



jewel consisting of a very beautiful emerald. During the evening, after I had returned to the Dutch with whom I lodged, the *Nawáb* sent me pomegranates, China oranges, two Persian melons, and three kinds of apples.

On the 15th [January] I showed him my goods, and presented to the Prince, his son, a watch having a case of enamelled gold, a pair of pistols inlaid with silver, and a telescope. All this which I gave, both to the father and to the young lord of about ten years of age, cost me more than 5000 *livres*.

On the 16th I agreed with him as to the price of my goods, and afterwards I went to his *Vizir* to receive my bill of exchange payable at KÁSIMBÁZÁR.¹ Not that he was unwilling to pay me at DACCA, but the Dutch, who were more experienced than I, warned me that there was risk in carrying silver to KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where one cannot go except by reascending the GANGES, because the land route is very bad and full of jungle and swamps. The danger consists in this, that the small vessels which one employs are very subject to be upset by the least wind, and when the sailors discover that one carries money, it is not difficult for them to make the boat upset, and to recover the silver afterwards, at the bottom of the river, for the purpose of appropriating it.

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

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



in which he described me as a gentleman of his household; this he had already previously done during the time that he was Governor of AHMADÁBÁD, when I went to the army to meet him in the Province of DECCAN, which the *Raja* SIVAJI¹ had entered, as I shall relate elsewhere. In virtue of these passports I was able to go and come throughout all the territories of the GREAT MOGUL as one of his household, and I shall explain their tenor in Book II.

On the 21st [January] the Dutch gave a great banquet out of regard for me, to which they invited the English and some Portuguese, with an Augustin friar of the same nation.

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

Between the 23d and the 29th I made some purchases for 11,000 rupees, and all being embarked I went to bid farewell.

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

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

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



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

On the 13th I passed the day agreeably with the Dutch gentlemen, who wished to enjoy themselves in honour of my arrival.

On the 14th [February] M. WACHTTENDONK returned to HUGLI, where the principal settlement is, and on the same day one of my servants, who had preceded me, came to give me notice that the people whom I had left in the boat with my goods had been in great danger on account of the strong wind, which had lasted two days, and which became stronger during the night.

On the 15th [February] the Dutch gave me a *pallankeen* to go to MURSHIDÁBÁD.¹ It is a great town, 3 *coss* from KÁSIMBÁZAR, where the Receiver-general of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN resided, to whom I presented my bill of exchange. After having read it he told me that it was good, and that he would have paid me if he had not on the previous evening received an order from the *Nawáb* not to pay me in case he had not already done so. He did not tell me the reason which caused SHÁISTÁ KHÁN to act in this manner, and I returned to my lodging not a little surprised at this proceeding.

On the 16th I wrote to the *Nawáb* to know what reason he had for ordering his Receiver not to pay me.

On the 17th, in the evening, I left for HUGLI in a boat with fourteen oars, which the Dutch lent me, and that night and the following I slept on the river.

On the 19th, towards evening, I passed a large

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



town called NADIYÁ,¹ and it is the farthest point to which the tide reaches. There arose so furious a wind, and the water was so high, that we were compelled to stop for three or four hours and draw our boat ashore.

On the 20th I arrived at HUGLI, where I remained till the 2d of March, during which time the Dutch made me welcome, and sought to give me all the amusement which the country could afford. We made several excursions on the river, and we had for food all the delicacies which are found in our European gardens, salads of several kinds, cabbages, asparagus, peas, and principally beans, of which the seed comes from Japan, the Dutch desiring to have all kinds of herbs and pulses in their gardens, which they are most careful to cultivate, without having been able, however, to get artichokes to grow.

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

The following day I went to MURSHIDÁBAD to know if the Receiver who had refused to pay me had received another order from the *Nawáb*. For I have above said that I immediately wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN to complain of his action and to know for what reason he did not wish my bill of exchange to be paid. The Director of the Dutch factories added a letter to mine, and pointed out to the *Nawáb* that I was too well known to him—having, formerly at AHMADÁBAD, at the army of the DECCAN, and in other places, had many transactions with him—not to deserve favourable treatment; that he ought to remember that I, being the only person who often brought to INDIA the choicest

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

rarities of Europe, it was not the way to make me wish to return as he had invited me, if I should leave discontented; besides which, owing to the credit which I enjoyed, I should be easily able to dissuade those who intended to come to INDIA with rare objects, by making them fear the same treatment as I had received. Neither my letter nor that of the Director produced the effect we had hoped, and I was in no wise satisfied with the new order which the *Nawáb* had sent to the Receiver, by which he ordered him to pay me with a rebate of 20,000 rupees from the sum which I ought to receive, and was carried by my bill of exchange, according to the price upon which we had agreed. The *Nawáb* added that if I was unwilling to content myself with this payment I might come to take back my goods. This action of the *Nawáb* had its origin in an evil turn played me by three rogues at the court of the GREAT MOGUL. And this is the history of it in a few words.¹

AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, at the sollicita-

¹ In turning aside to relate what follows, Tavernier drops the thread of his narrative, and we are left to casual remarks from which to trace his route and his occupation from this time, namely, the beginning of March 1666 till his return to France in December 1668. Thus, on the 8th of April, he states he was at Maldah, and on the 12th of May he reascended the Ganges (Book III, chap. xiv); on the 2d of July he witnessed an eclipse of the sun at Patna, where he had probably remained during the month of June (Book III, chap. xiv). Towards the end of this month, or beginning of August, we have casual mention of his having met the deputies of the French Company for Commerce in Agra (see Joret, *op. cit.*, p. 201). He arrived at Surat by way of Sironj and Burhánpur on the 1st November (*Recueil*, p. 117), and met there M. Thevenot, who returned then from Golconda and Madras (*Recueil*, p. 118). He makes two references to his having been in Surat in January, or the beginning of 1667 (see Book I, chap. ix; and vol. iii, *Recueil*, p. 118), where he relates an act of brutality by M. Berber. Shortly afterwards, or in February, *i.e.* within the sailing season, he probably embarked from Surat for Bandar Abbás (*Gombroon*). The above facts are partly derived from M. Joret's work, pp. 198-202.

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

These three men have obtained permission from the King that they shall see, before he does, all which the foreign merchants bring to sell to him, and that afterwards they shall present them to him themselves; and although they have sworn to take nothing from the merchant, they do not neglect to extort all they can in order to ruin him. When they see anything beautiful from which there is reason to hope for a large profit, they desire him to sell it to them for half its value, and if he refuses to let them have it, they are malicious enough to estimate the jewels when they are before the King at half their value, besides which the King AURANGZEB cares but little for stones, and loves gold

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



SL

and silver much better. On the day of the King's festival, of which I shall elsewhere speak, all the princes and nobles of the court make him magnificent presents, and when they are unable to find jewels to buy, they present him with golden rupees, of which the King, as I have said, makes more count than of the precious stones, although precious stones constitute a more honourable present than golden coins. It is at the approach of this festival that he sends out of his treasury numerous diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, which he who values the jewels entrusts in the hands of several merchants, to sell them to the nobles, who are bound to make presents to the King, and in this manner the King receives back both the money and his jewels together.

There is still another disadvantage for the merchant jeweller. It is that after the King has seen any stones, a prince or other noble who knows of it will never buy them, and besides, while these three men appointed to view the jewels are considering and examining them in their dwellings, where he is obliged to carry them, he meets several *Banians* who are experts, some for diamonds, others for rubies, for emeralds, and for pearls, who write down the weight, quality, perfection, and colour of each piece. And if the merchant afterwards goes to the Princes and Governors of Provinces, these people send them a memorandum of all that he carries, with the price, which they maliciously place at half the true value of the things. These *Banians* are in business a thousand times worse than the Jews, and more cunning than they are in all kinds of dodges and in malice when they wish for revenge. Observe then the bad turn which these three personages played me.



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

On the following day they all three came to see me, one after the other, and they wished to get from me amongst other things a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls, of which the largest was thirty carats and the least sixteen, with another single pear-shaped pearl of fifty-five carats. As for the bouquet, the King took it; but with regard to the pearl, seeing that, notwithstanding all that they could say, I was unwilling to sell them anything, they so managed that before I had shown my jewels to the King, ZAFAR KHÁN, uncle of the King, saw it, after which he did not wish to return it, saying that he would pay me as highly for it as the King, asking me not to mention it; for in fact he desired to present it to the King.

After the King had selected from among my jewels those which he desired, ZAFAR-KHÁN bought several pieces from me, and at the same time purchased the great pearl. Some days afterwards he caused my payment to be made according to what had been agreed upon, with the exception of the pearl, upon which he desired me to rebate 10,000 rupees. The two Persians and the *Banian* had maliciously informed him that on my arrival they might, if they had wished, have had the pearl for 8,000 or 10,000 less than I had sold it to him



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for ; this was wholly untrue, and ZAFAR KHÁN having told me that if I would not accept the money which he offered me I might take it back, I took him at his word, assuring him that during his life he would never see it again. I kept to my word, and remained firm in my resolve. That which made me so fixed was in part because I desired to carry, if I could, something considerable to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, and if it had been permitted to me on my arrival at SURAT to go to him first, I would not have gone to see the King at JAHÁNÁBÁD, regarding which I had a great dispute with the Governor of SURAT. For when I went to salute him, he immediately told me that it would not be as on my other journeys, and that the King wished, absolutely, to be the first to see all that was curious which was brought into his kingdom.¹ I was more than four months disputing in vain with this Governor ; at last I was obliged to go to visit the King, and from fear lest I should take another route they gave me fifteen horsemen to accompany me to JALOR.²

Having then started for BENGAL, these three inspectors of jewels, incensed with spite, and urged on, no doubt, by ZAFAR KHÁN, who was anxious to take his revenge for my refusal, wrote to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN that I was taking some jewels to show to him, and among others a very beautiful pearl which I had sold to ZAFAR KHÁN ; but that he had returned it to me subsequently, having ascertained that I wished to make him pay 10,000 rupees more than it was worth. They wrote similarly regarding the other jewels which I carried, and it was upon these false and malicious advices, which SHÁISTÁ KHÁN did not receive till after he had

¹ See Book II, chap. xi.

