

shoes—this was not allowed them.<sup>1</sup> You see certain of these blacks with bare feet, though followed by thirty slaves, and superbly clad; and if the Portuguese had been pleased to allow them to equip vessels, and to appoint the captains and other officers according to their own wishes, the former would not have made so many conquests in INDIA, or at least would not have made them so easily.

These blacks have much intelligence and are good soldiers, and the clerics have assured me that they learn more in the colleges in six months than the Portuguese children do in a year, whatever the science may be to which they apply themselves.<sup>2</sup> It is for this reason that the Portuguese keep them down.

The natives of the country about GOA are idolaters, and do homage to many kinds of idols, of which I have given likenesses in this book,<sup>3</sup> saying that the idols resemble those who have done good works in former times, to whom they should offer homage by adoring their portraits. There are many of these idolaters who worship monkeys, and also, in many parts of INDIA, as I have elsewhere said, they have built pagodas, which have been endowed in order to feed a certain number, besides others from outside, which come twice a week in order to obtain food.<sup>4</sup> In a village of the island of SALSETTE,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The shoe question, we see, was in these early times as in latter days a burning one.

<sup>2</sup> The same may be said of the native youth of the present, who far outstrip those of European parentage in the acquirement of learning before man's estate is reached.

<sup>3</sup> These portraits are not to be found in any of the editions of Tavernier with which I am acquainted.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> This is apparently not the island north of Bombay called Salsette, famous for its caves in the trap rock, and for the possession of a tooth of Buddha, but a district of the same name in Goa territory.



there was a pagoda in which the idolaters kept, in a kind of tomb made of silver, the bones and nails of a monkey which, they said, had rendered great services to their gods by the diligence with which he conveyed news and advice from one to the other,<sup>1</sup> when persecuted by some hostile princes, even to the extent of traversing the sea by swimming. People came from many parts of INDIA in procession to this idol to make offerings to this pagoda; but the clergy of GOA, and especially the Inquisitor, went one day to carry away this tomb and brought it to GOA, where it remained some time on account of the dispute which it gave rise to between the ecclesiastics and the people. For when the idolaters offered to give a large sum to ransom their relics, the people were of opinion that it should be accepted, because they said it could be used to make war against their enemies or for assisting the poor; but the clergy held a contrary opinion, and maintained that for no reason whatever should this idolatry be permitted. At length the Archbishop and the Inquisitor of their own authority removed the tomb, and, having put it on a vessel which went out about 20 leagues from land, it was thrown into the sea. They would have burned it, but that the idolaters would have been able to collect the ashes, which would have served as material for some new superstition.

There are in GOA numbers of people connected with the Church, and besides the Archbishop and his clergy you see Dominicans, Augustins, Cordeliers, Barefoot Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins, who are like the Recollects, with two houses of nuns, of which the Augustins are the Directors. The Carmelites, who

<sup>1</sup> This refers to *Hanumán* and the traditions of the *Rámáyana*.



are the last comers, are the best situated of all, and, if they are a little removed from the heart of the town, they have otherwise the advantages of enjoying fresh air, and of having the most healthy house in all GOA. It is on a fine elevation, where the wind blows about it, and is well built, with two galleries, one above the other. The Augustins, who were the first comers in GOA, were well situated at the base of a small elevation, their church being on the main street with a handsome square in front. But the Jesuits, having built a house, begged the Augustins to sell them the elevated ground, which was then unoccupied, under pretext of wishing to make a garden for the recreation of their scholars; and, having at length purchased it, they built a splendid college, which shut out the convent of the Augustins, and prevented it from receiving any fresh air. They have had great disputes with one another over this matter, but the Jesuits have at length gained their case.

The Jesuit Fathers are known at GOA by the name of Paulists, on account of their grand church dedicated to St. Paul. They do not wear hats nor three-cornered caps as in EUROPE, but a kind of cap which resembles, in form, a hat from which the brim has been removed, and it is somewhat like the caps of the slaves of the GRAND SEIGNEUR, which I have described in my account of the *Seraglio*. They have five houses in GOA, which are, the College of ST. PAUL, the Seminary, the Monks' House, the Noviciate, and the BON JESUS. The paintings of the ceiling of this last church are admirable. In the year 1663 the greater part of the College was burnt by an accident which happened in the night, and it cost them near 60,000 *écus* to rebuild it.

The hospital at GOA was formerly renowned



throughout INDIA; and, as it possessed a considerable income, sick persons were very well attended to. This was still the case when I first went to GOA; but, since this hospital has changed its managers, patients are badly treated, and many Europeans who enter it do not leave it except to go to the tomb. It is but a short time since the secret of treating by frequent bleedings has been discovered; and it is practiced according to need up to thirty or forty times, as long as bad blood comes, as was done to myself on one occasion when at SURAT; and as soon as the bad blood is removed, which is like an apothume, the sick person is out of danger. Butter and meat are to him as poison, and if he eats of them he puts his life in danger. Formerly some small *ragouts* were made for the convalescent, but they must nowadays content themselves with beef-tea and a basin of rice. Generally all the poor people who begin to recover their health cry out from thirst, and beg for a little water to drink; but those who wait upon them, who are at present blacks or *Mestifs*<sup>1</sup>—avaricious persons, and without mercy—do not give a drop without receiving something, that is to say, unless some money is placed in their hands, and to give colour to this wickedness they give it in secret, saying that the physician forbids it. Sweets and confectionery are not wanting, but this does not contribute much to the establishment of health, which in a hot country rather requires nourishing food.

I forgot to make a remark upon the frequent bleedings in reference to Europeans—namely, that in order to recover their colour and get themselves into perfect

<sup>1</sup> For *Mestiços* = Half-castes (see p. 206).



health, it is prescribed for them to drink for twelve days three glasses of . . .—one in the morning, one at midday, and one in the evening; but, as this drink cannot but be very disagreeable, the convalescent swallows as little of it as possible, however much he may desire to recover his health. This remedy has been learnt from the idolaters of the country, and whether the convalescent makes use of it or not, he is not allowed to leave the hospital till the twelve days have expired during which he is expected to take this drink.



## CHAPTER XIV

*Concerning what the Author did during his sojourn at  
GOA on his last journey in 1648.*

Two days before my departure from VENGURLA for GOA I wrote to M. DE SAINT AMANT, the chief engineer, to beg him to arrange to have an armed boat sent for me, on account of the *Malabar*is who infest these coasts; this he immediately did. I departed from VENGURLA on the 20th of January 1648, and arrived at GOA on the 21st. As it was late, I postponed till the morrow going to pay my respects to the Viceroy DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS, who had formerly been Governor of CEYLON. He received me well, and during nearly two months which I spent at GOA, on five or six occasions he sent a gentleman to conduct me to the POWDERHOUSE, outside the town, where he very often resided. He took pleasure in showing me guns and other things of that nature, regarding which he asked my opinion; and, among several presents which I made to him on my arrival, he was specially pleased with a pistol very curiously and richly decorated. When passing ALEPPO, the French Consul had given it to me as a present, its fellow having been unfortunately lost. It was a present which the nation intended to make to the *Pasha*, who would have been able to boast the possession of a pair of the most beautiful and best made pistols in all

ASIA. The Viceroys of GOA do not permit any one, whoever he may be—not even their own children—to sit at their table; but in the hall where they take their meals there is a small space partitioned off, where covers are laid for the principal officers, as is done in the Courts of the Princes of GERMANY. On the following day I went to pay a visit to the Archbishop, and I set apart the day after for that which I owed to the Inquisitor. But when I went to his house he sent one of his gentlemen to say that he much regretted that he was unable to see me upon that day on account of the despatches which he was preparing for PORTUGAL, and which were waited for by two vessels that were about to sail. Nevertheless, if it was in reference to a matter of conscience, he would leave everything in order to speak to me. Having informed the gentleman that I had only come to pay my respects, and wishing to withdraw at once, he begged me to tarry a moment; and after he had reported what I had said to him to the Inquisitor, he returned to assure me, on the part of his master, that the latter was much obliged to me, and that as soon as the vessels had started he would send to let me know, so that we might have our interview at leisure.

As soon as the vessels had left, the same gentleman came, on the part of the Inquisitor, to tell me that the latter would expect me at about two or three P.M. in the house of the Inquisition, for he dwelt in another, and both houses are very magnificent. I did not fail to be at the place indicated at the prescribed hour; and on my arrival a page appeared, who conducted me into the great hall, where, after I had walked up and down for about a quarter of an hour, an officer came to conduct me into the room where the Inquisitor was. After



having passed through two grand galleries and some suites of rooms, I entered a small chamber where the Inquisitor awaited me, seated at the end of a large table, made like a billiard table, and both the table and all the furniture of the room were covered with green cloth brought from ENGLAND.

As soon as I entered he told me that I was welcome, and after I had presented my compliments he asked me what my religion was. I replied that I professed the Protestant religion. He then asked me whether my father and mother were also of the same religion, and having replied that they were, he repeated that I was welcome, calling out to some persons who were close by that they might come in. At the same moment a corner of the curtain was lifted, and I caught sight of ten or twelve persons who were in a small chamber at the side. The first who entered were two Augustin friars, who were followed by two Dominicans, two Barefoot Carmelites, and some other ecclesiastics, to whom the Inquisitor straightway explained who I was, that I had no forbidden books with me, and that, being aware of the order to that effect, I had left my bible at VENGURLA. We conversed together for more than two hours concerning many things, and particularly regarding my travels, all the company telling me that they enjoyed hearing the recital. Three days afterwards the Inquisitor sent to invite me to dine with him at a fine house which is situated at half a league from the town, and belongs to the Barefoot Carmelites. It is one of the most beautiful buildings in INDIA, and I shall relate in a few words how these monks acquired possession of it. There was in GOA a nobleman whose father and grandfather had made much by trade, who built this house, which



might be regarded as a splendid palace. He did not desire to marry, and, not caring for anything but religion, he was most frequently with the Augustines, for whom he manifested such affection that he made a will by which he bequeathed them all his wealth, provided that on his death they would inter him on the right side of the great altar, where they were to make him a splendid tomb. According to common report this gentleman was a leper—a report which some persons diligently spread, seeing that he had given all his goods to the Augustines. It was said that the place on the right side of the altar was for a Viceroy only, and that it was not proper to place a leper there, to which the public generally and some even of the Augustines assented. Some Fathers of the convent having gone to speak to him in order to beg him to select some other place in the Church, the gentleman was so annoyed by the suggestion that he never returned to the Augustines, and went to his devotions with the Barefoot Carmelites, who received him with open arms, and accepted the conditions which the others had refused.

He did not live long after he had made friends with these monks, who buried him with magnificence, and succeeded to all his property, including this superb mansion, where we were splendidly entertained with music during the repast.

