



## CHAPTER XVIII

*Route from MASULIPATAM to GANDIKOT, a town and fortress in the Province of CARNATIC; and the Author's transactions with MIR JUMLA, who commanded the Army of the King of GOLCONDA; in which also there is a full description of Elephants.*

WE left MASULIPATAM on the 20th of June<sup>1</sup> at 5 P.M., and slept at a garden—which is, as I have said, only half a league from the town, and belongs to the Dutch, the chief of whom accompanied us, and we amused ourselves pretty well during a good part of the night.

The following day being the 21st, after having taken leave of the Dutch we travelled 3 leagues, and slept at a place called NILMOL.<sup>2</sup>

On the 22d [July] we travelled 6 leagues to WOUHIR,<sup>3</sup> another village, and before arriving there we crossed a river<sup>4</sup> on a raft.

On the 23d [July], after a march of six hours, we halted at PATEMET,<sup>5</sup> which is but a poor village, and on account of the rains we were obliged to remain there on the 24th, 25th, and 26th.

<sup>1</sup> This should be July (see preceding note). On p. 265 the succeeding month is given as August, the year being 1652.

<sup>2</sup> Nedumulu (see p. 174 *n.*)

<sup>3</sup> Weeyur (see p. 174 *n.*)

<sup>4</sup> One of the mouths of the Kistná.

<sup>5</sup> Patamata (see p. 175 *n.*)

On the 27th [July] we arrived at a large village called BEZWÁDA,<sup>1</sup> not having been able to accomplish this day more than a league and a half, on account of the quantity of water which flooded all the roads. We were obliged to halt till the 31st, as the rains had so much flooded the river that the boat could not hold its own against the swift current of the water, and they had not the intelligence to stretch ropes across the river. Besides which it required some time to enable the horses which the King of PERSIA was sending to the King of GOLCONDA to cross over; they were then reduced to fifty, because five had died at sea.<sup>2</sup>

They were being taken to MIR JUMLA, who was the *Nawab* or *Grand Vizir*, because anything that he has not seen, or which has not been approved by him, is not shown to the King, who buys nothing and receives no present except with the advice of his Prime Minister, who consequently must have the first view; and this, as I have said, was the reason which compelled us to go to the *Nawab* at GANDIKOT.<sup>3</sup>

During the sojourn which we made at BEZWÁDA<sup>4</sup> we went to see many pagodas, the country being full of them, and there are more there than in any other

<sup>1</sup> Bezouart in the original (see p. 174 *n.*)

<sup>2</sup> I have been told by a Calcutta horsedealer that the intelligent Arab horses adapt themselves much better to the sea-passage to India than do the rough and often unbroken Australian horses, which sometimes arrive in a very wretched condition, while in rough weather many are lost owing to injuries inflicted on one another in their excitement.

<sup>3</sup> The preceding paragraph is omitted in John Phillip's translation of 1684.

<sup>4</sup> Bezwáda is noted for its antiquities, both of the Buddhistic and Hindu periods, the former consisting of rock-cut temples, and the latter of pagodas. By some authorities it is identified with Dhanákaketa of Hwen Tshang, which others place at Amarávati; see p. 174 *n.* (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Art. "Bezwáda.")



part of INDIA, because, with the exception of the Governors of the place and some of their servants, who are Muhammadans, all the people are idolaters. The pagoda of the town of BEZWADA is very fine, and is not enclosed by walls. You see fifty-two columns of 20 feet in height or thereabouts, which support a flat floor of large cut stones. They are ornamented by many figures in relief, which represent fearful demons and numerous animals—some of them being figures of demons having four horns, others with many legs and many tails, others which protrude their tongues, and others in more ridiculous attitudes. There are similar figures carved in the stones of the floor, and in the intervals between each pair of columns the statues of the gods are elevated on pedestals. The pagoda is in the middle of a large court, longer than it is wide, and the court is surrounded by walls which are enriched, inside and out, with the same figures as the pagoda. A gallery supported by sixty-six pillars, like a sort of cloister, runs all round the wall inside. You enter this court by a great gate, above which there are two large niches, one over the other, the first of which is supported by twelve pillars, and the second by eight. At the base of the columns of the pagoda there are old Indian inscriptions, which the priests of these idolaters have much difficulty in deciphering.

We went to see another pagoda, built on an elevation, and it is ascended by a staircase with 193 steps, each being 1 foot high. The pagoda is square, with a dome on top; there are figures in relief around the wall like those in the BEZWADA pagoda. There is an idol seated in the middle, after the manner of the country, with crossed legs, and in this position it is

about 4 feet in height. Its head is covered by a triple crown, from whence proceed four horns, and it has the face of a man turned towards the east. The pilgrims who come for devotion to these pagodas, when entering, join their hands together and carry them to their foreheads, then they approach the idol waving them and repeating many times (the words) *Ram, Ram, i.e.* God, God. When they are close they sound a bell thrice, which is suspended from the idol itself, of which they have previously smeared different parts of the face and body with various colours. Some carry bottles of oil, with which they anoint the idol, and they offer it sugar, oil, and other articles of food—the richest adding money. There are sixty priests who attend this pagoda, and live with their wives and children on the offerings which are brought to the idol. But in order that the pilgrims may believe that the god takes them, the priests leave them before the image for two days, and on the evening of the third they appropriate them. When a pilgrim goes to the pagoda in order to be cured of some malady, he takes, according to his means, a representation in gold, silver, or copper, of the diseased member, which he presents to his god; he then begins to sing, this all the others do also after their offerings. Before the door of the pagoda there is a flat roof supported by sixteen pillars, and opposite is to be seen another supported by four, where food is cooked for the priests of the pagoda. Towards the south a great platform has been cut in the mountain, where there is shade afforded by numerous beautiful trees, and you see also a very fine well. The pilgrims come there from great distances, and if there are any poor among them the



priests feed them with the alms which they receive from the rich who come there out of devotion. The principal festival of this pagoda is in the month of October, at which time there is a great assemblage of people from all quarters. When we were there there was a woman who had been three days in the temple without once leaving it, asking the idol from time to time, since she had lost her husband, what she should do to bring up her children and feed them. Having inquired from one of the priests wherefore this woman had received no reply, and if she would receive one, he said that it was necessary that she should await the will of their god, and that he would then answer what she asked. I immediately suspected some deception, and, in order to discover what it was, resolved to enter the pagoda, especially as all the priests were absent, having gone to dinner, there being but one only at the door, of whom I freed myself by asking him to go to fetch me some water at a fountain, which was two or three musket shots away from the place. During this time I entered the temple, when the woman, on catching a glimpse of me, redoubled her cries, for, as no light entered the pagoda except by the door, it was very dark. I entered, feeling my way in order to ascertain what took place behind the statue, where I found there was a hole through which a man could enter, and where, without doubt, the priest concealed himself and made the idol speak by his mouth. I was not able to accomplish this so quickly but that the priest whom I had begged to go to obtain water for me returned and found me still in the pagoda. He cursed me because I had profaned, as he said, his temple, but we soon became friends by means of two rupees which

I placed in his hands, and he at the same time offered me *betel*.<sup>1</sup>

On the 31st we left BEZWÁDA and crossed the river,<sup>2</sup> which goes to the mine of GANI or KOLLUR.<sup>3</sup> It was then nearly half a league in width, on account of the heavy rains which had lasted during eight or nine days. After having travelled 3 leagues on the other side of the river, we found a great pagoda built on a platform to which one ascended by fifteen or twenty steps. There was an image there of a cow<sup>4</sup> in black marble, and numerous idols of 4 or 5 feet in height, which were all deformed, one having many heads, another many arms and many legs, another many horns, and the most hideous are the most adored and receive most offerings. At a quarter of a league from this pagoda there is a large village. On this day we marched 3 leagues farther, and slept at another village called KAH KALI,<sup>5</sup> near which there is a small pagoda where there are five or six idols of marble fairly well made.

The first day of August, after a march of seven hours, we arrived at CONDEVIR,<sup>6</sup> a large town with a double ditch, and the bottom of the trench lined with

<sup>1</sup> *Bette* in the original.—The leaf of *Chavica betel*, together with chopped areca nut and lime, constitutes what is here called *bette*, for chewing. (See p. 286.)

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the Kistná.

<sup>3</sup> See for explanation of Gani or Kollur, p. 172, also Book II, chap. xviii.

<sup>4</sup> Siva's bull.

<sup>5</sup> This is Kákáni, about 4 miles north of Guntur, and 16 from Bezwáda. It is also mentioned on p. 174, being on the route from Golconda to Masulipatam *via* the mine at Coulour (*i.e.* Kollur).

<sup>6</sup> This is Konavaidu or Kondavir. The fort, which is at an elevation of 1050 feet on a ridge of hills, is described by Mr. Boswell in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i. p. 182. The town was built in the twelfth century by the Orissa Rajas.



cut stone. It is entered by a road which is enclosed on both sides by strong walls, where at intervals there are round towers which afford but small defence. This town touches on the east a mountain which is about a league in circuit, and is surrounded above by high walls. At every 150 paces there is, as it were, a half moon; and within, in the walled enclosure, there are three fortresses, which they have neglected to keep in repair.

On the 2d [August] we travelled only 6 leagues, and halted at a village called COPENOUR.<sup>1</sup>

On the 3d [August], after having made 8 leagues, we reached ADANQUIGE,<sup>2</sup> a fairly good village, where there is a very grand pagoda, with numerous chambers which were made for the priests of the *Banians*, but to-day it is all in ruins. There are still some idols in the pagoda, but all mutilated, and these poor people do not cease to adore them.

On the 4th [August] we made 8 leagues, and slept at the village of NOSDREPAR.<sup>3</sup> Half a league on this side there is a large river, which then contained but little water—the rains not having commenced.

On the 5th [August], after 8 leagues of road, we slept at the village of CONDECOUR.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> This is Addanki (Ardinghy), a town in the Ongole *taluk* of the Nellore district, Lat.  $15^{\circ} 48' 42''$ , Long.  $80^{\circ} 0' 52''$  E. "The temple of Singarikonda and the ruined fort of Hari Palakuda are in the neighbourhood" (*Imperial Gazetteer*).

<sup>3</sup> Probably Nootalapaud, about 18 miles south of Addanki. The French edition of 1713 has Nodrespar.

<sup>4</sup> Kandukur—Cundacoar of A.S.—in the Nellore district. The French edition of 1713 has Gondecour.



On the 6th [August] we marched seven hours and halted at another village called DAKIJÉ.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th [August], after having travelled 3 leagues, we came to a town called NELOUR,<sup>2</sup> where there are many pagodas, and having crossed a great river a quarter of a league farther on, we marched for 6 leagues and came to a village called GANDARON.<sup>3</sup>

On the 8th [August], after a march of eight hours, we slept at SEREPELÉ,<sup>4</sup> which is only a small village.

On the 9th [August] we travelled 9 leagues, and slept at a good village called PONTER.<sup>5</sup>

On the 10th [August] we marched eleven hours and halted at SENEPGOND,<sup>6</sup> another good village.

On the 11th [August] we only went as far as PALICATE,<sup>7</sup> which is but 4 leagues from SENEPGOND, and of these 4 leagues we marched more than one in the sea, our horses in many places having the water nearly to the saddle. There is also another road, but it is longer by 2 or 3 leagues. PULICAT is a fort belonging to the Dutch, who occupy the whole length of the coast of

<sup>1</sup> Not identified on A.S.

<sup>2</sup> Nellore. There is a temple on a hill near the town called Narasinha Kondu. Nellore is on the south bank of the Penner or Pennair River, which, therefore, must have been crossed before the town was reached.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified, probably misplaced.