² See p. 87.



delivered to me my bill of exchange, that this Prince wished to deduct 20,000 rupees from the total sum; this was reduced finally to a rebate of 10,000 rupees, with which I was obliged to content myself.

Since I have above spoken of the present which I made to SHAÏSTÁ KHÁN, I ought not to be silent regarding those which I was also obliged to make to the King, to the *Nawáb* ZAFAR KHÁN, to the eunuch of the GRAND BEGUM, sister of AURANGZEB, to the Grand Treasurer, and to the attendants of the treasury. For it should be stated that whoever it may be who desires to have audience of the King, they ask, before everything else, where the present is that he has to offer to him, and they examine it to see if it is worthy of being offered to his majesty. No one ever ventures to show himself with empty hands, and it is an honour obtained at no little cost. Having arrived at JAHÁNÁBÁD I went to make my reverence to the King on the 12th September 1665, and this is the present which I made him. Firstly, a shield of bronze in high relief thoroughly well gilt, the gilding alone costing 300 ducats of gold, which amount to 1800 *livres*,¹ and the whole piece to 4378 *livres*.² In the middle was represented the history of CURTIUS, who threw himself, on horseback and fully armed, into the gulf which opened in ROME, and from whence a mephitic vapour emanated. On the circuit of the shield was a clever representation of the siege of ROCHELLE. It was the *chef d'œuvre* of one of the most excellent workmen in France, and it had been ordered by M. LE CARDINAL RICHELIEU. All the great nobles who were then with the King AURANGZEB were charmed with the beauty of

¹ £135.

² £328:7s.



this work of art, and they told him that he should place this rich piece on the grand elephant which carried the standard before his majesty when marching.

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

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

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

Present made to *Nawáb ZAFAR KHÁN*, uncle of the GREAT MOGUL. Firstly, a table, with nineteen pieces to make a cabinet, the whole of precious stones of diverse colours representing all kinds of flowers and birds. The work had been done at FLORENCE, and had cost 2150 *livres*.⁴

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

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

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

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

¹ £233 : 18s : 6d.

² £216 : 18s.

³ £129 : 15s.

⁴ £161 : 5s.

⁵ £97 : 10s.

⁶ £54.

⁷ £22 : 10s.

⁸ £19 : 10s.



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

So true is it that those who desire to do business at the courts of the Princes, in Turkey as well as in Persia and India, should not attempt to commence anything unless they have considerable presents ready prepared, and almost always an open purse for divers officers of trust of whose services they have need.

I have said nothing in the first volume of the present which I also made to him who brought the *khil'át* on the part of the King of PERSIA, to whom I presented 200 *écus*.⁴

¹ *Mogor* in the original.

² *Khilat*, see p. 20.

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

⁴ £45.



CHAPTER IX

Route from SURAT to GOLCONDA

I HAVE made several journeys to GOLCONDA, and by different routes, sometimes by sea, from HORMUZ to MASULIPATAM, sometimes from AGRA, and most frequently from SURAT, which is the great threshold of HINDUSTÁN. I shall not speak in this chapter save of the ordinary route from SURAT to GOLCONDA, in which I include that from AGRA, which leads to DAULATÁBÁD, as I shall describe in due course, only making mention, in order not to weary the reader, of two journeys which I made in 1645 and 1653.

I left SURAT¹ on the 19th of January of the year 1645 and camped at CAMBARI (?) 3 *coss*.

From CAMBARI to BARNOLI (BÁRDOLI) 9 „

„ BARNOLI to BEARA (BEHÁRÁ). 12 „

„ BEARA to NAVAPOUR (NAWÁPURÁ) 16 „

This is the place where, as I have said, the best musk-scented² rice in the world grows.

From NAVAPOUR to RINKULA (?) 18 *coss*.

„ RINKULA to PIPELNAR (PIMPALNAR, or PIMPULNI) 8 „

„ PIPELNAR to NIMPOUR (NAUNPUR) 17 „

„ NIMPOUR to PATANE (PATNÁ). 14 „

¹ See for this part of the route, p. 49.

² Scented rice, see p. 50.



From PATANE to SECOURA (SAKORÁ?)	14	<i>COSS.</i>
„ SECOURA TO BAQUELA (WAKLÁ)	10	„
„ BAQUELA TO DISGAON (DEOGÁON)	10	„
„ DISGAON TO DULTABAT (DAULAT- ABÁD) ¹	10	„

DAULATÁBÁD is one of the best forts in the kingdom of the GREAT MOGUL; it is on a mountain, scarped on all sides, the road which they have made to it being so narrow that only one horse or one camel can pass at a time. The town is at the foot of the mountain and has good walls, and this important place, which the Moguls lost when the Kings of BIJÁPUR and GOLCONDA revolted and threw off the yoke, was retaken under the reign of JAHÁNGIR by a subtle stratagem. SULTÁN KURUM,² who was afterwards called SHÁH JAHÁN, commanded the army of the King his father in the DECCAN, and AZAM KHÁN,³ father-in-law of SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, who was one of the generals, said something to the Prince, who was so enraged that, sending at once for one of his *paposhes* or slippers, which they leave at the door, had him given five or six strokes with it on the head; this in INDIA is the highest affront, after which it is impossible for a man to show himself. All this was done through an understanding between the Sultan and the general, in

¹ Daulatábád. A town and fort in the Deccan, ten miles N.W. of Aurungábád, 170 miles N.E. of Bombay, and 28 miles N.W. of Haidarábád. Also known by the name of Deogiri or Deogar. "The hill on which the fort stands rises almost perpendicularly from the plain to a height of about 600 feet, and it is entirely isolated, though commanded by several hills to the south." The history of the changes of masters of this fort is too long for insertion here, but reference may be made to the *Gazetteer of India* for information. The distance to Daulatábád from Naunpur by these stages, measured on the map, is 94 miles—as against the 58 *COSS* above.

² Sultán Kurum, afterwards Sháh Jahán. ³ Ast-Kán in the original.



order better to deceive the world, and especially the spies which the King of BIJAPUR might have in the army of the Prince. The rumour of the disgrace of AZAM KHÁN being quickly spread, and he himself having gone to seek refuge with the King of BIJAPUR, the latter, not having sharp enough eyes to perceive the ruse, gave him a good reception and promised him his protection. AZAM KHÁN, finding himself so well received, asked the King to allow him for greater safety to take with him ten or twelve of his wives, and about as many servants, into the fortress of DAULATÁBÁD; this was granted to him.

He entered with eight or ten camels, the two *kajawas*¹ which are carried on either side of the camels being well closed, according to custom, so that one cannot see the women who are inside. But instead of women they had put in them good soldiers, two in each *kajawa*, all men of action;² of the same sort was each *Chatri*³ who led his camel, so that it was easy for them to slaughter the garrison, who were not on their guard, and to make themselves masters of the place, which has ever since remained under the authority of the GREAT MOGUL. There are, moreover, in this place numerous fine cannons,⁴ and the gunners are generally English or Dutch. It is true that there is a small mountain higher than the fortress, but it is difficult of

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

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

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

⁴ With reference to the early use of fire-arms. General Maclagan's article on Early Asiatic Fire Weapons is full of information. (See *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlv, 1876, p. 30.)



approach except by passing the fortress. There was a Dutch gunner there, who after serving the King for fifteen or sixteen years asked for his dismissal from him, and even the Dutch Company, which had placed him at the service of the GREAT MOGUL, did all that it could to help him to obtain it; but it was never able to achieve this desire, because he was a very good gunner, and succeeded admirably with fireworks. The RAJA JAI SINGH,¹ who is the most powerful of all the idolatrous princes of INDIA, and who had most effectively aided AURANGZEB to ascend the throne, was sent as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of that King against the RAJA SIVAJI, and when passing near the fortress of DAULATÁBÁD² this Dutch gunner went to salute him, and all the gunners of the army were *Franks* like himself. The Dutchman, taking advantage of the opportunity, told the *Raja* that if he agreed to give him his dismissal he would promise to find him a means for mounting cannon on the mountain which commanded the fortress, and they had already surrounded the mountain with a wall, some soldiers having been placed within the enclosure to prevent any one taking possession of it. The *Raja*, approving of the scheme, promised him that if he should be able to accomplish it he would obtain for him his dismissal from the King with a liberal present. The matter having turned out successfully, to the Prince's content, he kept his promise to the Dutch gunner, and I saw the latter arrive at SURAT at the beginning of the year 1667, whence he embarked for BATAVIA.

From DULTABAT TO AURENGABAT (AURANGÁBÁD),³
4 COSS.

¹ Raja Jesseing in the original. ² Daulatábád, see Book II, chap. xi.

³ Aurangábád, on the Kaum river, a tributary of the Godávári, is



CSL

AURANGÁBÁD was formerly only a village, of which AURANGZEB has made a town which is not enclosed. He made this notable increase, both on account of a lake of about 2 *cośś* in circuit, upon which the village was built, and in memory of his first wife, who died there, and who was mother of his children. She is buried at the end of the lake on the western side, where the King has built a mosque with a splendid tomb and a fine *caravansarái*. The mosque and the tomb cost a large sum, because they are covered with white marble, which was brought by waggon from the neighbourhood of LAHORE,¹ and was on the road nearly four months. One day, when going from SURAT to GOLCONDA, I met, at five marches from AURANGÁBÁD, more than 300 waggons laden with this marble, the smallest of which was drawn by 12 oxen.

