



It is in this town of Azoo that the tombs of the Kings of ASSAM and of all the members of the royal family are situated. Although the Assamese are idolaters, they do not burn the bodies of the defunct, but bury them. They believe that after death they go to another world, where those who have lived well in this world lack nothing, and enjoy all kinds of pleasure; while, on the contrary, those who have lived badly, and have taken the property of others, suffer much, principally hunger and thirst, and that, accordingly, it is prudent to bury something with them to serve them at need. Thus it was that MIR JUMLA found such a quantity of riches at Azoo,¹ since for many centuries every King has had built for himself in the great pagoda a sort of chapel where he was to be buried, and during their lifetime, each of them sent, to be placed in the grave where he was to be buried, a quantity of gold and silver, carpets and other articles. When the body of a dead king is buried in his grave all his most precious possessions are also placed there, as a private idol of gold or silver which he worshipped during life, and all things which it is believed will be required by him in the other world. But that which is most strange, and which savours much of barbarism is, that as soon as the King is dead, some of his most beloved wives and the principal officers of his house kill themselves by means of a poisoned decoction, in

gold, 128,000 rupees in hard cash, 120 elephants, and the King's daughter to the conqueror. He then returned to Bengal via Lakhughar and Kajli, and reached Khizarpur on the 8th April 1663 A.D., where he paid the debt of nature after suffering for a time from consumption" (*I.c.*, p. 223).

¹ Muhammad Kazim says 90,000 rupees worth of gold and silver was obtained by Mir Jumla's soldiers from these graves (*I.c.* 225).

order to be interred with him, so that they may serve him in the other world. Besides which an elephant, twelve camels,¹ six horses, and numerous sporting dogs are buried with him, it being believed that all these animals will come to life again, after they are dead, in order to serve the King.

This Kingdom of ASSAM is one of the best countries in ASIA, for it produces all that is necessary to the life of man, without there being need to go for anything to the neighbouring States. There are mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, and iron,² and much silk, but it is coarse. There is a kind of silk which is produced on trees, and is made by an animal having the form of our silkworm, but it is rounder and remains for a whole year on the trees.³ The stuffs which are made of this silk are very brilliant, but soon fray and do not last long. It is in the southern direction where these silks are produced, and that the gold and silver mines are situated. The country also produces an abundance of shellac, there are two kinds of it. That which is formed on trees is of a red colour, and is what they dye their calicoes and other stuffs with, and when they have extracted this red colour they use the lac to lacquer cabinets and other objects of that kind, and to

¹ Muhammad Kazim gives a similar account, but does not mention camels. Elsewhere he states camels were unknown in Assam (*l.c.* p. 224). The climate of Assam does not suit camels.

² Muhammad Kazim says, "Gold and silver are got from the sand of the rivers draining the Gol (*i.e.* northern circle). About 12,000 Assamis according to some people, 20,000 as others state, are generally engaged in washing these noble metals, and have to pay one *tola* of gold per head per annum to the Chief" (*l.c.* 224). See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 231, for details as to the gold of Assam. See also *ante*, p. 162, where it is stated incorrectly that there are no silver mines in India.

³ Tusser silkworms? but their silk is remarkably durable.

make Spanish wax.¹ A large quantity of it is exported to CHINA and JAPAN, to be used in the manufacture of cabinets; it is the best lac in the whole of ASIA for these purposes. As for the gold, no one is permitted to remove it out of the Kingdom, and it is not coined into money, but is kept in large and small ingots, which the people make use of in local trade, not taking it elsewhere; but as for silver, the King coins it into money of the size and weight of rupees, and of an octagonal shape, and they may be taken outside the Kingdom. Although the country abounds, as I have said, with all things necessary to life, among all articles of food the flesh of the dog² is especially esteemed, it is the favourite dish at feasts, and every month, in each town in the Kingdom, the people hold markets where they only sell dogs, which are brought thither from all directions. There are also quantities of vines and good grapes, but no wine, the grapes being merely dried to distil spirits from. Finally, as regards salt, there is none in the Kingdom but what is manufactured, which is done in two ways.³ The first is to collect vegetable matter which is found in stagnant water, such as ducks and frogs eat. It is dried and burnt, and the ashes derived from it being boiled and strained as is described below, serve as salt.

¹ See p. 21 for account of shellac and lac dye.

² Muhammad Kazim says the *Nanaks* (Nagas?) eat the flesh of dogs, cats, serpents, etc. (*l.c.* p. 224). The Nagas, I think, still eat dog's flesh.

³ The chief sources of supply of salt in Asia were formerly the brine springs at Borhát and Sadiyá in Lakhimpur. The vessels used in the manufacture for boiling the brine were simply sections of bamboos, which were pared so thin that the percolating moisture prevented their burning. Imported salt is now largely used in Assam. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 491.)



The other method, which is that most commonly followed, is to take some of those large leaves of the kind of fig tree which we call Adam's fig,¹ they are dried in the same manner and burnt, and the ashes from them consist of a kind of salt which is so pungent that it is impossible to eat it unless it is softened, this is done in the following way. The ashes are put into water, where they are stirred about for ten or twelve hours, then this water is strained three times through a cloth and then boiled. As it boils the sediment thickens, and when the water is all consumed, the salt, which is white and fairly good, is found at the bottom of the pot.

It is from these ashes of fig leaves that in this country the lye is made to boil silk, which becomes as white as snow, and if the people of ASSAM had more figs than they have, they would make all their silks white, because white silk is much more valuable than the other, but they have not sufficient to bleach half the silks which are produced in the country.

KEMMEROUF² is the name of the town where the King of ASSAM resides, it is twenty-five or thirty days' journey from that which was formerly the capital of the Kingdom and bore the same name. The King takes no tribute from his people, but all the mines of

¹ This manufacture of salt from the leaves of the plantain is mentioned by Muhammad Kazim, *l.c.* p. 224. (See *ante*, p. 4.) The pungency is probably due to the presence of potash salts.

² Kámrup, now known as the name of a District in Assam of which Gauhati is the chief town. It is certain that Mir Jumlá was defeated by the Aháms here, and this was the seat of the Ahám Viceroy, but the King of Assam's capital was at Garhgáon (Kargánv) in the Sibságár District. The palace is described in Robinson's *Descriptive Account of Assam*. According to Muhammad Kazim, who also describes it, its circuit was 1 kos and 14 chains (= 840 yards.)



gold, silver, lead, steel, and iron belong to him, and in order not to oppress his subjects, he only employs the slaves whom he buys from his neighbours for working in the mines.¹ Thus all the peasants of ASSAM are at their ease, and there is scarcely any one who has not a separate house in the middle of his land, a fountain surrounded by trees, and even the majority keep elephants for their wives. These idolaters, unlike those of INDIA, who have but one wife, have four, and when a man marries one, in order that there may be no dispute among them, he says to her, "I take you to serve me in my household for this purpose," and to another, "I destine you for another," and thus each of these women knows what she has to do in the house. The men and women are of fine build, and of very good blood; but the people dwelling on the southern frontier are somewhat olive coloured, and are not subject to goitre like those of the north. The latter are not of so fine a build, and the majority of their women have somewhat flat noses. These people of the southern part go about naked, having only a piece of calico with which they cover that which modesty requires them to conceal, with a cap like those English caps, around which they hang an abundance of pigs' teeth.² They have their ears pierced so that one might easily pass the thumb through the holes, some carry ornaments of gold in them and others of silver. The men wear their hair down to their shoulders, and the women leave it as long as it can

¹ This may have been true of the silver mines, but as above stated subjects had to wash for gold.

² Muhammad Kazim says: "A head-piece of gunny (*gont*), a cloth round the loins, and a sheet over the shoulders, form all the articles of their dress" (*l.c.*, p. 225).



grow. There is in the Kingdom of ASSAM, as well as in the Kingdom of BHUTAN, a large trade in tortoise-shell bracelets, and sea shells as large as an egg, which are sawn into small circles, but the rich wear bracelets of coral and yellow amber. When a man dies all his relatives and friends should come to the interment, and when they place the body in the ground they take off all the bracelets which are on their arms and legs and bury them with the defunct.



CHAPTER XVIII

Concerning the Kingdom of SIAM

THE greater part of the Kingdom of SIAM is situated between the Gulf of the same name and the Gulf of BENGAL, adjoining PEGU on the north and the peninsula of MALACCA on the south. The shortest road and the best which Europeans can take to reach this Kingdom is to go from ISPAHAN to HORMUZ, from HORMUZ to SURAT, from SURAT to GOLCONDA, and from GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM, where they should embark for DENOUSERIN,¹ which is one of the ports of the Kingdom of SIAM. From DENOUSERIN to the capital town, which bears the name of the Kingdom, there are about thirty-five days' journey; one part is traversed by ascending a river, and the remainder in a cart or upon elephants. The road both by land and water is uncomfortable, because on the land portion one must always be on guard against lions² and tigers; and by water, as the river makes rapids in many places, it is difficult to make the boats ascend, which is nevertheless accomplished by the aid of machinery. It is the route

¹ This appears to be Tenasserim, which, however, was included in the Kingdom of Pegu, though at times conquered and held by Siam. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Tenasserim.")

² There are no lions in Siam.

which I recommended, on the return from one of my voyages to INDIA, to three bishops whom I met on the road. The first was the Bishop of BERYTE,¹ whom I met at ISPAHAN; the second the Bishop of MEGALOPOLIS,² when crossing the EUPHRATES; the third the Bishop of HELIOPOLIS,³ who arrived at ALEXANDRETTA as I was leaving it for EUROPE. The whole of SIAM abounds with rice and fruits, the principal of which are called *mangues*, *durions*, and *mangoustans*.⁴ The forests are full of deer, elephants, tigers, rhinoceros, and monkeys; and everywhere is to be seen an abundance of bamboos, which are large and very tall canes, hollow throughout, and as hard as iron.

At the ends of these canes you find nests, of the size of a man's head, suspended; they are made by ants from a fat earth which they carry up. There is but a small hole at the base of these nests, by which the ants enter, and in these nests each ant has his separate chamber, like honey bees. They build their nests on the canes, because if they made them on the ground, during the rainy season, which lasts four or five months, they would be exterminated, all the country being then inundated. One must take precautions after night-fall against snakes. There are there some snakes which are 22 feet long and have two heads,⁵ but the head at

¹ Beyrout, in Syria.

² Metelopolis of Finlayson, *Mission to Siam*, p. 257.

³ Heliopolis or Bambyke, near Carchermish on the Euphrates. Le Blanc identifies Hieropolis with Aleppo (*Voyages*, Paris Edition, 1648, p. 8).

⁴ Mangoes, Durians, and Mangosteens.

⁵ This fable of two-headed snakes is common in India; sometimes it is said of the *Daman* snake—*Ptyas mucosus*. The statement that the head, at the tail end, has no movement, and that the mouth does not open, is a charmingly ingenuous admission. Like the case of the birds-



the extremity which answers to the tail, and where the snake ends, does not open the mouth and has no movement.

There is also in SIAM a very venomous animal which is not more than a foot long. Its tail is forked and has two points, and its form is somewhat like what we picture the salamander.¹

The rivers of this Kingdom are very beautiful, and the one at SIAM is of nearly uniform size throughout.² The water in it is very wholesome, but it is full of crocodiles of enormous size, which often devour men who are not on their guard.³ The rivers are in flood during the time that the sun traverses the northern signs; this contributes much to the fertility of the land where the waters spread themselves, and where, by a wonderful provision of nature, the ear of rice ascends to the surface as the waters rise.⁴

SIAM,⁵ the capital town of the Kingdom, and the ordinary residence of the King, is surrounded by walls, and is more than 3 of our leagues in circuit. It is on

of-paradise, referred to on p. 15, the description illustrates the persistency of myths.

