



AVIS
TO THE READER

It is almost impossible in a work of this sort, containing so many proper names of officers, Princes, towns, mountains, and rivers, that many faults should not occur; because these names being entirely unknown to us, and little conformable to our pronunciation and manner of writing, it need not be wondered at if the printer has often erred. But among other faults one important one has been detected, which it is desirable to remove and to notify, that in place of *coste*, which means nothing, *cosse* should be read throughout, which in the language of the country means league (*lieue*) in India.



ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 16, note 2, for Assen read Asen.

- „ 92, omit note 3.
- „ 143 and 144 n, for Kurum read Khurram.
- „ 184, note 2, for Cardamons read Cardamoms.
- „ 203 and 269, for Augustines read Augustins.
- „ 205, headline, for Mascaregnas read Mascarehnas.
- „ 217, for elephants' teeth read tusks.
- „ 250 n and 280 n, for Tennant read Tennent.
- „ 251, line 2, for which read whom.
- „ 288 n, for Jalmudugu read Jamalmudugu.
- „ 326, line 6, for Roushenará read Raushenará.
- „ 400 n, for p. 372 n, read Vol. ii, p. 129.
- „ 415, last paragraph, for Tun read Tonne.
- „ 416, line 26, for 133½ read 133¼.
- „ 416 and 417, for corrected values of carat and rati, see Index.
- „ 417, note 1, for 1.27 read 0.127.



BOOK I

Concerning routes which one may take to go from ISPAHAN to AGRA, and from AGRA to DELHI and JAHÁNÁBÁD,¹ where the Court of the GREAT MOGUL is at present ; as also to the Court of the King of GOLCONDA and to that of the King of BIJAPUR,² and to several other places in INDIA.

¹ Dehly and Gehanabat in the original. Sháh Jahán rebuilt Delhi, and called the new city Sháhjahánábád, which retains its form and fortifications to the present time, and is the Delhi of to-day.

² Visapour, in the original, was an early corruption of the name Bijapur (Vijáyapura). It is the principal town of what is now the Kaládgi District of the Bombay Presidency. An account of its buildings is given in Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.



TRAVELS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

*Route from ISPAHAN to AGRA by (way of) GOMBROON,¹
where particular mention is made of the navigation
from HORMUZ² to SURAT.³*

I SHALL follow in this account of my Indian travels the same order as I have observed in that of my Persian travels, and I shall commence with the description of the routes by which one can go from ISPAHAN to DELHI and JAHÁNÁBÁD, where the GREAT MOGUL at present resides.

Although INDIA presents a frontier towards PERSIA of more than 400 leagues, extending from the ocean up to that long chain of mountains which traverses the centre of ASIA from west to east, and has been known to antiquity under the name of MOUNT TAURUS or MOUNT CAUCASUS,⁴ there are, notwithstanding, not so

¹ Gomron in the original, for Gombroon, the modern Bandar Abbás, in the Persian Gulf

² Ormus in the original, the modern Hormuz, more properly Hurmúz, formerly a city and kingdom near the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

³ Surate in the original, the modern Surat, spelt Suratte in the French edition of 1713.

⁴ Mount Taurus or Mount Caucasus. The former name was used by some of the ancient geographers for a supposed continuous range from west to east, through the whole of Asia, and embracing the real



many ways for passing from PERSIA into INDIA as there are for passing from TURKEY into PERSIA, because between PERSIA and INDIA there are only sands and vast deserts where one finds no water at all. Thus, in order to go from ISPAHAN to AGRA there are but two routes to select from—one partly by land and partly by sea, by taking ship at HORMUZ; and the other altogether by land, passing through CANDAHAR. The first of these routes has been fully described up to HORMUZ towards the end of the last book of my travels in PERSIA,¹ and I have now to speak of the navigation from HORMUZ to SURAT.)

Navigation in the Indian seas is not carried on at all seasons, as it is in our European seas, and it is necessary to take the proper season, outside the limits of which no one ventures to put to sea. The months of November, December, January, February, and March, are the only months in the year in which one embarks at HORMUZ for SURAT, and at SURAT for HORMUZ: with this difference, however, that one rarely leaves SURAT later than the end of February,² but for leaving HORMUZ one may wait till the end of March,

Taurus of Asia Minor, the Persian Elbruz, the Hindu Kush, and the Himalayas. "The boundaries of India on the north, from Ariana to the Eastern Sea, are the extremities of Taurus, to the several parts of which the natives give, besides others, the names of Paropamisus, Emodus, and Imaus (Himalaya); but the Macedonians call them Caucasus," etc. (Strabo, Bk. xv, c. i, § 11; Bohn's ed., trans. by Falconer and Hamilton, vol. iii, p. 78.)