From AURENGABAT to PIPELI (PIPRI)	. 8 <i>cośś</i> .
„ PIPELI to AUBAR (AMBÁD) ²	. 12 „
„ AUBAR to GUISEMNER (?)	. 10 „
„ GUISEMNER to ASTI (ASHTÁ)	. 12 „
„ ASTI to SARUER (SÁOLI?)	. 16 „

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

¹ There must be a mistake as to the source of this white marble, as it could not have been obtained from the neighbourhood of Lahore. I have recently seen the statement repeated in an article in the *Times*. Probably it came from one of the known localities in Rájputána in the States of Alwar, Jaipur, or Jodhpur. The Makráná quarries in the last-named State furnished, it is said, the white marble of which the Táj was built.

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



From SARUER to LESONA (LASONÁ) . . . 16 *coiss*.

„ LESONÁ to NADOUR (NANDER)¹ . . . 12 „

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

From NADOUR to PATONTA (?) . . . 9 *coiss*.

„ PATONTA to KAKERI (?) . . . 10 „

„ KAKERI to SATAPOUR (SANTÁPUR) . . . 10 „

„ SATAPOUR to SITANAGA (?) . . . 12 „

„ SITANAGA to SATANAGAR (SATULÁ-NAGAR) . . . 10 „

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

From SATANAGAR to MELUARI (?) . . . 16 *coiss*.

„ MELUARI to GIRBALLI (?) . . . 12 „

„ GIRBALLI to GOLCONDA . . . 14 „

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

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

The 12th at BIRGAM (? ERRGAUM of A.S.)

„ 13th at OMBERAT (OOMAPURÁNAH or OOMIÁNA of A.S.)

„ 14th at ENNEQUE-TENQUE³—a good fortress

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

² For Pimpalnar, see p. 142.

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



which bears the names of two Indian Princesses. It is on a mountain scarp on all sides, and it has only a small path on the eastern side for the ascent. There is a tank inside the enclosure of this place, and they might sow sufficient to feed 500 or 600 men, but the King does not desire to keep it garrisoned, and they have allowed it to fall in ruins.

The 15th [March], to GEROUL. (?)

The 16th to LAZOUR (LASOOR), where there passes a river, upon which, at a cannon's shot from the eastern bank, there is one of the largest pagodas¹ in the country, where a large number of pilgrims resort daily.

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

„ 18th „ PIPELGAN OR PIPLY (PIPRI).

„ 19th „ EMBER (AMBÁD).

„ 20th „ DEOGAN (DEOGÁON ?).

„ 21st „ PATRIS (PATRI).

„ 22d „ BARGAN (PAUNGREE ?).

„ 23d „ PALAM (PALLING).

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

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

„ 26th „ NAGOUNI (HINGANI ?).

„ 27th „ INDOVE (INDORE).

„ 28th „ INDELVAI (YEDALVOI).

„ 29th „ REGIVALI (REDDYPULLAY).

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

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

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

¹ The famous rock temples of Ellora ?



The 1st [April] to GOLCONDA.¹

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

You may take still another route to go from SURAT to GOLCONDA, that is to say, by GOA and BIJAPUR, as I shall describe in the particular account of my journey to GOA. I come now to what I have been able to remark of greatest interest in the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, and to the late wars which it has had to undertake against the neighbouring States, during the time that I was in INDIA.

¹ Thevenot's route between Aurangábád and Golconda, which he traversed about the year 1666, corresponds in parts with this one of Tavernier, but he appears to have left the regular line occasionally, to visit Pagodas, etc. (*Voyage des Indes*, pp. 235, 277.)



CHAPTER X

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

THE Kingdom of GOLCONDA, speaking generally, is a rich country, abounding in corn, rice, cattle, sheep, fowl, and other commodities necessary to life. As there are numerous tanks, there is also an abundance of good fish, and you find more particularly a kind of smelt, which has but one bone in the middle, and is of very delicate flavour.¹ Nature has contributed more than art to make these tanks, of which the country is full. They are generally situated in somewhat elevated positions, where it is only necessary to make a dam² on the side of the plain in order to retain the water. These dams are sometimes half a league long, and after the season of the rains is past they open the sluices from time to time in order to let the water run into the fields, where it is received in divers small canals to irrigate the lands of private individuals.

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

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

² *Band* is the native and Anglo-Indian term applied to these dams or embankments, which are thrown across valleys and hollows in order to form collecting areas for the drainage of the country.

the name of the fortress, which is only 2 *cosse* distant from it, and is the residence of the King. This fortress is nearly 2 leagues in circuit, and maintains a large garrison. It is, in reality, a town where the King keeps his treasure, having left his residence in BHÁGNAGAR since it was sacked by the army which AURANGZEB sent against it, as I shall relate in due course.

BHÁGNAGAR is then the town which they commonly call GOLCONDA, and it was commenced by the great-grandfather of the King who reigns at present, at the request of one of his wives whom he loved passionately, and whose name was NAGAR.¹ It was previously only a pleasure resort where the King had beautiful gardens, and his wife often telling him that, on account of the river, the spot was suitable for building a palace and a town, he at length caused the foundations to be laid, and desired that it should bear the name of his wife, calling it BHÁGNAGAR, *i.e.* the Garden of NAGAR. This town is in 16° 58" of lat.² The neighbouring country is a flat plain, and near the town you see numerous rocks as at FONTAINEBLEAU. A large river³ bathes the walls of the town on the south-west side, and flows into the Gulf of BENGAL close to MASULIPATAM. You cross it at BHÁGNAGAR by a grand stone

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

² The true latitude of Golconda is 17° 22' N., the longitude being 78° 26' 30" E.

³ The Musi river.

bridge, which is scarcely less beautiful than the PONT NEUF at PARIS. The town is nearly the size of ORLEANS, well built and well opened out, and there are many fine large streets in it, but not being paved—any more than are those of all the other towns of PERSIA and INDIA—they are full of sand and dust ; this is very inconvenient in summer.

Before reaching the bridge you traverse a large suburb called AURANGÁBÁD, a *cooss* in length, where all the merchants, brokers, and artisans dwell, and, in general, all the common people; the town being inhabited only by persons of quality, the officers of the King's house, the ministers of justice, and military men. From 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning till 4 or 5 in the evening, the merchants and brokers come into the town to trade with foreign merchants, after which they return home to sleep. There are in these suburbs two or three beautiful mosques, which serve as *caravansaráis* for strangers, and several pagodas are to be seen in the neighbourhood. It is through the same suburb that you go from the town to the fortress of GOLCONDA.

When you have crossed the bridge you straightway enter a wide street which leads to the King's palace. You see on the right hand the houses of some nobles of the court, and four or five *caravansaráis*, having two storeys, where there are large halls and chambers, which are cool. At the end of this street you find a large square, upon which stands one of the walls of the palace, in the middle of which is a balcony where the King seats himself when he wishes to give audience to the people. The principal door of the palace is not in this square, but in another which is close by ; and you enter at first into a large court surrounded by porticoes

under which the King's guards are stationed. From this court you pass to another of the same construction, around which there are several beautiful apartments, with a terraced roof; upon which, as upon those of the quarter of the palace where they keep the elephants, there are beautiful gardens, and such large trees, that it is a matter for astonishment how these arches are able to carry such a weight;¹ and one may say in general terms that this house has all the appearance of a royal mansion.

It is about fifty years since they began to build a splendid pagoda² in the town; it will be the grandest in all INDIA if it should be completed. The size of the stones is a subject for special astonishment, and that of the niche, which is the place for prayer, is an entire rock, of so enormous a size that they spent five years in quarrying it, and they employed 500 or 600 men continually on this work. It required still more time to roll it upon the conveyance by which they brought it to the pagoda; and they told me that it took 1400 oxen to draw it.³ I shall explain why the work is

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

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

³ Grandpré describes how these Megalithic structures were erected in India, and there is reason to believe the same method was followed in Egypt. After the first course was laid a slope of earth was placed against it up which the stones for the second course were rolled; when they were laid, more earth was added to raise the slope again, in order to roll up the stones for the third course, and so on. When completed the building was surrounded by a mountain of clay, which had then to be removed (Comp. *Voyage in the Indian Ocean, etc.*, vol. i, p. 169, London, 1803). A very interesting account, with sketches and diagrams, of the means used by the natives for moving large masses of stone will

incomplete.¹ If it had been finished it would have justly passed for the noblest edifice in the whole of ASIA.

On the other side of the town, from whence one goes to MASULIPATAM, there are two large tanks, each of them being about a *cross* in circuit, upon which you see some decorated boats intended for the pleasure of the King, and along the banks many fine houses which belong to the principal officers of the court.

At three *cross* from the town there is a very fine mosque where there are the tombs of the KINGS OF GOLCONDA;² and every day at 4 o'clock P.M. bread and *paláo*³ are given to all the poor who present themselves. When you wish to see something really beautiful, you should go to see these tombs on the day of a festival, for then, from morning to evening, they are covered with rich carpets.

This is what I have been able to observe concerning the good order and the police which is maintained in this town. In the first place, when a stranger presents himself at the gates, they search him carefully to see if he has any salt or tobacco, because these yield the principal revenue of the king. Moreover, it is sometimes necessary that the stranger should wait for one or two days before receiving permission to enter. A soldier first gives notice to the officer who commands the guard, and he sends to the *Darogha*⁴ to

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

¹ See p. 163.

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

⁴ The Prefect or Superintendent of Police.



give him notice also. But as it often happens that the *Darogha* is engaged, or that he is taking exercise outside the town, and sometimes also as the soldier whom they have sent pretends not to have found him, in order to have an excuse for returning, and being much better paid for his trouble—the stranger is obliged to await the termination of all this mystery, and sometimes, as I have said, for one or two days.