I remained at GOA from the 21st of January to the 11th of March, on the evening of which day I quitted it, after taking leave of the Viceroy. I also begged leave for the departure of a French gentleman named DU BELLOY, which was granted me; but by his imprudence, this gentleman, who had not told me why he was at GOA, had a very narrow escape of being



brought back, and I of being carried along with him, before the Inquisition. The following is the way in which he came to INDIA, and his history as he told it to me: He had left his father's house in order to visit HOLLAND, where, having spent more than he ought, and not meeting any one who would lend him money, he resolved to go to INDIA. He enlisted under the Dutch Company as a common soldier, and arrived at BATAVIA at the time when the Dutch were fighting with the Portuguese in the island of CEYLON. As soon as he had arrived he was included among the recruits who were being sent to that island, and the General of the Dutch troops, seeing a reinforcement of brave soldiers commanded by a French captain named ST. AMANT, full of courage and experience, resolved to lay siege to NEGUMBO,<sup>1</sup> one of the towns in the island of CEYLON. Three successive assaults were made upon it, in which all the Frenchmen bore themselves bravely, especially ST. AMANT and JEAN DE ROSE, who were both wounded.

The Dutch General, recognising in these two, men of courage, promised them as a reward that if NEGUMBO were taken one of them would be made Governor of it. The place having been taken the General kept his promise to ST. AMANT, but the news of it having been sent to BATAVIA, a young man who had only recently arrived from HOLLAND, and who was a relative of the General, was appointed Governor of NEGUMBO, to the prejudice of ST. AMANT, and came, bringing orders from the Council at BATAVIA to displace him. ST. AMANT, finding himself thus treated, deserted with

<sup>1</sup> Negumbe in the original, it is Negumbo, a town and fort about 20 miles north of Colombo in Ceylon.



fifteen or twenty soldiers, the majority of whom were French, and among them MM. BELLOY, DES MARESTS, and JEAN DE ROSE, and went over with them to the PORTUGUESE army. This small number of brave men gave courage to the PORTUGUESE, who advanced to the attack of NEGUMBO, from whence they had been driven, and took it at the second assault. At this time DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREGNAS was Governor of the island of CEYLON, and of all the places dependent on PORTUGAL. He lived in the town of COLOMBO, and having received letters from GOA which informed him of the death of the Viceroy, with an invitation from the Council and all the nobility to take the vacant place, before leaving he desired to see ST. AMANT and those whom he had brought over in order to reward them. DOM PHILIPPE was a gallant gentleman, and when he had seen them he resolved to take them with him to GOA, either because he thought he would have there the best opportunity of promoting them, or because he liked to have with him a body of resolute men on account of the *Malabaris*, who were lying in wait for him with about forty vessels, whereas he had but twenty-two. When near CAPE COMORIN the wind became so contrary, and so violent a tempest arose, that the whole fleet was dispersed, and many vessels were unhappily lost. Those who were in that of DOM PHILIPPE exercised all their skill to bring it to land, but seeing that they were unable to accomplish their object, and that it was breaking up, ST. AMANT, with five or six others of his companions, which number included DES MARESTS, DU BELLOY, and JEAN DE ROSE, threw themselves into the sea with cords and pieces of wood, and managed so well that



they saved DOM PHILIPPE, and they themselves also escaped together with him. To shorten this long story, on their arrival at GOA, DOM PHILIPPE, as soon as he had made his entry as Viceroy, gave to ST. AMANT the post of Grand Master of Artillery and Inspector-General of all the fortresses belonging to the Portuguese in INDIA. He subsequently brought about his marriage to a young girl, with whom he received a fortune of 20,000 *écus*. Her father was an Englishman, who had quitted the service of the Company, and had married the illegitimate daughter of a Viceroy of GOA. As for JEAN DE ROSE, he asked the Viceroy to send him back to COLOMBO, where, by his permission, he married a young *Mestive*<sup>1</sup> widow, who brought him a large fortune. DOM PHILIPPE, who had a very high opinion of DES MARESTS, having witnessed the gallant acts which he performed, and the several wounds which he received at the siege of NEGUMBO, made him Captain of his bodyguard, which was the best office at the Court. It may be added that he was especially indebted for his own life to him, DES MARESTS being the one who saved him from the wreck by taking him on his shoulders. DU BELLOY asked to be permitted to go to MACAO, which was granted to him. He had heard that some of the nobility retired thither after having acquired fortunes by trade, that they received strangers well, and that they loved gambling, which was DU BELLOY'S own strongest passion. He remained two years at MACAO, greatly enjoying himself, and when his cash ran low these nobles lent him some willingly. One day, after winning about 6000 *écus*,<sup>2</sup> and going back to play, he had the misfortune to lose all,

<sup>1</sup> Mestive, for Mestiços, half-castes, see p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> £1350.

and a considerable sum besides, which his friends had lent him. When he realised his loss, and that no one was willing to lend him more, he began to swear at a picture which was in the room, and which represented some holy subject, saying, in the rage common to the majority of players, that this picture which was before his eyes was the cause of his loss, and that if it had not been there he would have won. Forthwith the Inquisitor was informed, for in all the towns in INDIA which belong to the Portuguese there is one of these officials, whose power, however, is limited, for he has only authority to arrest the person who has said or done anything against religion, to examine the witnesses, and to send the offender with the informations by the first ship which starts for GOA. There the Inquisitor-General has the power to acquit him or to condemn him to death. DU BELLOY was accordingly put on a small vessel of ten or twelve guns with his feet in irons, while the captain was warned that he should watch him well, and would be personally answerable for him. But as soon as they got to sea, the captain, who was a gallant man, and knew that DU BELLOY was of good family, caused his irons to be removed, and even made him eat at his table, taking care to supply him with clean linen and the clothes necessary for the voyage, which lasted some forty days.

They arrived at GOA on the 19th of February 1649, and the vessel had scarcely reached port when ST. AMANT came on board on the part of the Viceroy, both to receive the letters and to get news of what was going on in CHINA. His surprise was great on seeing DU BELLOY in this condition, and learning that the



captain would not allow him to land till he had made him over to the Inquisitor. Nevertheless, as ST. AMANT then possessed great authority, by force of his entreaties he obtained permission from the captain for DU BELLOY to go with him to the town. DU BELLOY purposely again put on his old clothes, which were all in rags and full of vermin, and ST. AMANT, who knew that it would not do to play with the Inquisition, went first to present him to the Inquisitor, who, seeing this gentleman in so poor a condition, took some pity on him, and allowed him the run of the town as his prison till he should see what had been written regarding him, on condition that he should return when required to do so. After these proceedings ST. AMANT brought DU BELLOY to my lodging, as I was on the point of going out to see the Bishop of MIRE (*i.e.* MYRA in LYCIA), whom I had formerly known at CONSTANTINOPLE when he was guardian of the Franciscans of GALATA. I asked them to wait my return for a while, and to dine with me, which they did, after which I offered board and lodging to M. DU BELLOY, who stayed with me, and I ordered three suits of clothes and whatever linen was necessary for him. I remained eight or ten days longer at GOA, during which it was impossible for me to induce M. DU BELLOY to put on the new clothes. But he would never tell me why, whilst from day to day he promised me to put them on. Being on the point of departure I told him I was about to take leave of the Viceroy, and he besought me earnestly to try to obtain permission for him to go too. I did so willingly and successfully. We left the same evening in the vessel in which I had come, and immediately M. DU BELLOY began taking off his old clothes and putting



on the new ones, threw his old ones into the sea, and continued swearing against the Inquisition without my knowing the reason, for I was still unaware of what had passed. In my amazement at hearing him swear in this manner, I told him that he was not yet out of the hands of the Portuguese, and that he and I, with my five or six servants, would never be able to defend ourselves against the forty men who rowed our boat. I asked him why he swore in this way against the Inquisition, and he replied that he would tell me the whole story from beginning to end; this he did when we reached VENGURLA, where we arrived at eight o'clock in the morning. Having landed, we found some Dutchmen with the Commander, who had come to the seashore to eat oysters and drink Spanish wine. They asked me at once who it was whom I had with me. I told them that he was a gentleman, who, having come with the French Ambassador to PORTUGAL, had embarked for INDIA with four or five others, who were still at GOA, and that, as neither his residence in the town nor the manners of the PORTUGUESE were pleasing to him, he had asked me to help him to get back to EUROPE. Three or four days later I bought him a country mount, *i.e.* an ox, to enable him to go to SURAT, and I gave him an attendant to serve him, with a letter to the Capuchin, Father ZENON, begging the Father to give him, through my broker, 10 *écus* a month for his expenditure, and to obtain from the English President permission for him to embark on the first opportunity. This, however, did not come about, for Father ZENON took him back to GOA when he went thither on the business of Father EPHRAIM his comrade, of which I shall speak in the next chapter,



Father ZENON thought, no doubt, that DU BELLOY,<sup>1</sup> by showing himself to the Inquisition and asking pardon, would obtain it easily. It is true that he did obtain it, but only after being two years in the Inquisition, and coming out of it wearing a brimstone-coloured shirt with a great St. Andrew's cross on the front of it. He had with him another Frenchman called Maitre LOUYS DE BAR-SUR-SEINE, who was treated in the same fashion, and they both had to go in procession with those who were led to torture. M. DU BELLOY had done ill in returning to GOA, and did much worse in showing himself at VENGURLA, where the Dutch, who had learnt that he had previously escaped from their service, by the advices which they had received from the Commander at SURAT, seized him immediately, and placed him on a vessel which was going to BATAVIA. They said that they had sent him to the General of the Company to be disposed of as that officer should think proper. But I know on good authority that when the vessel was a short distance from land they put this poor gentleman into a sack and threw it into the sea. This, then, was the end of M. DU BELLOY, but that of M. DES MARESTS had nothing tragical about it, as will be seen from his history, which I shall relate in a few words.

M. DES MARESTS was a gentleman of DAUPHINÉ, from the neighbourhood of LORIOL, who, having fought a duel, and having killed his man, fled into POLAND, where he did some gallant acts, which secured for him the esteem and affection of the General of the Polish

<sup>1</sup> M. de la Boullaye le Gouz is referred to on p. 224 as the person who accompanied Father Zenon to Goa, but the occasion was apparently different from this one.



army. At this time the GRAND SEIGNEUR kept two Polish Princes as prisoners at CONSTANTINOPLE in the Castle of the SEVEN TOWERS, and this General, knowing the valour and skill of DES MARESTS, who was enterprising, and a good engineer into the bargain, proposed to him to go to CONSTANTINOPLE to see if by any means he could manage to get the Princes out of prison. DES MARESTS accepted this commission very willingly, and he would no doubt have had the good fortune to succeed if he had not been discovered by certain Turks, who accused him of having been seen examining the SEVEN TOWERS with too much attention, and with pencil in hand making a plan in order to accomplish afterwards some evil design. It had been sufficient to cause the destruction of this gentleman if M. DE CESI, the Ambassador of France, had not so arranged that the matter was promptly stifled by a present (this is in TURKEY the most sovereign remedy in such troublesome matters), and by representing that he was a young gentleman who was travelling for his pleasure, and proposed going to PERSIA by the first opportunity he could meet with. It was not, however, the intention of the SIEUR DES MARESTS to go farther, and he was waiting his opportunity to return to POLAND after having done all that was possible to get the Princes out of prison; but to escape from the hands of the Turks it was necessary to say that he was going to PERSIA, and to act in such a manner that he did in fact go thither.