¹ Book V, chaps. xx, xxi, xxii, p. 653 *et seq.* The second route up to Candahar is described in Book V, chap. xxiv, p. 693, *Persian Travels*, Paris edition of 1676.

² This indication of the periods of the monsoons is of interest. It is availed of by M. Joret, in his *J. B. Tavernier*, Paris, 1886, p. 64, as a factor in determining the dates of Tavernier's journeys, regarding which his direct statements are so few, vague, or even contradictory.



and even till the 15th of April, because then the western wind which brings the rains to INDIA begins to blow. During the first four months a wind from the north-east prevails with which one may sail from SURAT to HORMUZ in fifteen or twenty days; afterwards, veering by degrees to the north, it serves equally the vessels which go to SURAT and those which are coming from it, and during this period the merchants generally reckon on spending thirty or thirty-five days at sea; but when you wish to go from HORMUZ to SURAT in fourteen or fifteen days, you must embark in the month of March or at the beginning of April, because then you have the western wind astern all the way.

Vessels leaving HORMUZ steer for MUSCAT,¹ on the coast of ARABIA, in order not to approach too near to that of PERSIA, and to give it a wide berth. Those which are coming from SURAT do the same, in order to find the entrance to the gulf, but neither the one nor the other ever touch at MUSCAT, because custom dues have to be paid to the Arabian Prince who took this place from the Portuguese.

MUSCAT is a town on the sea-coast, opposite to three rocks, which render the approach to it very difficult, and it lies at the foot of a mountain upon which the Portuguese had three or four forts. It may be remarked that MUSCAT, HORMUZ, and BASSORA² are the three places in the East where the heat is most unbearable. Formerly the English and Dutch monopolised this navigation; but for some years past the

¹ Mascaté in the original, the modern Muscat, or more properly Mäskät, the capital of Oman, in North-East Arabia.

² Balsara in the original, Balsora of the *Arabian Nights*, the modern Bassora (*Basra*), in the Persian Gulf.



Armenians, Muhammadans of INDIA, and *Banians*¹ also have vessels, upon which, however, one does not feel so safe as on those of the *Franks*,² because necessarily the Indians do not understand the sea so well, and have not such good pilots.

Vessels sailing for SURAT, which is the only port in the whole empire of the GREAT MOGUL, steer for DIU and POINT ST. JEAN,³ and then anchor in the roads at SUWÁLI,⁴ which is only four leagues distant from SURAT, and but two from the mouth of the river, bearing from it northwards. They carry the merchandise from one place to the other either by cart or by boat, because large vessels cannot enter the river at SURAT, until after they are unloaded, on account of the sandbanks which are at the mouth. The Dutch return after having landed their goods at SUWÁLI, and the English did the same, neither being permitted to enter into the SURAT river; but since, some time back, the King has granted to the latter a place to winter⁵ in during the rainy season.

SURAT is a city of moderate size, with a poor fortress, which you must pass, whether approaching it by water or by land. It has four towers at its four

¹ *Banianes* in the original, see Book III, chap. iii, and Index.

² *Francs* in the original, and *Franguis* on p. 59, names in the East for all Europeans except Greeks; Pers. *Farangi*.

³ Diu and Point St. Jean. Diu is on an island (from which fact the name is derived—*dvīpa*, Sanskrit for an island) off the southern extremity of Gujarát. It occupies an important position in the history of the Portuguese, and still belongs to them. St. Jean is the port in Gujarát called *Saján* or *Sanján*, the *Sindán* of Arab writers, corrupted by the Portuguese into *San Gens* and the English into *St. John's*. (See Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s. v. *St. John's*, p. 591.)

⁴ *Souali* in original, a roadstead near the mouth of the Tápti (*op. c.*, p. 671).