When the King administers justice he comes, as I stated, into the balcony which overlooks the square, and all those who desire to be present stand below, opposite to where he is seated. Between the people and the wall of the palace they plant in the ground three rows of sticks of the length of a short-pike, at the ends of which they attach cords which cross one another, and no one is allowed, whosoever he may be, to pass these limits without being summoned. This barrier, which is not put up except when the King administers justice, extends the whole length of the square, and opposite the balcony there is an opening to allow those who are summoned to pass through. Then two men, who hold by the ends a cord stretched across this opening, have only to lower it to admit the person who is summoned. A Secretary of State remains in the square below the balcony to receive petitions, and when he has five or six in hand he places them in a bag, which a eunuch, who is on the balcony by the side of the King, lowers with a cord and draws up afterwards, in order to present them to his Majesty.

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



they encamp under their tents around the town. When they mount guard each goes from his home to the *rendezvous*, but when they leave it they march in good order across the bridge, and from thence by the main street they assemble in the square in front of the balcony. In the van you see ten or twelve elephants marching, more or fewer according to the rank of him who goes off guard. There are some among them bearing cages (*howdahs*) which somewhat resemble the body of a small coach, and there are others which only carry their driver, and another man instead of the cage, who holds a sort of banner.

After the elephants, the camels follow two by two, sometimes up to thirty or forty. Each camel has its saddle, upon which they place a small *culverin*,¹ which a man, clad in a skin from head to foot, like a sort of pantaloon, and seated on the crupper of the camel with a lighted match in hand, quickly turns from side to side before the balcony where the King is.

You see coming after them the carriages, around which the servants walk on foot, after which the led-horses appear, and finally the noble to whom this whole equipment belongs, preceded by ten or twelve courtesans, who await him at the end of the bridge, leaping and dancing before him up to the square. After him the cavalry and infantry follow in good order. And as all that affords a spectacle, and has something of pomp about it, during three or four consecutive months which I have sometimes spent at BHÁGNAGAR, my lodging being in the main street, I

¹ *Culverin*, derived through Fr. *Coulevrine*, from Lat. *Coluber*, a serpent. It is a long slender gun which throws a ball to a considerable distance.

enjoyed the amusement every week of seeing these fine troops passing, which are more or less numerous according to the rank of the noble who has been on guard in his turn.

The soldiers have for their sole garment but three or four ells of cloths, with which they clothe the middle of the body before and behind. They wear the hair long, and make a great knot of it on the head as women do, having for sole head-dress a scrap of cloth with three corners, one of which rests on the middle of the head, and the other two they tie together on the nape of the neck. They do not have a sabre like the Persians, but they carry a broadsword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer ; this makes them not liable to burst.¹ As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrow, shield and mace, with helmet and a coat of mail, which hangs behind from the helmet over the shoulders.

There are so many public women in the town, the suburbs, and in the fortress, which is like another town, that it is estimated that there are generally more than

¹ The iron at Haidarábád, at a very early period, obtained a wide renown, being, in fact, the material which, when made into steel, afforded the source of supply for the manufacture of Damascus blades—the raw material having been exported to Persia and the Panjáb for that purpose (see Jour, *As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xvi, pp. 417, 666). Two villages, situated to the north of Golconda, namely, Nirmal and Indore, are specially mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as producing excellent iron and steel. In my *Economic Geology* I inadvertently identified the latter with Indore in Málwá in Central India, and the oversight was not discovered in time to be corrected in the proofs of the volume. According to Thevenot, at Indelvai, i.e. Yedalvoi, four leagues from Indore, quantities of swords, daggers, and lances were made and distributed thence throughout India (*Voyages des Indes*, p. 235).



20,000 entered in the *Darogha's* register, without which it is not allowed to any woman to ply this trade. They pay no tribute to the King, but a certain number of them are obliged to go every Friday with their governess and their music to present themselves in the square in front of the balcony. If the King be there they dance before him, and if he is not, an eunuch signals to them with his hand that they may withdraw.

In the cool of the evening you see them before the doors of their houses, which are for the most part small huts, and when the night comes they place at the doors a candle or a lighted lamp for a signal. It is then, also, that the shops where they sell *tári*¹ are opened. It is a drink obtained from a tree, and it is as sweet as our new wines. It is brought from 5 or 6 *ross* distant in leather bottles, upon horses which carry one on each side and go at a fast trot, and about 500 or 600 of them enter the town daily. The King derives from the tax which he places on this *tári* a very considerable revenue, and it is principally on this account that they allow so many public women, because they are the cause of the consumption of much *tári*, those who sell it having for this reason their shops in their neighbourhood.

These women have so much suppleness and are so agile that when the King who reigns at present wished to visit MASULIPATAM, nine of them very cleverly represented the form of an elephant, four making the four feet, four others the body, and one the trunk, and the King, mounted above on a kind of throne, in that way made his entry into the town.

All the people of GOLCONDA, both men and women,

¹ *Tári*, Anglici toddy—the sap of *Phanix sylvestris*.

are well proportioned, of good stature, and of fair countenances, and it is only the peasantry who are somewhat dark in complexion. The KING OF GOLCONDA who reigns at present is called ABDUL KUTAB SHÁH,¹ and I will inform the reader, in a few words, whence he derives his origin. Under the rule of AKBAR, KING OF INDIA, father of JAHÁNGIR, the Moguls only extended their authority southwards to NARBEDER, and the river which passes it and, coming from the south, flows into the GANGES, separated their lands² from those of the *Raja* OF NARSINGHA,³ which extended to Cape COMORIN, the other *Rajas* being, as it were, his subjects, and deriving their power from him. It is this *Raja* and his predecessors who have always been at war with those who succeeded TAMERLANE⁴ in INDIA, and they were so powerful that the last *Raja* who was at war with AKBAR had

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

² This passage is obscure, owing to some jumble between the names Beder or Bidar and Narbeder (for Narbadá). The river of Beder which is referred to, and formed the boundary of the Mogul's ancient territory, was in reality the Godávari, which at one time was supposed to join the Ganges. Its real course, however, is to the Bay of Bengal, into which it flows below Coconada. See p. 147.

³ The name of Narsingha (a prince of Telugu origin, who died 1508 A.D.) was applied by the Portuguese to the old kingdom of Vijayanagara. Its capital town, though it bore the same name, was called Bisnagar by them. It was an enormously wealthy city, and the ruins still to be seen on its site near the small village of Hampi, in the Bellary District, testify to the magnificence of its buildings. See *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hak. Socy., pp. 25, 39, etc.; also *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

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

on foot four armies, commanded by as many generals. The most powerful of the four had his quarters in the territories which to-day constitute the kingdom of GOLCONDA,¹ the second held his in the country of BIJAPUR, the third in the Province of DAULATÁBÁD, and the fourth in the region of BURHÁNPUR.² The RAJA OF NARSINGHA dying without children, these four generals established themselves each in the country which he held with his army, and caused themselves to be recognised as kings—one of GOLCONDA, another of BIJAPUR, another of BURHÁNPUR, and the other of DAULATÁBÁD. Although the *Raja* was an idolater, these four generals were Muhammadans, and he of GOLCONDA was of the sect of ALI,³ descended from an ancient family of Turcomans, who inhabit the country of HAMADAN in PERSIA.⁴

He was, as I have said, the most powerful of all; and a few days after the death of the RAJA OF NARSINGHA they achieved a notable victory over the MOGUL, after which there was nothing to prevent them from making themselves sovereigns. But since that time JAHÁNGIR, son of AKBAR, conquered the kingdom of the new King of BURHÁNPUR;⁵ SHÁH JAHÁN, son of JAHÁNGIR, that of the King of DAULATÁBÁD;⁶ and

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

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

³ Haly in original, for Ali, *i.e.* he was a Shí'a.

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

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

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



AURANGZEB, son of SHÁH JAHÁN, a part of the territory of BIJAPUR.¹ As for the King of GOLCONDA, neither JAHÁNGIR nor SHÁH JAHÁN made war upon him, and they left him undisturbed, on the condition that he should pay to the MOGULS an annual tribute of 200,000 *pagodas*. These *pagodas* are gold pieces which are worth from 6 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *francs*² of our money, sometimes more and sometimes less. To-day the most powerful of the *Rajas* of this great peninsula south of the GANGES is the *Raja* of VELOW,³ who extends his authority as far as CAPE COMORIN, and who has succeeded to a part of the states of the *Raja* of NARSINGHA; but, as there is no trade in his country, this Prince makes but little noise, and strangers hardly ever go to it. The present King of GOLCONDA has no son; he has only three daughters, who are all married.

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

¹ Bijapur was not finally taken possession of by Aurangzeb till 1686, or subsequently to the date at which our author wrote, but he had partially subdued it some thirty years before.

² Here we should read *livres* for *francs*, as in Book II, chap. xviii, the value of the new *pagoda* is stated to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees or $5\frac{1}{4}$ *livres*, i.e. 7s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and in Book II, chap. xxiv, the old *pagoda* is said to be equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *livres*, or 11s. 3d. Independent testimony (see Appendix) gives about the same values; so that 200,000 *pagodas* would be equal to about £100,000, more or less, in exchange value.

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

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



palace, refusing to reply to sundry people of the Court who inquired why he had come. At length the matter being reported to the King, he sent his senior physician, who spoke Arabic well, to ascertain from the *Sheikh* what he wanted, and the reason of his coming. The physician, and some nobles of the Court who also spoke to him, immediately saw that he was a man of intelligence, and took him to the King, who was much pleased with his appearance and his preliminary conversation. But at length the *Sheikh* having declared that he had come to marry the Princess, this proposition very much surprised the King, and was received by some of the Court as coming from a man who was not altogether in his senses. At first they merely laughed, but when they observed that he persisted in his demand, even threatening the country with a great calamity which would befall it if they did not give him the Princess in marriage, he was cast into prison, where he remained for a long time.