The GRAND SEIGNEUR had resolved never to give liberty to these Princes, but they were lucky enough at length to find means of winning over a young Turk, son of the Captain of the SEVEN TOWERS, to whom the



father generally entrusted the keys to open and close the doors of the prison. On the night destined for their flight this young man pretended to lock certain doors, but left their padlocks open, afterwards taking the keys to his father; but he did not dare to do the same to the two principal doors—at one of which the captain with the main guard was stationed—for fear of being discovered. This young man, who was entirely devoted to these Princes, having well considered his plans, had made timely provision of rope-ladders in order to get over two of the walls. But for that purpose it was necessary to have some correspondence outside, and also some one inside who shared this important secret. As the severest rigour was not observed towards these Princes they were allowed to receive some dishes from the kitchen of the French Ambassador, and the groom of the kitchen, who was in the plot, having sent them on different occasions some pastry filled with ropes, they made ladders to aid them in their escape. The matter was so well planned and so well carried out that it succeeded, and the young Turk followed the Princes into POLAND, where he became a Christian, and received an ample reward in appointments and money. It was the same in proportion with the others who had aided in the escape of the Princes, and the latter, when they reached POLAND, made ample acknowledgment of the services which had been rendered to them by each individual.

In due course M. DES MARESTS arrived at ISPAHAN, and having first addressed himself to the Rev. Capuchin Fathers, they brought him to my lodging, where I offered him a room, with a place at my table. He made some sojourn at ISPAHAN, during which he



made acquaintance with the English and Dutch, who manifested a high regard for him, as he well deserved. But it happened one day that, his curiosity having made him undertake too rash an adventure, he nearly brought destruction on himself, and with himself on all the *Franks* at ISPAHAN. Near the *caravansarâi* where we lodged is a large bath to which men and women go by turns on certain days, and where the Queen of BIJAPUR, during her sojourn at ISPAHAN on her return from MECCA,<sup>1</sup> was very fond of going to talk with the wives of the *Franks*, because the garden of her house was in contact with the bath where they generally went. The SIEUR DES MARESTS, passionately desiring to see what passed there amongst these women, satisfied his curiosity by means of a crevice which he had observed in the roof of the bath, where he went sometimes; and mounting from outside upon this roof, which was flat, and such as I have described in my accounts of the Seraglio and of PERSIA—by a hidden way which adjoined the *caravansarâi* where we were dwelling, he lay down on his stomach and saw by this crevice, without being himself perceived, that which he so much desired to behold. He went in this way ten or twelve times, and not having been able to restrain himself from telling me one day, I warned him against returning, and told him that he was risking his own destruction, and with himself the destruction of all the *Franks*. But instead of profiting by my advice, he went again two or three times, and on the last occasion he was discovered by one of the women of the bath, who had charge of the sheets, and who in order to dry them upon the poles which project from the roof, had

<sup>1</sup> See p. 183.



ascended by a small ladder which led to the top. Seeing a man thus stretched out she seized his hat and began to cry aloud; but the SIEUR DES MARESTS, to extricate himself from so dangerous a scrape, and to hinder the woman from making more noise, made a sign to her to be silent, and promptly placed in her hands two *tomans*,<sup>1</sup> which by good luck he had with him out of the money which I had given him for his expenses. When he returned to the *caravansarâi* I saw he had a scared appearance, and concluding that something unpleasant had happened to him, I pressed him to say what it was. He told me with some reluctance, and at length admitted that he had been discovered by this woman, but had sought to silence her with money. He had no sooner made this confession than I told him he must at once take flight, and that the danger was very much greater than he supposed. The Dutch Commander, whom it was desirable to inform how the matter had occurred, in order to apply a quick remedy to an evil of which we feared the too prompt results, advised his immediate departure, and we gave him a mule and as much money as he required to enable him to reach BANDAR,<sup>2</sup> and to embark there on the first vessel which sailed for SURAT. I gave him a letter of recommendation to the English President, who was a friend of mine, and whom I asked to advance him up to 200 *écus* if he should require them. I spoke very well of him in my letter, and I made mention of the offer which the Dutch Commander had made him at ISPAHAN, to send him to BATAVIA with letters to the

<sup>1</sup> *Toman*, £3:9s.; see p. 24. The *toman* was not a coin, as might be inferred from this, but a money of account.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Bandar Abbâs, or Gombroon; see p. 3.



CSL

General, who would not fail to give him employment according to his merit; and, as a matter of fact, at this time, the Dutch being at war with the Portuguese in the island of CEYLON, a man of courage and intelligence like M. DES MARESTS would be very useful to them. He was therefore strongly pressed to accept employment from them, and they showed him great kindness, caressed him much, and made him presents during his sojourn at ISPAHAN. But at length he told them that, not being of their religion, he felt some scruple in serving them against the Portuguese, and that it was the only reason that prevented him from accepting the offers which they so kindly made him. The letters which I gave him for the English President contained all this account; and the SIEUR DES MARESTS wishing to go to serve the Portuguese, the President, who wrote in his favour to the Viceroy, by whom he was much liked, laid stress to him upon the offer of the DUTCH, in order to render this gentleman more acceptable. The Viceroy also gave him a good reception, and the SIEUR DES MARESTS making known to him that he desired to go to the island of CEYLON and take service in the Portuguese army, he left by the first opportunity with very favourable letters from the Viceroy for DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS, who was then still Governor of all the places which the Portuguese possessed in the island and its neighbourhood. He arrived three days after they had lost NEGUMBO, and when the Portuguese retook the place, as I have above said, the SIEUR DES MARESTS was one of those who received most wounds and acquired most glory. It was he also who did most to save DOM PHILIPPE from the shipwreck; and DOM PHILIPPE,



having become Viceroy, thought that he deserved no less a recompense than the office of Captain of his Guards, in which he died three or four months afterwards. He was deeply regretted by the Viceroy, by whom he was much loved, and he left all his property to a priest with whom he had established a very close friendship, on condition that he paid me 250 *écus* which I had lent him; this I had nevertheless much difficulty in obtaining from the hands of the priest.

During my sojourn at GOA they told me the history of a *caravel*<sup>1</sup> which had arrived a short time previously, having come from LISBON. When she was about to make the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE she was caught by a storm which lasted five or six days, and this so much upset the sailors that they knew not where they were. At length they entered a bay 30 leagues away from the Cape,<sup>2</sup> where they found numerous dwellings, and as soon as they had anchored they beheld all the beach lined with men, women, and children, who showed their astonishment at seeing white people, and a vessel like the *caravel*. The difficulty was that they could only understand one another by signs, and after the Portuguese had given to these *Cafres* tobacco, biscuits, and spirits, they brought on the following day numerous ostriches and other birds which resembled large geese, but which were so fat that they had scarcely any lean upon them.<sup>3</sup> The feathers of these birds are very

<sup>1</sup> "The Portuguese *caravel* is described by Bluteau as a round vessel (*i.e.* not long and sharp like a galley) with lateen sails, ordinarily of 200 tons burthen" (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*).

<sup>2</sup> In Book II, chap. xiv, it is stated that this voyage was made in 1648, and that the distance was 18 or 20 leagues from the Cape!

<sup>3</sup> It seems probable that these were penguins, of which one if not two species are still found near the Cape of Good Hope. See Book III, chap. xxvii.



handsome, and those of the belly good for stuffing beds. One of the Portuguese sailors who was in this vessel sold me a large cushion of these feathers, and told me all that had happened in the bay, where they remained twenty-seven days. They made some presents to the *Cafres* from time to time, such as knives, hatchets, false coral, and false pearls, in the hope of finding if any trade could be established, and particularly if gold was to be obtained,—for they saw some among these people who had pieces of it in their ears, hammered on both sides, like nails (rivets) of a lock. They took two of these *Cafres* to GOA, as I shall presently relate, and I saw one who had these pieces of gold in each ear in five or six places. This sailor told me that there were also some of the women who wore them at the tip of the chin and in the nostrils. Eight or nine days after the Portuguese had arrived in the bay the *Cafres* brought them small pieces of ambergris, a little gold, and some elephants' teeth—but very small—ostriches and other birds, and some deer.<sup>1</sup> As for fish, they had a great quantity. They did all that they could by signs to ascertain where they obtained this ambergris, which was very choice. The Viceroy showed me a small piece which did not weigh half an ounce, but he told me he had never seen any so good. They also tried hard to discover from whence the gold was obtained,—for as regards the elephants' teeth they had no difficulty, seeing, as they did every morning, numerous elephants which came to drink at a river that discharged itself into this bay. At length the Portuguese, after a sojourn of three weeks,<sup>2</sup> seeing that through inability to under-

<sup>1</sup> *Cerfs*. These must have been antelope, as there are no deer in that part of Africa.

<sup>2</sup> In Book II, chap. xiv, fifteen days.



stand one another it was impossible for them to discover anything, resolved to make sail with the first favourable wind. There being always some of these *Cafres* on the vessel, because the crew were liberal to them with tobacco, biscuit, and spirits, two were carried off to GOA, in the hope that they would be able to learn Portuguese, or that some child who might be placed with them would acquire their language. The sailor told me that when they had set sail, the *Cafres*, observing that they carried off two of their people, who apparently were persons of consequence, tore their hair, striking themselves on the stomach like people in a frenzy, yelling and howling in a horrible manner. But, having arrived at GOA, they were never able to learn the Portuguese language, and thus nothing was ever ascertained from them regarding the special knowledge which it was hoped would be obtained of the country from whence the Portuguese carried away only about two pounds of gold and three pounds of ambergris, with thirty-five or forty elephants' teeth. One of these *Cafres* survived only six months, and the other but fifteen, both having died of sorrow and pining. All that I have ascertained of this history was by means of M. DE ST. AMANT, Engineer and Inspector-General of all the Portuguese fortresses in INDIA, who had in his service this same sailor who told me of this new discovery.

From GOA I returned to VENGURLA, from whence I went to BATAVIA, as I shall elsewhere relate,<sup>1</sup> wishing to give a full account of all that occurred to me during the voyage, and on my return by sea from BATAVIA to EUROPE. But I should not forget one

<sup>1</sup> See Book III, chaps. xxvii. and xxviii.



thing which happened at VENGURLA during the nine days I spent there, before I departed for GOA in the vessel which was sent to me by M. DE SAINT AMANT.

An Idolater having died, and the fire being ready in the pit to burn the body according to their custom, his wife, who had no children, having obtained the permission of the Governor, went to the pit with the priests and her relatives in order to be burnt with the body of her husband. While they made the three circuits which they are accustomed to make round the pit, there fell suddenly such heavy rain that the priests, wishing to withdraw, threw the woman into the pit. But the rain was so heavy and of such long duration that it put out the fire, and the woman was not burnt. Having risen at midnight, she knocked at the house of one of her relatives, where several Dutchmen and the Capuchin Father ZENON went to see her. She was in a frightful condition, hideous and disfigured, but the pain she had already suffered did not prevent her from going, attended by her relations, to be burnt two days later. I shall speak fully of this barbarous superstition in the discourse on the religion and the ceremonies of the Idolaters.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Book III, chap. ix.