⁵ The term winter (*hiver*) is used by several early writers on India to indicate the rainy season, viz. June to October.



angles ; and as the walls are not terraced, the guns are placed upon scaffoldings. The Governor of the fortress merely commands the soldiers of the garrison, and possesses no authority in the city, which has its own separate Governor to receive the customs and the other revenues of the King throughout the extent of his Province. The walls of the city are of earth, and the houses of private persons are merely barns, being built of nothing but reeds, covered with cow-dung mixed with clay to fill the interstices, and to prevent those outside from seeing between the reeds that which is done inside. In the whole of SURAT there are only nine or ten well-built houses, and the *Sháh-bandar*,¹ or chief of the merchants, has two or three of them. The others belong to the Muhammadan merchants, and those of the English and Dutch are not the least fine, every president and commander taking care to keep them in repair, the cost of which they charge against the accounts of their companies. These dwellings are, nevertheless, only hired houses, the King not permitting any *Frank* to possess a house of his own, fearing that he would have that of which he might make a fortress. The Reverend Capuchin Fathers have built a very commodious one upon the model of the houses of EUROPE, with a beautiful church, and I myself furnished a large portion of the money which it cost ; but the purchase had to be made under the name of a Maronite merchant of ALEPPO² named CHELEBI, of whom I have spoken in my account of PERSIA.

¹ *Cha-bander* in original, *Sháh-bandar*, i.e. Governor of the port or harbour and customs master.

² Alep in original, for Aleppo, described Book II, cap. ii, p. 134, of the *Persian Travels*, Paris, 1876.



CHAPTER II

Concerning the Customs, the Money, the Exchange, the Weights, and the Measures of INDIA.

IN order to avoid repetition, which one cannot escape in the course of a long journey, it is desirable to make the reader acquainted from the first with the practice in INDIA in reference to customs, money, exchange, measures, and weights.

As soon as merchandise is landed at SURAT it has to be taken to the custom-house, which adjoins the fort. They are very strict and search persons with great care. Private individuals pay as much as 4 and 5 per cent duty on all their goods; but as for the English Company and the Dutch Company, they pay less. But I believe likewise that, taking into account what it costs them in deputations and in presents, which they are obliged to make every year at court, the goods cost them scarcely less than they do private persons.

Gold and silver pay 2 per cent, and as soon as they have been counted at the custom-house the Mintmaster¹ comes to take them, and coins them into money of the

¹ The Mintmaster was called *Darogha* (of the mint); the assays were made by the *Sairafi*; other officials in the mints were the *Amin*, who was a kind of spy on the others; the *Mushrif*, to keep the accounts, etc. (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's transl., vol. i, p. 18.)



country, which he hands over to you, in proportion to the amount and standard of your silver. You settle with him, according to the nature of the amount, a day when he is to give the new coins, and for as many days as he delays to do so beyond the term agreed upon he pays interest in proportion to the silver which he has received. The Indians are cunning and exacting in reference to coin and payments; for when money has been coined for three or four years it has to lose $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and it continues in the same proportion according to age, not being able, they say, to pass through so many hands without some diminution.

You may carry all sorts of silver into the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, because there is a mint in each of the frontier towns, where it has to be refined to the highest standard,¹ as is all the gold and silver in INDIA, by order of the King, and it is coined into money of the country. Bar silver, or old silver plate which has been bought without payment for the workmanship, is that which has the least to lose, for on coined silver one cannot avoid the loss on coinage. Sales are in general conditional on payment being made in money coined during the current year; and if one pays in old pieces it is necessary to submit to loss, according to the time they have been coined, as I have said above. In all places at a distance from towns, where the common people do not understand silver well, and where there are no Changers, they will not receive a piece of silver till they put it into the fire to ascertain

¹ The method of assaying which was practised in India is described in the *Atn-i-Akbâri*, and upon it there are some important remarks and explanatory notes to be found in Percy's *Metallurgy of Gold and Silver*.



if it is good ; and this is practised especially at the river crossings.¹ As their boats are made of osiers, covered only with oxhide, and are consequently very light,² they keep them in the woods, and will not take them on their shoulders for crossing the water before they have received their payment.

In so far as regards gold, the merchants who import it use so much cunning in order to conceal it, that but little of it comes to the knowledge of the customs' officers. They do all they can to evade paying the customs, especially as they have not so much risk to run as in the custom-houses of EUROPE. For in those of INDIA, when any one is detected in fraud, he is let off with paying double, 10 per cent instead of 5, the King comparing the venture of the merchant to a game of hazard, where one plays double or quits. However, for some time back this is somewhat changed, and it is to-day difficult to settle with the customs' officers on that condition. The King has conceded to the English Captains that they shall not be searched when they leave their vessels to come on shore ; but one day an English Captain, going to TATTA,³ one of the largest towns of INDIA, a little above SINDI,⁴ which is at the mouth of the river INDUS,⁵ when

¹ Only a few years ago I found the people in a remote part of the District of Raipur, in the Central Provinces, most unwilling to accept any payment in silver ; they would take copper, but preferred cowries.

² Coracles. See Book I, chap. xviii, and Index for further references to them.