¹ This poisonous, forked-tailed reptile was certainly mythical. A species of *Eublepharis* ? is called *bishkhuṇḍā* by the natives of India, and though unprovided with fangs is believed to be very poisonous.

² The principal rivers of Siam are the Menam, Mekong, Meklong, Petrii, Tachin, and the Chantibun (Crawford, *Dictionary*).

³ The Siamese take their revenge by eating crocodiles' eggs.

⁴ The period of floods is during the south-west monsoon, from June to November, and the plain fertilised by them has an area of 6750 geographical square miles.

⁵ Bangkok, on both banks of the Menam river, 24 miles from the sea, is the present capital of Siam. The old capital, called Siam or Yuthia, or Ayuthia, from Sanskrit *Ajudyā*, is 54 miles farther to the north; it was destroyed by the Burmese in 1768, and Bangkok was founded in 1769 (Crawford, *Dictionary*).



an island, the river surrounding it on all sides; canals might easily be made through all the streets if the King were willing to expend on that work a part of the vast amount of gold which he lavishes on the temples of his idols.

The Siamese have thirty-three letters in their alphabet;¹ they write as we do, from left to right, or contrary to the people of JAPAN, CHINA, COCHIN-CHINA, and TONQUIN, who write from the right hand to the left, and from the top of the page to the bottom.

All the common people of this Kingdom are in slavery either to the King or to the nobles. The women cut their hair like the men, and their garments are not very copious. Among the civilities which the Siamese observe towards one another, one of the principal is never to pass any one to whom respect is due, without previously asking permission; this is done by elevating both hands. The richest have many wives, as is the case in the Kingdom of ASSAM.

The money of the country is of silver and nearly of the shape of a musket bullet.² The lowest denomination consists of small shells, which are brought from the MANILLAS. There are good tin mines in SIAM.³

¹ The Siamese alphabet contains 20 vowels and 43 consonants—in all, 63 distinct characters. The language consists of two dialects—the court and the vulgar. The sacred language is distinct, being Pali or Prakrit (Crawford, *Dictionary*).

² The coins here referred to are probably those which our author figures in his chapter on coins (p. 22 of the original Paris edition of 1676). Whether this peculiar form has ever been explained I am unable to say, but it most undoubtedly imitates the curious-shaped *coco-de-mer*, or double cocoanut of the Seychelles islands, for which fabulous prices were given in the Malayan countries and India. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary* for an account of this cocoanut.)

³ Tin is obtained in four of the provinces, which extend from Lat. 8° to Lat. 13°; and it is also obtained in the tributary Malay States.



The King of SIAM is one of the wealthiest monarchs in the East, and he calls himself in his edicts King of heaven and earth, although he is a tributary to the Kings of CHINA. He shows himself but rarely to his subjects, and only gives audience to the principal persons of his court, strangers having no admission to his palace. He confides the government to his ministers, who very often make ill use of the authority with which they are invested. He only shows himself in public twice in the year; this he does with much splendour. The first time is in order to go in state to a pagoda which is in the town,¹ the tower of which is gilt throughout, both inside and outside. It contains three idols, which are from 6 to 7 feet high, and are made of massive gold; and by means of liberal alms to the poor, and presents to the priests of these false gods, he believes that he makes himself pleasing to them. He goes there accompanied by all his court, and displays all his richest possessions. Among other indications of magnificence there are 200 elephants in SIAM, one of them being white; and it is so highly esteemed by the King that he glories in calling himself "the King of the white elephant."² These elephants live for several centuries, as I have elsewhere remarked.³

The second time that the King goes forth in public is for the purpose of visiting another pagoda, which is

¹ This pagoda, or the one next referred to, is probably the one still standing, though much ruined, near Yuthia; it is 400 feet high, and has a gigantic gilt bronze statue of Buddha. It is said to have been built in the year 1387 A.D. (Crawford, *Dictionary*).

² In the year 1821-22 the envoys from the Governor-General of India found five white elephants in the possession of the King. Finlayson gives an interesting account of them (*Mission to Siam*, p. 154).

³ See vol. i, p. 279.

5 or 6 leagues from the town up the river. No one can enter this pagoda save the King and his priests. As for the people, as soon as they see the door of it each one must throw himself with his face to the ground. On this occasion the King appears on the river with 200 richly gilt and decorated galleys of an enormous length, each having 400 rowers. As this second sortie of the King happens in the month of November, when the river begins to fall, the priests make the people believe, that it is the King alone who is able to arrest the course of the waters by the prayers and offerings which he makes in this pagoda; and these poor people persuade themselves that the King goes to cut the waters with his sword, to dismiss them and order them to retire into the sea.

The King goes, moreover, but on this occasion without any state, to a pagoda which is in the island where the Dutch have their factory. There is, at the entrance, an idol seated after the manner of our tailors, having one hand on one of his knees and the other at his side. It is more than 60 feet high,¹ and around this large idol there are more than 300 others of different sizes, which represent all kinds of attitudes of men and women.² All these idols are gilt, and there is a prodigious quantity of these pagodas in all the country. This results from the fact that there is no rich Siamese who does not have one built to perpetuate his memory. These pagodas have towers and bells,

¹ This was one of the famous images of Buddha. Perhaps it is that which is referred to in a previous note, which ought, therefore, to refer to this second pagoda, which the King was in the habit of visiting.

² It is possible that this is a mistake, as images of women are, I think, not to be found in these pagodas. But some of those of Buddha have an effeminate appearance.



and the walls inside are painted and gilt, but the windows are so narrow that they afford but little light. The altars are laden with costly idols, among which there are generally three of different sizes close to one another.¹ The two pagodas to which, as I have said, the King goes in state, are surrounded by many beautiful pyramids, all well gilt; and that which is in the island where the Dutch have their house has associated with it a cloister, the façade of which is very fine. In the middle there is, as it were, a great chapel all gilded within, where a lamp and three wax candles are kept alight in front of the altar, which is covered with idols, some being of fine gold and the others of gilt copper. The pagoda, which is in the middle of the town, and is one of the two which the King visits once in the year, as I have related, contains nearly 4000 idols, and it has around it, as has that which is at 6 leagues from SIAM, a quantity of pyramids, the beauty of which causes one to wonder at the industry of this nation.

When the King appears all the doors and windows of the houses have to be closed, and all the people prostrate themselves on the ground without daring to raise their eyes towards him. As no one should be in a place more elevated than the King when he is passing through the streets, all those who are in their houses must descend. When his hair is cut one of his wives is employed on that duty, as he does not allow a barber to place a hand upon him. This prince is passionately

¹ Vast accumulations of figures of Buddha characterise these temples, even those which are deserted. The well-known seated and recumbent figures of Buddha, made of marble or lacquered wood, which are brought to Europe, have generally been obtained from deserted pagodas in Burmah or Siam.

attached to certain elephants, which he supports as the favourites and ornaments of his kingdom. When they are sick the greatest nobles of the court show the utmost care for them in order to please their sovereign ; and when the elephants die, as much magnificence is displayed for them as at the funerals of the nobles of the Kingdom. These funerals of the nobles are conducted in the following manner :—A kind of mausoleum is adorned with reeds covered on both sides with paper of many colours. As all kinds of scented wood are sold by weight, as much as the body weighs is placed in the middle of the mausoleum, and after the priests have finished pronouncing some benedictions they burn the whole to ashes. Those of the rich are preserved in urns of gold or silver, but as for those of the poor they are cast to the winds. As for criminals who have finished their lives with a disgraceful death, the Siamese do not burn their bodies, but bury them.

The King authorises public women, but they have to live in their own separate quarter, under a chief who protects them from insult from any one. When one of them dies her body is not burnt as is that of a respectable woman, but is thrown into a place where it becomes the food of dogs and crows.

It is estimated that there are in this Kingdom more than 200,000 priests called *Bonzes*,¹ who are held in great veneration both by the court and by the people. The King himself regards some of them with such awe as to humiliate himself in their presence. The extraordinary respect which every one shows them has in-

¹ This is the ordinary term to denote the priests of Buddha in Siam. Its origin is said to be somewhat obscure. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Bonze.")



spired in them, sometimes, so much pride, that some of them have pushed their desires as far as the throne. But when the King discovers anything of the kind he takes their lives, as was the case some time ago in a rebellion, the author of which was a *Bonze*, whom the King executed.

These *Bonzes* are clad in yellow, and wear on their loins a small red cloth as a waistband. They make an outward show of great modesty, and one never sees them manifest the smallest degree of passion. At four o'clock in the morning they rise at the sound of bells to say their prayers, and they do the same towards evening. There are certain days of the year when they withdraw from the conversation of men to live in retreat. Some live on charity, and others have well-endowed dwellings. As long as they wear the garb of *Bonzes* they cannot possess wives, and they must relinquish it if they desire to marry. They are for the most part very ignorant, and know not what they believe. It appears, however, that like the idolaters of INDIA they believe in the transmigration of the soul into many bodies. It is forbidden to them to take the lives of animals; nevertheless, they make no scruple about eating animals which others have slain, or have died naturally.¹ The god whom they worship is a phantom, of whom they speak blindly, and they are so

¹ I have heard a story, which may be a libel, of Burmese chasing fowls till they died of exhaustion, by which kind of "killing no murder" they believed they had not done wrong, though they ate the fowls. The Burmese are always glad to dispose of any animal a sportsman may shoot, and will even eat snakes if he kills them.

The King of Burmah (Ava), it is said, used to keep sheep, one of which would conveniently die whenever meat was required at the palace. (See *The Prisoner in Burmah*, H. Gouger, London, 1860, p. 52.)



obstinate in maintaining their gross errors that it is difficult to cure them of them. They say that the God of the Christians and theirs are brothers, but that theirs is the elder. If any one asks them where their god is they reply that he has disappeared, and that they know not where he is.

As for the standing army of the kingdom, it consists mainly of infantry, which is fairly good. The soldiers are inured to fatigue, and have for sole garment a piece of calico to cover the middle of the body. All the remainder of the body—the chest, back, arms, and thighs—are uncovered, and the skin, which is all cut (tattooed),¹ as when one applies cupping-glasses, represents many kinds of flowers and animals. After the skin is cut and the blood has flowed from it, these figures of flowers and animals are rubbed in with whatever colours are wished for; and one would say, on seeing these soldiers from a distance, that they were clad with some flowered silken stuff or painted calico, for the colours once applied never fade. They have for arms bow and arrow, musket and pike, and an *azagaye*,² which is a stick of 5 or 6 feet long, tipped with iron at the end, which can be hurled with skill against an enemy.

In the year 1665 there was in the town of SIAM a Neapolitan Jesuit called Father THOMAS. He fortified the town and the King's palace, which is on the margin of the river, and he had previously erected good bastions on both sides. It was on account of this that the King allowed him to dwell in the town, where he had a small church with a house where M. LAMBERT, Bishop of BEYROUT, went to lodge on arriving in SIAM.

¹ As is well known, tattooing is a fine art in Siam.

² *Assegai*. (See p. 161, for etymology of the word.)



But these two did not long remain on good terms together, and the Bishop found it advisable to have a separate chapel.

The port where vessels arrive from COCHIN-CHINA and other places is only half a league from the town, and as there are always some Christian sailors there, the Bishop built a small house and a chapel there in order to perform mass.¹

¹ On the whole, this must be allowed to be an excellent account of Siam. Very probably Tavernier obtained his information from the bishops and Jesuit priests. The reader is referred to Crawford's *Dictionary of the Malayan Islands* for a valuable epitome of information on this subject. Finlayson's *Account of the Mission to Siam*, London, 1826, contains an interesting account referring to a period when Siam had scarcely been affected by European nations. On Siam as it now is, there are numerous authorities.