The King, at length, considering that it would be better to send him back to his own country, made him embark at MASULIPATAM on one of the vessels which carry goods and pilgrims to MOCHA, from whence they travel by land to MECCA. About two years afterwards the same *Sheikh* returned to GOLCONDA, and managed so well on this occasion that he espoused the Princess and acquired great credit in the kingdom, which he now governs, and where he is all-powerful. It was he who prevented the King from yielding up the fortress of GOLCONDA, where he had taken refuge when AURANGZEB and his son entered BHAGNAGAR, as I shall presently relate—throwing himself upon him,



and threatening to kill him if he did not resolve to hold out without thinking more of delivering the keys to the enemy. This bold action was the reason why the King loved him the more thereafter, and made use of his counsel in all important affairs; and thus, not only as son-in-law of the King, but as Prime Minister, he is now the principal personage in the Court of GOLCONDA. He it is who is the cause why the Great Pagoda of BHÁGNAGAR¹ has remained unfinished, having threatened the kingdom with a great calamity if they persisted in completing it.

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

¹ Pagoda at Bhágnagar; see p. 153.

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



cassock, two pairs of drawers, two shirts, and two girdles, with a scarf to be worn round the neck and upon the head for protection against the heat of the sun. The Reverend Father was astonished at this present, and made known to the *Sheikh* that he could not wear it, the latter nevertheless desired that he should take it, and told him that he might bestow it on one of his friends. Two months afterwards I received this present from Father EPHRAIM when I was at SURAT, and I thanked him for it on the occasion of our first meeting.

The *Sheikh*, seeing that he could not detain the "Father," and not wishing to allow him to travel on foot from GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM, as he intended, compelled him to accept an ox which he gave him, with two attendants to conduct him; and not being able to force him to accept 30 *pagodas*¹ in addition, he directed the two attendants that on arrival at MASULIPATAM they should leave with the Capuchin Father both the ox and the *pagodas*. This order they did not fail to carry out in every particular, for otherwise on their return to GOLCONDA it would have cost them their lives. I shall complete the history of Father EPHRAIM, who afterwards experienced many misfortunes, when I describe GOA, which is the principal place which the Portuguese have in INDIA.

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

¹ Say £15.

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



Commander-in-Chief of the army of the King of GOLCONDA, who had received from him much good service towards the establishment of his throne, on going in the direction of BENGAL to regulate some *Raja's* affairs, left in hostage with the King, according to custom, his wife and children as pledge of his fidelity. He had many daughters, but only one son, who had a considerable following and made a great figure at Court. The credit and the wealth which MIR JUMLA had acquired made him enemies, who, jealous of such good fortune, sought to destroy it in his absence, and to injure him in the esteem of the King. They told him that the power of MIR JUMLA should cause him to be suspected; that all his actions tended towards dethroning him and securing the kingdom of GOLCONDA for his son; that he ought not to wait till the evil was without remedy; and that in order to rid himself of an enemy—the more dangerous because he concealed himself—the shortest way was to poison him. The king, being easily persuaded, gave these same persons an order to accomplish the deed; but having taken their measures clumsily three or four times in succession without being able to accomplish their object, the son of MIR JUMLA at length heard of it, and at once gave notice of it to his father. It is not known exactly what command he got from his father; but after he had received his reply he went to the King, to whom he spoke out with boldness, taxing him with the services which his father had rendered him, and with the fact that without his aid he would never have come to the throne. This was true; but there was a court intrigue which would take too long to describe. This young noble, somewhat carried away from his ordinary demeanour, used such sharpness



of expression to the King that his Majesty, offended by his insolence, rose in a rage, whilst the nobles of the Court, who were present, threw themselves on him and handled him roughly. At the same time, by order of the King, he was arrested and put in prison, with his mother and sisters; and this affair, which made a great commotion at Court, so much enraged MIR JUMLA, who soon had news of it, that, having forces at hand, and being beloved by the soldiers, he at once resolved to make use of these advantages to revenge himself for the injury. He was then, as I have said, in the direction of BENGAL, for the purpose of bringing to their allegiance some *Rajas* possessing territories on the GANGES; and SULTAN SHUJA, the second son of SHÁH JAHÁN, who was then Governor of BENGAL, was the one whom he considered it to be most suitable to address as the wisest Prince with whom he might join forces against the King of GOLCONDA, whom he no longer regarded as his master, but as the greatest of his enemies. He accordingly wrote to this Prince that if he was willing to join him he would afford him the means of taking possession of the whole of the kingdom of GOLCONDA, and that he ought not to lose so good an opportunity of increasing the Mogul Empire, the succession to which affected him as well as the other Princes, his brothers. But he did not receive a favourable reply from SULTAN SHUJA, who let him know that he did not trust the word of a man who, being capable of betraying his King, might readily betray a strange Prince whom he had attracted to his interests in order to accomplish his own revenge, and consequently he need not expect him. On receipt of this refusal of SULTAN SHUJA, MIR JUMLA wrote to AURANGZEB, who

was then in his government of BURHÁNPUR, who, not being so scrupulous as his brother, accepted the offer which was made to him. Whilst MIR JUMLA advanced his troops towards BHÁGNAGAR, AURANGZEB marched with his by long stages towards the DECCAN, and the two armies being conjoined, they reached the gates of BHÁGNAGAR before the King had had time to put his affairs in order. He only had time to take refuge in the fortress of GOLCONDA, where AURANGZEB, after he had pillaged the town of BHÁGNAGAR¹ and removed all that was of much value from the palace, came at once to lay siege. The King, seeing himself so hard pressed, believed that he would soon have to yield; and in order to seek to turn this hurricane, which threatened his complete ruin, sent to MIR JUMLA both his wife and children with every honour. There is both virtue and generosity in INDIA as in EUROPE; and I shall give a noteworthy example of it in the person of the King of GOLCONDA. Some days after the enemy had laid siege to the fortress, a gunner perceiving AURANGZEB upon his elephant visiting the outworks, whilst the King was on the bastion, he said to the latter that if his Majesty wished he could destroy the Prince with a shot of the cannon, and at the same moment he put himself in position to fire. But the King, seizing him by the arm, told him to do nothing of the sort, and that the lives of Princes should be respected. The gunner, who was skilful, obeyed the King, and instead of firing at AURANGZEB, he killed the General of his army, who was farther in advance, with a cannon shot. This stopped the attack which he was about to deliver, the whole camp being alarmed by his death. ABDUL ZABAR

¹ Bhágnagar, the modern Haidarábád. - See p. 151.



BEG,¹ general of the army of the King of GOLCONDA, who was close by with a flying camp of 4000 horse, having heard that the enemy were somewhat disordered by the loss of their General which they had sustained, at once took advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and going at them full tilt, succeeded in overcoming them; and having put them to flight he followed them vigorously for 4 or 5 leagues, till nightfall. A few days before the death of this General, the King of GOLCONDA, who had been surprised, seeing himself pressed, and supplies being short in the fortress, was on the point of giving up the keys; but, as I have above related,² MIRZA MUHAMMAD, his son-in-law, tore them from his hands, and threatened to slay him if he persisted any longer in such a resolution; and this was the reason why the King, who previously had but little liking for him, thenceforward conceived a great affection for him, of which he daily gave him proofs. AURANGZEB having then been obliged to raise the siege, halted some days to rally his troops and receive reinforcements, with which he set himself to besiege GOLCONDA. The fortress was as vigorously attacked as it was vigorously defended; but MIR JUMLA, who still retained some regard for the King, and had it, as some persons say with good reason, without proclaiming it openly, did not wish to allow AURANGZEB to proceed to extremities, and by his diplomacy secured a suspension of hostilities for some weeks. SHAH JAHAN, father of AURANGZEB, had formerly received kind treatment from the King of GOLCONDA, with whom he had taken refuge when he had lost the battle with his elder brother against the King JAHANGIR, their father, with whom they had gone

¹ Abdul Jaber Beg in the original.

² See p. 163.



to war. JAHÁNGIR, having got the elder brother into his power, caused his eyes to be put out ; but SHÁH JAHÁN, the younger brother, being better advised, took to flight, and the King of GOLCONDA having received him with kindness, they bound themselves together in close friendship—SHÁH JAHÁN swearing to his host that he would never fight with him whatever cause might arise. MIR JUMLA, who knew that it would not be difficult to bring to an understanding two Kings who were friends, little as AURANGZEB was inclined to give way, and wishing, moreover, that that Prince should find it advantageous to himself, communicated underhand to both one and the other what he planned in order to secure a lasting peace. He managed that the King of GOLCONDA first wrote to SHÁH JAHÁN in very civil terms, praying him to become arbitrator between himself and AURANGZEB, placing his interests entirely in his hands, and promising to sign a treaty in whatever terms he pleased to frame it. By the same address of MIR JUMLA, SHÁH JAHÁN, on his side, was advised, by way of reply to the letter of the King of GOLCONDA, to propose to him the marriage of his second daughter with SULTAN MUHAMMAD, son of AURANGZEB, on condition that after the death of the King, the father of the Princess, his son-in-law should inherit the kingdom of GOLCONDA. This proposition having been accepted and the articles signed by the two Kings, both the peace and the marriage were celebrated at the same time with much magnificence.¹ As for MIR JUMLA, he quitted the service of the King of GOLCONDA, and went to BURHÁNPUR with AURANGZEB.

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



Soon afterwards SHÁH JAHÁN made him first Minister of State and Commander-in-Chief of his armies, and it was he who so powerfully aided AURANGZEB to ascend the throne by defeating SULTAN SHUJA. For MIR JUMLA was a man of great intelligence, who understood equally well both war and the affairs of State.¹ I have had occasion to speak to him several times, and I have admired the firmness and the promptitude with which he responded to requests presented to him, giving his orders in every direction, and signing several despatches as if he had but one sole matter to attend to.