³ Tata in the original, the modern Tatta, in Sind (see p. 17), a *taluk* in the Karáchi District.

⁴ Scindi in the original, sometimes written Simdi by Tavernier—*e.g.* p. 17—for Sindi, the Province of Sind, derived from the River Sind, *i.e.* Indus.

⁵ River of Indou in the original, *i.e.* *Hindú* or *Sindú*—the Indus river.



about to pass, was arrested by the customs' guards, from whom he could not defend himself, and who searched him in spite of anything he could say. They found gold on him, he having already conveyed some in sundry journeys between his vessel and the town; he was let off on payment of the ordinary duty. The Englishman, vexed by this affront, resolved to have his revenge for it, and he took it in a jocose manner. He caused a sucking-pig to be roasted, and to be placed with the grease in a china plate, covered with a napkin, and gave it to a slave to carry it with him to the town, anticipating exactly that which would happen. As he passed in front of the custom-house, where the Governor of the town, the *Sháh-bandar*, and the Master of the mint were seated in a divan, they did not fail to stop him, and, the slave still advancing with his covered plate, they said to the master that he must needs go to the custom-house, and that they should see what he carried. The more the Englishman protested that the slave carried nothing which should pay duty, the less was he believed; and after a long discussion he himself took the plate from the hands of the slave, and proceeded to carry it to the custom-house. The Governor and the *Sháh-bandar* asked him forthwith, in a sharp tone, why he was unwilling to obey orders, and the Englishman, on his part, replying in a rage that what he carried was not liable to duty, rudely threw the plate in front of them, so that the sucking-pig and the grease soiled the whole place, and splashed on their garments. As the pig is an abomination to the Muhammadans, and since by their law they regard as defiled whatever is touched by it, it became necessary for them to change their garments,



to remove the carpet from the divan, and to make a new structure, without daring to say anything to the Englishman, because the *Sháh-bandar* and the Master of the mint have to be particular with the Company, from which the country derives so much profit. As for the Chiefs of the Companies, both English and Dutch, and their associates, they have so much respect for them that they never search them when they come from the vessels; but they, for their part, do not attempt to convey gold in secret as the private merchants do, considering it beneath them to do so. The commerce of TATTA, which was formerly considerable, is beginning to decrease rapidly, because the entrance to the river becomes worse from day to day, and the sands which accumulate almost close the passage.

The English, seeing that they had adopted the custom of searching them, had recourse to little stratagems in order to pass the gold, and the fashion of wearing wigs having come to them from EUROPE, they bethought themselves of concealing the Jacobuses, rose nobles, and ducats in the nets of their wigs every time that they left their vessels in order to go on shore.¹ There was a merchant who desired to take into SURAT some boxes of coral without its coming to the knowledge of the customs' officers. The vessel being ready to enter the river, he had the boxes tied to the stern, and being two or three feet under the water, those who came to examine the goods on the vessel were unable to see them. Several days passed before the goods

¹ Frauds were committed on the customs regarding exports, too, as will be seen on subsequent pages. M. Thevenot also mentions that he knew people who had conveyed away, with the aid of the Dutch commander, numerous precious stones and other costly articles without paying any custom dues. (*Voyage des Indes*, Paris, 1684, p. 5.)



were unladen, and before it became possible to convey the boxes in safety into the town without the customs' officers having wind of it. The thing was at length cleverly accomplished, but the merchant had cause to repent of it, and he found himself on the wrong side of the account; for, since the river at SURAT is always disturbed and thick, there attached itself to the coral, which had been a long time in the water, a sort of slime like a crust, and a white skin, which they had much trouble to remove, and after it was cleaned the loss to the merchant exceeded 12 per cent.

I now come to the coins which are current in INDIA throughout the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, and to all the kinds of gold and silver, which should be carried in ingots, rather than in coin, in order to secure most profit there.

In the first place it should be remarked that it is advantageous to purchase gold or silver which has been worked, in order to make it into ingots, and to cause it to be refined up to the highest standard; for, being refined, you do not pay for the carriage of the alloy which was mixed with it before, and not carrying the gold or silver in coin, you do not pay what the prince and the mint have taken for their coinage dues.

If you take coined gold, the best pieces are rose nobles,¹ old Jacobuses,² Albertuses,³ and other ancient pieces, both of PORTUGAL and other countries, and all sorts of gold coins which have been coined in the last century. On all these old pieces there is always some

¹ Rose nobles : a noble was an English coin, worth 6s. 8d.

² Jacobus, an English coin of James I, worth about 25s.