CHAPTER XIX

*Concerning the Kingdom of MACASSAR and the Dutch
Embassy to CHINA*

THE Kingdom of MACASSAR, otherwise called the Island of CELEBES,¹ commences at the 5th degree of south latitude. The heat is excessive during the day, but the nights are fairly temperate, and as for the land it is beautiful and very fertile; but the people of this island do not know how to build well. The capital town bears the same name as the kingdom, and is situated close to the sea. The port is free; and the vessels which carry thither a quantity of merchandise from the neighbouring islands do not pay any custom dues. The inhabitants poison their weapons, and the most dangerous poison which they use is made of the juice of certain trees which grow in the island of BORNEO; they temper it according to the effect, whether slow or quick, which they wish the poison to produce. It is said that the King alone knows the secret of weakening its effect, and he boasts of having some of it so quick that there is no remedy in the world capable of neutralising it. One of my brothers,² whom I had taken to INDIA, and who died there, one

¹ The Island of Celebes extends from Lat. 1° 45' north to 5° 45' south.

² This was his brother Daniel. (See Introduction, vol. i, p. xii.)



day witnessed a remarkable proof of the quickness with which this poison takes effect. An Englishman, when in a rage, having killed one of the subjects of the King of MACASSAR, and this Prince having forgiven him, all the *Franks*, English as well as Dutch and Portuguese, who were in MACASSAR, fearing if this murder was left unpunished the islanders would take their revenge by attacking some of them, besought the King to execute the Englishman, and urged him so strongly that at length he consented. My brother was much beloved by the King, who invited him to take part in all his amusements, and especially when drinking was in question. The death of the Englishman having been decided on, the King told my brother that he would not allow the victim to languish long, and in order to prove at the same time the extraordinary power of his poison, he would wound the criminal himself with one of his arrows. These are small poisoned arrows which are fired with a *sampitan*,¹ and the King, in order to show his skill, asked my brother in what part of the body he wished him to strike the criminal. My brother, who was anxious to see if what the King had told him of the rapid effect of his poison were true, asked him to strike him on the great toe of the right foot, this the King did exactly and with wonderful skill. Two surgeons, one English and the other Dutch, were ready to cut the toe well below the

¹ The word is *sarbatane* in the original; it means a blow-tube, or rather the object blown through. Owing to the virulence of the poison on the darts it is a terrible instrument of offence. Though frequently mentioned by writers, I know of no stronger testimony of its powers than that given by our author. As an alleged antidote *stercus humanum*, diluted with water, is mentioned by Friar Odoric (see Yule's *Cathay*, p. 91).



wound, but they were unable to accomplish it so skilfully but that the poison, more rapid, had reached the heart, and the Englishman died at the same moment. All the kings and princes of the East similarly cherish with care the strongest poisons, and the King of ACHIN one day made a present of fifteen or twenty of these poisoned arrows to M. CROKE, Envoy-General of BATAVIA, who was subsequently Chief of the factory at SURAT. It was already some years since he had received these arrows without having thought of trying them, and one day when I was with him we shot many squirrels which fell dead immediately on being struck.

The King of MACASSAR is a Muhammadan, and he allows none of his subjects to become Christians. The Jesuit fathers in the year 1656 had found means to build a fairly good church at MACASSAR, but in the following year the King ordered it to be thrown down, as also that of the Dominican fathers, who performed mass for the Portuguese traders in the kingdom. The parochial church, which was conducted by some secular priests, remained standing until the Dutch attacked MACASSAR with a powerful fleet, and by force of arms they compelled the King to drive all the Portuguese out of his territories. The bad conduct of this Prince was partly the cause of this war, to which the Dutch were also driven by the resentment they felt in consequence of the Portuguese Jesuits having crossed their embassy to CHINA. Besides which they had committed serious outrages against the Dutch at MACASSAR, having even flung on the ground the hat of one of the envoys who had come to conclude a treaty with the King. Thus the Dutch, unable to avoid



resenting this affront, resolved to unite their forces with the *Bugis*,¹ who were in rebellion against their King, and to avenge, at whatever cost, so gross an insult. On the other hand, as I have said, the Dutch had been much ill-used by the Portuguese Jesuits, who by their intrigues prevented the Deputy whom the former sent to the King of CHINA from accomplishing what he desired, and it happened in this way :—

Towards the end of the year 1658 the General of BATAVIA and his Council sent one of the chiefs of the Dutch Company to the King of CHINA. Having arrived at the Court with splendid presents, he sought to obtain access to the Mandarins, who are the great nobles of the kingdom, so that by their credit he might obtain permission to trade in CHINA. But the Jesuits, who knew the language and were acquainted with the nobles of the Court, in consequence of the long sojourn they had made in the country, in order to prevent the Dutch Company from gaining a footing, to the prejudice of the Portuguese nation, represented many things to the King's Council to the disadvantage of the Dutch. They told them that in CEYLON they had broken the promise they had given to the King of that island to make over to him the places which they jointly captured from the Portuguese; that they were not people of good faith; and that they had likewise fooled the King of ACHIN after the capture of MALACCA, and many other Princes in the MOLUCCA islands; that after having taken, by terms of capitulation, the country of some of them together with their persons, promising to maintain them all their lives

¹ *Bouquins* in the original. The Bugis are so called by the Malays, their proper name is Wugi. They are the dominant race in Celebes.



according to their dignity, they had not treated them with any further consideration once they got them into their power, but had transported them as slaves to the Island of MAURICE¹ to cut ebony wood. All these things and many others of the same kind having been represented to the King's Council, the Dutch deputy was immediately dismissed, and left CHINA without having accomplished anything. Having learnt from a letter which a spy had written to him after his departure, the bad turn which the Portuguese Jesuits had played him, on his return to BATAVIA he reported it to the General and his Council, who were much annoyed, and resolved to take strong vengeance. According to the accounts which the Deputy handed in, the cost of the voyage amounted to 50,000 *écus*;² and the Council reflected on the means whereby they could reimburse themselves with double that amount from the Portuguese. They were aware of the trade which the Jesuit fathers engaged in annually in the island of MACAO and the Kingdom of MACASSAR, and that they fitted out on their own account as many as six or seven vessels laden with all kinds of Indian as well as Chinese goods. The Dutch calculated the time when these vessels should arrive at MACASSAR, and on the 7th of June 1660 there appeared at that port two of the Company's vessels, which came in advance to facilitate the withdrawal of the Dutch who were on land. The Dutch fleet was composed of more than thirty sail, and anchored at the island of TANAKEKE,³ at 7 leagues from BUTAGNE.⁴

¹ Mauritius.

² £11,250.

³ Tanahkeke, or the "Island of Sorcerers," in S. Lat. 5° 30' towards the extreme end of the south-western peninsula of Celebes.

⁴ Bontaing on S. coast of Celebes.



The King felt compelled to defend himself against these enemies whose power he feared, and with the vessels of MACAO, which were in the roads, sought for some time to resist the Dutch attack. The combat being obstinate on both sides, the Dutch divided their fleet, and while thirteen vessels devoted themselves to the Portuguese, the remainder incessantly battered the fortress, which was carried without much resistance. It is said that on this day the Dutch fired more than 7000 cannon shots, and that the King was so much terrified that he ordered the Portuguese not to fire any more, so as not to further irritate the enemy. The Prince PATINSALOA died during this engagement, and this was a great loss to the King of MACASSAR, who had become formidable to his neighbours by the diplomacy of this minister, upon whom he entirely relied. As the vessels of MACAO found themselves surprised and unprepared for defence, it was not difficult for the Dutch fleet to destroy the Portuguese; they burnt three of their vessels, sent two to the bottom, and took from them a quantity of costly goods; thus it was that the Dutch reimbursed themselves profitably for the cost of the deputation to CHINA.

On the 13th of June the King of MACASSAR, named SUMBACO, through fear of seeing himself reduced to the last extremity, ordered a white flag to be hoisted on another fortress, from whence, surrounded by his wives, he watched the fight. During the truce which they granted him, he sent one of the highest of the nobles of his court to the General of the Dutch fleet to ask for peace, which was only granted to him on condition that he would send an ambassador to BATAVIA, that he would drive all the Portuguese from



the island, and that his subjects should no longer trade with them.

As the articles of the treaty were to be ratified at BATAVIA by the General and his Council, the King of MACASSAR equipped his galleys and sent there eleven of the grandest nobles of his court with a following of 700 men, and the chief of this embassy was the brother of the late Prince PATINSALOA. They were to present to the General of BATAVIA 200 loaves (*pains*)¹ of gold to redeem the royal fortress, and had orders to submit to all the conditions which the Dutch proposed to them, provided that they did not affect the law of MUHAMMAD. The General having received this embassy, which was a great honour for him, and profiting by the opportunity, and the good fortune of his arms, he himself prepared the terms of the capitulation, which were signed by the ambassadors of MACASSAR and were strictly observed. For immediately all the Portuguese left the country, some passing to the Kingdoms of SIAM and CAMBODIA,² and the remainder withdrawing to MACAO and GOA. MACAO, which was some years ago regarded as one of the most famous and richest towns of the East, was the principal object of the Dutch embassy to CHINA, and as it was the best port which the Portuguese then had in these regions, the design of the Dutch was to ruin it completely. To-day this town, which is at the 22° of north latitude, in a small peninsula of the Province of CANTON,³ which is a part of CHINA, has lost much of its former renown.

¹ "Loaves" of gold. (See Appendix, vol. i, p. 416. 200 = £9000.)

² *Camboye* in the original.

³ *Xanton* in the original. Macao is near the mouth of the Canton



The Jesuit fathers and the Portuguese merchants were not recompensed by it for the disgrace which they had experienced at MACASSAR, and they sustained still another blow close to GOA. The Chief of the Dutch factory at VENGURLA, which is only 8 leagues from that town, having heard of the ill-success of Dutch affairs in CHINA, thought on his side of a means to avenge it. He was not ignorant of the fact that the Jesuit fathers of GOA and other places in INDIA did a large trade in rough diamonds which they sent to EUROPE, whither they carried them when returning to PORTUGAL. And in order to conceal this trade they used to send one or two from among their number in the garb of *Fakirs* or Indian pilgrims; this was easy for them to do, because there are fathers among them who are born in the country, and know the Indian language perfectly. This garb of the *Fakirs* consists of the skin of a tiger, which is worn on the back, and one of a goat which covers the waist and hangs down to the knees. For cap they have the skin of a lamb or of a kid, the four feet of which hang on the forehead, neck, and ears which are pierced, and in which they insert large rings of crystal. Their legs are naked, and they have large wooden sandals on the feet, and carry a bundle of peacocks' feathers to fan themselves with, and drive away the flies. One day as I was dining with the Augustine fathers who reside at the Court of the King of GOLCONDA in company with M.M. LESCOT and RAISIN, one of these Jesuit fathers who had come from GOA entered the chamber clothed in the manner I have described. He told us that he was going to ST. THOME on the river and belongs to the Portuguese, while Hong Kong, similarly situated, belongs to the British.

business of the Viceroy of GOA; upon which I remarked that to travel throughout INDIA it was not necessary to disguise himself, and that other religious persons, to whatever order they belonged, did not disguise themselves in that manner.

The Chief of the VENGURLA factory seized his opportunity then to revenge himself on the Jesuit fathers, and having learnt that there were two of them going to the mines to buy 400,000 *pardos*¹ worth of diamonds, he gave orders to two men who purchased some for him, that as soon as the fathers had completed their purchase they should give notice of it to the master of the customs at BICHOLIM.² BICHOLIM is a large town on the frontier, which separates the territories of the King of BIJAPUR from those of the Portuguese, and there is no other road but by this place, because one cannot elsewhere pass the river which forms the island of SALSETTE where the town of GOA is built. The Jesuit fathers, believing that the officer of customs knew nothing of the purchase which they had made, went into the boat to cross the water, and they had no sooner entered it, than they were searched, and all the diamonds found on them were confiscated.