<sup>4</sup> Sarvapali probably, but if so the distance and time mentioned must be incorrect, as it is only 12 miles south of Nellore.

<sup>5</sup> Pundi—Poondy of A.S.—to W. of Pulicat Lake.

<sup>6</sup> I have failed to identify Senepgond.

<sup>7</sup> Pulicat, in the Chingleput District of Madras. The town is on an island which separates the sea from a considerable lagoon or salt lake. It was the site of the first Dutch settlement on the mainland of India. In 1609 the fort referred to by Tavernier was built. The town was subsequently transferred to the English and back to the Dutch several times in succession. Orme gives a plan of this as well as of many of the other forts and towns mentioned by Tavernier.



COROMANDEL; and it is where they have their factory, and where the Chief of all those living in the territory of the King of GOLCONDA resides. There are generally about 200 soldiers in garrison in this fort, besides many merchants who reside there for trade, and other persons who, after having served the Company for their full term, are in retirement in this place. There are also some natives of the country, who by degrees have congregated here, so that PULICAT is to-day like a small town. Between the town and the fort a large open space is left, so that the fort is not inconvenienced by the town. The bastions are furnished with good guns, and the sea washes at the foot, but there is no port, it being only a roadstead. We remained in the town till the evening of the following day, and the Governor would not allow us to eat elsewhere but at his table. He was the *Sieur PITE*,<sup>1</sup> a German of the town of BREMEN. We received all kinds of attention from him, and he took us three times round the fort on the walls, where one could easily walk. The manner in which the inhabitants procure the water which they drink is somewhat remarkable. When the tide is out they go on the sand as near to the sea as possible, and they make holes there, where they find sweet water, which is excellent.<sup>2</sup>

On the 12th [August] at sunset we left PULICAT, and on the following day, at 10 o'clock A.M., we arrived at MADRAS, otherwise called FORT ST. GEORGE, which belongs to the English, and of which I have elsewhere

<sup>1</sup> The French edition of 1713 has Pitre.

<sup>2</sup> This method of obtaining fresh water is still followed in certain parts of the coast of India, and in the Persian Gulf by diving down to a considerable depth and then filling corked bottles. (See Book II, chap. xx, and *Chardin*, iv, p. 69; and *Persian Travels*, Ed. 1676, p. 233.)



spoken<sup>1</sup>—having travelled only 7 or 8 leagues this day. We went to stay at the Convent of the Capuchins, where the Rev. Father EPHRAIM of NEVERS and the Rev. Father ZENON of BANGÉ were, of whom I have also spoken in preceding chapters.<sup>2</sup>

On the 14th [August] we went to the fort to visit the English President, and we dined with him.

On the 15th [August] M. DU JARDIN<sup>3</sup> and I left in the morning to go to ST. THOMÉ,<sup>4</sup> which, as I have said, is only a good half league from MADRAS. We first went to see the Governor, who received us with much civility and kept us to dinner. The time after dinner was employed in going to see the Church of the Augustine Fathers and that of the Jesuit Fathers, in the first of which there is the head of a lance, which they regard as being that with which ST. THOMAS<sup>5</sup> was martyred; and we also went to visit some Portuguese, who received us very well. In the cool of the evening we returned to MADRAS.

On the 16th [August] the Governor of ST. THOMÉ and the Portuguese whom we had been to see sent us a quantity of presents, such as hams, ox tongues, sausages, fish, water melons, and other fruits of the country. There were nine or ten men to carry these presents, and as we lodged with the Capuchins it was always believed that M. DU JARDIN was a bishop, and that,

<sup>1</sup> Madras, see p. 220, 22 miles from Pulicat. As will have been observed, several of the stages from Masulipatam have not been identified.

<sup>2</sup> See Book I, chap. xv.

<sup>3</sup> See Book II, chaps. xx and xxv.

<sup>4</sup> St. Thomé, now a suburb of Madras (see p. 221 *n*, where the distance has been shown to be about a league and a half).

<sup>5</sup> For a full discussion of this tradition, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. vi, p. 230, *et seq.*



not wishing to make himself known, he had come to see the country in disguise. What confirmed them in this belief was that they knew that the Governor of PULICAT had treated us with great civility, and that he of MADRAS had done no less. Moreover, six months after our departure, it was impossible for any one to remove this belief, so strongly was it engrafted.

On the 17th and 18th [August] we went again to dine with the English President, and we passed the time with all the amusements which he was able to devise to remove from our bodies and minds the pains and fatigues which we had incurred during so troublesome a journey.

On the 19th [August] we went to visit some native Christians who dwell at MADRAS and live in tolerable comfort. They received us very well, and we heard that they are very generous to the Reverend Capuchin Fathers.

On the 20th [August] the Christians whom we went to see also sent presents of some fruits of the country.

On the 21st [August] we went to take leave of the English President and the chiefs of the nation, who had regaled us so well.

On the 22d [August], in the morning, we left MADRAS, and, after having travelled 6 leagues, arrived at a large village called SERRAVARON.<sup>1</sup>

On the 23d [August], having travelled 7 leagues, we came to OUDECOT.<sup>2</sup> This is a day's march through a

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be Seravarumbode, near Arnee, 20 miles from Madras.

<sup>2</sup> Woodecotah, north of the Narnaveram river, about 15 miles from the last stage.

flat and somewhat sandy country. On both sides there is nothing but groves of bamboo.<sup>1</sup> It is a kind of cane which is very tall, sometimes equalling in height our loftiest forest trees. There are some of these forests so thick that it is impossible for a man to enter them, and there are an enormous number of monkeys in them. Those on one side of the road are so hostile to those on the other, that none can venture to pass from one side to the other without running the risk of being at once strangled. While at PULICAT, the Governor told us that when we passed through these woods we should enjoy the opportunity, as he had done, of making the monkeys fight,<sup>2</sup> and this is the way which is employed to bring it about. Throughout all this country at every league the road is closed by gates and barricades, where a strict watch is kept, and all passers by are questioned as to whence they come and whither they go, so that a traveller is able without danger and in all safety to carry his gold in his hand. In all these places you find rice to buy, and those who wish to enjoy the amusement of making the monkeys fight, place five or six baskets of rice in the road at forty or fifty paces distant the one from the other, and close to each five or six sticks, two feet long and an inch thick. The baskets being thus placed and uncovered, every one withdraws a short distance, and immediately the monkeys are to be seen on both sides descending from the bamboos and leaving the woods to approach the baskets which are full of rice. They spend half an hour showing their teeth to one another before

<sup>1</sup> Bambou in the original. See Index for references.

<sup>2</sup> A remarkable account of a battle between two troops of monkeys, which was witnessed by Mr. T. W. H. Hughes, F.G.S., will be found in the *Proc. As. Society*, Bengal, for September 1884, p. 147.



approaching the baskets, and sometimes they advance, sometimes they retire, all fearing to come to close quarters. At length the females, which are bolder than the males, particularly those having young ones, which they carry in their arms as a woman carries her child, approach the baskets, and when about to stretch forward their heads to eat, immediately the males of the other side of the wood advance to prevent them and to bite them. Those of the other side advance then, and both the one and the other becoming furious take the sticks which they find near the baskets, upon which a fierce combat ensues. The weakest being compelled to give way, withdraw into the wood, some with broken heads, others maimed in some member, while those who remain masters of the field eat their fill of rice. It is true, however, that when they begin to be replete they allow some of the females of the opposition to come to eat with them.

On the 24th [August], after having accomplished 9 leagues by a road similar to that of the preceding day, we arrived at NARAVERON.<sup>1</sup>

On the 25th [August], after a march of eight hours in a country of the same kind, finding gates at every two leagues, we arrived in the evening at GAZEL.<sup>2</sup>

On the 26th [August] we travelled 9 leagues, and halted at COURUA,<sup>3</sup> and found nothing, neither for

<sup>1</sup> Narnaverum on the river of the same name. The stages from Madras above given amount to 22 leagues; the distance measured on the map is about 56 miles; but the first stage is too short.

<sup>2</sup> Gazellymundum, 14 miles as the crow flies from Narnaverum.

<sup>3</sup> The pagoda was undoubtedly that of Tripatty or Tirupati, 80 miles from Madras. In Book III, chap. xii, which see, Tavernier mentions that he visited it on this very journey. It is possible that a place called Ontimon Koorva, about 12 miles N.W. of Tripatty, may be our author's Courua.



the men nor the mounts, whether oxen or horses, and ours had to content themselves with a little grass which was cut for them. COURUA is a somewhat renowned pagoda, and having arrived there we saw several companies of military passing, some with handpikes, others with guns, and others with sticks, who were going to join one of the principal captains of MIR JUMLA'S ARMY, on a hill near COURUA, where he had pitched his tent. The place is very pleasant, and derives its coolness from numerous trees and fountains. As soon as we learnt that this captain was so near at hand, we set out in order to go to salute him, and we found him in his tent with many nobles who were chiefs of the country, all being idolaters. After we had saluted him and made a present of a pair of pocket pistols decorated with silver, and two yards of Dutch flame-coloured cloth, he asked why we had come into the country, and we replied that we came to see MIR JUMLA, Commander-in-Chief of the King of GOLCONDA, on account of some business which we had with him. At this reply he treated us kindly, and having observed that he regarded us as Dutchmen, we said we were not of their country, but were Frenchmen. The captain not having any previous knowledge of our nation, detained us a long time in order to acquaint himself with our forms of government, and the greatness of our King. While he kept us in this way the *sufra*<sup>1</sup> was spread, and then all the idolatrous nobles withdrew, as they do not eat anything cooked by Muhammadans. Having ascertained that we had not the same scruples, he invited us to supper, but we declined, because it was late, and we wished to rejoin our people. But we had

<sup>1</sup> *Sofra* in the original = tablecloth (see Book II, chap. xii).



scarcely arrived at our tent when we saw three men, each with a large dish of *pillāu*<sup>1</sup> on his head, which the captain had sent us. Before we left him he begged us to remain for the following day to enjoy elephant-hunting, but as we did not wish to lose time we excused ourselves, and told him that our business compelled us to proceed. Six or seven days previously they had captured five elephants, three of which had escaped, and it was these which they were pursuing, and ten or twelve of the poor peasants who assisted in capturing them had been killed. We informed ourselves of the manner in which they hunt, and this is what we then ascertained. Certain passages are cut in the woods, which are hollowed out into holes, and covered with branches with a little earth on top. The hunters, by means of shouts and the noise of drums, to which they add fire-darts, drive the elephant into these passages, when meeting with the holes it falls into them and is unable to get out again. They then place ropes and chains on it, which they pass under the belly, and bind the trunk and the legs, afterwards they employ special machines to hoist it up. Nevertheless, out of five which they had taken three escaped, as I have said, although they had still some chains and cords about their bodies, and even on their legs. These people told us an astonishing thing, which is wonderful if one could only believe it. It is, that elephants which have once been caught and have escaped, if driven into the woods are always on their guard, and tear off a large branch of a tree with their trunks, with which they go along sounding everywhere before putting down their feet, to see if there are any

<sup>1</sup> *Pillāu* (see p. 154).

holes, so as not to be caught a second time. It was this which made the hunters, who gave us this description, despair of being able to recapture the three elephants which had escaped from them. If we had been certain of being witnesses of this wonderful precaution of the elephant, no matter how pressing our business, we should have willingly waited for two or three days. This captain who had received us so well was a sort of Brigadier, and commanded 3000 or 4000 men who were stationed half a league off.

