in a pyramid, and has a great ball on the point, and below the ball it is encircled by large beads. All the sides of this tomb are covered with figures of animals cut in relief in the stone, and it has been higher above the ground than it now appears; several of the old men who guard some of these tombs having assured me that since fifty years it has subsided more than 30 feet. They add that it is the tomb of one of the kings of BHUTÁN, who was interred there after he had left his country to conquer this kingdom, from which he was subsequently driven by the descendants of TAMERLANE. It is from this kingdom of BHUTÁN that they bring musk, and I shall give a description of it in Book III.

I remained at BENARES on the 12th and 13th, and during these two days there was continual rain; but it did not prevent me from resuming my journey, and on the evening of the 13th I crossed the GANGES with the passport of the Governor. They examine all travellers' baggage before embarking in the boat, personal property pays nothing, and it is only on merchandise that one must pay duty.

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



The 13th [December] I halted at BATERPOUR
(BAHÁDURPUR) 2 *COSS*.
14th at SATRAGY-SERA (SADRÁZÁ-KI-SARÁI on old map)¹ 8 ,,
15th at MONIARKY-SERA (MOHANIÁ-KI-SARÁI)² 6 ,,

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

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

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

The 17th at SASERON (SÁSSERÁM)⁶ 4 *COSS*.

SÁSSERÁM is a town at the foot of the mountains, near to which there is a large tank. You see a small island in the middle, where there is a very beautiful mosque, in which there is the tomb of a *Nawáb* named SELIM-KHÁN, who had it built during the time he was Governor of the Province. There is a fine stone bridge to cross into the island, which is all flanked and paved with large cut stones. On one of the sides of the tank there is a large garden, in the middle of which is another beautiful tomb of the son of the same *Nawáb*, SELIM-KHÁN, who succeeded his

¹ Sedradje of Tieffenthaler.

² Mohonia of Tieffenthaler.

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

⁴ The Durgouti river?

⁵ Koodra river.

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



father in the government of the Province. When you wish to go to the mine of SOULMELPOUR,¹ of which I shall speak in the last book of this narrative, you leave the main road to PATNA, and turn straight southwards by EKBERBOURG² and the famous fort of RHODAS (ROHTAS), as I shall say in the same place.

The 18th [December] I crossed, in a boat, the river SONSOU,³ which comes from the mountains of the south; and, after crossing it, those who have goods have to pay a certain duty.

This day my halt was at DAOUD-NAGAR-SERA (DOUDNAGAR), where there is a fine tomb . . . 9 *coiss*.

The 19th to HALVA-SERA (ARWAL)⁴ . . . 10 „

20th to AGA-SERA (?) . . . 9 „

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

The 21st to PATNA. 10 *coiss*.

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

¹ Soulmelpour, a misprint for Soumelpour (see Book II, chap. xvii, where it is shown to have been situated in Palamow). It is also mentioned by Tieffenthaler as Sommelpour, thirty *milles* S.S.E. of Rohtás. (*Géog. de l'Ind.*, traduit par Bernoulli, Berlin 1791, p. 433.)

² Ekberbourg, which is misprinted in the puzzling-looking form of Exberbourg in the English translation by John Phillips (1684), is undoubtedly identical with Akbárpur, a village at the foot of the hill upon which the remains of the old fort of Rohtás are still to be seen. A small portion has been restored and made habitable. I have described this neighbourhood in *Jungle Life in India*, p. 349. Of the substitution of the French *bourg* for the Indian *púr* these pages furnish several examples.

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

⁴ Arwal on Sone, formerly, as stated by Tieffenthaler, famous for its paper factory. The original village has been swept away by the river, and a new one bears the name. It is forty-one miles distant from Patna, so that the value of the *coiss* is here also about two miles.



not less than two *cośś* in length. The houses are not better than in the majority of the other towns of INDIA, and they are nearly all roofed with thatch or bamboo. The Dutch company has an establishment there on account of the trade in saltpetre,¹ which it refines at a large village called CHAPRÁ, situated on the right bank of the GANGES, 10 *cośś* above PATNA.

Arriving at PATNA with M. BERNIER, we encountered some Dutchmen in the street who were returning to CHAPRÁ,² but who halted their carriages in order to salute us. We did not separate before we had emptied together two bottles of SHIRÁZ wine in the open street, regarding which there is nothing to remark upon in this country, where one lives without ceremony, and with perfect liberty.