The third Princess of GOLCONDA was promised to SULTAN SAID, another *Sheikh* of MECCA,² and the matter had so far advanced that the day was named for the marriage. But ABDUL ZABAR BEG, general of the army, went to the King of GOLCONDA, with six other nobles, to turn him from his design; and they so managed it that the marriage was broken off, and the Princess was given to MIRZA ABDUL HASAN,³ a cousin of the King, by which marriage there are two sons. This has entirely destroyed the claims of the son of AURANGZEB,

¹ He understood other matters also, for Thevenot says he possessed 20 *mans*, or 408 Dutch *livres*, weight of diamonds. He had acquired these riches when, at the head of the army of Golconda, he made war with the King of Bijapur against Bisnagar (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 306). And Bernier states that he acquired wealth in many ways, and "caused the diamond mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence, so that people discoursed of nothing but of the riches of Emir Jemla, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckoned but by sacks" (*Hist. of the Last Revolution, etc.*, vol. i, p. 33).

² Sultan Said, or Saiyid. Meaning a descendant of Muhammad.

³ Mirza Abdul Cosing in the original. Called Miersa Abou-il-Hassan by Havart, who makes him out to have been a lineal descendant of Ibrahim, the second King of the dynasty. Quoted in *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 425 n.



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

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

¹ See Book II, chap. vi.

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



CHAPTER XI

*Route from GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM*¹

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

FROM GOLCONDA to TENARA,³ 4 *cośś*.

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

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

² *Kollur* is the modern name by which this famous site is known; it is situated on the Kistna river in Lat. 16° 42' 30", Long. 80° 5'. The identification was first traced out by means of the routes to it given by Tavernier here and in Book II, chap. xviii. Although all memory was lost of the true position of this mine until it was recently rediscovered, and very wild suggestions have been made on the subject, its position is correctly indicated on several maps of the beginning of the eighteenth and end of the seventeenth centuries. The question of this identification has been fully discussed in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 16. *Gani* is not a name, though so often quoted as such in works on precious stones. It is simply a Persian prefix, signifying "Mine of" (*Kān-i*), and is known to have been used in connection with other mines. (*Vide* Index for further references.)

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



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

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



The greater part of the road from LAKKAWURRUM to KOLLUR, especially as you approach KOLLUR, is rocky, and in two or three places I was obliged to take my carriage to pieces; this can be quickly done. Wherever there is a small quantity of good soil between the rocks you see *cassia* trees,¹ (the cassia produced by them) being the best and most laxative in all INDIA, this I know from the effect produced on my servants, who ate it as they walked along.

There passes along the whole length of the town of KOLLUR a great river² which flows into the Bay of Bengal near MASULIPATAM.

From COULOUR or GANI to KAH KALY (KAKANI) 12 *COSS.*

„ KAH KALY to BEZOUAR (BEZWADA³) . . . 6 „

Close to BEZOUAR you recross the river.

From BEZOUAR to VOUCHIR (WEEYUR) . . . 4 „

„ VOUCHIR to NILIMOR (?) . . . 4 „

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

From NILIMOR to MILMOL⁵ (NEDUMULU) . . . 6 *COSS.*

„ MILMOL to MASLIPATAN (MASULIPATAM) 4 „

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

² The Kistná.

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

⁴ One of the deltaic branches of the Kistná.

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



MASULIPATAM is a straggling town (*village*), in which the houses are built of wood, and are detached from one another. This place, which is on the seashore, is only renowned on account of its anchorage, which is the best in the Bay of BENGAL, and it is the only place from which vessels sail for PEGU, SIAM, ARAKAN, BENGAL, COCHINCHINA, MECCA, and HORMUZ, as also for the islands of MADAGASCAR, SUMATRA, and the MANILLAS. It should be remarked that wheel carriages do not travel between GOLCONDA and MASULIPATAM, the roads being too much interrupted by high mountains, tanks, and rivers, and there being many narrow and difficult passes. It is with the greatest trouble that one takes a small cart. This I have done to the diamond mines, and I was obliged to take mine to pieces frequently in order to pass bad places. It is the same between GOLCONDA and CAPE COMORIN. There are no waggons in all these territories, and you only see oxen and pack-horses for the conveyance of men, and for the transport of goods and merchandise. But, in default of chariots, you have the convenience of much larger *pallankeens* than in the rest of INDIA; for one is carried much more easily, more quickly, and at less cost.

between the last-named place and Bezwáda is given as 6 hours, to a poor village called Patemet (Patamata), and $1\frac{1}{2}$ league on to Bezwáda, while here the distance is given at 4 *cośś*. Thus if we add in both cases we find from Masulipatam to Bezwáda is in the one case 11 leagues and 6 hours, or say about 6 leagues = 17 leagues in all; and in the other 18 *cośś*. The true distance is 40 miles.



CHAPTER XII

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

YOU may go from SURAT to GOA partly by land and partly by sea, but the road is very bad by land, especially from DAMAN to RÁJAPUR. Most travellers take the route by sea, and taking an *almadier*,¹ which is a row-boat, they go from point to point up to GOA, notwithstanding that the *Malabar*is, who are the pirates of INDIA, are much to be feared along these coasts, as I shall presently say.

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

From SURAT to DAMAN (DAMÁN)	7 <i>gos</i> .
„ DAMAN to BASSAIN (BASSEIN)	10 „
„ BASSAIN to CHAUL (CHAUL)	9 „
„ CHAUL to DABOUL (DABHOL)	12 „
„ DABOUL to REJAPOUR (RÁJÁPUR)	10 „
„ REJAPOUR to MINGRELA (VENGURLA)	9 „
„ MINGRELA to GOA	4 „

This makes in all from SURAT to GOA 61 *gos*.

The great danger which has to be encountered on

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



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

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



him vigorously. Seeing that he could not withstand their first fury, he set fire to some barrels of gunpowder which he had had time to prepare, and the deck being blown up, he also blew into the sea a great number of pirates who were on it. Notwithstanding this, the others did not lose courage, and did not cease to come on board. The English Captain, seeing no other resource left, sent all his crew into two boats and remained alone in his cabin, where the pirates were unable to reach him; he then set fire to a train which he had prepared, and which led to a magazine containing a large quantity of powder. At the same time he threw himself into the sea, where he was picked up by his crew, and the vessel being on fire, all the *Malabaris* who were on it jumped into the sea; but that did not prevent the two boats, which contained about forty Englishmen, being taken by the remaining *Malabaris*; and I was at breakfast at SURAT with the English President, named FREMELIN,¹ when he received a letter from Captain CLERC, which informed him that he was enslaved by the *Zamorin*,² who is the most powerful King on the MALABAR coast. This Prince would not leave them in the possession of these savages, because they were in danger of their lives, on account of upwards of 1200 widows whose husbands were left behind on the two occasions that the ship was on fire. He was enabled to appease them by

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

² *Samorin* in the original. The title of the Hindu King of Calicut, etc.



promising them two *piastres* each¹ on account of the death of their husbands; this amounted to above 2400 *écus*, besides 4000 more required for the ransom of the Captain and the other Englishmen. The President immediately sent the money, and I saw them return, some of them in good health, and others broken down by fever. The *Malabaris* are such superstitious people that they touch nothing dirty or unclean with the right hand; this they reserve for the left, allowing the nails on it, which serve as a comb, to grow, because they have long hair like women, which they twist round the head with a small cloth having three points tied above.

Since I have mentioned DAMÁN,² I shall describe in a few words how this town was besieged by AURANGZEB, who reigns at present. Many believe that elephants have a great effect in war; this is undoubtedly true, but not always in the way which is imagined, for it often happens that, instead of ravaging the ranks of the enemy, they turn upon those who drive them, and who are expecting an altogether different result, as AURANGZEB experienced at the siege of this city. He had been twenty days before DAMÁN, and had arranged to make the assault on a Sunday, believing that Christians, like Jews, would not defend themselves on their Sabbath. The Commandant in DAMÁN was an old soldier who had served in FRANCE, with three of his

¹ *Piastre* = 4s. 6d.; the compensation for a husband was therefore about 9s.

² Damán is situated in Lat. 22° 25' N., Long. 72° 53' E., and is about 100 miles north of Bombay. It was sacked by the Portuguese first in the year 1531, but was rebuilt by the natives, and was subsequently retaken in 1558 by the Portuguese, since which time up to the present it has remained in their possession.



sons whom he had with him then. There were in the place 800 men, both gentlemen and other brave soldiers, who had come from many places to take part in the defence and show their valour. For although the army of the GREAT MOGUL consisted of more than 40,000 men, he was unable to prevent relief entering DAMÁN from the sea, because he had no vessels and could not invest the place except by land. On the Sunday that he intended to make the assault, the Governor of DAMÁN, in accordance with what had been settled at the council of war, caused mass to be said immediately after midnight, and then ordered a sortie to be made with all the cavalry and a part of the infantry, who were at first to attack on the side where there were 200 elephants. They threw a quantity of fireworks among them, which frightened them so much in the darkness of the night that, without knowing whither they went, and their drivers not being able to restrain them, they turned against the besiegers with such fury that in two or three hours half the army of AURANGZEB was destroyed, and three days after the siege was raised. Since that time this Prince has not wished to have anything more to do with Christians.¹

I have made two journeys to GOA—the first was at the end of the year 1641, the second at the beginning of the year 1648. The first time I only remained seven days, and I returned to SURAT by land. From

¹ Orientals have been known to complain of the want of observance by Europeans of the methods in warfare practised by themselves; thus, I remember to have read somewhere, I think in one of Sir Victor Brooke's books, of the indignation in Malayan countries at their stockades being carried by assault, instead of being gradually approached with due deliberation by means of other stockades.



GOA I went to BICHOLLY,¹ which is upon the mainland ; from thence to BIJAPUR, then to GOLCONDA, AURANGÁBÁD, and SURAT. I could have gone to SURAT without passing through GOLCONDA, but I was obliged to go there on business.

From GOA to VISAPOUR (BIJAPUR²), which one generally accomplishes in eight days 85 *cos.*

„ VISAPOUR to GOLCONDA, which I did in nine days 100 „

From GOLCONDA to AURANGÁBÁD the stages are not so definite, for sometimes it takes sixteen, sometimes twenty, and up to twenty-five.