I return to the King of MACASSAR, whom the reverend Jesuit fathers strove to convert, and they would possibly have accomplished their design, except for a condition which he imposed on them, and which they neglected to fulfil. For at the same time that

¹ This, with the *pardao* at 2s., would represent a sum of £40,000.

² Bicholi in the original, and called Bicholly in vol. i, p. 181, it is now known as Bicholim, and the District bearing the name is included judicially in Burdez in the "old conquests."



the Jesuits laboured to draw him to Christianity, the Muhammadans on their side made equal efforts to induce him to embrace their law; and this Prince, who wished to relinquish idolatry, not knowing well which side he should take, told the Muhammadans to summon two or three of their most accomplished *Mullas* from MECCA, and the Jesuits also, that they should send him an equal number of their ablest men, that he might hear them and instruct himself thoroughly in the respective religions; both promised to do so. But the Muhammadans made more haste than the Christians, and eight months afterwards, having brought two skilled *Mullas* from MECCA, the King, as the Jesuits sent no one, embraced the law of MUHAMMAD.¹ It is true that three years afterwards two Portuguese Jesuits arrived at MACASSAR, but it was too late, and the King was no longer inclined to become a Christian.

The King of MACASSAR having been made a MUHAMMADAN, the Prince, his brother, was so annoyed that he was unable to restrain himself from giving signs of it by the committal of a deed which resulted in his disgrace. As he knew that the Muhammadans had a horror of pork, which is one of the common articles of food of the idolaters of MACASSAR, as soon as the mosque which the King built was finished, he entered it one night, and having ten or twelve pigs slaughtered in his presence, he had the blood sprinkled in all directions, and both the walls and the niche where the *Mulla* places himself to offer up prayers were soiled

¹ This, according to Crawford (*Dictionary*), took place in the year 1603; but the people generally did not follow his example till 1616, or a century after the Portuguese had been in occupation of Malacca and the Moluccas.



with it. The King, by the laws of the religion which he had embraced, was obliged to demolish the mosque and to build a new one; and the Prince, his brother, withdrawing with some other idolatrous nobles, has never again appeared at Court since that time.

This is all that I have been able to collect of the most singular facts regarding the Kingdoms of the East included in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL and the Empire of CHINA, of which I also have good memoirs; but as I know that several persons have written fully regarding them, I think the reader would prefer that I should give him the result of my voyages, and that I should only amuse him with things which I have seen with my own eyes.



CHAPTER XX

The Author pursues his journey in the East and embarks at VENGURLA for BATAVIA; the danger which he runs on the sea, and his arrival in the Island of CEYLON

I LEFT VENGURLA, a large town of the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, 8 leagues from GOA, on the 14th of April 1648, and embarked on a Dutch vessel which had just brought silks from PERSIA and was going to BATAVIA. It had orders to stop at BAKANOR¹ *en route*, in order to take in rice, and we arrived there on the 18th of the same month. I landed with the captain, who went to see the King to ask his permission to take the rice; this he gave willingly. It was necessary for us to ascend by the river nearly 3 leagues, and we found the King close to the water, where there were only ten or twelve huts made of palm leaves. He had, in his own, a Persian carpet spread underneath him, and we saw there five or six women, some of whom fanned him with fans made of peacocks' tails, and the

¹ Barcoor of A.S., Barkur is an old port on an estuary on the west coast of India, Lat. $13^{\circ} 28\frac{1}{2}'$. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* it was "the capital of the Jain Kings of Tulava . . . and subsequently a stronghold of the Vijayanagar Rajas. It is often mentioned by the older travellers (see *Anglo-Indian Gazetteer*, p. 33).



others gave him *betel* and filled his pipe with tobacco. The most important persons of the country were in the other huts, and we counted about 200 men, the majority of whom were armed with bows and arrows. They also had with them two elephants. It appeared as if they had some retreat elsewhere, and that they had merely come to this place to enjoy the coolness afforded by the trees and some streams. Having left the King and re-embarked on our boat, he sent us, as a present, a dozen fowl and five or six pots of palm wine. We slept the same evening, after having made a league of way, in a hamlet where there were but three or four houses, but we had taken with us ample provisions from our vessel. In the morning when we were ready to leave we saw on the river one of our pilots with three or four young men, who came up to us and brought the necessaries for breakfast. When they were landed and we had commenced to eat they asked for some *tári*¹ or palm wine, and the owner of the hut where we had slept offered to bring us some, which was very good, but he told us that it was strong, and that it might send fumes to the head. Our sailors jeered at that because they drank it often, and some of them had even drunk much of it without being inconvenienced. But since you drink it as soon as it is drawn from the tree, and do not allow it to ferment, if you take too much you feel it ferment in the stomach. This peasant having then brought a pot of his palm wine, each drank of it as he felt inclined, one three glasses, another four or five, and for myself I was contented with only one, which might contain nearly half a pint. But to tell the truth, we all suffered such

¹ See vol. i, p. 158.



severe headaches from it that we were two days before we were able to cure ourselves. We asked the natives of the country why this wine had thus troubled us, and they said that it was caused by the fact that pepper was planted around the palms, and that it was that which gave so much strength to this wine. We were still somewhat giddy from it when we returned on board, where a governor of the country immediately arrived to meet us and settle the price of the rice and know the quantity of it which was required. It had to be brought from some distance; this troubled us much, because the wind commenced to change, and the captain was unwilling to leave, as he had not all the cargo which he required.

During the night, between the 28th and 29th, the wind began to change, and the pilots told the captain, who had never before sailed along the coasts of INDIA, that he ought to hoist the anchor and set sail, although we had not received our full cargo; but the captain would not consent, replying that we wanted water. The wind having been strong throughout the night, on the following day it calmed a little, and loading up with the rice was continued. On the day after we strongly urged the captain to leave, and as he saw that all murmured he sent two boats to get water. But they had scarcely reached the mouth of the river when the wind became so furious that the sailors hastened to return without water, this they accomplished with much trouble and danger of being lost. When they came on board the two boats were tied astern of the vessel, according to custom, and fourteen men were put in the larger one in order to take care of her and to prevent the waves breaking her against



the vessel. We desired then to begin to hoist the anchor, but the wind became still stronger and more adverse; of thirty or forty men who were about the winch more than twelve were injured by the bars, the violence of the wind driving them backwards. The captain, wishing also to assist in the work in order to ease the cable, had his hand badly crushed. At length the sea became so rough that instead of hoisting the anchor it became necessary to put out others, as the wind was driving us on shore. Every one then commenced to examine his conscience, and prayed thrice in two hours' time. By midnight we had lost all our anchors, to the number of seven, so that not having more and not knowing what to do further, our pilots called out that each one should strive to save himself as soon as the vessel touched the land, and being exhausted they went to lie down on their beds. It was already a long time since the captain had taken to his, on account of the great pain which his hand gave him, as it was in a dreadful condition. As for me, as the moon was shining, I leant against the bulwarks of the vessel watching how the billows urged it towards the shore. While I was in this position the vessel touched land, and each one believed then that it would go to pieces. At this moment two sailors came to me to say that I need fear nothing, and they would take precautions to ensure our safety, but if God permitted us by His grace to reach the land I should reward them for their trouble. I exhorted them to do their best to save us, and told them there would be 500 *écus* ready for them as soon as we reached the land. They were two Hamburgers, who had seen me previously at BANDAR-ABBAS and SURAT, and they well knew that I carried



all my goods on my person, without having need of camels or mules to carry them. As soon as I promised them this sum they took a spar of wood of the thickness of a man's thigh and 8 or 10 feet long, attaching to it thick ropes in five or six places, to each of which they allowed a length of only 3 or 4 feet. As they worked at it I kept my eyes constantly fixed in the direction of the land, and I observed that the vessel did not go straight as it had done previously. I feared that it was only the darkness which made me think so, for the moon began to set. I hastened at once to the compass to assure myself, and I saw as a matter of fact that the wind had altogether changed and came from the land. Immediately I cried out to the sailors that the wind had become favourable, and at the same moment the boatswain, who directs all that appertains to the vessel, made a great noise and called all the sailors. He also hailed the fourteen men whom they had placed in the large boat, believing that they were there still; but no one replied, and we saw at daybreak that the cable had parted, and we were never able to ascertain what had become of them. As for the captain, he was unable to rise on account of a severe attack of fever which the pain in his hand had caused him. At first every one took courage, although they were in difficulty as to how they should steer the vessel, the top of the rudder being broken. In order to remedy this evil the pilot set a small sail, which was set first on one side and then on the other as he directed, and a rope was tied to the rudder to make it work, for it was only the socket above which was broken, where they were consequently unable to fix the piece (tiller) which comes on board for the steers-



man. At length the wind blew from the north-east, and the darker night became, on account of the setting of the moon, the more the wind freshened and each one gave thanks to God. We were nevertheless not beyond all danger, because it was necessary for us to pass three great rocks which projected above the water, but which we were unable to see, the night being so dark. When ships come to this port where we had taken the rice, they do not generally pass (inside) these rocks; but our captain, as he had but little time to spare for loading, brought his vessel as closely as possible to the mouth of the river for the convenience of those who carried the rice, who were in consequence able to make more frequent trips. At length by God's grace we were, at daybreak, some 3 or 4 leagues from the land. Then we held a consultation in order to settle what direction we should take, because we had no anchors left. Some advised that we should return to GOA to winter there, others that we should go to POINT DE GALLE, which is the first town which the Dutch took from the Portuguese in the Island of CEYLON, for we were about equidistant from both, and the wind was equally favourable for both places. My opinion was that we should not take the route to GOA, but that for POINT DE GALLE; because it was to be feared that by going to GOA the sailors, who are much addicted to drink, would say or commit some folly which would give an occasion to the Inquisition for arresting them, joined to which there are in that town many facilities for dissipation, so that when it would be time to put to sea again, the captain would not find, it may be, a single man in his vessel. But by going to POINT DE GALLE there would be no danger, it



would be to go to friends, and we should be able to change to another vessel in order to continue the voyage; this in fact happened. However we were always in terror lest some tempest might not come and throw us on land, not having a single anchor left to moor the vessel with.

Among our sailors there was, by chance, one who had served for many years in the same vessel, who said that certainly there was at the bottom of the hold a very heavy anchor, but that it had only one arm. Although we desired to get it, we foresaw great difficulty on account of the quantity of goods which were in the vessel. Nevertheless it was resolved to move the whole, and four or five very skilful carpenters, who had worked at the house at GOMBROON for the Company, and were returning to BATAVIA, said that if they could only get up the anchor they would fix it so as to work as well as if it had two arms. This they did, and in two days both the anchor and the rudder were in a condition to serve us. It cost three or four cases of SHIRAZ wine, which were distributed to all those who assisted in removing the goods and getting out the anchor—for the purpose of inciting them to work well.

Eight days afterwards we found that we were off POINT DE GALLE, and we took in some of our sails in order to gain the port, one of the worst in all INDIA, on account of the rocks, which are at a level with the water in many places. It is for this reason that as soon as a vessel is sighted at sea the Governor-General sends two pilots to direct and bring her into port. But as we had both weather and sea sufficiently favourable, the captain and pilots, who had never been there before, not realising that we had passed



the reefs, which they thought were nearer to land, and seeing that no pilot came to bring the vessel into port, turned to sea again; this caused much surprise to the Governor and the pilots, who did not come out because they saw that we had passed the danger. The wind then commencing to change, drove us 9 or 10 leagues out to sea, and consequently we were two or three days beating about before we could remake the port. If the wind had driven us a little farther to sea we should have been obliged to go to winter at MASULIPATAM, in the Gulf of BENGAL. At length the pilots of POINT DE GALLE having come out for us, we entered the port and landed on the 12th of May. I immediately went to visit the Governor MADSUERE,¹ who is at present General at BATAVIA, and he did me the honour to invite me to eat always with him during the sojourn which I made there.