I remained eight days in PATNA, during which time an occurrence happened which will show the reader that unnatural crime does not rest unpunished by the Muhammadans. A *Mimbachi*³ who commanded 1000 foot disgraced a young boy who was in his service; . . . the boy, overwhelmed with grief, chose his time to avenge himself, and being one day out hunting with his master, and removed from the other attendants by about a quarter of a league, he came behind him and cut off his head with his sword. He then rode im-

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

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

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



mediately to the town at full speed, crying aloud that he had slain his master for such a reason, and came at once to the house of the Governor, who placed him in prison. But he left it at the end of six months, and although all the relatives of the defunct did what they could to procure his execution, the Governor did not dare to condemn him, as he feared the people, who protested that the young man had acted rightly.

I left PATNA in a boat to descend to DACCA on the 29th of January (?),¹ between 11 o'clock and noon. If the river had been strong, as it is after the rains, I should have embarked at ALLÁHÁBÁD, or at the least at BENARES.

The same day I slept at SERA BECONCOUR,² 15 *cośś*.

Five *cośś* on this side of BECONCOUR you meet a river called POMPON SOU,³ which comes from the south and flows into the GANGES.

The 30th [December] to SERA D'ÉRIIA (DARIA-PUR?),⁴ 17 *cośś*.

On the 31st, after having gone 4 *cośś* or thereabouts, you meet the river KAOA, which comes from the south; 3 *cośś* lower you see another called CHANON, which falls from the north; 4 *cośś* farther you discover that called ERGUGA, which comes from the

¹ This is a mistake for December, see below.

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

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

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



south; and again, 6 *coiss* below that of AQUERA, which comes from the same quarter, and these four rivers lose their names in the GANGES.¹ All that day I beheld lofty mountains² on the south side, and at a distance from the GANGES some 10 *coiss* and some 15 *coiss*, and I came to a halt at MONGER (MONGIR) TOWN, 18 *coiss*.

The first day of January 1666, after having sailed two hours I saw the GANDAK³ enter the GANGES from the north. It is a large navigable river.

This evening the halt was at ZANGIRA (JANJIRA),⁴ 8 *coiss*.

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

During the 2d, between 6 o'clock in the morning and about 11 o'clock, I saw three rivers enter the GANGES, and they all three come from the north side. The first is called RONOVA, the second TAË, and the third CHANAN.⁵

I slept at BAQUELPOUR (BHÁGALPUR),⁶ 18 *coiss*.

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

¹ Compare Keul and Tiljugá rivers, and Kargariá, Bhágmati and Chándá *kháls*.

² Kharakpúr hills and adjoining ranges.

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

⁴ For Jahángirha of map, near Sultánganj.

⁵ These names probably represent sundry *kháls*.

⁶ Bhágalpur in Behár.

⁷ Probably the Kosi.

⁸ Called Borregangel by De Graaf in 1669 (see *Histoire Generale des Voyages La Haye*, 1755, vol. xiii, p. 50, and Popangel in a map of "Indostan" in the same volume). Its position corresponds with that of the modern Sikrigalli *ghát*.

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



On the 4th [January], one hour below PONGANGEL, I met a great river called MART-NÁDI (KALINDRY?), which comes from the north, and I slept at RAGE-MEHALE (RÁJMAHÁL¹), 6 *coss*.

RÁJMAHÁL is a town on the right bank of the GANGES, and when you approach it by land you find that for one or two *coss* the roads are paved with brick up to the town. It was formerly the residence of the Governors of BENGAL, because it is a splendid hunting country,² and, moreover, the trade there was considerable. But the river having taken another course, and passing only at a distance of a full half league from the town, as much for this reason as for the purpose of restraining the King of ARAKAN, and many Portuguese bandits³ who have settled at the mouths of the GANGES, and by whom the inhabitants of DACCA, up to which place they made incursions, were molested,—the Governor and the merchants who dwelt at RÁJMAHÁL removed to DACCA, which is to-day a place of considerable trade.⁴

On the 6th, having arrived at a great town called DONAPOUR,⁵ at 6 *coss* from RÁJMAHÁL, I left M. BERNIER, who went to KÁSIMBÁZAR,⁶ and from thence to HUGLI⁷ by land, because when the river is low one

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



is unable to pass on account of a great bank of sand which is before a town called SOUTIQU¹.

I lay this evening at TOUTIPOUR,² distant from RÁJMAHÁL 12 *co*ss.

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

The 7th I reached ACERAT (HADJRÁPÚR),³ 25 *co*ss.