On the 27th [August], after having marched two hours, we came to a large village, where we saw the two elephants which had been captured. Each of these wild elephants was between two tame ones, and around the wild ones there were six men with fire-darts, who spoke to the animals when feeding them, saying in their language, "Take that and eat it." They were small wisps of hay, pieces of black sugar, of rice cooked in water, and pounded peppercorns. When the wild elephant would not do what was ordered, the men told the tame elephants to beat him; this they immediately did, one striking him on the forehead and head with his trunk, and if he made as though to revenge himself, the other struck him from his side, so that the poor elephant knew not where to turn; this educated him to obey.

As I have insensibly drifted into a history of elephants, I shall add here some other remarks which I have made on the nature of these animals. Although the elephant does not approach the female after having been captured,<sup>1</sup> it happens nevertheless that he becomes

<sup>1</sup> This is still widely believed, but is not true; not only are there well-authenticated instances of the birth of elephants in India, both the



in season sometimes. One day when SHÁH JAHÁN was out hunting upon his elephant with one of his sons, who sat with him in order to fan him, the elephant became so much in heat that the driver, not being able to control it any longer, told the King that in order to arrest the rage of the elephant, which might crush them among the trees, it was necessary that one of the three who was on the elephant should offer himself up, and that with all his heart he sacrificed his life for the King and for his son, begging his majesty to take care of the three children whom he was leaving. Having said so, he threw himself under the elephant, and immediately the animal took him with his trunk, and having crushed him under his feet, became mild and tractable as before. The King, for this wonderful escape, gave 200,000 *rupees* to the poor, and promoted at court each of the sons of the man who had so generously given his life for the safety of his Prince.

I have to remark still that, although the skin of the elephant is very hard during life, when dead it feels like bird-lime in the hands.

Elephants come from many places in ASIA—from the island of CEYLON, where they are the smallest, but the most courageous of all; from the island of SUMATRA, the Kingdom of COCHIN, the Kingdom of SIAM, and the frontiers of the Kingdom of BHUTAN

parents having been in captivity, but recently elephants appear to have been successfully bred in America. Some of the Indian instances just referred to are given in the *Asian* for the 5th of June 1883, and a case of congress was not only witnessed by a number of officers at Thaetmyo in Burmah, but was actually photographed. A lithograph taken from this photograph will be found in the manual of *The Elephant*, by Mr. J. H. Steel, V.S., Madras, 1885.

towards GREAT TARTARY. They come also from the coast of MELINDA,<sup>1</sup> on the East coast of AFRICA, where they must be very abundant, according to a report which was made to me at GOA by a Portuguese captain who came from that region to make some complaint against the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE. He told me that throughout that coast there are many enclosures fenced with elephants' tusks only,<sup>2</sup> and that some of them are more than a league in circuit. He added that the blacks of the country hunt the elephants, and that they eat the flesh, but for each elephant which they slay they have to give one of the tusks to their Chief. I have described how elephants are captured in the territory of the King of GOLCONDA; the following is the method employed in the island of CEYLON in the capture of these animals. A long passage, enclosed on both sides, is prepared, so that when an elephant has entered he cannot turn either to the right or to the left. This passage is wide to begin with, but narrows gradually to the end, where there is only room for a female elephant, which is in season, to lie down. Although tame she is nevertheless bound with chains and strong cords, and by her cries she attracts the male, who comes to her along the passage up to where it becomes narrow, which, when he has passed, the men who are concealed close that portion of the passage by a strong barricade which they have in readiness; and when the elephant is advanced a short distance farther, and is not far from the female, another

<sup>1</sup> This statement is of special interest if intended to mean that the African elephant was domesticated and exported to India.

<sup>2</sup> I think I have seen somewhere a statement by a comparatively recent African traveller that elephants' tusks are known to have been formerly so used for fences. (See vol. ii, p. 161.)



barricade closes the passage in that direction. It is then that, with chains and ropes, which they have thrown on the elephant, they bind his trunk and legs, and enclose him in the trap so that he is unable to escape from it. A nearly identical method is followed in the Kingdoms of SIAM and PEGU, the only difference being that the peasants mount the female and go to the forests in search of the male. When they have found him, they tie up the female in the most convenient place which they can find, after which they lay snares for the elephant, who approaches slowly on hearing her cries.

It is especially remarkable of the female elephant that at certain seasons she collects all kinds of leaves and grass, with which she makes for herself a bed with a kind of bolster, elevated 4 or 5 feet from the ground, where, contrary to the nature of all other beasts, she lies to await the male, whom she calls by her cries.<sup>1</sup>

It is, moreover, peculiar to the elephants of CEYLON that it is only the first male produced by the female which has tusks.<sup>2</sup> It is to be remarked also that the ivory which comes from the islands of CEYLON and

<sup>1</sup> This is a fable, though there appears to be some foundation for the belief that natural inequalities in the ground are availed of during the act of congress.

<sup>2</sup> "While in Africa and India both sexes have tusks, with some slight disproportion in the size of those of the females, not one elephant in a hundred is found with tusks in Ceylon, and the few that possess them are exclusively males." (Sir E. Tennent, *Nat. Hist. of Ceylon*, p. 78.) The same authority states that the desire for ivory is so great in Ceylon that when a tusker is known to be in a herd he is hunted till shot. This may have been going on for a very long period, and may account for the tuskless character of the breed. Thus the action of man may have prevented the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, as those having tusks would otherwise hold possession of the herds of females.



ACHEEN<sup>1</sup> has the peculiarity when it is worked that it never becomes yellow like that which comes from the Peninsula and the WEST (*sic*) INDIES;<sup>2</sup> this causes it to be more esteemed and dearer than the other.

When merchants are taking elephants anywhere to sell, it is amusing to see them pass. As there are generally both old and young, when the former have passed the children run after the little ones which follow behind, playing with them and giving them something to eat. Whilst these young elephants, which are then alone, are occupied in taking what is given, the children jump upon them, and it is then that the fun begins. For the young elephants which have remained to eat, since their mothers have been all the time marching, being then some distance off, double their pace, and by flourishing the trunk throw on the ground the children who are upon them, without all the time doing them any harm. This does not in the least repel this little crowd, which continues to follow them for some time, offering them food as before.

Notwithstanding all the researches which I have made with much care, I have never been able to ascertain very exactly how long an elephant lives, and this is all the information one can obtain from those who tend these animals. They cannot say more than that such an elephant has been in the charge of their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and by estimating the time that these people may have lived,

<sup>1</sup> Achen in the original, it here stands for Sumatra.

<sup>2</sup> Tavernier makes a slip if he alludes to ivory from elephants, as there are no elephants in the West Indies.



it is found that an elephant's age sometimes amounts to 120 or 130 years.<sup>1</sup>

I observe that the majority of those who have written accounts of INDIA say boldly that the GREAT MOGUL keeps 3000 or 4000 elephants. When at JAHÁNÁBÁD, where the King at present resides, I often inquired from the person who has charge of them, and who shows much friendship for the *Franks*, in order to know what the number of elephants was which he feeds for the service of the King, and he assured me that he had but 500,<sup>2</sup> which are called elephants of the household, because they are only employed to carry the women and the tents with all the rest of the baggage, and for war only 80 or at most 90. The most courageous of these last has to be supported by the eldest son of the King, and is allotted, both for food and for all other necessary expenses, 500 rupees a month, which amount to 750 *livres*. There are some that have only 50, others but 40, others 30, others 20 rupees; but the elephants which have 100 or 200 or 300 or 400 rupees a month have under them their horsemen to support, who live on this pay, and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sanderson says, "I think it by no means improbable, looking to their peculiar dentition and other circumstances, that elephants live to 150 or 200 years." Sir Emerson Tennant gives evidence regarding a particular elephant, that it was found in the stables in Ceylon by the Dutch when they expelled the Portuguese in 1656, that it served the Dutch for upwards of 140 years, and passed into the hands of the British in 1799. The *Ain-i-Akbári* gives the natural duration of an elephant's life at 120 years.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ain-i-Akbári* does not mention the number of elephants kept by the Great Mogul, but it gives a marvellous amount of details as to the classification, food, harness, capacities, and characteristics of the elephants in the establishment kept by Akbar. (See Gladwin's translation, vol. i, pp. 113-130.)



also two, three, and up to six young elephants, who have to fan them during the great heat of the day. All these elephants do not remain in the town, as the majority go every morning to the country, where those who tend them take them into the jungles, where they eat branches of trees, sugar-canes, and millet, by which the poor peasants suffer much loss. This is profitable to those who tend these animals, because the more they eat in the country, the less food they consume in the town—the saving goes into the purse of these persons.

This same day, the 27th of August, we travelled 6 leagues farther, and slept at a large town called RAGIAPETA.<sup>1</sup>

On the 28th, after having made 8 leagues, we came to OUDECOUR.<sup>2</sup>

On the 29th, after a march of nine hours, we arrived at OUTEMEDA,<sup>3</sup> where there is one of the grandest pagodas in the whole of INDIA. It is all built of large cut stones, and it has three towers where there are many deformed figures cut in relief. It is surrounded by many small chambers for the dwelling of the priests of the pagoda, and 500 paces off there is a great tank, upon the borders of which there are many

<sup>1</sup> Ragiapeta—perhaps Rajahpully—must be near Codoor of A.S.

<sup>2</sup> Oodcoor or Ootkooor of A.S., is close to Rajumpett, a station on the Madras and Bombay railroad, not to be mistaken for a place of the same name near Cuddapah station.

<sup>3</sup> Wuntimitta, Vontimitta, or Wintemetta, in the Cuddapah District, is a station on the Madras and Bombay railroad, Lat. 14° 24' N., Long. 79° 5' E., 18 miles from Ootkooor. "The pagoda is dedicated to Kodandarámaswámi, and is said to have been built by one of the Chitvail Rajas 300 years ago. If, however, the inscriptions of Gandikot are to be believed, it must have been built by a member of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the fourteenth century." (*Imperial Gazetteer.*)



small pagodas of 8 or 10 feet square, and in each an idol in the form of a demon, with a *Brahmin*,<sup>1</sup> who takes care that any stranger who is not of their faith does not come to wash or take water from the tank. If a stranger wishes for water they carry him some in earthen pots, and if by chance their pot touches the vessel of the stranger they break the pot. I am told, also, as I have elsewhere remarked, that if any one not being of their faith washes in the tank it becomes necessary for them to let out all the water which is then in it. As for charity, they are very liberal, for no one passes who is in want and who asks, to whom they do not give to eat and drink of whatever they may happen to have. You meet many women on these roads, some of whom always keep fire to light the tobacco of passers, and even to those who have not tobacco they give a pipe. The others go there to cook rice with *quicheri*,<sup>2</sup> which is a grain like our hemp-seed; others, too, cook beans, because the water in which they are cooked never causes pleurisy to those who are overheated. There are among these women some who have vowed to perform this charity for travellers during seven or eight years; others for more or less time according to their convenience, and they give each traveller bean water and rice water to drink, and two or three handful of this cooked rice to eat. Other women are to be seen on the highroads and in the fields following horses, oxen, and cows; these have vowed to eat nothing but what they find

<sup>1</sup> *Bramere* in the original, Brahmin.