I did not find anything remarkable in this town, and there remains scarcely anything but the ruins, and mines, and the marks which the cannons made when the Dutch besieged it and drove away the Portuguese. The Company gave land and sites for building to those who wished to dwell there, and had already erected two good bastions, which command the port. If it had accomplished the design which it then formed, it would have made of this town a fine place.

The Dutch, before they had captured all the settlements which the Portuguese had in the Island of CEYLON, from whence they have been entirely driven, persuaded themselves that the trade of this island would yield them enormous sums if they were sole

¹ In the edition of 1713 he is called Masudere.



masters. This might have happened if they had kept to the agreement which they had made with the King of KANDY—who is the King of the country—when they began to make war with the Portuguese. But they broke faith with him, and that gave them a very bad character in these parts.

The treaty with the King of KANDY was so drawn that this King was always to be in charge of the passes, with 18,000 or 20,000 men, to prevent the reinforcements which might come from COLOMBO, NEGOMBO, MANAR, and many other places which the Portuguese held along the coast. And the Dutch were to bring in their large vessels as many troops as were sufficient to besiege POINT DE GALLE both by sea and land. They agreed, also, with the King of ACHIN that he should hold the coast with a sufficient number of small armed frigates, as he always maintained a good number of them.

The Dutch, having taken the town, began to repair some breaches, seeing which the King of KANDY sent to know when he might come there to receive possession of it. For it had been agreed in the event of the Dutch taking the town that they would give it back to the King, who by way of recompense was to give them a certain quantity of cinnamon every year, and, in case of necessity, to aid them as far as he was able. The Dutch replied to what the King had communicated to them, that they were willing to hand over the town to him provided he paid them the costs of the war, which they said amounted to many millions; but if he had possessed three kingdoms like his own he could not have paid half the sum. In truth money is scarce in that country, and I do not believe that the

King has ever seen a sum equal to 50,000 *écus*¹ at one time. His whole trade consisted in cinnamon and elephants; but since the Portuguese have been in INDIA he has derived no profit from either. As for the elephants, that is a small matter, for only five or six are captured in a year; but at the same time those of CEYLON are more highly esteemed than all the elephants of other countries, because they are more courageous in war; and there is not a King in INDIA who does not desire to have one. There should be related here a thing which it is possible one may have a difficulty in believing, but it is nevertheless quite true; it is that when any king or noble possesses one of these CEYLON elephants, and when there is brought into its presence some other one from the places where the merchants obtain them, as ACHIN, SIAM, ARAKAN, PEGU, the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, the Kingdom of ASSAM, the territories of COCHIN and the coast of MELINDA,² as soon as these latter elephants see one of CEYLON, by a natural instinct they pay it reverence by placing the ends of their trunks on the ground, and then elevating them.³

¹ £11,250.

² This reference to Melinda would seem to imply that the African elephant was domesticated in Tavernier's time (see vol. i, p. 277).

³ Sir Emerson Tennent, alluding to the common belief that Tavernier had made a statement to this effect, adds that "a reference to the original shows that Tavernier's observations are not only fanciful in themselves but are restricted to the supposed excellence of the Ceylon animal *in war*." This statement is simply incomprehensible, since Tavernier's original passage, which is here translated, is quoted in full in a footnote on the same page (*Nat. Hist. Ceylon*, pp. 209, 210.) (See *ante*, Book I, chap. xviii, p. 278.) Fryer also says that the Ceylon elephants exact homage from all others, which prostrate themselves submissively before them (*Account*, Calcutta Edition, p. 169). In reference to the fact that the elephants of Sumatra have points of affinity with the Ceylon variety, it has been suggested that the original stock of the Sumatra ele-



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It is true that the elephants which the great nobles keep, when brought before them to be examined whether they are in good condition, make a sort of salute thrice with their trunk. This I have often seen ; but they are trained to it, and their masters teach them to do so when young.

The King of ACHIN, with whom the Dutch failed to keep their promise, had other means for revenging himself than the King of KANDY, because the Dutch were not allowed to ship the pepper which comes from his territories ; for a long time he refused them permission, and even declared war upon them ; and without this pepper their trade could not prosper.

It is the kind of pepper which we call "small," and all Orientals prefer it, because without skinning or crushing they place it whole on their plates of rice, as I have elsewhere said.¹ At length the Dutch were compelled to agree with the King of ACHIN, and ambassadors were sent from one side and the other for this purpose. He who arrived on behalf of the King at BATAVIA, was treated with much magnificence. When he was about to depart the General and all his Council entertained him splendidly, and the ladies sat at table—this surprised this Muhammadan ambassador very much, who was not accustomed to see women drink and eat with men. But that which astonished him still more was that at the end of the repast, after having drunk many healths, they drank that of the Queen of

phants was introduced in the domesticated condition from Ceylon. It is on record that some elephants sent as a present to the Sultan of Sulu (or Soolo) by the East Indian Company, as he was unable to maintain them, were let loose on Cape Unsang in Borneo. (See Hornaday, *Two Years in the Jungle*, p. 220.)

¹ See p. 14.



ACHIN, who ruled the state during the minority of the King, her son. And in order to honour him still more, the General desired Madame la Générale to kiss the ambassador. The King and Queen of ACHIN did not receive the ambassador who was sent to them from BATAVIA less well. He was M. CROC, who for fifteen years suffered from a languishing sickness; and it was believed that some one had administered to him some kind of slow poison. On the occasion of the third audience which he had with the King, who knew that he had lived for so long a time in languor and without appetite, he asked him if he had ever formerly kept any girl of the country, and how he had left her, if by mutual agreement or whether he had sent her away by force. He admitted that he had left one in order to get married in his own country, and that since that time he had always been languishing and indisposed, upon which the King said to three of his physicians, who were by his side, that having heard the cause of the ambassador's sickness he would give them fifteen days to cure him, and that if they did not accomplish it in that time he would cause them all to be executed. These physicians having replied that they would answer to him for the cure of the ambassador, provided he consented to take the remedies which they would give him, M. CROC resolved to consent. They gave him in the morning a decoction, and in the evening a small pill, and at the end of nine days a great fit of vomiting seized him. It was thought he would die of the strange efforts which he made; and at length he vomited a bundle of hair as large as a small nut, after which he was at once healed. Subsequently the King took him to a rhinoceros hunt, and invited him to give the



mortal shot to the animal. As soon as it was killed they cut off the horn, which the King also presented to the ambassador; and at the conclusion of the hunt there was a great feast. At the end of it the King drank to the health of the General of BATAVIA and his wife, and ordered one of his own wives to kiss the ambassador. On his departure he presented him with a pebble of the size of a goose's egg, in which large veins of gold were to be seen as you see the tendons in the hand of a man, and it is thus that gold occurs in this country.

M. CROC, when at SURAT as chief of the factory, broke the pebble in two, and gave half to M. CONSTANT, who, subordinate to him, held the highest authority there, to whom, when he was returning to Holland, I offered 150 *pistoles* for it in order to present it to the late Monseigneur LE DUC D'ORLEANS, but he would not consent to part with it.



CHAPTER XXI

*Departure of the Author from the Island of CEYLON,
and his arrival at BATAVIA*

ON the 25th of *July*¹ we left POINT DE GALLE on a different vessel from that upon which we had arrived, because, on its being examined, it was found that it could not make the journey without danger. Accordingly, all the goods were discharged from it and transhipped to that in which we embarked for BATAVIA.

On the 2d of June² we crossed the line, and on the 6th reached the island called NAZACOS.³ On the 17th we sighted the coast of SUMATRA, on the 18th the island of INGAGNE,⁴ and on the 19th the island of FORTUNE. On the 20th we saw several other small islands, and the coast of JAVA, and among these islands there are three which are called PRINCE'S ISLANDS. On the 21st we saw the island of BANTAM, and on the 22d we anchored in the roads at BATAVIA.

¹ The July of the original and the June of the edition of 1713 appear to be both wrong, as the month must, I think, have been May.

² In the 1713 edition this is given, I think incorrectly, as July—June appears to be correct.

³ Not identified, but it may be remarked that *nusa* is Javanese for a small island, and like *pulo* is used as a prefix to the true name. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

⁴ Not identified; perhaps it may be for Indragiri, a Malay State on the coast of Sumatra.

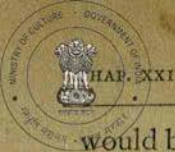


On the following day I landed, and went to salute General VANDERLIN and M. CARON¹ the Director-General, who was the second person in the council.

On the 25th, two days after my arrival, the General sent one of his guards to invite me to dinner, where there were assembled, M. CARON, two other councillors, the *Avocat-Fiscal*, the Major, and their wives. Whilst we were at table they conversed about the news from foreign countries, and principally of the court of the King of PERSIA, and after dinner some began to play at backgammon, while awaiting the coolness in order to take exercise outside the town by the river's bank, where there are very fine places for bathing. As for the General, he went to his office, where he asked me to accompany him. After some conversation on indifferent matters he asked me for what purpose I had come to BATAVIA. I told him that I had principally come to see so renowned a place; and having had an opportunity of doing service to the Company at the request of the Chief of the factory at VENGURLA, I had been led to undertake the voyage, as he might see for himself by the letter which he had written to him. I told him, at the same time, as the Commander of VENGURLA had requested me, of the discovery which had been made by a *caravel* of PORTUGAL, which a storm had driven into a bay situated 30 leagues from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, as I have related at length in the description of the town of GOA.¹ The Commander thought that the General

¹ M. Caron was afterwards appointed Chief of the French Company at Surat. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv, p. 451.)

² See Book I, chap. xiv, p. 216, for accounts of this discovery. The details there given are somewhat different.



would be able to send a small vessel there from BATAVIA, and that by conveying the news I would do a service to the Company ; and it was also with this in view that he offered me a passage in the vessel which was in the roads at VENGURLA. After I had finished my account of the matter to the General, he thanked me somewhat coldly, as being a thing of small importance, although I have since learnt that he sent to seek for the bay, but the vessel was unable to find it. After about half an hour's interview I left him in his office, into which three councillors entered at the same moment, and as I left he said that if I would wait for a little we should go together to promenade outside the town. I then joined Madame la Générale, and the other ladies who were keeping her company, and one hour afterwards two trumpets commenced to sound. The General and Madame, with four of the wives of the councillors, entered a carriage with six horses, and the councillors rode on horseback. I was allotted a horse with Persian saddle and bridle, the furniture of which was very beautiful. There are always forty or fifty saddle-horses in the stables of the General, for there is not a vessel that does not bring him some, either from ARABIA or PERSIA or other places. A company of cavalry marched in front of the General's carriage, each dragoon having a collar of buffalo skin and long scarlet hose with silver lace, the hat with a bundle of plumes, the great scarf with a fringe of silver, the sword-guard and spurs of massive silver, and all the horses had very beautiful trappings. Three bodyguards marched at each door carrying halberds, and being well clad. Each had a doublet of yellow satin, and the upper part of the hose of scarlet covered



with silver lace, and below with yellow silk, and very fine linen. Behind the carriage there marched a company of infantry, besides another which went an hour or two in advance to clear the way. As for the councillors, when they move about, as well as when they are in their houses, they have each two musketeers for their guard, and when they wish for horses the General's equerry sends them what they require. They have also their small boats in order to row about either on the sea, the river, or on the canals, where each of them has his garden. Our promenade was not long, the reason being that when leaving the fort two vessels were seen approaching, no one being able to say what they were. As the General and councillors were impatient to hear the news, they returned to the fort sooner than they had intended ; and as soon as we had re-entered I took leave of the General, the councillors, and the ladies, and withdrew to my lodging.