## CHAPTER XV

*History of Father EPHRAIM, Capuchin, and how he was cast into the Inquisition at GOA*

THE *Sheikh*<sup>1</sup> who had married the eldest of the Princesses of GOLCONDA not having been able, as I have said, to induce the Rev. Father EPHRAIM to stay at BHÁGNAGAR, where he offered to build him a house and church, gave him an ox and two servants to convey him to MASULIPATAM, where he expected to embark for PEGU, according to the order which he had received from his Superiors. But not finding any vessel by which he could go, the English managed so well that they attracted him to MADRAS, where they have a fort named FORT ST. GEORGE,<sup>2</sup> and a general office for all dependencies on the kingdom of GOLCONDA and the countries of BENGAL and PEGU. They represented to him that he would have a greater harvest to reap there than in any other part of INDIA to which he could proceed, and they built him a good house and a church. But in reality the English were not so much seeking

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 161-164.

<sup>2</sup> Madraspatan in original, Madras and Fort St. George. The first British settlement dates from 1639, when a site for a factory was granted to Mr. Francis Day by Sri Ránga Ráyal, Raja of Chandagiri. Up to 1653 the settlement was subordinate to the Chief of Bantam in Java; but it was then raised to the rank of a Presidency. For its subsequent growth and development reference may be made to the *Imperial Gazetteer* and "*Madras in the Olden Times*," by Talboys Wheeler, Madras, 1882.



the good of Father EPHRAIM as their own; and you must know why they wished to keep him among them. MADRAS is only half a league from ST. THOMÉ,<sup>1</sup> a small maritime town on the COROMANDEL coast, fairly well built, and belonging at that time to the Portuguese.

Its trade was considerable, especially in cottons, and it possessed many artisans and merchants, the majority of whom would have been very glad to dwell with the English at MADRAS, but for the fact that they had no opportunities at that time for the exercise of their religion in that place. But since the English built this church and kept Father EPHRAIM, there were many of these Portuguese who left ST. THOMÉ, attracted principally by the great care which this devout man took to instruct the people, preaching to them every Sunday and on all festivals, both in Portuguese and in the language of the country—a thing which was very unusual to them when they dwelt at ST. THOMÉ. Father EPHRAIM came from AUXERRE,<sup>2</sup> and was a brother of M. DE CHATEAU DES BOIS, Counsellor of the Parliament of PARIS, and he had a happy genius for all kinds of languages, so that in a short time he acquired both English and Portuguese in perfection. The Ecclesiastics of ST. THOMÉ, seeing that Father EPHRAIM enjoyed a high reputation, and that he attracted by his teaching a large number of their flock away to MADRAS, conceived so much jealousy towards him that

<sup>1</sup> Saint Thomé now forms a part or suburb of Madras city, and is known as Little Mount by the English, and Mylapore, or the city of peacocks, by the natives. It is about three miles from the fort; probably Tavernier meant to say a league and a half instead of half a league.

<sup>2</sup> Auxerre, in the northern part of the province of Burgundy, on the banks of the Yonne.



they resolved to ruin him; and the following is the means which they made use of to accomplish their object:—The English and Portuguese being such close neighbours, they naturally had occasional differences, and generally both nations employed Father EPHRAIM to settle these, because he was a man of peace and of good sense, and knew both languages perfectly. One day the Portuguese purposely picked a quarrel with some English sailors, whose ship was in the ST. THOMÉ roads, and who were well beaten. The English President demanding satisfaction for this insult, strife began to kindle between the two nations, and would have ruined all the trade of the country if the merchants on both sides had not set themselves to arrange the affair, knowing nothing of the vile plot which some individuals were weaving to catch Father EPHRAIM. But all the goings and comings of these merchants availed nothing, and by the intrigues of the Portuguese ecclesiastics, it was so managed that the Father got mixed up in the matter, became the mediator, and undertook to conduct the negotiations between both sides—a part which he very readily undertook. But he had no sooner entered ST. THOMÉ than he was seized by ten or twelve officers of the Inquisition, who placed him in a small armed frigate, which at once set sail for GOA. They put irons on his feet and hands, and they were twenty-two days at sea without once permitting him to land, although the majority of those on the frigate slept on shore nearly every night, because they sail from place to place along these coasts. When they arrived at GOA, they waited till dark to land Father EPHRAIM and conduct him to the house of the Inquisition, for they feared lest by landing him in the daytime the people

might have wind of it, and might come to release a person so venerated in all that part of INDIA. The report spread in many directions that Father EPHRAIM the Capuchin was in the hands of the Inquisition, and as there arrived daily at SURAT many people from the Portuguese territories, we were among the first to receive this news, which astonished all the *Franks* who were there. He who was most surprised and most annoyed of all was Father ZENON the Capuchin, who had formerly been a companion of Father EPHRAIM; and after having consulted regarding the affair with his friends, he resolved to go to GOA at the risk of himself falling into the hands of the Inquisition. It was in truth to risk it; for after a man is shut up in the Inquisition, if any one has the hardihood to speak for him to the Inquisitor, or to any member of his Council, he is himself immediately placed in the Inquisition, and is regarded as more criminal than him for whom he wished to speak. Neither the Archbishop of GOA nor the Viceroy himself dare interpose, and these are the only two persons over whom the Inquisition has no power. But if it happens that they do anything which gives offence, the Inquisitor and his Council write to PORTUGAL,<sup>1</sup> and, if it be so ordered by the King and the Inquisitor-General, when the answers arrive, proceedings are taken against these dignitaries, and they are remanded to PORTUGAL.

Father ZENON was therefore not a little embarrassed, and knew not how to make the journey, having no

<sup>1</sup> This passage has been rendered intelligible by collation with the French edition of 1713. In that of 1676 it is evidently incomplete, in consequence of the omission of a word. "L'Inquisiteur et son Conseil en Portugal," should be "l'Inquisiteur et son Conseil *écrivent* en Portugal," etc.



companion to leave in his place nor to take with him, for it was then the season of contrary winds, and the attacks of the *Malabaris* are always to be feared. He at length set out, having to go twenty-five or thirty days by land, and took as companion M. DE LA BOULLAYE LE GOUZ,<sup>1</sup> of whom I have spoken in my account of PERSIA. The Father paid his expenses to GOA, for his purse had been empty for a long time, and he would never have reached SURAT without the aid of the English and Dutch and other *Franks*, who gave him money at ISPAHAN.

Having arrived at GOA, Father ZENON was at first visited by some friends whom he had there, who, knowing of the object of his journey, advised him to be careful not to open his mouth on behalf of Father EPHRAIM, unless he wished to go to keep him company in the Inquisition. Every one knows the strictness of this tribunal, and not only is it not permitted, as I have said, to speak for one whom they hold prisoner, but moreover they never confront the accused with those who give evidence against him, nor even allow him to become acquainted with their names. Father ZENON perceiving that he was unable to accomplish

<sup>1</sup> On p. 210 Tavernier has mentioned M. du Belloy as the person whom Father Zenon took with him to Goa from Surat, when he went there to obtain the release of Father Ephraim. His visit to Goa, when he was accompanied by Francis de la Boullaye le Gouz, was a different occasion. From Goa they went to Rájápur, where they were imprisoned, and it was only on their return to Surat, or rather to Souali (*i.e.* Swally), that Father Zenon heard of the imprisonment of Father Ephraim. Tavernier writes the name Boulaye le Gout.

Tavernier's statement about the poverty of le Gouz is also possibly incorrect, as the latter records that he refused an offer of money from the Viceroy of Goa. See his *Voyages*, Paris, 1653, and the *Biographie Universelle*, *s.v.* Gouz (*François de la Boullaye le*).

anything at GOA, advised M. DE LA BOULLAYE to return to SURAT, and made over to him 50 *écus* which he was to give at PARIS to the widow of M. FOREST who had died in INDIA. Accordingly, he left for SURAT by the first opportunity, and Father ZENON went straight to MADRAS to find out more exactly all that had passed in connection with the arrest of Father EPHRAIM. When he had ascertained the treachery which had been practised upon Father EPHRAIM at ST. THOMÉ, he resolved to get to the bottom of it, and went without the knowledge of the English President to confide his plan to the captain who commanded in the fort, and who, like the soldiers, was much enraged at the outrage which had been perpetrated on Father EPHRAIM. Not only did the captain strongly approve of the plan of Father ZENON, but he promised to give it his support and to back him in its execution. The Father, by means of the spies whom he had placed in the country, ascertained that the Governor of ST. THOMÉ went every Saturday, early in the morning, to say his prayers in a chapel half a league from the town, and situated on a small hill, which is dedicated to the holy Virgin. He caused three iron gratings to be placed on the window of a small room in the convent, with two good locks on the door and as many padlocks, and having taken all these precautions he went to the captain of the fort, an Irishman<sup>1</sup> of great personal bravery, who kept the promise he had made him to aid in the ambushade which had been laid for the Governor of ST. THOMÉ. He himself headed thirty of his soldiers, and accompanying Father

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the name of this Irish captain appears in the records of the period, but to these I have not had access.



ZENON they all went out of the fort together towards midnight, and concealed themselves till daylight in a part of the mountain upon which this chapel of the holy Virgin was situated, where they could not be seen. The Governor of ST. THOMÉ did not fail, according to his custom, to go to the chapel shortly after sunrise, and having got out of his *pallankeen* and ascended the hill, which was rough, on foot, he was immediately seized by the Irish captain and his soldiers, who emerged from the ambuscade with Father ZENON, and carried him off to MADRAS to the convent of the Capuchins, and put him in the chamber which had been prepared for him. The Governor, much surprised to find himself carried off in this manner, protested strongly against Father ZENON, and threatened him with the resentment which the King of PORTUGAL would evince when he heard what he had dared to undertake against a Governor of one of his towns. This was his daily discourse during the time he was kept in the cell, and Father ZENON simply replied that he believed he was much more gently treated at MADRAS than Father EPHRAIM was in the Inquisition at GOA, whither he, the Governor, had sent him; that he had only to cause the Father to be brought back, and they would replace him at the foot of the hill where he had been seized, with as much right as the others had little to carry off Father EPHRAIM. However, for five or six days the ST. THOMÉ road was crowded with people who came to beseech the English President to exercise his authority and release the Governor. But the President would not make any other reply than that he was not in his hands, and that after their action towards Father EPHRAIM he was unable in common justice to compel Father ZENON



to release a person who was one of the authors of the injury which had been done to his companion. The President contented himself with asking the Father to have the goodness to permit his prisoner to come to eat at his table, with a promise to hand him over into his hands whenever he wished; this request he obtained easily, but was unable afterwards to keep his promise. The drummer of the garrison, who was a Frenchman, and a merchant of MARSEILLES named ROBOLI, who was then in the fort, two days after the Governor of ST. THOMÉ had entered it, offered him their services to aid him to escape, provided that they were well rewarded for it; this he promised them, and also that they should have a free passage on the first vessel which went from GOA to PORTUGAL. The agreement being made, on the following day the drummer beat the reveille at an earlier hour than usual, and with great noise, and at the same time the merchant ROBOLI and the Governor, with their sheets tied together, let themselves down by the corner of the bastion, which was not high. The drummer at the same time left his drum and followed them nimbly, so that ST. THOMÉ being only a good half league<sup>1</sup> from MADRAS, they were all three inside it before anything was known of their departure. The whole population of ST. THOMÉ made great rejoicings at the return of the Governor, and immediately despatched a boat to GOA to convey the news. The drummer and the merchant ROBOLI set sail forthwith, and when they reached GOA bearing the letters of the Governor of ST. THOMÉ in their favour, there was not a convent nor a wealthy house which did not make them presents,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 221 *n.*



and even the Viceroy himself, DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS, treated them kindly, and invited them to embark on his vessel in order to take them to PORTUGAL with him ; but all three, namely, the Viceroy and the two Frenchmen, died at sea.