<sup>2</sup> For *khichri*, Hind., a term applied to a dish of boiled rice and *dāl*, a kind of pulse (*Cajanus indicus*), flavoured with spices and onions; it is therefore not the name of a seed itself. (See Book II, chap. ix.)



undigested in these animals' droppings. As neither barley<sup>1</sup> nor oats are to be had in this country, the cattle are fed on certain large and hard peas,<sup>2</sup> which are first crushed between two grindstones and then allowed to steep for half an hour, for they are very hard and consequently difficult of digestion. The horses are given some of these peas every evening, and in the morning they receive about two pounds of coarse black sugar, which is almost like wax, kneaded with an equal weight of flour and a pound of butter, of which mixture the grooms make pellets or small balls, which are forced down the horses' throats, otherwise they would not eat them. Afterwards their mouths are washed, especially the teeth, which are covered with the paste, this gives them a dislike to this kind of food. During the day the horses are given some grass which is torn up in the fields, roots and all, and is most carefully washed so that no earth remains.<sup>3</sup>

On the 30th [August] we made 8 leagues, and halted at GOULAPALI.<sup>4</sup>

On the 31st, after a march of nine hours, we stopped at GGERON.<sup>5</sup>

On the first day of September we made only 6

<sup>1</sup> I do not know when barley was first introduced, but it is certainly now largely grown in India.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram*, the seed of *Cicer arietinum*, Linn., or of *Dolichos uniflorus*, Lam.

<sup>3</sup> This is the kind of fodder still given to horses in India, but the clay is removed by beating not by washing. The daily preparation of this is the principal duty of the second attendant on a horse—the *Ghasiyāra* or grasscutter.

<sup>4</sup> Goulapali is not given on the atlas sheet, it must have been near Chennur, close to a number of diamond mines (see vol. ii, p. 450). Possibly it may be identical with Ganganapally.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified. Must be near Moodanoor station if south of the Pennair, but if north of it, it may be Goriganoor.



leagues, and we came to a halt at GANDIKOT.<sup>1</sup> It was only eight days since the *Nawáb* had taken this town after a three months' siege, and he would not have taken it but for the aid of some Frenchmen who had quitted the Dutch service on account of the treatment which they had received. He also had as gunners many English and Dutch, with two or three Italians, who gave him great aid in the capture of the place.

GANDIKOT is one of the fortified towns which are in the Kingdom of CARNATIC.<sup>2</sup> It is built on the summit of a high mountain, and the sole means of access to it is by a very difficult road, which is only 20 or 25 feet wide, and in certain parts only 7 or 8; the *Nawáb* was then commencing to improve it. On the right of the road, which is cut in the mountain, there is a fearful precipice, at the base of which runs a large river. When on the mountain you see a small plain about a quarter of a league wide and half a league long. It is sown with rice and millet, and is watered by many small springs. At the level of the plain to the south, where the town is built on a point, the limits are formed by precipices, with two rivers which bound the point at the base; so that, in order to enter the town, there is but one gate on the plain side, and it is fortified in this direction with three good

<sup>1</sup> Gandikot, a fort at an elevation of 1670 feet above the sea in the Yerramalai Mountains of the Kadapa (Cuddupah) District, Lat. 14° 48' N., Long. 78° 20' E. According to Ferishta it was built in 1589. It was captured by the British under Captain Little in the first war with Tipu in 1791, and was thus again proved not to have been impregnable, having first yielded, as here related, to Mir Jumlá.

<sup>2</sup> The Carnatic or Karnatic embraced Mysore and parts of Telingána, and corresponded with the Kingdom of Vijáyanagar. (See p. 259 *n.* and for use of the name at various periods, Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

<sup>3</sup> Pennair river.

walls of cut stone, with the ditches at their bases faced with the same stone. Consequently, during the siege, the inhabitants had only to guard a space of 400 or 500 paces wide. They had only two iron guns—one being a 12-pounder, the other 7 to 8; the first was placed on the gate, and the other on the point of a kind of bastion. Until the *Nawáb* found a means to mount guns above he lost many men from the frequent sorties made by the besieged. The *Raja* who was in the town was considered to be one of the best and bravest commanders among the idolaters, and the *Nawáb*, seeing at length that the place could not be taken unless guns were carried up to the heights, ordered all the *Franks* who were in the service of the King as gunners to come to him, and promised to each four months' wages more than their ordinary pay if they could find some means of conveying guns to the heights. In this they were successful. They mounted four guns, with which they bombarded the place, and they were so fortunate as to direct them against the gun which was on the gate, which they rendered useless. When they had battered down half the gate of the town the besieged capitulated; they evacuated the place under honourable conditions. On the day upon which we arrived the whole army was encamped at the base of the mountain in a plain, where there is a very fine river,<sup>1</sup> and the *Nawáb* was just ending the review of the cavalry, which were very smart. An English gunner, with his comrade, an Italian, seeing M. DU JARDIN<sup>2</sup> and myself pass, and recognising us to be *Franks*, as it was late politely came to meet us, and invited us to spend the night with them. It was

<sup>1</sup> Pennair.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 258 and Index.



from them that we heard that there was a French gunner then in the town, named CLAUDE MAILLÉ of BOURGES,<sup>1</sup> and that he was engaged in casting some cannon which the *Nawáb* wished to leave in the place.

On the following day, being the 2d of the month, we ascended to the town and stopped at the house of MAILLÉ, whom I had known at BATAVIA, where he was in the service of the Dutch, serving them as gardener to the General. He received us with much joy, and having at first notified the *Nawáb* of our arrival, he ordered them to provide us lodging and necessary food immediately, not only for ourselves, but also for our horses and oxen, during the stay that we were going to make at GANDIKOT.

On the 3d [September] we went to see the *Nawáb*, who had caused his tents to be pitched on the summit of the mountains, in the quarter bordering the road cut in the rock. He received us well, asking us if we were comfortably housed, and if we had been given the food which he had ordered for ourselves and horses. Subsequently he inquired the cause which had brought us thither, and we replied that we had brought some goods sufficiently choice for the King, but that we had not wished to go to his majesty before showing them to him—well knowing that the King bought nothing of high price without his advice, and that, in any case, we considered such deference to be due to him. The *Nawáb* assured us that our compliment had not displeased him, and after he had caused *betle*<sup>2</sup> to be pre-

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars regarding this gun founder and surgeon, see pp. 116, 289, and 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Betel*, Port. The leaf of *Chavica betel*, used as a masticatory together with areca nut and lime. In some parts of India, and by Europeans in India generally, it is called *pawn*. (See p. 265.)



sented to us we took our leave and returned to the town. We found all the gunners awaiting us, and we all assembled at MAILLÉ'S house for supper, where the *Nawáb* sent us two bottles of wine—one Spanish, the other of Shiraz—which is rare in this country. As for brandy, they have no lack of it, for they make it of rice and also of sugar, of which there is an abundance in all these parts of INDIA.

On the 4th we again visited the *Nawáb*, and showed him the jewels which we hoped to sell to the King. They consisted of some pear-shaped pearls<sup>1</sup> of a weight, beauty, and size which were unusual—the least exceeding 24 carats. After having examined them well, and shown them to a number of nobles who were with him, he asked us the price; which having heard, he returned them to us, and at the same time said he would consider it. He made us dine with him, and after the repast we withdrew to the town, where we remained till the 10th without seeing the *Nawáb*.

On the morning of the 10th [September] he sent to summon us, and as soon as we were seated in his tent, close to him, the attendants brought him five small bags full of diamonds, and each bag contained about as many as one could hold in the hand. They were all *lasques*,<sup>2</sup> but of very dark water and very small, and for the most part were only 1 carat or half a carat in weight, but otherwise very clear. There were very few which amounted to 2 carats. The *Nawáb*, when showing us these stones, asked if such goods were saleable in our country. We replied that

<sup>1</sup> The principal pearl was afterwards sold to Sháistá Khán (see *ante*, p. 20).

<sup>2</sup> *Lasques*, a term applied by jewellers to flat and oval stones, such as are used in Indian jewellery.

one might sell them provided the water was white, because in EUROPE we do not esteem diamonds if they are not clear and white, and that we made no account of other kinds of water. When he first began to contemplate the conquest of this Kingdom for the King of GOLCONDA, he was told that it had diamond mines, and he sent 12,000 men to work them, who in the space of a year only found those which he had in the five bags. The *Nawáb*, seeing that they only found stones of very brown water, tending much more to black than white, rightly considered that it was loss of trouble, and forbidding further mining, sent all these poor people back to tillage.<sup>1</sup> After the *Nawáb* had closed up his diamonds again, and we had dined with him, he mounted his horse, accompanied by many nobles, to go hunting, and desired to take us with him; but we begged him to excuse us, and we left without his speaking to us of our pearls.

On the 11th [September] all the *Frank* gunners went to the *Nawáb's* tent, crying out that they had not been paid the four months' wages which had been promised, and that if they were not paid they would go to take service elsewhere, upon which the *Nawáb* put them off till the following day.

On the 12th, the gunners not having omitted to repair to the tent of the *Nawáb*, he ordered them to be paid for three months, and promised them at the close

<sup>1</sup> The exact position of these mines (or washings?) is unknown, but they were probably situated in the neighbourhood of the Pennair river. The nearest of the Kadapa (Cuddapah) sites known in modern times was at Jalmudugu, which is only 5 or 6 miles E. of Gandikot. There are a number of mines near Kadapa (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 9). In Book II, chap. xvii, Tavernier says there were six of them. The mine at Wadjra-Karur, in Bellary, was also taken by Mir Jumla.



of the current month to pay the fourth. They had no sooner received this money than they treated one another, and the *baladines*<sup>1</sup> carried off more than half of it.

On the 13th the *Nawáb* went to the town to see the foundry which MAILLÉ had erected by his orders. MAILLÉ, as I have said, was from BOURGES, and enlisted at AMSTERDAM for INDIA. Having reached BATAVIA, the General, perceiving that he was skilful and very intelligent, kept him in his personal service to make some grottoes and fountains in his garden. But MAILLÉ, being neither satisfied with this employment nor with the rough treatment of the General, found means to place himself in the suite of M. CHETEUR, who was sent from BATAVIA to the *Nawáb*, then engaged in the siege of GANDIKOT. This Envoy having accomplished his business with the *Nawáb*, and MAILLÉ knowing that he would be leaving on the following day, took possession of the case and box of ointments belonging to the Ambassador's surgeon, and concealed himself till such time as the Envoy departed, without being able to find MAILLÉ, in spite of all the search he could make, which had obliged him to delay his departure for some days. As soon as MAILLÉ heard that the Envoy was gone, he was appointed to the service of the *Nawáb* as surgeon; and some time after, having informed him that he was a good gunner and founder, he entered his service in that capacity. The *Nawáb* having taken GANDIKOT, and desiring to have some cannon inside the fort, where it was very difficult to carry them, proposed to MAILLÉ<sup>2</sup> to cast

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

<sup>2</sup> In 1665 Tavernier met a man with the same name installed as physician to the Governor at Allahabad, but does not allude to him expressly as being the same person. (See p. 116.)



twenty pieces—ten of 48 pounds, and ten others of 24 pounds; this MAILLÉ undertook to do. He was supplied with copper for this purpose from all quarters, and the *Nawáb* collected a quantity of idols which had been removed from the pagodas which his army had visited. There is in GANDIKOT a pagoda which is considered to be one of the principal in INDIA, where there are many idols, some being of gold and others of silver. Among these idols there were six of copper, three of which were seated on their heels, and the three others were about 10 feet high. After MAILLÉ had made all preparations to melt these metals and the idols which had been brought from different places, he accomplished the melting of all except the six large idols of the famous pagoda of GANDIKOT.<sup>1</sup> It was impossible for him to melt them, no matter how much the *Nawáb* expended; and he even threatened the priests of the pagoda, whom he accused of having bewitched the idols. In short, MAILLÉ never accomplished making a single cannon, one being split, another incomplete; and so he relinquished all the work he had undertaken, and sometime afterwards quitted the service of the *Nawáb*.