During three or four days I received numerous visits, this caused me no small expenditure, because custom requires that when any one comes to see you you offer him wine. One hundred *écus* are soon spent ; for a pint of wine, of about PARIS measure, holds but four glasses. Spanish wine, when cheap, costs an *écu* at BATAVIA, Rhine and French wine cost two, and one must pay 40 *sols* for a pint of beer, whether English or of BRONCEVIMONT.¹

The greatest joy known to the people of BATAVIA is experienced when vessels come from HOLLAND, for they bring all kinds of drinks, which the publicans buy from the Company, it being permitted also to every

¹ These prices in English money were, for Spanish wine, 4s. 6d. ; for Rhine and French wine, 9s. ; and for a pint of beer, 3s.



private person to buy them. But be it that they find more pleasure in drinking at the publichouses than in their own houses, be it that it is more convenient to them, when they wish to amuse themselves together, they generally make all their rejoicings in these places. It is a time of great festival when these new drinks arrive, and you meet women and girls in the streets who wager you for a pint or two of wine or beer. Whether one loses or gains, out of honour one never allows the women to pay, and there come others in addition at the same time to whom the occasion demands you should drink their healths. This often empties the purses of young people.

CHAPTER XXII¹

*Concerning an affair which was raised unseasonably
for the Author in the Council at BATAVIA*

THERE are two Councils in BATAVIA, the Council of the fort, at which the General presides, where the affairs of the Company are discussed ; and the Council that sits in the Town Hall, and deals with the police and the minor disputes which arise among the citizens. M. FAURE, one of the members of this Town Council, was among the number of those who came to visit me on my arrival, and during the space of nine or ten days he, together with one of his friends, was with me four times. Both spoke frequently of M. CONSTANT, who had been commander at GOMBROON, and was for many years the second person of the factory at SURAT, where he had amassed much wealth. He had often trusted me with a part of it, and we had always been good friends. One day, as I was about leaving SURAT in order to go to the diamond mine, he asked me to purchase (diamonds) on his account to the extent of 16,000² rupees worth, giving me a letter of credit for

¹ This chapter is omitted in the English Translation by John Phillips, but an abstract of its contents is included in chapter xxi.

² £1800. (See Index for further accounts of this traffic carried on by Tavernier on behalf of the Dutch officials.)

At a later period we find English officials engaging in the same trade.



that sum at GOLCONDA, where it was paid to me, and I invested it as he desired. I expected on my return to find him at SURAT; but during my journey he had received orders to start for BATAVIA at once, and as soon as he got there he married the widow of General VANDIME and went with her to HOLLAND. I was much surprised on my return to SURAT to find that he had left without giving orders to any of his friends, whether Dutch or English, to receive what I had for him, and send it to him by one of the vessels which go to ENGLAND. Having remained at SURAT about two months, and wishing to travel, in order not to risk what M. CONSTANT had entrusted to me I placed the whole in the hands of SIR FRANCIS BRETON, who was the second person in the factory of the English Company at SURAT, who, at M. CONSTANT'S request, afterwards forwarded it to him in HOLLAND. I had previously asked the Dutch Commander, named ARNEBAR, to be good enough to take charge of this parcel, he being a friend of M. CONSTANT; but he excused himself altogether, telling me that if the General or Council at BATAVIA came to know that he had such a thing in his hands they would treat him as a receiver who had not declared, in other words, he would be deposed from his office and all his property confiscated.

One day, then, while I was at BATAVIA, M. FAURE, whom I have just mentioned, came to see me with

(See Colonel Yule's recently published account of the Pitt diamond in *Heage's Diary*, *Hakluyt Society*.) Another Pitt, who was Governor of Madras from 1698 to 1709, namely, George Morton Pitt, appears to have been somewhat notable, also, for his private trade in diamonds. (See *Kistna Manual*, p. 106 n., and Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, p. 505.)



three others, bringing a large bottle of Rheims wine and another of English beer. For my part I had contributed a collation, and as we began to drink they asked me if I had not heard the news of M. CONSTANT which had come by land while I was at SURAT; to which I replied that I had not received any, neither by sea nor land, since he had left BATAVIA. They expressed surprise at this reply, and told me that they were much astonished, that having been such great friends, and having done such considerable trade together which lasted still, he had not made me acquainted with his news. I saw from the first that they were come with no other design than to seek to discover whether I had with me the parcel of diamonds which I had bought at the mine for M. CONSTANT, or whether I had left it with some Dutchman to send to him. I thought it advisable to remove this doubt from their minds, and that unless I did so they would be unable to drink the wine they had brought, with comfort. Without keeping them longer in suspense, therefore, I told them that I was astonished that they had not spoken to me of this matter on the first occasion when they had done me the honour to visit me, and I perceived clearly that they wished to know if the last time I had been at the diamond mine M. CONSTANT had not given me a commission to buy for him; that they need not have brought wine for that purpose to make me drink, because I was altogether different from the majority of men, who speak much and say more than they know when they have drunk, but, as for me, it is then I talk least; nevertheless, since I desired to satisfy them, so that they might not have any regret for their good wine, I would tell them



the truth frankly. It is true, then, I told them, that M. CONSTANT not only gave me a commission to buy him a parcel of diamonds, but he has also given me money to pay for them, and I purchased them for 16,000 rupees. I had no sooner finished speaking than M. FAURE, turning to the three others, "Gentlemen," said he, "you will bear me witness that M. TAVERNIER has 16,000 rupees worth of diamonds for M. CONSTANT, which he left me an order to receive when he parted for HOLLAND." I replied to him without disturbing myself, that if he wished for them he would have to run after them, but that I did not believe he would overtake them; that it was more than six months since I had dispatched them by land, and that I was much surprised at his having taken this commission, and wondered how M. CONSTANT and he could have known that I would go to BATAVIA. I saw that it annoyed him to find that he had not got what he expected, and as they did not wish to drink any more they all four departed.

* On the following day, early in the morning, an officer of the Company handed me a summons, which cited me to appear at 11 o'clock before the council of the town, where the *Avocat Fiscal* was present to take the case in hands on behalf of the Company. I did not fail to be present at the Town Hall at the hour indicated, when, immediately, these gentlemen made me enter, and with great compliments asked me if it was true that M. CONSTANT had asked me to make an investment in diamonds to the amount of 16,000 rupees, and also where they were. I said that as regards the purchase of the diamonds I had indeed made it, but that I knew not where they were, because



more than six months had elapsed since I had forwarded them to him from SURAT by land. Upon that these gentlemen of the law delivered sentence, by which it was affirmed that it was not for M. FAURE to mix in the matter, but it was for the *Avocat Fiscal* to follow it up; that at that time M. CONSTANT was in the Company's service, and that, without having defrauded, he could not out of his wages have amassed so large a sum. At this mention of his having defrauded the Company I was unable to prevent myself from laughing; this astonished them, and the President of the Council asked me why I laughed. I told him that it was at seeing that he was astonished at the fact that M. CONSTANT had defrauded the Company of 16,000 rupees, and that if he had only carried off so much, it would have been a small matter, adding that there was scarcely a servant of the Company who had held the offices which M. CONSTANT had held, and had enjoyed the opportunity of trading, as he had, without fear of the *Fiscal*, who had not at least made 100,000 *écus*.¹ There were two or three in the Council, then present, who were uneasy at hearing me talk in this way, as these remarks particularly affected them. For to say the truth, the commanders and those subordinate to them in authority in the factories know well how to appropriate large sums for their own benefit, to the great detriment of the Company; and as they cannot do so without having an understanding with the broker, he does the same on his own account, those below him also taking what they can. I made an estimate once of all the money of which the Company is defrauded on the trade in each

¹ £22,500.

factory, and I ascertained that as they annually defraud it in all the factories taken together to the extent of 1,500,000 or 1,600,000 *livres*,¹ they have abundant opportunity for consoling themselves. For to speak but of PERSIA alone, I have known commanders who, both by the sale of spices and on the purchase of silks, have placed apart for themselves in one year more than 100,000 *piastres*.² They practice marvellous artifices which it is difficult for the Company, especially the directors and shareholders of the Company, who are in HOLLAND, to discover. For, as regards the commanders in INDIA, the fact must become very patent before the General of BATAVIA and his council have recourse to law, and most frequently the commanders close the mouth of the *Avocat Fiscal*, to whom they make a present which amounts to more than the third part which would come to him if all were confiscated, another third belongs to the Company, and the other to the Hospital. Thus all passes in silence, for there is not one of these commanders who has not his patron at BATAVIA, to whom he sends valuable presents yearly, joined to which there is not one of these gentlemen of the council who has not done the same himself. Moreover, if any one who is cognisant of an injury done by a commander to the Company reports it to the General, he is certain never to be appointed to any factory, and sooner or later an opportunity is found for removing him from the office which he holds, and he is sent as a soldier to some island to end his life miserably.

As for the trade which these commanders do on their own account, there is no one who knows better

¹ £112,500 to £120,000.

² £22,500.



about it than the poor sailors, who being sometimes very badly treated by the commanders themselves, or the officers of the vessels, when they go on shore report to the chief of the factory that such an one has so many bales of goods on his private account. Most frequently the chief of the factory, who knows his part, sends to advise the person to whom the goods belong to have them removed, and to arrange to have them carried on shore by night. In order to give him time to discharge all, the informer is so well supplied with drink that he is drunk for one or two days, and when all has been removed the commander goes to the vessel to make an examination, well assured that he will find nothing. Then the poor sailor or soldier, for the falsehood which they force him to believe he has told, is severely punished, his wages are confiscated, and in most cases he is sent for three or four years to work on the galley which goes to load up with stones. There are, then, some of these commanders who have defrauded the Company, and have returned to HOLLAND with great booty, having 400,000 or 500,000 *livres*¹ worth of diamonds, pearls, ambergris, and other goods which occupy but small space. For if all is not well concealed, and if the Company is able to discover it, it is lost for them, and their wages are confiscated. But they have wonderful ways for escaping, even when they have bulky goods, as calicoes and other things which occupy much space, for all cannot go to the places where diamonds are to be purchased, and moreover they more frequently experience loss than gain by carrying them, while on coarse goods there is always much profit to be made.

¹ £30,000 to £37,500.



As the captain and other officers of the vessel strive to do private trade as well as the commanders, knowing that it will be difficult to take their goods out of the vessels without being discovered, they sometimes discharge them on the coast of NORWAY, making believe that it is bad weather which has driven them thither. Moreover, when the Dutch are at war with the English, they send vessels of war to meet those coming from INDIA, and into these vessels those who wish to defraud the Company tranship their bales of goods, before arriving in HOLLAND. They also have recourse, for the same purpose, to the fleet of herring fishers when they meet them. In short, there is no kind of artifice of which they do not make use. But when the Company entertains a suspicion that any one has exceeded, it orders the commanders to undress and put on other clothes, and more than once diamonds have been found in those which were taken off. In conclusion, it has been remarked that the majority of those who have defrauded the Company and have returned to HOLLAND with great wealth have not left their heirs any the richer; all this wealth being, as it were, evaporated in a few years. This proves that wealth ill-acquired does not profit.