I shall say in passing that there never was a Viceroy of GOA half so rich as DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS. He possessed a quantity of diamonds—all stones of great weight, from 10 to 40 carats ; two notably, which he showed me when I was at GOA. One of them was a thick stone, weighing 57 and the other  $67\frac{1}{2}$  carats, both being fairly clear, of good water, and Indian cut. The report was that this Viceroy was poisoned on the vessel, and it was added that it was a just punishment for his having made away with many persons in the same manner, especially while he was Governor in the island of CEYLON. He always kept some of the most subtle poison to use when he wished that his vengeance should be prompt ; and having on that account made many enemies, whom the fate of those he had murdered caused to fear for themselves a similar treatment, he was one morning hung in effigy at GOA, when I was there in the year 1648.

In the meantime the imprisonment of Father EPHRAIM made a great sensation in EUROPE. M. DE CHATEAU DES BOIS, his brother, complained of it to the Portuguese Ambassador, who not feeling too sure of his position, wrote promptly about it to the King his master ; so that, by the first vessels which left for GOA, it was ordered that Father EPHRAIM should be released. The Pope also wrote saying that if he were not set free he would excommunicate all the

clergy of GOA. But all these letters were of no avail,<sup>1</sup> and Father EPHRAIM had only the King of GOLCONDA, who loved him and who had done all he could to induce him to remain at BHÁGNAGAR, to thank for his liberty. The King had learnt from him some mathematics, like the Arab Prince, his son-in-law, who had offered to build a house and church for the Father at his own expense.<sup>2</sup> This he had since done for two Augustin clerics who had come from GOA. The King was then at war with the *Raja* of the Province of CARNATICA, and had his army close to ST. THOMÉ, and as soon as he had heard of the evil trick which the Portuguese had played on Father EPHRAIM he sent an order to MIR JUMLA, the General of his troops, to lay siege to ST. THOMÉ, and to kill and burn all if he could not obtain a definite promise from the Governor of the place that in two months Father EPHRAIM would be set at liberty. A copy of the order of the King was sent to the Governor, and the town was so alarmed that there was to be seen nothing but boat after boat setting forth for GOA in order to urge the Viceroy to take measures that Father EPHRAIM should be promptly released. He was accordingly, and messengers came to him to tell him, on the part of the Inquisitor, that he might leave. But although the door was open to him he refused to quit the prison till all the clerics of GOA came to bring him forth in procession. This they at once did, and after he had come out he went to pass fifteen days in the Convent of the Capuchins, who are a kind of Recollects. I have heard Father

<sup>1</sup> The Pope's mandates were often disobeyed by Jesuits in the East. (See *Memoirs of the Christian Church in China*, by Rev. R. Gibbings, B.D., Dublin 1862.)

<sup>2</sup> See p. 163.



EPHRAIM say many times that that which distressed him most during his imprisonment was to witness the ignorance of the Inquisitor and his council when they examined him, and he believed that not one of them had ever read the Holy Scriptures. They had placed him in a cell with a Maltese, who was one of the greatest criminals under heaven. He did not speak two words without scoffing at God, and he passed all the day and a part of the night in smoking tobacco, which could not have been otherwise than most unpleasant to Father EPHRAIM.

When the Inquisition seizes any person he is at once searched, and all that is found in his house in the way of furniture and effects, belonging to him, is inventoried to be returned to him should he be found innocent. But as regards anything of the nature of gold, silver, or jewels, it is not written down, and is never seen again, being taken to the Inquisitor for the expenses of the trial. The Rev. Father EPHRAIM when entering the Inquisition was searched, but there were only found, in the pocket which these monks have sewn to their cloaks, and is situated in the middle of the back, a comb, an inkhorn, and some pocket handkerchiefs. It was not remembered that the Capuchins have also a small receptacle in the mantle under the armpit, where they place some small requisites, and Father EPHRAIM was not searched in that direction. This left him four or five lead pencils which are covered with wood, for fear lest they should be broken, and as the pencil is used you pare off the wood to uncover it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This description shows the rarity of lead pencils at the time. Possibly they were of metallic lead, not of graphite, the former having been first used, and having bequeathed its name to the latter.



These pencils afforded a means whereby Father EPHRAIM was less wearied during his imprisonment than he otherwise would have been, and that, squint-eyed as he was, he went out with a vision in which there appeared to be scarcely any defect. It is the custom in the Inquisition to go every morning to ask the prisoners what they wish to eat that day, and it is then given to them. The Maltese cared for little besides tobacco, and he asked for it at morning, noon, and night, which were the times when their food was taken to them. This tobacco was all cut and packed in white paper nearly of the size of a quarter of a page, for throughout all the East tobacco in powder, and all drugs and other wares which can be so treated, are wrapped in white paper; this tends to the profit of the seller, who weighs the paper and the goods together. It is for this reason that so much paper is used in ASIA, and it is the principal article of trade of the people of the provinces,<sup>1</sup> who send theirs even to PERSIA. I make these remarks in reference to Father EPHRAIM, who carefully collected all these pieces of white paper in which the tobacco was packed, which was brought to the Maltese, and it was upon them he wrote with his pencil his daily thoughts in the prison. This was partly the cause that his sight lost much of its natural defect, and when I beheld him again I had at first a difficulty in believing that he was the same Father EPHRAIM who had been much squint-eyed previously, as he appeared to be so no longer. The cell where he was confined had for sole window a hole of 6 inches square, with bars of iron, this hole was so placed that when

<sup>1</sup> The word in the original is provençaux, and is, accordingly, somewhat obscure.



Father EPHRAIM wished to write he could only have light on the side which was opposite to that where he ordinarily directed his sight; and so it was that by degrees it became right; thus he derived by this fact some advantage from his imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> The Inquisitor was unwilling either to lend him a book or to give him the end of a candle, and treated him as sternly as he did a criminal who had already twice gone out of the Inquisition with a sulphur-coloured shirt and the cross of St. Andrew on the front in order to accompany to execution those who were to die, but who had entered it for the third time. It may be said to the glory of Father EPHRAIM that much patience as he had in his prison so much had he of discretion and charity after he went out of it; and whatever evil the Inquisition had done to him, he was never heard to speak ill of it, nor even to make the least complaint, much less had he ever thought of writing anything about it, which would have made public many things not tending to the glory of what the Portuguese call *La Sanctissima Casa*. Moreover, as I have said, all those who leave the Inquisition are made to swear to say nothing of what they have seen, nor of what has been asked them, and, without breaking their oaths, they cannot speak or write of it.

Father EPHRAIM having passed fifteen days at GOA in the Convent of the Capuchins, to regain some strength, after fifteen or twenty months spent in prison, then set out to return to MADRAS; and, when passing

<sup>1</sup> The interesting point in this story is altogether lost by the inaccuracy of the English translation of 1684 by John Phillips, which says that "he lost the *sight* of one of his eyes through the darkness of the chamber."



GOLCONDA, went to thank the King and the Arabian Prince, his son-in-law, for the kindness they had shown in interesting themselves so much on account of his freedom. The King again begged him to stop altogether at BHÁGNAGAR, but perceiving that he wished to return to his convent at MADRAS, he gave him, as on the first occasion, an ox, attendants, and money for his conduct thither.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ample testimony exists of the good repute in which these two French Capuchins, Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, lived in Madras. In the consultations of the Council, dated 4th April 1678, reference having been made to the troubles caused by Portuguese Popish priests, who meddled in the affairs of the town and were a cause of disturbance, it was resolved to remove some of them and to confirm the authority of Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, they being "*men that have ever behaved themselves with all due respect to the Government of the place and the English interest.*"

Again, on Monday the 12th December 1715, the President, Edward Harrison, Esq., published a categorical statement of charges made in France against these Capuchins and others, and to the first article charging them with misbehaviour, etc., he replies:—"We are obliged to declare that the Capuchin Fathers above-named, who have had the care of this Mission in the city of Madras, from the first establishment thereof to the present time, by permission of our Right Honourable Masters, have always demeaned themselves in so humble a manner, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, as to give no just cause of complaint to us their representatives; their conduct has been regular and agreeable to their profession, nor have we ever heard of or remarked any action of theirs that could occasion the least scandal to their order." (See *Madras in the Olden Times*, by Talboys Wheeler, pp. 59 and 338.)



## CHAPTER XVI

*Route from GOA to MASULIPATAM by COCHIN, described in the history of the capture of that town by the Dutch.*

AFTER the Dutch Company had despoiled the Portuguese of all they possessed in the island of CEYLON, they cast their eyes on the town of COCHIN, in the territory of which the variety of cinnamon called bastard<sup>1</sup> grows, as it had injured the sale of that of CEYLON. The merchants, finding that the Dutch valued their cinnamon at so high a price, began to buy that of COCHIN instead, which they obtained very cheaply; and this cinnamon, as it gained a reputation, was carried to GOMBROON, where it was distributed among the merchants who came from PERSIA, GREAT TARTARY, MOSCOVTE, GEORGIA, MINGRELIA, and all the neighbourhood of the BLACK SEA. There was also a large quantity of it taken by the merchants of BASSORA and BAGDAD, which supplied ARABIA, and by those of MESOPOTAMIA, ANATOLIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, ROUMANIA, HUNGARY, and POLAND. In all the countries which I have named much cinnamon is consumed, for it is put either in pieces or in powder into the majority of dishes to heighten the flavour. When a dish of rice is served on the table,

<sup>1</sup> This is the wild cinnamon (*Cinnamomum iners*), which is common in the forests of the Konkan and Travancore.



especially in Lent among the Christians, it is so covered with powdered cinnamon that one cannot recognise what it is, and the Hungarians exceed in this respect all other nations. As for the Turks and other Asiatics, they place the cinnamon in small pieces in their *pillaus*.

The army which was sent from BATAVIA to the siege of COCHIN disembarked at a place called BELLI-PORTO,<sup>1</sup> where there was a fort which the Dutch had made with palms. It is close to KRANGANUR,<sup>2</sup> a small town which the Dutch had taken the previous year, without having conquered COCHIN, upon which they had made some attempt. When the army landed it advanced within range of the guns of COCHIN, and there was a river between it and the town. The place where the Dutch encamped was called BELLE ÉPINE,<sup>3</sup> and having entrenched themselves as far as the nature of the place permitted, they put some batteries in position which could not injure the town, because they were too far from it. They remained in this position until reinforcements came, for three ships only had arrived, and he who commanded these first troops was one of the bravest captains of his time. A few days after the Governor of AMBOYNA<sup>4</sup> arrived with two ships, and afterwards a Dutch captain brought a number of *Chinglas*,<sup>5</sup> who are the people of the island of CEYLON. For the forces

<sup>1</sup> This Col. Yule informs me is probably for Vaipur or Beypúr.

<sup>2</sup> Cranganore in the original; Kranganur or Kodungalur, see p. 237. Both Cranganore and Kodungaloor are given on the A.S., as though they applied to different towns 2 or 3 miles apart.