On the 14th we went to the tent of the *Nawáb* to take leave of him, and to hear what he had to say regarding the goods which we had shown him. But we were told that he was engaged examining a number of criminals, who had been brought to him for immediate punishment. It is the custom in this country not to keep a man in prison; but immediately

<sup>1</sup> Possibly these idols were made of iron and not of copper; this would account for the difficulty in melting them. Cast-iron was known in India in early times. The story may, however, be mythical.

the accused is taken he is examined and sentence is pronounced on him, which is then executed without any delay. If the person whom they have seized is found to be innocent he is released at once; and whatever the nature of the case may be, it is promptly concluded. Moreover, we were told that it would be difficult for us to see the *Nawáb* on that day, because he intended to descend to the plain to review the greater part of his army. We did not omit, however, to meet him at the door of his tent in the evening, where, having dismounted, and M. DU JARDIN and I having saluted him, he invited us to come to see him early on the following day.

On the 15th, at seven o'clock in the morning, we went to the *Nawáb*, and immediately we were announced he asked us to enter his tent, where he was seated with two of his secretaries by him. According to the custom of the country—where one goes with naked feet in slippers, without stockings, because wherever you enter you walk on a carpet, and sit in this country as in Turkey, and as our tailors do here,—the *Nawáb* had the intervals between his toes full of letters, and he also had many between the fingers of the left hand. He drew them sometimes from his feet, sometimes from his hand, and sent his replies through his two secretaries, writing some also himself. After the secretaries had finished the letters, he made them read them; and he then took them and himself affixed his seal, giving some to footmen, others to horsemen. For it should be remarked that in INDIA all the letters which the Kings, Generals of Armies, and the Governors of Provinces send by footmen go much faster than by horsemen. The reason is that at every two leagues

there are small huts, where two or three men employed for running live, and immediately when the carrier of a letter has arrived at one of these huts he throws it to the others at the entrance, and one of them takes it up and at once sets off to run. It is considered unlucky to give a letter into the hand of the messenger; it is therefore thrown at his feet, and he must lift it up. It is still to be remarked that throughout INDIA the greater part of the roads are like avenues of trees, and those which have not trees planted, have at every 500 paces small pieces of stone which the inhabitants of the nearest villages are bound to whiten from time to time, so that the letter carriers can distinguish the road on dark and rainy nights. While we were with the *Nawáb* he was informed that four prisoners, who were then at the door of the tent, had arrived. He remained more than half an hour without replying, writing continually and making his secretaries write, but at length he suddenly ordered the criminals to be brought in; and after having questioned them, and made them confess with their own mouths the crime of which they were accused, he remained nearly an hour without saying anything, continuing to write and to make his secretaries write. Then there entered into his tent many officers of the army who came to pay their respects with great humility, and to whose salute he replied only by an inclination of the head.

Among these four prisoners who were brought into his presence there was one who had entered a house and had slain a mother and her three infants. He was condemned forthwith to have his feet and hands cut off, and to be thrown into a field near the



high road to end his days. Another had stolen on the high road, and the *Nawáb* ordered him to have his stomach slit open and to be flung in a drain. I could not ascertain what the others had done, but both their heads were cut off. While all this passed the dinner was served, for the *Nawáb* generally eats at ten o'clock, and he made us dine with him. The *sufra*<sup>1</sup> being removed, we took leave of the majority of the nobles who had also eaten with the *Nawáb*; and when only two or three persons remained with him, we inquired through his interpreter if he had any commands for us, and whether he thought that our goods should be shown to the King. He replied that we might go to GOLCONDA, where he would communicate with his son, to whom he would write on our behalf, and that his letter would arrive before us. He ordered sixteen horsemen to conduct us, and provide for us on the road whatever we required, up to a river 13 leagues from GANDIKOT, where no one is allowed to cross without having the *Nawáb's* passport, so that the soldiers may not be able to desert.

<sup>1</sup> *Sufra*, Hin., tablecloth.



## CHAPTER XIX

*Route from GANDIKOT to GOLCONDA*

ON the morning of the 16th<sup>1</sup> [September 1652] we left GANDIKOT, accompanied by the majority of the gunners, who came with us to the first halt, carrying plenty of food with them; and this day we only made 7 leagues, and slept at COTEPALI.<sup>2</sup>

On the 17th, after having breakfasted with the gunners, who then returned to GANDIKOT, we pursued our way with the sixteen horsemen of the *Nawáb*, and having travelled 6 leagues we slept at a village named COTEEN,<sup>3</sup> beyond the river, which was then very full. As soon as we had crossed it the sixteen horsemen took leave of us; and having offered their chief some rupees to buy tobacco and *betel*, we could not induce him to accept anything. The boats employed in crossing this river are like large baskets,<sup>4</sup> covered outside with ox hides, at the bottom of which some faggots are placed, upon which carpets are spread to put the baggage

<sup>1</sup> M. Joret has been misled by a misprint of 26th for 16th, and is therefore wrong in his argument founded on the supposition that Tavernier left Gandikot on the 26th (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131).

<sup>2</sup> Cottapilly in A.S. No. 76; it is, however, 24 miles from Gandikot. Cotalpully and Gopalpilly are about 4 miles nearer.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified on the map. The exact route followed by Tavernier from Gandikot up to Goodymetta is very uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Coracles. (See p. 299, and Book II, chap. xv.)



and goods on, for fear they should get wet. As for the coaches and carts, they are tied by the pole and wheels between two of these baskets, but the horses are made to swim across, a man driving his horse from behind with a whip, and another in the basket holding it by the halter. As for the oxen, which, according to the custom of the country, carry the baggage, as soon as they reach the bank of the river and have been unloaded, they are driven in, and they cross the water without assistance. There are four men to each basket, one at each corner, who stand and row with paddles. Should one of them fail to keep equal stroke with the others, or that they do not all keep time, the basket turns three or four times round, and the current carrying it down, it descends much lower than the spot where it was intended to land.

On the 18th [September], after a march of five hours, we arrived at MORIMOL.<sup>1</sup>

On the 19th we made 9 leagues, and halted at SANTESELA.<sup>2</sup>

On the 20th we made 9 leagues more, and slept at GOREMEDA<sup>3</sup> (GOODYMETTA).

On the 21st, after six hours of marching, we passed the night at KAMAN.<sup>4</sup> It was a frontier town of the kingdom of Golconda, before the conquest of that of CARNATIC by the army of MIR JUMLA, of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Porenaumla.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified. As Tavernier does not mention the diamond mines of Baswapur, close by, they had probably not been discovered then. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 13.)

<sup>3</sup> Goodymetta, 8 miles N.E. of Giddaloor.

<sup>4</sup> Kamman, Cummum, or Cumbum. The distance from Goodymetta measured on the map is 12 miles.



On the 22d we travelled 7 leagues, and slept at EMELIPATA.<sup>1</sup> At about half way we met more than 4000 persons, both men and women, and more than twenty *pallankeens*, each of which contained an idol. They were ornamented with gold, brocade of gold and velvet, with fringes of gold and silver, and some of these *pallankeens* were carried by four men, others by eight, and others by twelve, according to the size and weight of the idols. On each side of the *pallankeens* was a man with a large round fan of about 5 feet in diameter, made of beautiful ostrich and peacock feathers of different colours. The handles of these fans were 5 or 6 feet long, and covered with gold and silver nearly of the thickness of a French crown (*écu*). Each one strove to carry these fans in order to serve the idol by fanning it, to prevent the flies alighting on the face. Another fan, which is somewhat larger, and which had no handle, was carried like a shield. It was ornamented with feathers of different colours, ranged round little gold and silver bells. The person carrying it walked close to the *pallankeen*, on the sunny side, in order to shade the idol, for to close the curtains of the *pallankeen* would have made it too hot. From time to time the bearer of the shield shook it in order to ring the bells, so that the idol might be amused. All these people with their idols came from BURHÁN-PUR and the neighbourhood, and were going to visit their great *Ram Ram*, *i.e.* their great god, who is in a pagoda in the territory of King of CARNATIC. They had been fully thirty days on the road, and had to march fourteen or fifteen more before reaching the pagoda.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vamulpetta, 14 miles from Cumbum.

<sup>2</sup> In Book II, chap. xiii, Tavernier describes meeting at Daulatábád



One of my attendants who was from BURHÁNPUR, and of the tribe of these very people, asked me to give him a holiday to go with them to accompany his gods, saying that a long time ago he had vowed to make this pilgrimage. I was obliged to give it, well knowing that if I did not give him the holiday he would himself take it, as he had many relatives in the troop. About two months later he rejoined me at SURAT, and as he had served M. DU JARDIN and myself faithfully, I made no difficulty about re-employing him. On asking him some questions about the pilgrimage which he had just made, he related to me a thing difficult to believe, but which happened, as he said, in this manner. Six days after having left me, all the pilgrims had contemplated sleeping at a village; and before reaching it they had to cross a river, which during the summer contains but little water and may be forded anywhere. But when it rains in INDIA the water falls in such quantity that it appears like a deluge, and in less than an hour or two, small streams rise 2 or 3 feet in depth. The rain having surprised these pilgrims, this river increased so quickly that it was impossible to cross it that day. It is not necessary that those who travel in INDIA should provide themselves with food beforehand,—especially is this the case with the idolaters, who do not eat anything which has had life—because even in the smallest villages they always find in abundance rice, flour, butter, milk, beans, and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid. This multitude of a similar procession of 2000 persons on their way to Tripatty pagoda, from Tatta, in Sind. All the details are different. I cannot agree with M. Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131) in his identification of the two occasions, and do not see any difficulty in taking both accounts as they stand as being distinct.



of people, who had no food with them, were much astonished on arrival at the bank of this river to see it so high and swollen, and at not being able to cross in order to go to the village, which was on the other side, where they intended to make their halt. They had nothing to give their children to eat, and nothing was to be heard save lamentations among this crowd. In this extremity the chief of their priests sat down in the middle of them, and causing himself to be covered with a large sheet began to call those who wished for food to approach him. He asked each what he wanted, whether rice or flour, and for how many persons; and with a large ladle which he held, lifting the corner of the sheet, he gave to all whatever they had asked for; so that this large number of people of 4000 souls was satisfied.<sup>1</sup>

It was not only my servant who related this history, but having subsequently made many journeys to BURHANPUR, where I was known to the principal persons of the town, I made inquiry of many who had been on this pilgrimage, and all have sworn to me by their *Ram Ram* that it was true, which I nevertheless could not believe.

On the 23d [September] we arrived at Doupar,<sup>2</sup> after having travelled 8 leagues, and crossed many torrents.

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps not too much to say, that with natives of India the more *prima facie* incredibility there is in a story like this, the more likely is it to obtain credence from them. Its resemblance to a certain Christian miracle is remarkable. In this connection we may appropriately quote General Sleeman's remarks (*Rambles and Recollections*, vol. ii, pp. 51, 94) to the effect that—"The miracles of Christianity exercise no influence on the imaginations of the Hindus, who can always tell of greater ones." We may call to mind also the alleged miracles performed by sundry modern theosophists, and believed in by their disciples.

<sup>2</sup> Dupad, called Dupar Fort on Major Scott's Map.