Returning to the affair which had been stirred up against me at BATAVIA. On the sentence which the members of the Council had given, that the *Avocat Fiscal* should take the cause in hand on the Company's behalf, three days afterwards he sent me many pages of paper containing written charges, so that I might reply to each. The first demanded that I should declare to what extent M. CONSTANT and I had traded together since we had known one another. The others



were only nonsense, and among others that which ordered me to reply to them at all, I, who was in no wise responsible to the Company, and had only come to BATAVIA to render it a service, and consequently need trouble myself very little about the *Fiscal's* order. There was a special query which stated that the General and his council wished to know what M. CONSTANT had done at BANDAR ABBÁS, where he had been sent as commander; that they were aware of the fact that we were together day and night, and that consequently I must be well acquainted with his affairs. They were right in this, but I was not bound to render an account to them. This lasted fully four or five weeks, during which an officer came to summon me several times to accompany him to the Town Hall to give a reply. That which I gave was always the same, that I knew nothing of M. CONSTANT'S affairs, and that when he did anything he did not call me in to give him advice. As they saw they could get nothing from me by sweetness, they commenced to threaten me, saying they would arrest me. I replied boldly that I did not fear them, and that if they arrested me I had the honour to serve a Prince who was the late Monseigneur LE DUC D'ORLEANS, who would get me in safety out of their hands, and would himself resent the affront they had done me. At the same time I departed from their presence without saying another word, and they also said nothing to me. Fifteen days passed without their speaking of this affair, and during this time I went to take exercise and even to dine with some of these gentlemen. One day the *Avocat Fiscal*, who had read much and liked to hear about foreign countries, asked me to supper; when we had left the table he



took me apart and told me that he had to summon me on the following day, having received an order from the General, who wished to know, absolutely, what I had seen M. CONSTANT do at GOMBROON. "If it is to say what I have seen," I replied, "I shall do so willingly, but I desire to be in the presence of the judges." Morning having come, the officer did not fail to summon me. I followed him forthwith, and having entered the chamber, the President asked me at first if I would tell them something of what I had seen of M. CONSTANT. I said, "I would satisfy him, and that I desired to give the account at full length," with which the President and the Council told me they were quite content. As they had ordered silence for me, and I saw they awaited what I had to say to them with impatience, I spoke to them in the following manner:—

"The day on which M. CONSTANT disembarked at GOMBROON the *Khán* or Governor of the town and country made much of him, and kept him to supper, together with those who had accompanied him. The repast was magnificent, and the dishes were much better prepared than usual; I have been at many feasts of *Kháns* or Governors of Provinces in PERSIA, where they know of nothing but ragouts, not even understanding how to roast a fowl properly. But at this repast all was well arranged, and it had the appearance as if a *Frank* cook had a hand in it. All the *baladines* of GOMBROON were present, to dance in their own manner according to custom, and the repast was accomplished with much gaiety. On the following day M. CONSTANT had at dinner several *Franks*, and at the close of the repast the *Khán* sent one of his

officers to present his compliments to Commander CONSTANT, and to tell him that he would come to supper with him; this he received very well, in consequence of his appreciation of the honour which the *Khán* wished to do him. Compliments being finished, the Commander took a large glass and drank to the health of the *Khán*, and all those who were at table did likewise. As soon as the officer had left, the Commander asked some of those who were dining with him, in what manner a governor should be treated when he did the honour to a commander of coming to see him at home; there was one who told him that the first care he should have would be that as soon as night had come he should light numbers of lamps, both out and inside the house. In that country these consist of little saucers full of oil attached to the walls of the house, and at a distance of about one foot from each other. But the Commander desiring to do more honour than that to the *Khán* and to the Company, instead of these lamps ordered white wax candles to be placed throughout, and both within and without the house there was light everywhere. The *Khán* declared himself to be highly pleased with this liberal expenditure, which was done to specially honour him; and all the merchants, both Christians and Muhammadans, were also surprised at it. It is true," said I to these members of the Council, "that you know that this wax does not cost so much to the Company as it does to private persons, because all the Dutch vessels which come from MOCHA carry much of it, as it is very cheap there.

"The *baladines* were present in large numbers at this repast, in order to amuse the company with their

dances and their graceful attitudes, for there was money to be earned, as they know that the commanders pay them well, and that it is not with them as with the *Khán*, who generally considers he has paid liberally when he gives them supper.

"On the following day those who were in charge of these *baladines* (for each troupe had an old woman as guardian and directress, whom the *baladines* call their mother) came to pay their respects to M. CONSTANT, who showed himself so liberal toward them that there was not one who asked for anything from the guests—this is very contrary to their usual custom. Some of those who had slept there, and had passed all the night in making these women dance, were much surprised, on leaving in the morning, at not being compelled to put their hands in their purses, and took occasion to extol the generosity of the Commander who had so liberally paid for all. Throughout the night the signals which were on the terrace of the lodge were fired, and at each health a dozen were fired to warn the vessels to make a salute.

"Two hours before sunrise the *Khán* rose from the place where he had seated himself on arrival, which was where they had drunk and eaten, and his officers bore him away, observing that the wine began to heat him. As soon as he had left, a part of the company returned to eat and drink and the others to see the *baladines* dance, and the debauch lasted till ten o'clock in the morning. Each one, when leaving, remarked to another, 'It must be admitted that this new Commander is honourable, and does all things with a good grace.'

"When M. CONSTANT," I continued to these



gentlemen of the Council, "arrived at GOMBROON, and had to go to the dwelling of the *Khán*, the finest horses in the Company's stable were brought to him. That which was for the Commander had rich brocaded trappings, but as the bridle was only of silver he appeared to be surprised at it, and asked why there was not a golden bridle on his horse, considering that he was not inferior to the other commanders who had preceded him at GOMBROON. They told him that, by order of the Company, the Commander VANDERLIN had sent the two golden bridles which were at GOMBROON to BATAVIA, the gold of one of which weighed 600, and of the other 450 *ducats*, and that it had been ordered that, for the future, no commander should use one of gold on his horse, but must content himself with one of silver. As I saw that this annoyed M. CONSTANT, I told him privately that it would be easy for him to have a golden bridle on his horse without the Company being able to reproach him. That he had only to send to the *Khán* the present which he had to make him on behalf of the Company on a little more liberal scale than had the other commanders, his predecessors, and he should see that he would soon have a golden bridle. M. CONSTANT believed me, and made a very handsome present to the *Khán*.

"These presents consist generally of all kinds of spices, porcelain, Japanese cabinets, Dutch cloths, and other things of that kind. But the best part of the present was a ring of diamonds for which he had paid me 1500 *écus*; ¹ and 1000 *ducats* of gold with which the King caused a golden bridle to be made, which he sent as a present to the Commander; it weighed but

¹ £337:10s.

643 *ducats* of gold, the balance having remained in the *Khán's* purse. It is the custom in PERSIA, when a stranger makes a present to a great person, that he gives another in return, but certainly when one makes one to a King he does not ever receive in return nearly the value of that which he has given. The *Khán* was altogether amazed with so magnificent a present, and although, according to custom, he should have sent his, on the following day, which is usually a valuable horse, and sometimes two, he waited for five or six days, because it required that time to make the bridle. As soon as it was finished the *Khán* sent two fine horses to the Commander, one with the bridle of gold, and the other with a bridle of silver, the saddles being of the Turkish pattern with brocade of gold and silver. Out of politeness it was necessary that the Commander when mounting his horse had the golden bridle put on, and thus the Company was not able to say anything."

This was the account which I gave to the Council of BATAVIA of what I had seen at GOMBROON in reference to M. CONSTANT, and it should be remarked, before going further, that all the presents which the kings and great nobles make to the commanders and the other principal officers of the Company ought to be handed over, when they go to BATAVIA, to the charge of the General of the Council as property belonging to the Company, but they are sometimes allowed to retain them.

After having spoken in this way to these gentlemen of the Council of BATAVIA, and having told them ingenuously what M. CONSTANT had done during the first days after his arrival at GOMBROON, they wished



to know what had happened subsequently, and told me that they had already been sufficiently informed of what I had just told them, but wished that I should let them know what trade M. CONSTANT had done. It was then I began to speak to them in a different way, and told them I was not dependent on them and was not their spy. That if they wished to know so much they should have ascertained it when he was at BATAVIA, or they might write to him in HOLLAND, and would be able by that means to satisfy themselves. The President, who saw that I mocked them, rose from his place to talk with some of the councillors, and then told me that they would give me four days to reflect on my reply to the Council, both in reference to the trade which I had done with M. CONSTANT, and that which I knew of his having done with other persons. Upon this I retired, without replying, and went to dine with one of the councillors without speaking further of the matter.

The four days having expired, I waited for them to send for me, but they delayed eight days longer, after which they sent an officer, who told me that the President would expect me at the Council at 11 o'clock. Having entered the chamber, the *Avocat Fiscal* delivered a long discourse, referring to my refusal to reply to the questions which had been given me in writing, and as for himself he required that I should be placed in *gesselin*, i.e. under arrest, until I had replied. I replied to that "that I was not the least astonished at what he said, and that I believed the gentlemen of the Council would think more than once before they carried it into execution; that if he wished me to reply to what he asked, it was necessary

to convey it to me in a language which I understood, and not in Dutch." He replied to this "that he had often heard me speak Dutch," to which I responded "that in truth I did know something of the language, but did not know enough to enable me to read and understand chicanery." As I perceived that he was offended by the use of the word chicanery, I said to him again in a firmer tone than before, "that I was not in receipt of wages from the Company, and that I had not been appointed to observe the conduct and actions of M. CONSTANT." The Council at length ordered the *Fiscal* to give me his questions in French; this he did, and fixed the period for replying at eight days. I laughed at all these questions, being well assured that I was able to put an end to the proceedings whenever I pleased. I deferred replying for another eight days beyond the eight which they had given me; but seeing that the Council began to be annoyed, I thought that it was time to put an end to the affair.

* As soon as the *Fiscal* had given me his questions in French, I communicated them to M. POTRE, the ablest counsel in BATAVIA, who told me that, not being employed by the Company, I was not obliged to reply to any of these articles, nevertheless, being desirous of putting an end to the affair, I went to the President's house shortly after sunrise, and he came to receive me in his sleeping garment, "preferring," he said, "to come to me in that condition rather than make me wait while he dressed." The reply which I made to this compliment was "that since he wished me absolutely to tell him all that I knew of M. CONSTANT, I would conceal nothing that had come to my knowledge, even



were it to the disadvantage of the General himself and many members of the Council, and of you yourself who urge me to speak," I added, after he had made his guard withdraw, and he and I remained alone. I told him, then, that "when leaving SURAT to go to the diamond mine, M. CONSTANT entrusted me with 44,000¹ rupees, asking me to expend it on diamonds, and especially on large stones, that my services would be well rewarded, and that as this sum belonged to the General he would be glad to have an opportunity of obliging him. Moreover, that the General himself had purchased from M. CONSTANT, when he visited BATAVIA, all the parcels I had sold him while he was the second in authority at the factory of SURAT. They were all stones which I had had cut, their value being more than 40,000 *écus*.² As for the pearls which the said M. CONSTANT had bought for the General during the time he was at HORMUZ, I did not exactly know the value, but I so far knew that they included two pear-shaped pearls which cost 170 *tomans*.³ That I had also received somewhat considerable sums to invest for M. CARLES RENAL, M. CAM, and some others, and that he himself could not have forgotten that when M. CONSTANT left BATAVIA to go to be Commander in PERSIA, he entrusted to him 36,000 rupees,⁴ asking him to give it to some of his friends to invest it in a parcel of diamonds. That the said M. CONSTANT expected to find me at SURAT in order to place this sum in my hands, but as I had left for HORMUZ some days previously on an English vessel, he thought to

¹ £4950.² £9000.³ £586 : 10s., the *toman* being equal to £3 : 9s.⁴ £4050.

find me there, where he would place the sum in my hands, supposing that during the same season I should return to INDIA, and to the diamond mine. And in order to make you see," I further said to the President, "how M. CONSTANT was devoted to your interest, he purchased with the greater part of your money goods of SIRONJ and BURHÁNPUR, and as soon as he arrived at GOMBROON he was offered 30 per cent profit on them. It is true, I added, that to calculate it at the rate which the other merchants have to pay it would only amount to 5 per cent, but he made all pass as if on the account of the Company, which neither pays the freight of the vessel nor the customs at GOMBROON, these two items amounting, in the case of the merchants, to 25 per cent. That when the vessel which had carried him, returned to BATAVIA, although the goods were not sold, he did not omit to write to you that he had refused 30 per cent profit in the hope of receiving more. That, however, three vessels arrived at GOMBROON laden with the same kinds of goods, so that he had difficulty in getting for them what they had cost in INDIA; this compelled him to give those which he had bought for you at the current price. That, nevertheless, M. CONSTANT had been so generous that he never asked anything from you, but that he had told me in private that he had lost more than 15 per cent by the transaction."