<sup>3</sup> This Col. Yule identifies with the Vaypine of Baldæus. It is Vaipion, or Vyepu of A.S., an island close to Cochin.

<sup>4</sup> Amboina in the original, Amboyna, an island in the Molucca Sea, with, according to Dutch returns, a population of about 30,000. (See Crawford's *Dictionary*.)

<sup>5</sup> Singalese.



of the Dutch in INDIA would not be so considerable as they are if they did not make use of the people of the country, with whom they augment the troops which are brought from EUROPE. Those of the island of CEYLON are good for the trenches, but for an attack they are useless. Those of AMBOYNA are good soldiers, and 400 of them who came were left at BELLE ÉPINE. The bulk of the army re-embarked, and landed near COCHIN in the vicinity of a church dedicated to ST. ANDRÉ, where the Portuguese with some *Malabaris* awaited the Dutch with resolution. When they saw that the enemy landed without any fear they fired a discharge and then fled, but as they only aimed at the boats the Dutch did not lose many men. The Dutch seeing some companies of Portuguese marching on the sea-coast, and others farther inland in the direction of a church which was called ST. JEAN, ordered some horsemen to go to reconnoitre them, but the Portuguese had fled and had set fire to the church, abandoning all to the Dutch. The latter then approached the town, and a French soldier named CHRISTOFLE, who was in their pay, seeing a basket attached to a rope which was hung from a bastion, went boldly to see what it had inside, without fearing musket shots. But he was much surprised when he found that it was a poor famished infant which the mother had placed there in order to escape the sorrow of seeing it die of hunger,—for already some time had elapsed since the Dutch had commenced the siege of COCHIN, and since any food had entered the town. The soldier, smitten with compassion, took the infant and gave it of whatever he had to eat, at which the General of the army was so indignant, saying that the soldier should have



left the infant to die, that he assembled the council of war, and proposed that he should be shot. This was very cruel, and the Council, moderating the sentence, only condemned him to the lash.

The same day ten men of each company were ordered to go to one of the houses of the King of COCHIN, but they found no one there, and the previous year it had been pillaged. The Dutch then slew four kings of the country and 1600 blacks, and there escaped only one old Queen, who was taken alive by a common soldier named VAN REZ, whom the General of the army promoted to be a captain at once, as a reward. They left a company in this house, but the Queen remained there only six days, as she was given into the custody of the ZAMORIN,<sup>1</sup> who is the most powerful of the petty Kings of this coast, to whom the Dutch had promised that if they took the town of COCHIN they would give him that of KRANGANUR,<sup>2</sup> provided he was faithful to them.

The Dutch then began to entrench themselves and to erect batteries, taking shelter under small forts made of palms, one laid upon another together with earth. They made one of them in the direction of the Church of ST. JEAN, which is near the sea, with

<sup>1</sup> Samarin in the original; Zamorin, or King of Calicut, see p. 178. It comes through a local vernacular rendering of *Samundri*, the Sea-king. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 745.)

<sup>2</sup> Kranganur, or, more properly, Kodungalur, occupied by the Portuguese in 1523. They were expelled by the Dutch in 1661-62. The place has a remarkable history. According to tradition it was here that St. Thomas commenced his labours, A.D. 52? The Jews claim to hold grants of land made to them there as early as A.D. 378, and the Syrian Church was firmly established there before the ninth century. The fort is now deserted. (See for further history *Imperial Gazetteer*, Art. "Kodungalur.")



a battery of four pieces of cannon ; and another in the direction of St. THOMAS, where there was the hospital for the wounded, and close by that for the sick. They also made a battery of seven pieces of cannon and two mortars in a quarter called CALVETTI.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they threw bombs, sometimes stones, and the stones did by far the most injury to the besieged. This was the spot where the Dutch lost most men, especially at a small river where they tried to make a bridge with sacks full of clay, in order to be able to pass under cover, on account of a point of the bastion which impinged directly upon the river. The "PEPPER HOUSE" is a large store surrounded by the sea, and there was no one then inside it. But when the Portuguese perceived that the enemy entertained the design of assaulting it they placed some men there with two guns ; this resulted in the bridge scheme being given up, and resort being had to other measures. Five weeks passed without anything important being accomplished, and the Dutch delivering an assault at night were vigorously repelled, and lost many soldiers through the fault of the Governor of KRANGANUR, who commanded them, and who was drunk when the attack was made.

He was also among the prisoners taken by the Portuguese, and the Dutch General promptly caused the withdrawal in a boat of those soldiers who had survived the assault. Two months later he resolved to make another assault on the same place where the last attack had been made ; and in order to have more men he sent a large frigate to fetch those who were in the direction of BELLE ÉPINE. But by

<sup>1</sup> Calivete in the original ; Calvetti Bazaar, a quarter of Cochin inhabited by Moplas.



accident the frigate struck on a bank of sand and foundered, by which he lost many men. Those who knew how to swim landed near COCHIN, not being able to land elsewhere; they were only about ten men, both soldiers and sailors, and the Portuguese made prisoners of them all. The General did not on this account relinquish his desire to deliver an assault, and having disembarked all the sailors, he gave to some short pikes, to others hand grenades, and to some swords, with the intention of making an attack on the following night. But a French lieutenant, named Sr. MARTIN, representing that if they made the assault by night they might in the darkness fall into the holes which the besieged might have made in the ramparts, and that by day they would run much less risk, his advice was followed and the General postponed the affair till the following day. As soon as the sun had risen he ranged his troops in battle order, and at about ten o'clock began the assault with four companies, each being of about 150 men. The Dutch lost many men in this last attack, and the Portuguese still more, for they defended themselves bravely, being aided by 200 soldiers of the Dutch army who had joined their side in revenge for having been kept out of six and a half months' pay, in consequence of the loss of TOUAN;<sup>1</sup> this made them unwilling to serve the Dutch army longer. Without these soldiers, who constituted an important aid to the enemy, the town would not have held out for two months; and he who defended it best was a Dutch engineer, who, on account of the bad

<sup>1</sup> Tuban, a town in Java, now included in the Netherlands Province of Rembang. It is described by Mandelslo (*Travels*, Eng. Trans., London 1669).



treatment which he had received on his own side, was constrained to pass over to that of the enemy.

The Dutch, who had entered COCHIN on the CALVETTI side, and were already masters of a rampart, remained all night under arms; and on the following day the town capitulated, and was given up. The Portuguese came to carry off the bodies of some clerics who were dead; but as for the others, the Dutch had them all dragged to the river by the Chinese who were in their service—both the bodies of the Dutch as well as those of the Portuguese. The wounded were taken to the hospital, and those who had yielded embarked during the night with the engineer, passing without much noise between the ships of the Dutch, replying to those who asked them whence they came that they were commanded by the Dutch, and that they had orders for the ships to maintain a good look-out. This ruse served them well, and though the ships fired some cannon shots after them that did not prevent them from making their escape. The Portuguese, according to the terms of the capitulation, left COCHIN with arms and baggage, but as soon as they were outside the gate of the town, where the Dutch troops were in order of battle, they were obliged to give up their arms and to place them at the feet of the General, with the exception of the officers, who kept their swords.<sup>1</sup> The General had promised the soldiers the *loot* of the town, but not being able to keep his promise for reasons

<sup>1</sup> The capture of Cochin by the Dutch took place in the year 1653. The English factors who resided there retired to Ponáni. The Dutch subsequently improved the place by erecting quays, building houses, etc. The Portuguese cathedral was made into a warehouse, and their churches were used for Protestant worship (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv, p. 12).



which he explained to them, he led them to hope that he would pay them six months' wages; this a few days afterwards was reduced to eight rupees each. The ZAMORIN asked for the town of KRANGANUR, in accordance with the promise made to him, and it was given to him; but first the General demolished all the fortifications and left him only the walls, at which the ZAMORIN was much displeased. The majority of those who were well were commanded to go to one of the petty Kings of this coast known as the King of PORAKÁD<sup>1</sup> to treat with him, and it was on this occasion that the Dutch General, who had formerly been, as I have said, a menial servant, showed himself to be of a cruel and barbarous nature. Four days had elapsed, during which the soldiers had been unable to obtain any food for money, and two of them having stolen a cow and slaughtered it, the General, as soon as he knew of it, hung one of them forthwith, and intended to shoot the other, but the King of PORAKÁD saved his life.

The treaty having been concluded with the King of PORAKÁD, the Dutch General held a review of all the survivors both of the sailors and the soldiers, and the number amounted to about 6000 persons, all the rest having died of disease or having been slain. A few days after he commanded some companies to go to lay siege to the town of CANNANORE, which yielded at once without any resistance. When they returned

<sup>1</sup> Porca in the original stands for Porakád or Poracaud, formerly an important port in Travancore. The remains of a Portuguese fort and factory are now covered by the sea, being visible at low water. It is called Porcai by Varthema, who regarded it as an island, and the haunt of pirates in his time—1503-1508. So also Barbosa. (See *Travels of Ludovico de Varthema*, edited by the Rev. Percy Badger, Hakluyt Society, p. 154.)



the General had a crown made to place on the head of a new King of COCHIN, the other having been driven away ; and on the day which he selected for this grand performance he seated himself on a kind of throne, at the foot of which a *Malabari* called MONTANI, conducted by two or three captains, placed himself on his knees to receive the crown from his hand and to take possession of a kingdom of very limited extent—that is to say, some small territories in the neighbourhood of COCHIN. This General when coming from HOLLAND had been ship's cook, and this crowning of a miserable *Malabari* by the hands of a man who had more frequently brandished a pot-ladle than a sword, was without doubt a brilliant spectacle.

In the meantime the ships which had carried to GOA the Portuguese who had surrendered COCHIN, returned laden with spoil. This was contrary to the terms of the capitulation, which provided that they should leave the place with arms and baggage, and be conducted to GOA without anything being taken from them. But as soon as they were at sea the Dutch took all that these poor people had, and having strictly searched both men and women, without any respect for sex, returned laden with booty.