On the 24th we made but 4 leagues, and came to TRIPANTÉ,<sup>1</sup> where there is a grand pagoda on a hill, the whole circuit of which forms a staircase and is faced with cut stone. The smallest stone of this staircase is 10 feet long and 3 feet wide, and in the pagoda there are many figures of demons. There is one, among others, which resembles a Venus standing upright, with many demons who surround her in lascivious attitudes, and this Venus and demons are made of a single piece of marble, but the carving is very coarse.

On the 25th we travelled 8 leagues, and halted at MAMLI (MURRAYVAMLA).

On the 26th we also travelled 8 leagues, and slept at MACHELI (MACHURLA).

On the 27th we made only 3 leagues, because we had to cross a large river in baskets; this generally occupies half a day.<sup>2</sup> For when we reached the margin of the water we saw neither basket nor any other means of crossing. A man came, with whom we bargained for our passage; and to prove if the money which we gave was good he made a large fire, and threw it into it.<sup>3</sup> He did the same with that of all persons whom he took across. If amongst the money which he received he found a rupee which became somewhat black, one had to give him another, which he also heated; then after he had proved that the money was good he called out to his comrades to bring the basket, which is generally concealed in some spot on the opposite side

<sup>1</sup> Tripurantakhan, 11 or 12 miles N.E. of Dupad. It is the Tripparanticum of the Atlas Sheet.

<sup>2</sup> The Kistná is, I believe, still crossed by means of coracles at the present day (see p. 294, and Book II, chap. xv).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 30.



of the river. For these people are cunning, and seeing from afar off on which side the travellers are coming they send the basket to the other bank so as not to be compelled to take across any one without being paid. The money being counted, and the man who had received it having called his comrades, you see them carrying the basket on their shoulders to the edge of the water, and having launched it they come across to fetch those waiting on the other side.

On the 28th, having made 5 leagues, we halted at a place called DABIR-PINTA.

On the 29th, after a march of 12 hours, we slept at HOLCORA.<sup>1</sup>

On the 30th we made 8 leagues, and passed the night at PERIDERA.<sup>2</sup>

On Monday, the 1st day of October, after having made 10 leagues, we slept at ATENARA.<sup>3</sup> It is one of the houses of pleasure built by the Queen, mother of the King who reigns at present. It has many rooms, opening on a grand square which is in front of the house, for the accommodation of travellers.

It should be remarked that in all the countries which we have just passed through, both in the Kingdom of CARNATIC and the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and of BIJAPUR, there are hardly any physicians except for the Kings and Princes. As for the commonality, when the rains have fallen and it is the season to

<sup>1</sup> Dabir-Pinta and Holcora I have failed to identify. The former should be looked for between Davirkondah and the river Kistná.

<sup>2</sup> Peridera is perhaps identical with Poraigoda of modern maps. It is about 26 miles from Golconda.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the place elsewhere named Tenara (see p. 172), where the distance from Golconda is given as being 4 *coiss*. It is also called Tenara by Thevenot.

collect plants, in the mornings you see mothers of families going out from the towns and villages to collect the simples which they know to be proper for the diseases which occur in a family. It is true that in good towns there are generally one or two men who have some knowledge of medicine, who seat themselves each morning in the market-place or at a corner of the street in order to administer remedies, either potions or plasters, to those who come to ask for them. They first feel the pulse, and when giving the medicine, for which they take only the value of two farthings, they mumble some words between their teeth.

On the 2d of October we had only 4 leagues to make to GOLCONDA. We went to stop at the house of a young Dutch surgeon of the King, named PITRE DE LAN, whom M. CHETEUR, the Batavian Envoy, had left at GOLCONDA—the King having asked for him from him very earnestly.<sup>1</sup> This Prince always suffered from a pain in the head, and the physicians had ordered him to be bled under the tongue in four places; but he was unable to find any one willing to undertake it—for, regarding surgery, the people of the country understand nothing about it.

Before DE LAN entered the service of the King he was asked if he could bleed well, to which he replied that it was the least difficult part of surgery.

<sup>1</sup> Called Pieter de Lange in *Histoire General des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 35. According to Valentyn he afforded good service to his country as their representative at the Court of Golconda till 1656. He was succeeded by another surgeon, who died in 1660, after which the Dutch established a factory at Golconda. On p. 289 we have been told that Claude Maillé of Bourges deserted M. Cheteur and set up as surgeon to Mir Jumla.



It was with great reluctance that the Batavian Envoy consented to leave him. But he did not wish to disoblige the King, and DE LAN received 800 *pagodas* as salary. Some days after the Envoy's departure the King summoned this surgeon and told him that he wished him to bleed him on the following day in four places under the tongue, as his physicians had directed, but that he should take care not to draw more than eight ounces. DE LAN returning to the Court on the following day, was conducted into a room by two or three eunuchs, and four old women came to conduct him to a bath where, having undressed and washed him well, especially his hands, they anointed him with drugs and aromatics; and in place of his own clothes, which were of European make, they gave him a garment made according to the fashion of the country. They then took him to the King, where they brought basins of gold which the physicians who were present weighed; these were to receive the blood. He then bled the King under the tongue in four places, and he did it so skilfully that, on weighing the blood with the basins, he found that he had drawn eight ounces exactly.<sup>1</sup> The King was so satisfied with this operation that he gave him 300 *pagodas*, which are equal to nearly 700 *écus*. The young Queen and the Queen-dowager having heard of it, desired that he would come to bleed them, but I believe it was more from the curiosity they had to see him than for any need they had to be bled, for he was a young and well-made man, and probably in their lives they had not seen a stranger close—for from a distance the thing is not impossible, since from the

<sup>1</sup> He was, therefore, successful under conditions somewhat similar to those from which Shylock recoiled.



place where they stay they are able to see without being themselves seen. DE LAN was then brought into a chamber, where the same women who had taken him to the bath before he had bled the King uncovered his arms, which they washed well, and especially his hands, after which they anointed him with scented oil, as they had done when he went to bleed the King. That being done, they drew a curtain, and the young Queen putting out an arm through a hole, the surgeon bled her, and he afterwards did the same for the Queen mother. The first bestowed on him 50, and the other 30 *pagodas*,<sup>1</sup> with some pieces of gold brocade.

Two days after our arrival we went to salute the son of the *Nawáb*, and were told that we could not speak to him on that day. The following day we returned, and as the same thing was repeated, some one told us that we might amuse ourselves in that manner for a long time, and that he was a young noble who scarcely ever left the presence of the King, and that on leaving the palace he shut himself up in his harem with his women. The surgeon, DE LAN, seeing that our business might become protracted, offered to speak of it to the first physician of the King, who was also in his confidence, who, having shown much friendship for the Batavian Envoy and for DE LAN himself could easily find an opportunity for obliging us. In short, as soon as DE LAN had spoken to him he sent for us, in order to inquire what service he could render us. After he had saluted us, he caressed us a thousand times, and, having invited us to be seated, ordered some fruits of the country to be brought. He then inquired whence we had come, and upon what subject

<sup>1</sup> About £25 and £15.



we desired to speak to the King ; and having told him that we had some choice pearls which we wished to show to his Majesty, he asked us to show them to him the following day—this we did. After he had seen them, he told us to replace them in their little bags, desiring us to close them with our seal, because all things presented to the King should be sealed with the seal of the merchant, and when the King has seen it he places his, in order that there may be no fraud. Thus we left the whole sealed packet in his hands, and he promised to show it to the King, and render us a good account of the service which he had undertaken in order to oblige us.

The following morning, very early, we went to hunt with DE LAN, and on returning, at eight or nine o'clock A.M., we went to the river's bank to see how the elephants of the King and the great nobles are washed. The elephant enters the water up to the belly, and lying down on one side takes water from time to time in its trunk and throws it upon the uncovered portion of its body in order to wash it well. The keeper then takes a kind of pumicestone, and rubbing the skin cleans it of all the dirt which has accumulated upon it. Some believe that when this animal lies on the ground it cannot get up by itself ;<sup>1</sup> this is quite contrary to what I have seen, for as soon as the keeper has rubbed it well on one side he orders it to turn on the other, which the elephant does promptly, and after it is well washed on both sides it leaves the river and remains for some time on the bank in order to dry itself. Then the keeper brings a pot full of red or yellow paint,

<sup>1</sup> This old fable, though discountenanced by Pliny, has had a wonderfully persistent existence.

and paints lines on its forehead, around the eyes, on the chest, and on the back, rubbing it then with cocoanut oil to strengthen the nerves, some keepers finally adding false tinsel on the forehead.<sup>1</sup>

On the 15th<sup>2</sup> [October] the chief physician sent for us at two o'clock P.M., and returned us our pearls, carefully sealed with the King's seal, which his Majesty had ordered to be placed upon them after he had seen them. He asked us the price of each, this we told him, and, as he had a eunuch with him who noted all down, the latter, being astonished at seeing pearls of such a price, remarked that we took the people of the court of the King of GOLCONDA for persons without judgment or knowledge, and that he saw daily other precious things which were brought to the King. I replied sharply to the eunuch that I could well believe that he knew the price of a female slave better than that of a jewel, and so saying we shut up our pearls, and taking leave of the physician, returned to our lodging. We had no sooner arrived there than we sent to hire two coaches, each of us having already a bridle horse, and, on the following day, in the morning, we left GOLCONDA, and were not able to travel more than a league and a half that day, because the Portuguese, English, and Dutch gunners of the King escorted us, and we spent our time in enjoying ourselves.

There is no need to repeat here what I have said at

<sup>1</sup> This sort of decoration, like the washing, is practised in India at the present day.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the edition of 1676, but in other editions this date is given as the 25th. M. Joret (*J. B. Tavernier*, p. 131) concludes from the latter that Tavernier left for Surat on the 26th. But it appears probable that the 25th is a misprint, and that it was on the earlier date, *i.e.* the 15th. Hence his departure for Surat would have been on the 16th of October.



the beginning of this volume, and as we returned from GOLCONDA to SURAT by the same route as I took from SURAT to GOLCONDA, there being no other,—I have nothing to say except that, having left GOLCONDA immediately after the reply which I made to the eunuch, the King, who did not hear of it for two days after our departure, sent four or five horsemen after us with orders to bring us back to court if they found us. We had already made five marches from GOLCONDA, one of them being in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, when one of these horsemen came to us at sunset, his companions having remained on the frontier of the two kingdoms, rightly believing that as we had passed the boundary we would not be willing to return. This horseman showed us the order to make us return which he had received from the King, his master, who had told him that he would buy our pearls, and that he thought it very strange that we had left without saying anything. As we were no longer in the territory of GOLCONDA the horseman could only urge us to return with him, giving us all possible assurances that we should be satisfied, and M. DU JARDIN had almost yielded; but I, knowing the atmosphere of the country better, told the horseman frankly that it was impossible, and after he had left I made my companion comprehend my reasons for being unwilling to return to GOLCONDA.