From AURANGÁBÁD to SURAT one does the journey sometimes in twelve days, but sometimes one is not able to accomplish it in less than fifteen or sixteen.

BIJAPUR is a large town which has nothing remarkable about it, either as regards public edifices or trade. The palace of the King is large enough indeed, but badly built, and what causes the approach to it to be difficult is, that in the moat which surrounds it, and which is full of water, there are many crocodiles. The King of BIJAPUR has three good ports in his kingdom ; these are RÁJÁPUR,³

¹ This is the same as the Bicholi of Book III, chap. ix, where it is stated to be on the Bijapur-Goa frontier. At present Bicholim is the name of a district or subdivision of Goa territory.

² Bijapur, in Lat. 16° 49' 45" N., and Long. 75° 46' 5" E., is on the site of the ancient Vijayapura, which was called Visapour by early European travellers. Recently it has been made the headquarters of the Kaládgi District. It was taken possession of by Aurangzeb after Tavernier's time, namely in 1686. A full description of the ancient buildings which abound in Bijapur will be found in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

³ Rájápur, chief town in the subdivision of the same name in the Ratnágiri District of Bombay. As a port it has deteriorated, and vessels of any size cannot come within 3 miles of the quay (*Vide*



DABHOL,¹ and KAREPUTTUN.² This last is the best of all, and the sea washes the foot of the mountain, where, close to land, there is from 14 to 15 fathoms of water. On the top of the mountain there is a fort with a supply of water, and although it is commanded by nothing and is by nature impregnable, since the King has made peace with the Portuguese he has abandoned it.

KAREPUTTUN is only five days journey from GOA to the north, and RAIBAGH,³ where the King of BIJAPUR disposes of his pepper, is distant from KAREPUTTUN about the same to the east. The King of BIJAPUR, like the King of GOLCONDA, was a tributary of the GREAT MOGUL, but is so no longer.

This kingdom has been in trouble for some time on account of the rebellion of *Nair SIVAJI*,⁴ who was, on the establishment of the King of BIJAPUR, what we call in FRANCE, Captain of the Guards. He had been guilty of misconduct, for which the King arrested him and put him in prison, where he remained for a long time till he died. The young SIVAJI, his son, thereupon conceived such a strong hatred against the King that he became a chief of bandits, and as he was *Imp. Gaz.*) Mandelslo describes it as one of the chief maritime cities of the kingdom of Konkan.

¹ Dabhol or Dabul, a port in the Konkan, in Lat. $17^{\circ} 34'$. It is described by Mandelslo as being on the river Kalewacka (*Travels into the East Indies*, Eng. Trans., London, 1669, p. 74). See for early references, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

² Crapaten in the original, Kareputtun of Map.

³ Rabaque in the original; Raibagh, in Belgaum District.

⁴ The original founder of the Maratha Confederacy was Shahji; he was succeeded by his son, Nair Sivaji; born in 1627, died in 1680. By his valour and treachery he won for the Marathas the suzerainty of Southern India. See for his life, Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, etc.



both courteous and liberal he had as many supporters as he wished for, both cavalry and infantry, and in a short time he got together an army, the soldiers, on the report of his liberality, coming to seek him from all sides. He was in a position to undertake some enterprise, when the King of BIJAPUR died without children, and it was thus that, without any great difficulty, he became master of a portion of the MALABAR coast, including RAJAPUR, RASIGAR,¹ KAREPUTTUN, DABHOL, and other places. It is said that during the demolition of the fortifications of RASIGAR he found immense treasure, and that it was with this that he supported his forces, by whom he was well served because they were always very well paid.

Some years before the death of the King, the Queen, as she had no children, adopted a young boy, upon whom she had bestowed all her affection, and whom she brought up, as I have already said, with the greatest care in the doctrines of the sect of ALI. On the death of the King she caused this adopted son to be declared King, and SIVAJI, as he then possessed an army, continued the war, and for some time caused trouble to the regency of this Queen. But at last he made the first proposals for peace, and the treaty was concluded on the condition that he should retain all the country which he had taken, as a vassal of the King, who should receive half the revenues; and the young King, having been established on the throne by this peace, the Queen, his mother, undertook the pilgrimage to MECCA, and I was at ISPAHAN when she passed on her return.

Returning now to the journey to GOA. When I

¹ Probably Rakshasagudda in Kánara District.



left SURAT for my second visit to GOA I embarked on a Dutch vessel called the "MAESTRICHT," which carried me to VENGURLA, where I arrived on the 11th of January 1648.

VENGURLA¹ is a large town, half a league from the sea, in the kingdom of BIJAPUR. It is one of the best anchorages in all INDIA, and it is where the Dutch came to get supplies on all occasions when they blockaded GOA, and they take in supplies there still for the vessels which they employ to trade in many parts of INDIA, for there is at VENGURLA excellent water and very good rice. This town is also much renowned on account of its *cardamoms*,² which the orientals esteem as the best of spices, and is only found in this country, which causes this commodity to be very scarce and dear. Coarse cotton cloths for home consumption are made there too, as also a sort of matting which they call *toti*,³ which is only used for wrapping up merchandise.

Thus it is not so much for commerce as for supplies which can be got at VENGURLA, that the Dutch Com-

¹ Mingrela in the original is Vengurla, a town and seaport, headquarters of a subdivision of the same name in the Ratnágiri District of Bombay. The Dutch settlement was founded in 1638; in 1660 the town was garrisoned by Sivaji, and in 1664 it was burnt by him in consequence of a revolt; it was again burnt by Aurangzeb in 1675. A British settlement was established there in 1772, and in 1812 the town was ceded to the British.

² Cardamoms—the dried fruit of *Elettaria cardamomum* (Maton), a shrub belonging to the ginger family, much esteemed in the East as a spice, and largely exported to Europe for medicinal and other purposes. Called *Cargamon* in the original.

³ *Tat* or *Tant*, perhaps, *i.e.* the fibre known as jute, with which gunny bags are made. It is produced by *Corchorus capsularis* (Linn). Or it may be that this refers to the coarser kinds of cotton, or to hemp, such as the so-called Deccani hemp produced by *Hibiscus cannabinus*.

pany maintain an establishment there. For, as I have said, not only all the vessels which come from BATAVIA, JAPAN, BENGAL, CEYLON, and other places, and those which sail for SURAT, the RED SEA, HORMUZ, BASSORA, etc., both in going and returning, anchor in the roads at VENGURLA, but also when the Dutch are at war with the Portuguese, and are blockading the bar at GOA, where they ordinarily keep eight or ten vessels, they send their small boats to VENGURLA to obtain provisions. For they hold the mouth of the river during eight months of the year, and nothing can enter GOA by sea during that time. It should be remarked in connection with this subject that this bar at GOA is closed for a part of the year by sand, cast up here by the south and west winds which precede the great rains, and to such an extent that there is only from a foot to a foot and a half of water for the passage of very small boats. But when the great rains begin to fall, the waters, which increase every hour, remove the sands and open the passage to large vessels.



CHAPTER XIII

Remarks upon the present condition of the town of GOA

GOA is situated in latitude $15^{\circ} 32''$, in an island of six or seven leagues circuit, upon the river MANDAVI,¹ which two leagues farther down discharges itself into the sea. The island abounds in corn and rice, and produces numerous fruits, as *mangues*, *ananas*, *figues d'Adam*, and *cocos*;² but certainly a good pippin is worth more than all these fruits. All those who have seen both EUROPE and ASIA thoroughly agree with me that the port of GOA,³ that of CONSTANTINOPLE, and that of TOULON, are the three finest ports of our great Continent. The town is very large, and its walls are of fine stone. The houses, for the most part, are superbly built, and this is particularly the case with the palace of the Viceroy. It has numerous rooms, and

¹ Mandoua in the original. It rises in the Parvar Ghát, in the District of Satári, and is $38\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. It is the most important stream in the territory.

² Mangoes, pine-apples, plantains, and cocoanuts. Most persons acquainted with Indian fruits will agree with Tavernier, though some might make an exception in favour of the mango.

³ It is not perhaps necessary to say here more than that Goa, Damán, and Diu, are the sole remaining possessions of the Portuguese in India. A very interesting account of Goa will be found in the recently published *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and accounts of Goa as it was at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries will be found in the recent issues of the Hakluyt Society, viz. *Linschoten* and *Pyrard de Laval*.

in some of the halls and chambers, which are very large, you see many pictures representing separately the vessels which come from LISBON to GOA, and those which leave GOA for LISBON, each with the name of the vessel and that of the captain, and the number of guns with which it is armed. If the town were not so shut in by the mountains which surround it, it would without doubt be more numerously inhabited, and residence there would be more healthy. But these mountains prevent the winds from refreshing it; this is the cause of great heat. Beef and pork afford the ordinary food of the inhabitants of GOA. They have also fowls, but few pigeons, and although they are close to the sea fish is scarce. As for confectionery, they have many kinds, and eat a large quantity. Before the Dutch had beaten down the power of the Portuguese in INDIA, one saw at GOA nothing but magnificence and wealth, but since these late comers have deprived them of their trade in all directions, they have lost the sources of their gold and silver, and are altogether come down from their former splendour. On my first journey to GOA I saw people who had property yielding up to 2000 *écus* of income, who on my second journey came secretly in the evening to ask alms of me without abating anything of their pride, especially the women, who, coming in *pallankeens*, remained at the door of the house, whilst a boy, who attended them, came to present their compliments. You sent them then what you wished, or you took it yourself when you were curious to see their faces; this happened rarely, because they cover all the head with a veil. Otherwise when one goes in person to give them charity at the door, they generally offer a letter from some religious person who



recommends them, and makes mention of the wealth which the person formerly had, and the poverty into which she has fallen. Thus you generally enter into conversation with the fair one, and in honour bound invite her in to partake of refreshment, which lasts sometimes till the following day.