The General of the Dutch troops which came to the siege of COCHIN having returned to BATAVIA, every one withdrew, and there remained only a sufficient number of men for the protection of the town. A Governor was sent from BATAVIA who overworked the soldiers in order to fortify the place, and he cut off the town from the gate of ST. JOHN to the Church of ST. PAUL, as also the whole quarter named CALVETTI, because it was too extensive to be guarded. A short time after the



siege, food became very cheap in COCHIN, but that did not last long, for the Governor at once placed a duty on tobacco and various comestibles, so that there was only one man who dealt in them, and he fixed the price as he pleased. This Governor exercised great severity towards the soldiers; he kept them shut up in the town, where they were, so to speak, in a prison; and they could drink neither wine nor *suri*<sup>1</sup> nor brandy, because the duties were excessive. This *suri* is a drink obtained from palms. When the Portuguese held COCHIN one could live better on 5 *sols* than under the Dutch with 10 *sols*, because the Portuguese did not burden the town with taxes. This Governor, I say, was so severe that for the least fault he banished a man to the island of CEYLON, to a certain place where bricks were made, sometimes for five or six years, and sometimes for life. But most frequently, when one is sent to this place, although the committal is only for a few years, he never leaves it again. There was in the garrison of COCHIN a soldier of AIX in PROVENCE named RACHEPOT, who, for having failed to reply to his name at roll-call, and for having delayed half a quarter of an hour longer than he should, was sentenced to mount the wooden horse for three days. It is a common punishment for soldiers who are guilty of an offence, and is a very severe one. This horse is so sharp on the back that, with the great weight of the spurs which they place on the feet of the victim, at the end of three or four hours he is altogether torn and mutilated. The poor *Provençal*, knowing that he had been sentenced to this punishment not for three hours

<sup>1</sup> From Sanskrit *sura*, a synonym with *tart*, i.e. toddy, palm wine. (See p. 158.)



but for three days, fearing that he would succumb, instead of giving himself up at the guard-house, concealed himself at the house of a Frenchman, one of his friends, who had been but a short time married. The married soldiers sleep three times a week at their own houses, but the others are obliged to sleep every night at the barracks. The Governor, seeing that the *Provençal* did not appear, ordered a drum to be beaten throughout the town, and proclamation to be made that whoever would disclose the place where he was concealed would receive 100 *piastres* as his reward, and also that whoever kept him concealed without making a declaration would be certainly hung with him. The *Provençal* having received intimation of this threat, not wishing to ruin the Frenchman with whom he lodged, and having found means to entice five or six of his companions, who were not able to stand any more than he the severity of the Dutch General, escaped successfully on the following night, which was dark and rainy. They passed very close to a sentry, by whom they were not seen, the darkness and the rain being very favourable to them, and if he had said a word they were resolved to kill him. Having travelled all the night, they came to a small river near PORAKÁD, but when the tide ascends this river it is wide and deep; this obliged these poor soldiers to throw away their clothes, and to retain only their drawers, in order to swim across quickly, as they feared pursuit. Hunger beginning to oppress them, they realised at their leisure, which they had not done when taking flight, the danger they were in of dying; for not only did they not know the language of the country, but what was more vexatious, they had always to stay in



the open, as the idolaters who inhabit all this part of INDIA would not allow them even to touch the walls of their houses, through fear of being in consequence obliged to throw them down. The superstition of these idolaters goes so far that they dare not touch one another, except in time of war. When by accident they touch any one they are obliged to go at once and wash the body and dip three times in the water, otherwise they dare not eat, drink, nor enter their houses.<sup>1</sup> The *Provençal* and his companions met a Portuguese Jesuit Father, who asked them whence they came, and they told him all their misfortunes. RACHEPOT was more inconvenienced than all the others, having received a musket-shot in the thigh on the occasion of the last assault on COCHIN, and the wound, which had not fully healed, having reopened on the road, it was impossible for him to travel without being cured of this wound, which had been insufficiently dressed; and the Jesuit Father could give him no other aid than to write a word on his behalf in the *Malabar* language to the King of GODORME,<sup>2</sup> upon a piece of palm leaf,

<sup>1</sup> In my own experience I have met this dread of defilement in its most intense form in Orissa, where, as also in parts of the Madras Presidency, it exists to an extent hardly to be realised by those whose knowledge of the natives does not extend south of the valley of the Ganges. There are, however, few parts of India in which an European would be allowed to take shelter in an ordinary Hindu house. The dwellings of Rajas and wealthy men are sometimes provided with an antechamber to which an European may be invited; and of course there are some, but rare, individual exceptions to the rule which makes travelling in India so different from what it is in Persia.

<sup>2</sup> I venture to suggest that this place, having been probably in Travancore, was Kotáyam, which was a town and State of some note, and the centre of the Syrian Christians. It is in Lat. 9° 36' N., Long. 76° 34' E. A very full account of these Christians is given in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. vi, p. 230.



whom the Dutch had driven from his country before they took COCHIN. RACHEPOT, followed by his companions, went to him by the road which the Jesuit Father had indicated, and he was well received by him, and found there a *Malabari* who understood Portuguese. The King asked RACHEPOT if he would like to remain with him, and he replied that he was content to serve him, and that his companions, of whom he was, as it were, the chief, would serve him also, not wishing to be parted from one another. The King gave orders that the *Provençal's* wound should be carefully dressed, and a preparation of oil and butter was immediately applied, from which he experienced relief. The King made him come to him two or three times every day, sometimes to fire a musket, sometimes to wield a hand-pike, asking him much regarding the way they make war in EUROPE. Sometimes he took pleasure in making him sing, but the unhappy *Provençal* could sing but sadly in consequence of the poor cheer which he received; the King having ordered so little for the support of himself and his companions, that it scarce sufficed to buy rice, and that of the blackest kind. But he was obliged to be patient, both to await the healing of his wound and in order to learn something of the *Malabar* language, without which it would be very difficult for them to traverse the country in order to reach MADRAS. For from COCHIN up to the place where they were, they had experienced much difficulty in making themselves understood by signs, and in their greatest hunger the people of the country offered them nothing to eat but cocoanuts, which were insufficient to satisfy them. On the day of one of the local festivals the King summoned RACHEPOT and his companions,



and in consequence of the festival presented them with four figs<sup>1</sup> each, which he desired them to eat in his presence. The *Malabaris* told them that the King did them a great honour; but the poor people, who had so little for their subsistence, would have preferred a measure of rice instead of these four figs. The people of that country go about quite naked, only wearing a cloth which covers their private parts. The King himself is in that respect like the least of his subjects, save that he wears a little gold in his ears. RACHEPOT having been completely cured at the end of forty days, resolved to pass on with his companions, and they left one night without saying farewell to any one. They took their road to the south-east for MADRAS,<sup>2</sup> where they wished to go; and it is easy to believe that, being without money and only knowing a few words of the language, they suffered much during their journey. They lived on the charity bestowed upon them, and often when they arrived in the villages some of the idolaters fled from fear, because in these mountains they are not accustomed to see white men; others, who were less timid, came near them and gave them the wherewithal to drink and eat; and those who were most friendly took them into the neighbourhood in order to let their relatives and friends see them. When they had passed these mountains<sup>3</sup> and began to enter the plain, they travelled in the woods for two and

<sup>1</sup> Probably Plantains, or so-called Bananas. The fruit of *Musa sapientum*, commonly called Adam's figs by the Portuguese (see Book II, chap. xii.)

<sup>2</sup> Their position was probably to the south-west of Madras, hence they should have directed their course rather to the north-east. Had they done so they would not have reached so far to the south as they appear to have done (see p. 250).

<sup>3</sup> Probably the hilly region between Travancore and Madura.



a half days without seeing any one; and were convinced that they must die. To increase their misery they were attacked in these woods by great numbers of leeches which abound there, so that it became a necessity for them to run in order to give the leeches less time to attach themselves to their legs and thighs, where they assumed proportions sometimes larger than the hand. Thus they dared not rest in any place, but when they met a stream they plunged into the water, and removed the leeches which were attached to their bodies, from whence there flowed much blood in all directions; this made them weak and feeble, added to which, as I have said, they found no one to give them food. The leeches of this country are small and slender, and do not take to the water, but live in the grass. These poor people having walked in the woods the first day till two or three hours after night-fall, found a small river which had in the middle a small dry island, where they went to rest till day, not having to fear the leeches then, because they were surrounded by water. On the following day they pursued their journey with the same persecution from leeches, and slept at night close to a tree, where they found a kind of platform,<sup>1</sup> made of wood and elevated about 4 or 5 feet from the ground, which, without doubt, some one had made to protect himself from the attacks of the leeches. This platform served them as camp for this second night, and, day having come, they were again on the road, and at length arrived by midday at a Pagoda,<sup>2</sup> where there were

<sup>1</sup> Known in India as a *machán*, Hin.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Trichinopoli, but more probably Madura, or some place still farther south (see p. 250).



many *Brahmins* or *Banian* priests, who, pitying their miserable condition, and having learnt from them that they had found nothing to eat for three days, gave them rice, fruit, and vegetables dressed with butter. But they gave it all from a distance, making a sign to them not to approach, as we do in EUROPE with the plague-stricken, to whom one throws charity on a handkerchief spread on the road, from which they stand aloof. As the soldiers had been nearly three days without eating they forthwith took so much food that they all had fever on the following day, so that to cure themselves they had to fast afterwards, dieting being in INDIA the sovereign remedy for all kinds of ills. After they had eaten they wished to pursue their way, but the *Brahmins* made them understand that the forest extended very far, and that the leeches would take their lives if they did not find some place to protect themselves from these insects,<sup>1</sup> and advised them to remain there the whole night, and that the following day they should start early. This they did, according to their advice. This night heavy rain fell, and one of the *Banian* priests made a sign to them to follow him to his house. Having arrived there he made them enter a hole under the house, which he besought them not to touch; and though he brought them food, they were unwilling to eat it for fear of increasing the fever with which they were attacked. When it was quite dark these poor people came out of the hole, and went out upon the terrace of the house in order to sleep more at their ease. To avoid being caught there they did not fail to return to the hole at break of

<sup>1</sup> This was written long before naturalists had separated leeches from insects, and placed them in the class of the annelids.



day, and the *Brahmin*, master of the house, took them again to the Pagoda, where he ordered them to be given food. He also made them rub their legs with a certain plant<sup>1</sup> the odour of which the leeches could not bear, and gave to each a cloth which contained a kind of chalk of the size of an egg, telling them that when the leeches attached themselves to their legs they need only touch them with this cloth, and that they would fall immediately. It has been proved that salt and fire have the same effect, and the natives of the country, when passing through the places where they know there are leeches, always have a lighted brand in their hands. The soldiers, with the preventative which was thus given to them, travelled with more comfort, and were not tormented by leeches as before. They reached open country at 4 P.M., and passed close to a fortress which belonged to the *Banians*, who gave them vegetables to eat and whey to drink,—for no water is drunk in this country, as it is very unwholesome. The *Banians* directed them, as well as they could, on the road to MADRAS, which they had left in consequence of their having kept too much towards the south. By going more to the east they shortened their journey, and traversed a mountainous country,

<sup>1</sup> What this plant was I have not been able to discover—not improbably it is still used for the same purpose. Friar Odoric in 1320 says the gem finders in Ceylon used lemon juice (*Hakluyt Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 58). Sir Joseph Hooker, who says he repeatedly took a hundred leeches at a time from his legs, and that they even found their way to his eyelids, adds: "Snuff and tobacco leaves are the best antidote, but when marching in the rain it is impossible to apply this simple remedy. The best plan I found to be rolling the leaves over the feet, inside the stockings, and powdering the legs with snuff" (*Himalayan Journal*, vol. ii, p. 42). Sir Emerson Tennant says the natives of Ceylon smear their bodies with oil, tobacco ashes, and lemon juice, to keep off the leeches (*Natural History of Ceylon*, p. 481).



inhabited by Christians of ST. JOHN,<sup>1</sup> of the religion of which I have spoken in my account of PERSIA when describing BASSORA.<sup>2</sup> In the year 1643 these Christians, both those of these mountains and those of BASSORA, sent ambassadors to the Viceroy of GOA to obtain permission from him to go to dwell in the island of CEYLON. They undertook to drive out the inhabitants of the country. But the Viceroy not promising to grant what they asked except on condition that they became Catholics, and they being unwilling to agree, the arrangement which they proposed did not come to pass. A Jesuit Father was sent from GOA to these Christians to work for their conversion, but as he made no progress he preferred to devote his cares to the idolaters, whose language he acquired so perfectly that he spoke it as if he had been born in the country. From time to time he converted some of them, whom he sent to GOA. This he was never able to accomplish with the Christians of ST. JOHN, who are thoroughly fixed in their views; and, having passed nearly forty years with the idolaters, who were unwilling that any one should touch either their persons or their houses, it is easy to conclude that he had suffered much during that time, and that no kind of life could be more austere than his. For he had to live like the idolaters, who eat nothing which has had life; and as he travelled from one place to another the food of these countries was insufficient to give him the strength necessary for the fatigues which he had to undergo.