Having arrived at SURAT,<sup>1</sup> where a few days afterwards M. DU JARDIN died of an effusion of bile, as I

<sup>1</sup> As he left Golconda on the 16th of October, and the journey thither took from twenty-one to twenty-six days, according to the route travelled, he should have reached Surat either on the 7th or the 12th of November. As stated in the previous note, M. Joret has been misled by a misprint to the conclusion that Tavernier started for Surat on the 26th. Further, he seems to mistake this record of the death



have related in my account of PERSIA, I made arrangements to go to AGRA to see SHÁH JÁHÁN, who was then on the throne. But the *Nawáb* SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, brother-in-law of the King, and Governor of the Province of GUJARÁT, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, sent to me from AHMADÁBÁD, where he resided, one of the principal officers of his household, in order to tell me that having heard I had some beautiful jewels to sell he would be much pleased if I went to him, assuring me that he would pay for them as liberally as the King. I received this message during the illness of M. DU JARDIN, who died on the ninth day; and after we had rendered him our last duties at SURAT, I went to AHMADÁBÁD, where I at once transacted some business with the *Nawáb*. As he understood all kinds of jewels perfectly well, we were at once agreed, and there was no difference between us save as to the nature of the payment. He gave me a choice of coins, and only stipulated that I should take golden or silver rupees, but this Prince giving me to understand that he did not wish that so large a sum should be seen leaving his house, suggested that I should take my payment in golden rupees, which would appear less. I agreed to what he advised, and he showed me some very fine gold, namely, old rupees which apparently had not seen the light for a long time. But as the current price of the golden rupee is only 14 silver rupees,<sup>1</sup> and of M. du Jardin for that of M. Ardillière his son. Tavernier's reference to the latter as being alive in 1653 is, therefore, not inconsistent, and further we have mention (*Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. x) of a Baron d'Ardillière being in Marseilles with our author in 1657, but I cannot say that he was the same person. See *Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, by Joret, pp. 114 and 131.

<sup>1</sup> From this proportion, with the rupee at 2s. 3d., the gold *mohur* was worth 31s. 6d. (See Appendix.)



he wished to pass his for  $14\frac{1}{2}$ , or at the least for  $14\frac{1}{4}$ , this almost ended the transaction, as I made him understand that upon so large a sum I could not consent to lose a quarter upon every golden rupee. Finally, in order to satisfy him, I was obliged to take them at  $14\frac{1}{8}$  rupees of silver; for this Prince, who was otherwise magnificent and generous, showed himself a stern economist in matters of purchase.<sup>1</sup>

During my residence at AHMADÁBÁD he sent me every day, to the house of the Dutch where I lodged, four silver dishes from his table containing *pillau* and choice meats, and one day when the King sent him ten or twelve men bearing apples, which had been received from PERSIA by way of KANDAHÁR, he presented me with two dishes of them, which would have been worth at AHMADÁBÁD, on account of their scarcity, 300 or 400 rupees. I gave a part of these fine fruits to the Dutch and to the ladies, and we amused ourselves well during my sojourn there. Moreover, SHÁISTÁ KHÁN gave me a *khil'at*<sup>2</sup> complete, with sword and *khanjar*;<sup>3</sup> this was worth more than 1000 rupees; and desiring to make me a further present of a horse, he asked me what kind I wished for. I replied that since he was pleased to give me my choice, I preferred a fresh and lively horse rather than an aged one. He gave me one from his stud, which I mounted forthwith and took to the house of the Dutch, but not without difficulty, for it only went by jumps, and was so fiery, that on my allowing a young Dutchman to

<sup>1</sup> This transaction has already been described, with considerable difference in the details, on pp. 18 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Khil'at* (see pp. 20, 98, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> *Khanjar*, *i.e.* dagger (see p. 100, and Book III, chap. xxiv).

mount it, he, who thought he could ride it better than I, found himself promptly out of the saddle, being unable to manage the horse. Having communicated to SHĀISTĀ KHĀN that an older one would be more suitable for me, he ordered his master of the horse to give me one which, although it had belonged to his father, was still fit for service, and had cost formerly more than 3000 *écus*.<sup>1</sup> As I did not require it for my journeys I sold it for 400 rupees to a Frenchman, whom I was at the same time able to place in the service of this Prince, where he might have saved much money if he had not squandered it in debauchery.

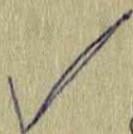
From AHMADĀBĀD I returned to SURAT, and from SURAT I travelled<sup>2</sup> to GOLCONDA, and from thence to the mine to make my purchase of diamonds. On returning to SURAT I arranged to go to PERSIA, but experienced great difficulties, which were followed by a voyage where I was exposed to dangers which I might have foreseen, and which I did little to avoid, never having feared dangers which travellers have to run both on sea and land, when it has been actually necessary for me to proceed forward.

<sup>1</sup> £675. See p. 21 for another account of this transaction, which, as there pointed out in the footnote, varies the details.

<sup>2</sup> This was on the 6th March 1653. (See Introduction.)



CSL



## CHAPTER XX

*Return from SURAT to HORMUZ, and how the author found himself engaged in a very rough and dangerous naval combat, from which he escaped without accident.*

WHILE on my return to SURAT from my journey to the diamond mine, I learned that war had been declared between the English and Dutch, and that the latter would not send any more vessels to PERSIA. The English also said the same, because they had sent four which they expected to return every hour, and consequently I found the sea closed as regards my passage to HORMUZ. I might have taken the land journey by AGRA and KANDAHÁR; but the road was very long, and it was impossible, or at the least very difficult, to travel by it on account of the KANDAHÁR war, and because the armies of PERSIA and INDIA were in the field. While afraid that I should be obliged to spend a long time in a place where I had no occupation, there arrived at SURAT on the 2d of January<sup>1</sup> five large Dutch vessels from BATAVIA; this rejoiced me exceedingly, being certain to obtain all I wanted from the Dutch Commander, who was a friend of mine. I may say, in passing, that in all my journeys there has never been one of these commanders (it is thus they call the chiefs of these settlements) who has not manifested

<sup>1</sup> This was in the year 1654.



consideration for me, and who has not been pleased to have an opportunity of showing me kindness. I have also sought on all occasions to serve them, and especially when I went to the mine, by purchasing diamonds for them with private money of which they did not wish the Company to know anything, because it is forbidden to them to embark in private trade, and moreover they understood but little about the purchase of precious stones. But although these small services which they asked me to render them had been without profit, that did not save me from being subjected one day, on account of one of them, to some unpleasantness at BATAVIA, from which I did not escape without trouble, as I shall hereafter describe in the sequel of my history.<sup>1</sup> I have also been very careful in all the places where the Dutch have settlements, and where I made any sojourn, to contribute as far as possible to the amusement of their ladies.<sup>2</sup> As I never came from PERSIA to INDIA without bringing good wine and fine fruits, and always had some one with me who understood cooking better than the Dutch in INDIA, and knew how to make good soup and to bake, I entertained them often with collations, where pigeons in pyramids, flavoured with pistachios, were not lacking. All the amusements of the country, which I have sufficiently described, followed these small collations; and the ladies gave me to understand that they were much pleased with these parties, to which I invited them with their husbands.

The Commander of SURAT being, as I have

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

<sup>2</sup> One might have supposed that this received its own reward at the time.



said, a friend of mine, offered me a passage upon whichever I pleased of the five vessels which had arrived from *BATAVIA*; but, on the other hand, pointed out the risk which I ran of meeting the English, and of being engaged, in that event, in a combat, which would be unavoidable. My friends also begged me to consider the great danger to which I exposed myself. But all that they could say to me was of no avail, and rather than lose the time uselessly at *SURAT*, where I had nothing to do, I was firmly resolved to embark. As the Dutch vessels were men-of-war rather than merchant craft, the Commander ordered three to be unloaded as quickly as possible, and sent them in advance with instructions to seek the four English vessels which he knew ought to be on their return from *PERSIA*, laden with goods, and consequently less in a condition to fight than vessels which were not. The two others followed three or four days afterwards, this interval being required by them in order to ship supplies for all five.

I embarked in one of these two vessels which left last, and having set sail on the 8th of January,<sup>1</sup> we arrived on the 12th before *DIU*,<sup>2</sup> where we found the three other vessels which had preceded us. Immediately a council of war was held to consider what direction we should take to meet the English, whom we believed had already reached *PERSIA*; but they had gone but a short distance, only having left *DIU* two days before the arrival of the three first Dutch vessels. It was settled that we should go to *SINDI*,<sup>3</sup> and that, with anchors up, each vessel approaching *DIU* as near as it could, should fire off all its cannon at

<sup>1</sup> This was in 1654. (See Introduction.)

<sup>2</sup> Diu (see p. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Scindi in the original for Sindi (see p. 10).



the town. As soon as the inhabitants perceived that we were sailing towards the town they took flight, only daring to fire two shots at us. After the discharge of all the guns, we set our course for SINDI, where we arrived on the 20th of the same month, and at once a boat was sent on shore, the English and Dutch each having a house there. Our Admiral was informed that they daily expected the four English vessels, which were to embark about 200 bales of goods then ready on the seashore; and upon these tidings it was resolved to remain there at anchor till the 10th of February; but that, if by that time they did not appear, we should put to sea again and seek for them in PERSIA.

On the 2d of February, at break of day, we perceived some sails, but owing to their great distance were unable to make them out, and still less to go to meet them, the wind being contrary. Some believed at first that they were fishing-boats, but little by little, according as they approached, having the wind astern, we recognised that they were the English vessels, which advanced to attack us, upon the information which they had received, as we subsequently learned, from some fishermen that the Dutch vessels were simple frigates, of which they expected to make an easy capture. It is true that they had not yet seen such small Dutch vessels, and having been built expressly for fighting, they had not high bulwarks, and so appeared small externally, but were otherwise of great strength. Our "Admiral" had forty-eight pieces of cannon, and in case of necessity was able to accommodate up to sixty, and had more than 120 men. Towards nine o'clock—the English, who advanced with all sails set, not being far off—in order not to lose time in raising



the anchors, we cut cables and each one set himself to do his duty. But the wind, as I have said, being directly contrary, we were unable to approach them. As they had thereby all the advantage on their side with the aid of the wind, they came in good order, and always stem on ; and their Admiral and Vice-Admiral<sup>1</sup> came at length so close to the side of the Dutch Admiral that the English Admiral was caught by an anchor on the side of our Admiral. Not to conceal the fact, our Admiral showed but little courage in this encounter, for instead of boarding then and there, the occasion being so favourable, he cut the cable in order to free his vessel. All the ports were so well closed that from outside one could not say how many cannon there were. But after the English had made their first discharge, and our Admiral had returned it, which was much more effective, the English, seeing the number of his guns and the crowd which appeared on the deck, began to lose heart, and the wind proving favourable, drew off. However, the English Vice-Admiral having reloaded his guns, came skilfully to the vessel on which I was. Our Captain reserved his fire until we were nearly alongside one another, notwithstanding the loss of ten men which we had sustained. When we were not more than a pistol-shot off we let him have a discharge from all our guns, which broke his foremast. The two vessels coming in contact, our Captain was the first to board, and, accompanied by many brave men with hatchets, they cut all the ropes. While the two vessels were close to one another the sub-pilot and I fired a cannon-shot so effectively into

<sup>1</sup> These terms are used both for the ships themselves and their commanders.

the cabin of the English Captain that the bullet set fire to some powder cartridges which had been placed there. This unforeseen fire caused the English to fear that the conflagration increasing would envelop all their vessel; and our Captain, who feared the same thing, commanded his crew to return into our vessel, where he ordered the English to follow ten by ten, and then immediately drew off. The courage of the crew being revived, they found means to put out the fire of the English vessel, in which ten or twelve of our sailors were left; but our Captain, who had acquired much glory in this action, died at the end of two or three days of his wounds.