If the Portuguese had not been so much occupied with guarding so many fortresses on land, and if, in the contempt they had for the Dutch at first, they had not neglected their affairs, they would not be to-day reduced to so low a condition.

The Portuguese who go to INDIA have no sooner passed the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE than they all become *Fidalgos*¹ or gentlemen, and add *Dom* to the simple name of PEDRO or JERONIMO which they carried when they embarked; this is the reason why they are commonly called in derision "*Fidalgos* of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE." As they change in their status so also they change in their nature, and it may be said that the Portuguese dwelling in INDIA are the most vindictive and the most jealous of their women of all the people in the world. As soon as they entertain the least suspicion about their women they will, without scruple, make away with them by poison or the dagger. When they have an enemy they never forgive him. If they are of equal strength and dare not come to a struggle, they have black slaves, who will blindly obey their master's order to go and kill any one; and this is done generally with a stroke of a dagger, or the shot of a blunderbuss, or by felling the man with a large stick of the length of a short pike which they are accustomed to carry. If it should happen that they spend

¹ Fidalgues in the original.

too long a time in finding the man whom they wish to murder, and are unable to meet with him in the fields or in the town, then without the slightest regard for sacred things they slay him at the altar; and I have myself seen two examples of this—one at DAMÁN, and the other at GOA. Three or four of these black slaves having perceived some persons whose lives they wanted to take, and who were attending mass in a church, discharged blunderbusses at them through the windows, without reflecting whether they might not wound others who had no part in the quarrel. It happened so at GOA, and there were seven men slain near the altar, the priest who was saying mass having been seriously wounded. The law takes no cognisance of these crimes, because generally their authors are the first in the land. As for trials, they never come to an end. They are in the hands of the *Kanarins*,¹ who are natives of the country, who practice the professions of solicitors and procurators, and there are no people in the world more cunning and subtle.

To return to the ancient power of the Portuguese in INDIA, it is certain that if the Dutch had never come to INDIA you would not have found to-day a scrap of iron in the majority of the houses of the Portuguese; all would have been gold or silver, for it required them to make but two or three voyages to JAPAN, to the PHILIPPINES, to the MOLUCCAS,² or to CHINA, to acquire riches, and to gain on their return five or six fold, and even up to tenfold on the more important articles. Private soldiers as well as governors and captains

¹ *Canarins* in the original, sometimes called Kánarese, the inhabitants of Kánara. See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. Canara.

² *Moluques* in the original.



acquired great wealth by trade. It is only the Viceroy who does not trade, or if he does, it is under the name of another; and, moreover, he has a sufficient income without it. It was formerly one of the most splendid posts in the world for a noble to be Viceroy of GOA, and there are few monarchs who are able to bestow governments worth so much as are those which depend upon this Viceroy. The first of these Governments is that of MOZAMBIQUE, and the appointment is for three years. In these three years the Governor makes a profit of 400,000 or 500,000 crowns,¹ and sometimes more, if during the time they have no losses with the Cafres.² These Cafres are the black people who come from many quarters of AFRICA to obtain cotton goods and hardware from the Commandant, who dwells on the RIO DE SAINE, and who is merely the agent of the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE. These Cafres bring gold for the goods which they carry away, but if one of them happens to die when going or returning, what has been entrusted to him is lost beyond remedy. The Governor of MOZAMBIQUE trades also with the Negroes who inhabit the length of the coast of MELINDA,³ and they generally pay for the goods which they take with ivory or with ambergris.

On my last voyage to INDIA the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE, who returned to GOA after having completed the three years of his government, had a parcel of ambergris which was alone worth about 200,000 *écus*,⁴ without counting the gold and ivory, which amounted to a larger sum.

¹ I.e. from £90,000 to £112,500.

² Or Kaffir.

³ Melinda. An Arab town and kingdom on the east coast of Africa, from whence Vasco da Gama, on the occasion of his first voyage, struck across the sea to India.

⁴ £45,000.



The second Government was formerly that of MALACCA, on account of the dues which had to be paid there. For it is a strait where all the vessels which leave GOA for JAPAN, CHINA, COCHINCHINA, JAVA, MACASSAR, the PHILIPPINES, and other places must pass. They are indeed able to pursue another route along the western coast of the island of SUMATRA, and either traverse the Strait of SONDE,¹ or leave the island of JAVA to the north; but when the vessels return to GOA they are required to show the free pass of the MALACCA custom-house—this compels them to follow that route.

The third Government was that of HORMUZ,² on account of its great trade, and of the dues which all vessels had to pay, whether entering or leaving the PERSIAN GULF. The Governor of HORMUZ also levied considerable dues from those who were going to the island of BAHREN to the pearl fishery, and if they did not obtain a passport from him he sent their vessels to the bottom by means of his *galeasses*.³ The Persians receive this tax at present with the English, who share a small part of it, as I have said in my accounts of PERSIA; but although they treat the merchants roughly, nevertheless they do not derive from this revenue nearly as much as the Portuguese did. It is the same with the Dutch at MALACCA, who experience difficulty in raising sufficient to pay for the garrison which they keep there.

The fourth Government was that of MUSCAT, which

¹ Sunda Strait, to which the attention of the world was especially directed, in the year 1883, by the violent explosive eruption of the volcano of Krakatau or Krakatoa.

² Hormuz, see p. 3.

³ *Galeasses*, a form of galley. See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. Gallevat; see also Index for references.



was also one with a considerable income. For all the vessels coming to INDIA from the PERSIAN GULF, the RED SEA, and the coasts of MELINDA have to make the point of MUSCAT, and generally take in water there. If any vessels did not come to an anchor, the Governor sent to claim the custom, which was 4 per cent, and if they made any resistance they ran the risk of being sent to the bottom by his *galeasses*.

The fifth Government was that of the island of CEYLON, to which were subject all the places which the Portuguese had both on the coast of MALABAR and on the Gulf of BENGAL and other parts of INDIA, and the least of these petty Governments yielded 10,000 *écus* per annum.¹

Besides these five principal Governments which were at the disposition of the Viceroy, he had also the patronage of a number of offices in GOA and other towns of INDIA. The day upon which he makes his entry into GOA, his Captain of the Guards receives nearly 4000 *écus*² of profit. The three offices of Engineer Major, of Inspector of the Fortresses, and of Grand Master of Artillery yielded 20,000 *pardos*³ per annum, and the *pardo* is worth 27 *sols* of our money. The Portuguese were then all rich—the nobles on account of the governments and other offices, and the

¹ £2250.

² £900.

³ *Pardao*, a Portuguese name for a gold coin originally, afterwards applied to silver coins. If the *sol* may be taken as representing $\frac{1}{9}$ of a penny (see p. 34), then the *pardao* of Tavernier's time was 2s., being less in value than the rupee of 30 *sols*, which has been shown to have been 2s. 3d. Kelly, in the *Universal Cambist*, gives the value of the *pardao* at 2s. 6d., and Colonel Yule estimates it at the same figure in 1676, vide *Anglo-Indian Glossary, Supplement*, p. 840. This latter value would, however, proportionally raise the *sol* to upwards of a penny in value, and the rupee consequently to more than 2s. 9d.



merchants by the trade which they engaged in, before the English and Dutch came to cut the ground from under their feet. During the time they held HORMUZ they did not allow any merchant to travel to INDIA by sea, and all were therefore compelled to take the route by land through KANDAHÁR. When the Turkish, Persian, Arab, Moscovite, Polish, and other merchants arrived at BANDAR-ABBAS, they constituted but one united body, and from it four of the most experienced were deputed to go and see all the different kinds of merchandise, and to ascertain the quality and price.

After having made their report to the others the price was settled and the goods removed, which were then distributed to each nation in proportion to the number of merchants who had come from these different countries. It is the custom throughout ASIA that nothing is sold except in the presence of a broker, and each class of goods has its own separate one. These brokers pay the money to those who have sold, and receive it from those who have bought; there are certain classes of goods for which the fee due to them is 1 per cent, others for which it amounts to $1\frac{1}{2}$ and even to 2 per cent. The Portuguese then in those times made great profits, and suffered no losses from bankruptcies. As to the pirates, the Viceroy took effectual steps, for when the rains were over and the season for embarkation had arrived, according to the number of vessels laden with goods, he gave a sufficient number of *galiotes*¹ to escort them

¹ This name is derived from *Galeota* of the Portuguese. In India it took the form *Gallevat*, which has been Anglicised into Jolly-boat, as is explained by Colonel Yule and Mr. Burnell in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*. The Calcutta boatmen pronounce it *Jallybote*. See p. 191.



to sea for from 25 to 30 leagues—the *Malabaris* not going farther from the coast than 15 or 20. The captains of the *galioles* and even the marines did some little trade during the voyage, and as they paid no customs, they were able to acquire something to maintain themselves in comfort during the rains, when they had to remain in quarters. There was also a good arrangement for the military, by which the soldiers were promoted, for all those who had come from PORTUGAL, after nine years of service, received some appointment at sea or on land, and if they did not wish to accept of it they were permitted to travel as merchants. If there happened to be among them any one of intelligence, he did not fail to acquire a fortune, having all the credit he could desire, and he found numbers of people very willing to employ their money, giving it to him on the chance of 100 per cent profit on his return from a journey. If the vessel was lost, those who had lent lost their money or their goods, but, when it arrived safely, for one *écu* they received three or four.

The people of the country called *Kanarese* do not hold any offices under the Portuguese save in reference to law as agents, solicitors, or scribes, and they are kept in subjection. If one of these *Kanarese* or black men struck a white or European, there was no pardon for him, and he had to have his hand cut off. Both Spaniards and Portuguese, especially the Spaniards, use them as receivers and men of business, and in the islands of MANILLA or PHILIPPINES there are blacks so rich that some of them have offered the Viceroy up to 20,000 *croisats*¹ for permission to wear hose and

¹ Croisart (of Genoa), so called on account of the cross on it; it was worth about 6s. 6d., and 20,000 = £6500.