Having given all this detail to the President, he appeared to be very much alarmed, and besought me to make no noise about it, in which he did wisely, for I could have named others, all the addresses of the chiefs of the Company having come to my knowledge, and the principal part of the large sums which they



had invested in diamonds having passed through my hands. Observing then that the President did not wish to hear more, I took leave of him and went to tell my counsel all that had passed. His dwelling being near that of the President, I observed that the latter went to the fort, apparently to see the General. Between 11 o'clock and noon I was about to go the Town Hall to know what the *Avocat Fiscal* would say to me, because I knew that the President had gone there when leaving the fort, and that they had conversed together. But I met him half way, and approaching me with a laughing face he asked me where I was going. I replied that I was going to the Town Hall to reply to some of his questions. "I beg you," he replied quickly, "let us leave that affair to go and have dinner together. I was presented yesterday with two cases, one of French wine and the other of Rhine wine, we shall see which is the best. All I ask from you is a word written with your own hand, that you have nothing belonging to M. CONSTANT." This I gave very willingly, and in this way the whole process came to an end.



CHAPTER XXIII

The Author goes to see the King of BANTAM,¹ and describes several adventures in connection therewith

HAVING freed myself of an affair which had been raised so inconveniently for me, I forthwith formed a resolution to visit the King of BANTAM, having often heard that he was very fond of men of our nation; this it is easy for me to acknowledge on account of the good treatment which I received from him. As soon as one passes beyond the Kingdoms which yield obedience to the GREAT MOGUL, the language which is called Malay is, among Orientals, what the Latin language is in EUROPE.² On the voyage which I made to INDIA in the year 1638 I took with me one of my brothers³ who was my junior, and who had a special talent for foreign languages. He required but five or six months in order to learn one, and he spoke eight

¹ In the native language, Bantan. It forms the western end of Java and has an area of 2568 geographical square miles. It is a mountainous country of volcanic formation. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately proved the superior in this region. It is now a Dutch Province, having been taken possession of in 1643. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*.)

² This is still the case, Malay being the *lingua franca* in these regions.

³ This was his brother Daniel (see Introduction, pp. xii and xvi).



of them perfectly well. Moreover he was well made in person and was considered brave, of which he gave many proofs. Having one day fought a duel at BATAVIA with an infantry captain, over whom he obtained considerable advantage, General VANDIME, who liked men of spirit, and the principals of the council, who had much esteem for him, permitted the matter to pass in silence, and as a mark of the affection with which they regarded him they gave him permission to equip a vessel on his own private account and to trade in such goods as he pleased, with the exception of spices. Accordingly my brother bought a vessel of fourteen guns, with which he made many voyages. The first was to SIAM, where he made a sufficiently large profit, but he lost 5000 or 6000 *écus* of it to the King, who invited him to gamble with him and five of the principal nobles of his court, being much pleased at meeting a European who spoke the Malay language so well. It cannot be doubted that the profits are great in this kind of trade, since those who advance the money to traders, on loan, obtain for it cent per cent. But it is also true that they risk much, because if the vessel is lost the money is lost to them also, and this is called "the great speculation." He also made some voyages to the King of MACASSAR, but they did not yield so much profit as those to the Kingdoms of SIAM, TONQUIN, and COCHINCHINA.

Having, then, resolved to go to BANTAM, and not knowing the Malayan language, I took with me my brother, who was then at BATAVIA. It was necessary for me to have the permission of the General, according to custom, and he refused because he was not on good terms with the King of BANTAM. But two hours

afterwards M. CARON, who was at that time Director-General, sent to me to say that I might leave on my voyage for BANTAM in all safety, as soon as I wished. Accordingly I set out with my brother in a small barque which we hired to carry us to BANTAM, where, on arrival, our first visit was to the English President, who gave us a grand reception, and desired that we should not take other quarters but stay with him. He had still about fifty pots of MANTUA wine with which he desired to regale us. This wine is not exported in glass bottles, in which it goes bad, but in earthen pots, in which it always keeps good.

On the following morning my brother went to the King's palace, where he was well known and welcome, in order to ascertain when his majesty would be able to receive us. But as soon as the King knew that he was there, he would not allow him to return to fetch me, but ordered a messenger to be sent to seek me, and tell me that if I had any rare jewels I should please him by bringing them.

When the King's people came to conduct me to the palace, not seeing my brother with them, I was on the point of refusing to follow them, and I recalled before my eyes the manner in which the King of ACHIN had treated M. RENAUD, who had left NANTES with his brother on the vessels which M. DE MONTMORENCY sent to INDIA. I shall record the history of it in a few words, and this short digression will possibly not be displeasing to the reader. A French Company of Commerce was established for INDIA, whither it sent four vessels, three large and one small one of eight guns, upon which among others the two brothers RENAUD, who entered the service of the Com-

pany, embarked. Their journey was the shortest and the most fortunate of any ever heard of, as they arrived before BANTAM in less than four months. The King received them with great joy, and in eight or ten days' time he gave them as much pepper as they asked for, and at a very fair price, they having received it at more than 20 per cent cheaper than the Dutch do. But as our Frenchmen had not come for pepper only, but wished also to obtain information as to the trade in cloves, nutmegs, and mace, they sent the smaller vessel with the greater part of their money to MACASSAR, where the King's stores are generally full, as I have elsewhere said, the Dutch, with all their skill, not being able to prevent the people of this island trading with the other islands where the spices grow,¹ this annoys them much, since they desire to compel [the trade of] all other nations to pass through their hands.

Our Frenchmen having obtained their cargo of pepper so quickly at BANTAM, had not patience to await the return of the small vessel which they had sent to MACASSAR, and, in order to amuse themselves, decided to go to BATAVIA, that town not being more than 14 leagues distant from BANTAM. When the wind is favourable one can go there in a single tide, and they reached the roads at 8 o'clock in the morning. As soon as they had cast anchor the General of the French fleet sent to pay his compliments to the General of BATAVIA, who did not fail to reply to this civility by asking the General to come on shore that he might entertain him. He sent at the same time to those who remained in the vessel a quantity of refreshments, and especially Spanish and Rhine wine, with

¹ See p. 16.



instructions to those who carried it to make them drink well in order to intoxicate them. This order was so well followed that it was easy for the Dutch afterwards to set fire to the vessels according to the orders which they had received, and as, from the saloon of the fort where the General of BATAVIA receives strangers, all the roads are visible, one of the Indian Councillors who was at the table, seeing the flame, cried out saying that he believed the French vessels were on fire. The General of BATAVIA appeared to be much astonished, and the French General, who rightly concluded how it had come about, looking unmoved at the company: "But that," said he, "need not prevent us from continuing to drink—those who have lighted the fire shall pay for it." But he did not remember then that time was worth money, and the Dutch did not pay for a quarter of the damage. The French vessels were all burnt and the crews were saved on the *frigates* which were despatched for them in haste. The General of BATAVIA made the men liberal offers, which they refused, and they returned to BANTAM to await their small vessel. When it arrived they could find no better plan than to sell their goods and the vessel itself to the English, and the money was divided among all according to the rank of each. The English offered them a passage to EUROPE, but the General and some of the principal officers alone accepted it. The greater part of the French remained in INDIA and took service with the Portuguese, with whom there was some advantage to be gained at that time.

The Dutch did not ill-treat the French, alone, after this fashion, as they did a still more serious injury to the English. The English were the first to realise that



the voyage to JAPAN from SURAT, MASULIPATAM, and other places, was too dangerous to attempt in one stretch, without having some place in which to rest when the winds were contrary. They found it desirable to build a fort in the island of FORMOSA; and this has spared the loss of many vessels, in addition to the great profit which it brought them. The Dutch being jealous that the English should have seized so good a position as that, being the sole place in all the island where vessels could lie in safety, and as they were unable to take it by force, decided on treachery to accomplish their design. They sent two of their vessels, upon which they put their best soldiers, who feigned to have been very badly injured by a storm, making their vessels appear dismasted and broken in many directions, and all the soldiers pretending sickness. The English, touched by this misery, which was only a sham, invited the chief officers to come on shore in order to refresh themselves; this invitation they immediately accepted, ordering as many of their people as possible to leave the vessel, under pretext that they were ill, and could be treated better on shore than on board. While the principal officers were at table with the English, who had civilly invited them to dinner, and where, to accomplish their object, they took with them more persons than politeness permitted, and, in order to make more come on shore they ordered them to bring from the vessels, from time to time, many kinds of wine, and those who brought them had the word to remain there, of which the English, who were not on their defence, took no notice. The Dutch, seeing that they had drunk well, and that it was time to execute their design, started a quarrel with the English chief; and drawing their arms



which they had concealed, threw themselves upon the English garrison, whom they murdered without meeting with much resistance. It was thus they made themselves masters of the fort, which they possessed till they were driven from it by the Chinese. I could tell of many other treacheries by the Dutch,¹ but it is time to return to that which followed the burning of the French vessels in the BATAVIA roads.

The two brothers RENAUD, of whom I have above spoken, having received at BANTAM a small amount of money from the distribution which was made of the proceeds of the sale of the small vessel, and the goods which it had brought from MACASSAR, found means to go to GOA, and knew so well how to gain the good opinion of the Portuguese, that they were permitted to trade in all places where the Portuguese were in authority. In five or six years they had each earned to the value of 10,000 *écus*.² The elder one dealt in cottons and other coarse goods, and the younger in precious stones. The Portuguese had been accustomed to send three or four vessels to ACHIN every year to obtain pepper, elephants,³ and gold, and they took there all kinds of white and coloured calicoes, especially blue and black. They also sent jewels to the King, because he loved and highly valued them. The two brothers RENAUD decided to go there, each for his own particular trade, the elder one carrying cottons, and the younger

¹ Tavernier subsequently resolved to do so, and in his third volume we have his accumulated charges against the Dutch, under the title, *Conduite des Hollandois en Asie*.

² £2250.

³ This statement as to the importation of Sumatran elephants is of interest, but requires confirmation. See p. 317 for suggested origin of elephants in Sumatra.



jewels, amongst which he had four rings of the value of about 18,000 *écus*. Having arrived at ACHIN, they went with the other Portuguese to the King's palace, which is at 2 leagues from the sea, and each of them showed the King and the nobles who were with him whatever he had brought. As for the jewels, as soon as the King had cast his eyes on the four rings he desired to have them, but refused to pay more than 15,000 *écus* for them, but the younger RENAUD asked 18,000 *écus*. Not having been able to agree, he took them away, which much displeased the King, who sent for him on the following day. RENAUD, who had returned to the vessel, was a long time in doubt whether he should go to the King again or not ; but the officers of the vessel advising him to go, he at length resolved to do so, and the King took the four rings for the 18,000 *écus*, which he paid him forthwith. But after RENAUD left the presence of the King no one ever knew what became of him ; apparently he was secretly murdered in the palace.

This adventure came to my memory when I saw that the King of BANTAM sent to ask for me, and that my brother was not with those who came to summon me. Nevertheless, I resolved to go, and took with me 12,000 or 13,000 rupees worth of jewels, the largest part consisting of rings with diamonds arranged in roses, some of seven stones, others of nine, and others of eleven, with some bracelets of diamonds and rubies. I found the King with three of his captains and my brother seated in the Oriental fashion, and they had before them five large plates of rice of different colours. For their drink they had Spanish wine and brandy, with many kinds of sherbets. After I had saluted the

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