From ACERAT to DACCA, by land, there are still 45 *co*ss. All this day I beheld so large a number of crocodiles that, at length, I became desirous to shoot one in order to ascertain if what is commonly said is true, namely, that a shot from a gun does not affect them. The shot struck him in the jaw and the blood flowed, but he did not remain where he was, but went into the river.

On the 8th I again saw a great number of these crocodiles lying on the bank of the river, and I fired at two with two shots, each charge having three balls. Immediately they were wounded they turned over on the back, opening the mouth and dying on the spot.

This day I slept at DOULODIA (?), 17 *co*ss.

The crows were the cause of our finding a fine fish which the fishermen had concealed on the bank of the river in the reeds. For when our boatmen observed that there were a great number of crows which cawed and entered the reeds, they concluded that they must

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

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

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

contain something unusual, and they searched so well that they found sufficient to make a good meal.

On the 9th [January], at 2 P.M., we encountered a river called CHATIVOR (?) which comes from the north, and our halt was at DAMPOUR (?), 16 *coiss*.

The 10th we slept on the margin of the river in a place far removed from houses, and made this day 15 *coiss*.

On the 11th, having arrived towards evening at the spot where the GANGES divides into three branches, one of which goes to DACCA, we slept at the entrance of this channel, at a large village called JATRAPOUR (?), 20 *coiss*.

Those who have no baggage can proceed by land from JATRAPOUR to DACCA, and they shorten their journey very much, because the river winds about considerably.

On the 12th, at noon, we passed before a large town called BAGAMARA (?), and slept at KASIATA (?), another large town,¹ 11 *coiss*.

On the 13th, at noon, we met a river at 2 *coiss* from DACCA called LAQUIA,² which comes from the north-east. Opposite the point where the two rivers join, there is a fortress with several guns on each side. Half a *coiss* lower down you see another river called PAGALU,³ over

¹ So many changes in the courses of the rivers and the positions of the towns have taken place in this region, that it would require closer knowledge of the locality than I possess, and more detailed maps than I have had access to, to identify closely this portion of Tavernier's route.

² The Lokia river is remarkable among Bengal rivers for its swift current.

³ *Pagla*. This term, meaning "fool," is applied in deltaic regions in Bengal to branches or loops from rivers which derive their water not from an independent source, but from the river which they again rejoin.



which there is a fine brick bridge, which MIR JUMLÁ¹ ordered to be built. This river comes from the north-east, and half a *cos*s below you find another called CADAMTALI(?), which comes from the north, and which you also cross by a brick bridge; on both sides of the river you see several towers, where there are as it were enshrined many heads of men who have robbed on the high roads.

We arrived at DACCA² towards evening, and accomplished this day 9 *cos*s.

DACCA is a large town, which is only of extent as regards length, each person being anxious to have his house close to the GANGES. This length exceeds 2 *cos*s; and from the last brick bridge, which I have mentioned above, up to DACCA, there is a succession of houses, separated one from the other, and inhabited for the most part by the carpenters who build galleys and other vessels. These houses are, properly speaking, only miserable huts made of bamboo, and mud which is spread over them. Those of DACCA are scarcely better built, and that which is the residence of the Governor is an enclosure of high walls, in the middle of which is a poor house merely built of wood. He ordinarily resides under tents, which he pitches in a large court in this enclosure. The Dutch, finding that their goods were not sufficiently safe in the common houses of DACCA, have built a very fine house, and the English have also got one which is fairly good. The church of the Rev. Augustin Fathers is all of brick, and the workmanship of it is rather beautiful.

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

² Dacca in E. Bengal.



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

SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, uncle of the King AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, and the cleverest man in all his kingdom, found means for bribing many of the officers of the navy of the King of ARAKAN, and of a sudden forty galleys, which were commanded by Portuguese, joined him. In order to secure these new allies firmly in his service, he gave large pay to each of the Portuguese officers and to the soldiers in proportion, but the natives only received double the ordinary pay. It is a most surprising thing to see with what speed these galleys are propelled by oars. There are some so long that they have up to fifty oars on each side, but there are not more than two men to each oar. You see some which are much decorated, where the gold and azure have not been spared.¹

The Dutch have some of them in their service in which they carry their merchandise, and they also sometimes require to hire some from others, thus affording a means of livelihood to many people.

The day following my arrival in DACCA, which was the 14th of January, I went to salute the *Nawáb*, and presented him with a mantle of gold brocade, with a grand golden lace of "point d'Espagne" round it, and a fine scarf of gold and silver of the same "point," and a

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