In the meantime another of our vessels vigorously attacked a large English ship of about thirty guns which held aloof, and had already damaged it badly, when the vessel upon which I was went to assist in sending it to the bottom, by giving it a whole broadside, which completely disabled it from further defence. The English Captain seeing himself lost, immediately ran up the white flag and asked for quarter, which was granted him. The carpenters did their best to close up the holes made by the cannon, the vessel having been pierced in many places; but seeing themselves deserted by the sailors, who rather than aid them preferred to drink the SHIRAZ wine, of which they had a quantity in the bottom of the hold before being taken by the Dutch, they left their work and went to drink with them. The Dutch having descended into their boats to the number of thirty or forty, in order to take possession of the English vessel, and not seeing any one on deck, went below, where they found the sailors, who, not thinking of their death, which was



closer than they supposed, drank one another's health. The Dutch being no wiser, and not knowing the condition of the vessel, which was on the point of foundering, began to drink with them, and some moments afterwards the vessel went to the bottom. All perished miserably together, both the victors and the vanquished, without any one being saved except the English Captain and two French Capuchins, who, seizing the opportunity while these brutes made themselves drunk, descended into a boat, and cutting the rope by which it was attached to the vessel, came to the one in which I was, where they were well received. Our master pilot then took charge, the Captain, as I have said, being badly wounded, and he at once sent these persons to the Admiral, to dispose of them as might seem good to him. The following day the Admiral sent to invite me to his vessel, where all the Captains had to assemble to render their thanks to God for the victory which they had achieved over their enemies. We afterwards dined with him, and the Capuchin Fathers being of the company, he told me that, as they were of my country, they might, if they preferred it, go to the vessel in which I was, and he would issue orders that they should be well treated; this was done, and I took them with me the same evening, giving them, as far as I was able, whatever was necessary for their comfort.

The vessels which go from PERSIA to INDIA are generally laden with wine and money, and that which went to the bottom carried more than the others; this was the reason why it held aloof, not joining in the fray. This was a great loss, which might have been avoided if the Dutch had had more courage and



more prevision; and the English Admiral, seeing the misfortune which had happened to one of his vessels, joined his own with another, and they took flight together. For indeed, to say the truth, the want of enterprise on the part of the Dutch Admiral and the other Captains caused them to miss the certain capture of these fugitives; and it would have been an easy victory if they had known how to profit by their opportunities.

This combat was not finished without my life having been in jeopardy, more particularly from a cannon-shot which struck two Dutchmen who were close to me, and a splinter of the vessel cut open the head of another and carried away a part of my coat, so that I was covered with the blood of these Dutchmen who were slain at my side. The combat being over, we returned to the anchorage at SINDI; but a strong wind having arisen, and the sea being very high, we were obliged to go to moorings 6 leagues higher on the eastern coast, where we remained till the 20th of the same month<sup>1</sup>; we occupied this time in the care of the sick, and many of the English died of their wounds there. At length having reached the anchorage at SINDI, both in order to obtain water and some stores, and also for the purpose of raising the anchors which we had left behind, we remained there till the 28th, and after a pleasant cruise landed at GOMBRON on the 7th of March.

My first cares when I was out of the vessel were to return thanks to God for having delivered me from this danger, and from many others which I had undergone in my previous travels, and I still offer Him my daily thanksgivings for the same.

<sup>1</sup> February 1654.



CSL

BOOK II

Historical and Political description of the Empire of the  
GREAT MOGUL.



## CHAPTER I

*Account of the last wars in HINDUSTAN, in which the present condition of the Empire and of the Court of the MOGULS are set forth.*

I WRITE this history<sup>1</sup> without any commentary, and without describing how I became aware that these things happened during the sojourn which I made in the country.<sup>2</sup> I leave it to the reader, according to his pleasure, to make his own moral and political reflections. It is sufficient for me to give a faithful picture of the powerful Empire of the MOGULS, in accordance with the sketch of it which I have taken on the spot, not wishing to increase this volume by any useless discussion.

This great and vast Empire, which constitutes the larger part of HINDUSTAN,<sup>3</sup> and extends from the mountains upon this side of the river INDUS to

<sup>1</sup> With reference to the historical chapters contained in this Book, there can be no attempt to correct or criticise all the author's statements, which are in conflict with those by other authorities.

<sup>2</sup> There is so much similarity between this account and that by Bernier in his *Histoire de la dernière révolution des États du Grand Mogul*, Paris, 1670, that it cannot but be supposed that that author supplied Tavernier with information, either when they were fellow-travellers or after Bernier had published his *History*.

<sup>3</sup> Here Hindustan, or rather *Indostan*, is used in the European sense as synonymous with India, not as the natives of India use it, *i.e.* restricted to the valley of the Ganges.



the other side of the GANGES, touches on the east the Kingdoms of ARAKAN, TIPPERAH, and ASSAM<sup>1</sup>; on the west PERSIA and TARTARY OF THE USBEGS; on the south the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR; and on the north it reaches to the CAUCASUS, having on the north-east the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, from whence comes musk, and to the north-west the country of CHEGATHAY,<sup>2</sup> or the USBEGS.

Many persons having written about INDIA itself, and of the genius of the Indians, I pass to subjects of more importance, but less well known, and I shall speak first of the family of the Kings of INDIA, commonly known as the MOGULS, that is to say whites, because the men who formerly conquered the country were white, the native born Indians being brown or olive-coloured.

AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, is the eleventh in direct line of the descendants of the great TEMURLENG, commonly called TAMERLANE, who by the extent and renown of his conquests from CHINA to POLAND surpassed the glory of the most renowned captains of previous ages.

His successors succeeded in conquering the whole of INDIA, between the two rivers,<sup>3</sup> thereby destroying many Kings, and AURANGZEB has to-day under his authority the Kingdoms of GUJARÁT, DECCAN, DELHI,

<sup>1</sup> Aracan, Tipra, and Assen in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Cathay originally meant Northern China; subsequently, in the sixteenth century, it came to be regarded as a separate country north of China (see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*). In the time of Kublai Khan "the Chagatai Khanate, or Middle Empire of the Tartars, with its capital at Almaliq, included the modern Dsungaria, part of Chinese Turkestan, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan" (*Cathay and the way thither*, by Colonel Yule, Introduction, p. cxxi.)

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the Indus and Ganges.

MULTAN, LAHORE, KASHMIR, BENGAL, and many other countries, without speaking of many *Rajas*, or Kinglets, who are his vassals, and pay him tribute. The following is the succession of these Kings from TAMERLANE to AURANGZEB, who reigns at present:—

I. TEMUR-LENG,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* “the cripple,” because he had one leg shorter than the other, is buried at SAMARCAND in the country of CHEGATHAY or TARTARY of the USBEGS; it is also the place where he was born.

II. MIRAN-SHÁH,<sup>2</sup> son of TEMUR-LENG.

III. SULTAN MUHAMMAD, son of MIRAN SHÁH.

IV. SULTAN ABU SAYYID MIRZA,<sup>3</sup> son of MUHAMMAD.

V. UMR SHEKH MIRZA,<sup>4</sup> son of SULTAN ABU SAYYID.

VI. SULTAN BÁBAR,<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* “the brave Prince,” son of UMR SHEKH, and the first of the MOGULS who made himself all powerful in INDIA. He died in the year 1532.

VII. HUMÁYUN, which means “happy,” son of SULTAN BÁBAR, died in the year 1552.<sup>6</sup>

VIII. ABDUL FATEH JALAL-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD, commonly called AKBAR, that is to say “the mighty,” son of HUMÁYUN, reigned fifty-four years, and died A.H. 1014, A.D. 1605.

IX. SULTAN SALIM, otherwise called JAHÁNGIR PADISHAH, *i.e.* Conqueror of the World, succeeded AKBAR, his father, and died in the year 1627. He

<sup>1</sup> Commonly called Tamerlane, but Tavernier's rendering is closer to the real name, *viz.* Taimur-lang, *i.e.* Taimur the lame.

<sup>2</sup> Miram Cha in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Abousaid in the original.

<sup>4</sup> Hameth Schek in the original.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Bábar, born 15th February 1483. He invaded India in the winter of 1525, and died in 1530, not 1532 as above stated.

<sup>6</sup> Humáyun died in 1556.



had four sons, the first named SULTAN KHUSRU, the second SULTAN KHURRAM, the third SULTAN PARWEZ, fourth SHÁH DÁNÍÁL.

X. SULTAN KHURRAM, the second of the four sons, succeeded JAHÁNGIR, his father, and was recognised as sovereign by the nobles of the Kingdom in the fortress of AGRA, under the name of SULTAN SHÁH BEDIN MUHAMMAD, but he desired to be called SHÁH-JAHÁN, *i.e.* King of the World.

XI. AURANGZEB, *i.e.* the Ornament of the Throne, is the King who reigns at present.

The accompanying figure<sup>1</sup> shows the form of the coins which the Kings cause to be thrown to the people when they ascend the throne. They bear the arms or seals of the Kings whom I have just named. The largest seal, in the middle, is that of SHÁH-JAHÁN, the tenth King, for AURANGZEB, since he became King, has not had any of these pieces of bounty coined—these coins are nearly all of silver, only a small number being of gold.

The GREAT MOGUL is certainly the most powerful and the richest monarch of ASIA; all the Kingdoms which he possesses constitute his domain, he being absolute master of all the country, of which he receives the whole revenue. In the territories of this Prince, the nobles are but Royal Receivers, who render account of the revenues to the Governors of Provinces, and they to the Treasurers General and Ministers of Finance, so that this grand King of INDIA, whose territories are so rich, fertile, and populous, has no power near him equal to his own.

<sup>1</sup> Tavernier's beautifully executed plate of these tokens is not reproduced.



## CHAPTER II

*Concerning the sickness and supposed death of SHÁH JAHÁN, King of INDIA, and the rebellion of the Princes, his sons.*

THE revolutions which took place in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL on account of the supposed death of SHÁH JAHÁN are full of so many important and memorable incidents, that they deserve to be known throughout the whole world. This great monarch reigned more than forty years, less as a King over his subjects than as a father of a family over his house and children; to such an extent was this the case that, during his reign, the police was so strict in all things, and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft. In his old age he committed an indiscretion; and, moreover, used some drugs of so stringent a character that they brought on a malady which nearly brought him to the grave. This necessitated his shutting himself up for two or three months in his harem with his women, and during that time he showed himself to his people but rarely, and at long intervals; this caused them to believe that he was dead. For custom requires these Kings to show themselves in public three times every week, or, at the very least, every fifteen days.



SHÁH JAHÁN had six children, four sons and two daughters. The eldest of the sons was called DÁRÁ SHÁH; the second SULTAN SHUJÁ; the third AURANGZEB, who reigns at present; and the last MURÁD BAKSH. The eldest of the two daughters was called BEGUM SAHIB, and the younger ROUSHENÁRÁ BEGUM.<sup>1</sup> All these names, in the language of the country, mean titles of honour, as the wise, the brave, the accomplished, etc.; and we practise nearly the same in Europe by the (use of the) surnames which we give to our Princes, of just, bold, and affable, with this difference only, that these surnames are not given at birth, but after certain proof has been shown (of the possession) of the virtues which merit that their memories should pass to posterity under such fine names. SHÁH JAHÁN loved his four sons equally well, and had established them as Governors or Viceroys of four of his most considerable Provinces, or, if you prefer it, his four principal Kingdoms. DÁRÁ SHÁH, the eldest, remained near the person of the King in the Kingdom of DELHI, and had the Government of SINDI,<sup>2</sup> where he placed a lieutenant in his absence; SULTAN SHUJÁ had for his district the Kingdom of BENGAL; AURANGZEB was sent to the Kingdom of DECCAN; and MURÁD BAKSH to that of GUJARÁT. But much as SHÁH JAHÁN sought to give equal contentment to his four sons, their ambition was not satisfied by this allotment, and it overthrew all the projects that the good father had made to preserve peace between his children.

SHÁH JAHÁN being then sick, and having retired into the women's quarter without showing himself for many

<sup>1</sup> Called Rauchenara Begum in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Sind or Scind (see p. 10 n.)