<sup>1</sup> Syrian Church—probably colonies from the central headquarters in Malabar (see p. 245 *n.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. viii, p. 222.



RACHEPOT and his companions had the good fortune to meet, on their road one evening, this Jesuit Father, who for his part was much pleased to see them, and having asked them whence they came, they told him all that had happened at the siege of COCHIN, the cruel treatment which they had received from the Dutch, and the misadventures of their journey. The Father advised them to go back to GOA, where they might find opportunities to return to EUROPE by taking service on Portuguese vessels; but seeing that they had resolved to go to MADRAS, he wrote down the route, not being able to indicate their stages beyond GINGI,<sup>1</sup> a small town inhabited by Muhammadans, except by the miserable hamlets which exist on this route.

On the following day, at their departure, he exhorted them to be of good courage, and gave them 24 measures of rice, which was sufficient for five or six days. Having arrived at GINGI, which is but two or three stages from the place where they left the Jesuit Father, they met four Portuguese who had escaped from COCHIN, when they were about to make the capitulation, and to hand over the town to the Dutch. These four unfortunates, who had become renegades, invited the newcomers to join the Muhammadans of GINGI, who asked them if they would serve them, offering them each three *pagodas* a month. In the extremity of their misery necessity would have compelled them to

<sup>1</sup> Guinchy in the original, Gingi, Jinjee, or Chenjee, a ruined hillfort and village 50 miles south of Arcot. It was taken by Sivaji in 1677, from the Muhammadan Governor appointed from Bijapur. It was for a time garrisoned by the French, 1750 to 1761. The place is now deserted, and has the reputation of being one of the most unhealthy in the Karnatic.



accept this offer, if they had not spoken at the same time of their being circumcised, and denying their faith ; and from fear that they would be kept against their wills, they left quietly, and followed their journey bravely to MADRAS, which is ten days' march from GINGI.<sup>1</sup> They still suffered much during so long a journey, living on the charity bestowed upon them, and not being able to communicate save by signs. They were received hospitably at MADRAS by the Rev. Fathers EPHRAIM and ZENON, French Capuchins, and as their bodies were all black and burnt by the sun, after five or six days of rest all the skin peeled off them, from which they suffered much.

The English had the kindness to offer them a passage upon one of their vessels which was returning to EUROPE, but RACHEPOT allowed his companions to go, and decided to return by land himself, after having rested nearly two months at MADRAS. During this time the Capuchin Fathers found a means to enable him to earn more than 100 *écus*, and three suits of clothes with the necessary linen, by the sale of little rings of horse-hair, which he knew how to make very skilfully. He worked devices and letters on them, and these rings were much approved of by the *Mestive*<sup>2</sup> Portuguese, who never see anything of great value, so that some of them gave a gold ducat for each ring.

RACHEPOT having saved money, as I have said, went by land from MADRAS to SURAT, from SURAT to AGRA, and from AGRA to DELHI, where I arrived some time after on my last voyage to INDIA. As I saw he was in want, I took him into my service, and I lent

<sup>1</sup> The distance from Gingi to Madras is 82 miles.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 198 and 206.



him, too, some money on my departure, which has never been repaid to me. It is from him that I learnt all the details of the voyage which I have recounted, but I have also known fifteen or twenty other persons who have taken the same route when going from GOA to COCHIN, and from COCHIN to MADRAS.

It is fairly short, and there is no lack of food and good water, but it has otherwise, as I have said, many inconveniences, which are, that it is very little frequented; the almost inevitable persecution by the leeches is one of the principal, and the superstition of the *Banians*, not allowing any one to touch their persons nor their houses, is one of the most troublesome, and even if one takes water from their tanks they destroy them immediately, and do not use them any more; this is the reason why some of the priests always guard them.



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## CHAPTER XVII

*Route by Sea from HORMUZ to MASULIPATAM*

I LEFT GOMBROON for MASULIPATAM on the 11th of May 1652, having embarked on a large vessel belonging to the King of GOLCONDA, which every year goes to PERSIA laden with muslins and *chites* or coloured calicoes, the flowered decoration of which is all done by hand,—which makes them more beautiful and more expensive than when it is printed. The Dutch Company is in the habit of supplying a pilot and a sub-pilot and two or three gunners to the vessels which belong to the Kings or Princes of INDIA, neither the Indians nor the Persians having the least knowledge of navigation.<sup>1</sup> Upon the vessel upon which I embarked there were six Dutch, and about one hundred sailors of the country. We left the PERSIAN GULF with a soft and favourable wind; but we made but little way before meeting a rough sea and south-west winds so violent, though good for our course, that it was impossible to carry more than a small sail. On the day

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese, who were better navigators, not only visited India in early times, but continued to visit Hormuz up to the middle of the fifteenth century. Ships of Tchín, Matchín (South China), and Khan-balík (Pekin) are specifically referred to by Abd-er-Razzak (*vide Hakluyt Society*, vol. i, p. 6).



after, and those which followed it, the wind became more furious, and the sea more disturbed, so that, when we arrived at the 16th degree, which is the latitude of GOA,<sup>1</sup> the rain, thunder, and lightning increased the hurricane, and we were unable to carry any sail except the *simiane*,<sup>2</sup> and that half furled, and thus we drove before the tempest for many days. We passed the MALDIVE islands without being able to see them, and our vessel made much water. For it had remained nearly five months in the roads at GOMBROON during the hot season, for if care is not then taken to wet the timbers which are exposed above water they open ; this is the reason why vessels make so much water when laden. The Dutch do not fail to throw water all over theirs both morning and evening in order to preserve them, because without this precaution one runs the risk of being lost in a tempest. We had in our vessel fifty-five horses which the King of PERSIA was sending as a present to the King of GOLCONDA, and about 100 merchants, both Persians and Armenians, who were going to INDIA for trade. During the whole of a day and night a cross wind blew with such violence that our vessel took in water on all sides, and the worst was that our pumps were no good. It fortunately happened that there was a merchant on board who was taking to INDIA two bales of cow-hides, which we call Russian leather ; these skins are much valued, because they are cool, for covering small beds on which one throws oneself during the day to sleep for an hour or two. There

<sup>1</sup> The latitude of Goa is 15° 30' N.

<sup>2</sup> *Simiane*. This word may be connected with the Persian *shāmiyanā*, which, however, signifies an awning, or a kind of tent without walls.



were also on board four or five shoemakers or saddlers, who understood how to stitch these skins, and they did a good service to all in the vessel, and likewise to themselves, for we were in danger. They made great buckets, each consisting of four skins, and five large holes were cut in diverse parts of the lower deck, where some of the ship's company filled the skins, which were then hauled up through the holes. These skins held about a pipe of water each, and, in order to hoist them, a thick cable was extended from the mainmast to the foremast, to which as many pulleys were attached as there were buckets. To each bucket a sufficient number of passengers were allotted to hoist it, and so in less than an hour or an hour and a half we baled all the water out of the vessel. On this same day while the storm was so severe a strange thing occurred. Three thunderbolts struck our vessel. The first fell on the foremast, which it split from top to bottom, then leaving the mast at the level of the deck, it ran along the length of the vessel, killing three men in its course. The second fell two hours later, and, running from stem to stern, killed two more men on the deck. The third followed soon after, the pilot, sub-pilot, and I being together near the mainmast; and the cook coming to ask the pilot if he wished him to serve the supper, the thunderbolt made a small hole in the cook's stomach, and burnt off all his hair, as one scalds a pig, without doing him any other injury. But it is true that when this small hole was anointed with cocoanut oil he cried aloud and experienced acute agony.

On the 24th of June we perceived land in the morning, and when sufficiently near we recognised that



we were off POINT DE GALLE,<sup>1</sup> the principal town of the island of CEYLON, which the Dutch took from the Portuguese. From this up to MASULIPATAM roads we had fairly good weather, and we arrived there on the 2d of July, one or two hours after sunrise. Our pilot at once went on shore to salute the Dutch Commander, and having told him that I was in the vessel, with M. LOUIS DU JARDIN,<sup>2</sup> of whom I have spoken in my Persian narrative, he sent two horses to the landing-place, in order that we should visit him, for from thence to the house of the Dutch it is a good half-league's distance. The Commander and the Dutch merchants received us with much civility, and having prepared two rooms for us, strongly pressed us to remain with them, which we accepted for this first night only. The following day we went to lodge with M. HERCULES, a Swede by nationality, who was in the service of the Dutch Company, and who, being married, had a house of his own in the town. In order to be free we lived *en pension* with him, and the Dutch Commander asked us often to go to dinner at his house, where he very much pressed us to stay. We went two or three times to amuse ourselves with him in a beautiful garden which the Dutch have at half a league from the town, and three of them being married, their wives generally took part in our amusements. We regaled them in our turn with many kinds of excellent fruits and good wine which we had brought from PERSIA; and M. DU JARDIN, who danced well and played the lute, strove on his own account to give them some amusement.

<sup>1</sup> Ponte de Gallie in the original. On another occasion Tavernier landed there (see Book II, chap. xx.)

<sup>2</sup> See Book II, chaps. xx and xxv.



The English also were present at our small parties. And they entertained us two or three times as pleasantly as they could, having *baladines*,<sup>1</sup> of whom there is no lack in this country, always present after the repast.

On the 18th and 19th of June<sup>2</sup> we bought a *pallankeen*, three horses, and six oxen, to carry us with our attendants and our baggage. We had settled to go straight to GOLCONDA to the King, to sell him some of the pear-shaped pearls, of which the least weighed 34,<sup>3</sup> and the largest 35 carats; and some other jewels, the majority of which were emeralds. But the Dutch having told us that we should make a useless journey, and that the King would buy nothing rare nor of high price which MIR JUMLA, who commanded his army and was the Prime Minister of his Court, had not first seen, and as he was then at the siege of GANDIKOT,<sup>4</sup> in the Province of CARNATIC,<sup>5</sup> we resolved to go in search of him, and the following is the route which we took in this journey.

<sup>1</sup> Dancing-girls (see p. 87 n.)

<sup>2</sup> As they arrived at Masulipatam on the 2d of July, it is clear that the month should be July both in this passage and also in the next chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a misprint for 24 (see p. 287).

<sup>4</sup> Gandicot in the original, for Gandikot (see p. 284).

<sup>5</sup> Carnatica in the original, for Carnatic or Karnatik. Its geographical limits have varied, at one time it corresponded with the Kingdom of Vijayanagra, including Mysore and part of Telingana, it is now restricted to a region below the Ghats. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary* and *Imperial Gazetteer*.)