³ Albertuses. The Alberts Dutch dollar, a silver coin, was worth in exchange something less than the rix-dollar, or 45s. 6d. ; I have failed to identify any gold coin with the above name.



profit for the merchant. Among the good gold coins which one may carry to INDIA all the ducats of Germany, both those of princes and those of imperial towns, as also the ducats of POLAND, HUNGARY, SWEDEN, and DENMARK must be included; and all these kinds of ducats are taken at the same standard. The golden ducats of VENICE formerly passed as the best, and were each valued at four or five of our *sols*¹ more than all the others; but, since twelve years or thereabouts, it seems that they altered them, so that they are not valued now save at the same price as the others. There are still the ducats which the GRAND SEIGNEUR coins at CAIRO,² and those of SALEE³ and MOROCCO,⁴ but these three coins are the least valuable of all, and are generally worth four *sols* less than the others.

Throughout the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL all the gold and silver is weighed by a weight called *tola*, which amounts to 9 *deniers* 8 *grains* of our weight.⁵ When one has a quantity of gold or silver to sell, the Indians have brass weights, with the King's stamp, to avoid fraud; and with these weights they weigh all the gold or silver at a time, provided it does not exceed one hundred *tolas*. For all the weights of the Changers only range from one *tola* up to one hundred, and these hundred *tolas* are equivalent in our weight to 38 *onces* 21 *deniers* 8 *grains*. As for the gold or silver which

¹ 5 *sols* = $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. (See Appendix.)

² Caire in the original.

³ Salé in the original, the ancient Sala and modern Salee, on the north-west coast of Africa.

⁴ Maroc in the original.

⁵ *Tolla* in the original. Tola therefore = 224 French grs. = 187.5 grains Troy. The present British tola = 180 grains Troy, *i.e.* the weight of the rupee.



is not coined, if there is much, they put it to the test, and the test having been applied, they bid for it as highly as they can, out of jealousy of one another.

As there are merchants who have sometimes up to forty and fifty thousand ducats¹ and more, the Indians weigh them with a weight which is exactly that of one hundred ducats, and also bears the King's stamp. And should it happen that the hundred ducats weigh less than this weight, they add small stones till the weights are equal, and when the whole amount is weighed you make good to the Changer the value of the weights of these same stones. But before weighing these golden coins, be they ducats or be they other coins, they place the whole in a large charcoal fire, where the pieces become red-hot, after which they put out the fire by throwing on water, and then they withdraw them. This is done for the purpose of ascertaining which of them are false, and in order to burn the wax or gum which they sometimes attach adroitly, in order that they may weigh more. But since some of the pieces are so well forged that they cannot detect them even after they have been in the fire, in order to discover such the Changers take them one after the other, to bend them, and by bending them they know if the coin is good, and they cut all those which are not. After having seen all, they cause to be refined those which they believe to be not good; and for so much of good that they have found in this refining they pay as for good ducats. Of all this gold they make coins, which they call golden rupees,² with the exception of

¹ 50,000 ducats at 9s. 4d. = £23,500.

² Golden rupees (*mohur Hin*). These were of different values; but those with which Tavernier had to do averaged, as will be seen further



the ducats which have a face on one side; these they seldom melt, because they sell them to the merchants who come from TARTARY and the other countries of the North, as the kingdoms of BHUTÁN,¹ ASSAM,² and others more distant. It is of this kind of ducat that the women in these countries make their principal ornament: they hang them in their hair, and they rest on their foreheads. As for the other ducats which are without faces, they are not esteemed by the merchants of the North.

With reference to all the other gold coins, they sell many to the goldsmiths, to the gold-drawers, and in general to all those who employ gold in their work. For if they can dispose of them without making them into rupees, they do not coin them; this indeed they seldom do, except when they place the kings on the throne, in order to make *largesse* of them to the people, together with silver rupees, and in order to sell them to the Governors of Provinces who require quantities, as also to the other nobles of the kingdom, to present to the King on the day when he enters into possession of his territories. For they do not always find jewels or other things worthy to be presented to him, not only on this day, but also at the grand ceremonial, of which I shall speak elsewhere, when they weigh the King every year. They are, I say, very glad to obtain golden rupees on these occasions, and they require

on, from 14 to 14½ silver rupees in value, say 31s. 6d. to 32s. (See p. 19 *n*.)

¹ Boutan in the original. But the limits of the region referred to by Tavernier, extended far beyond those of the modern Bhután. (See Index for further references.)

² Assam. *Assen* in the original appears to be an unusual spelling of Assam. (See Index for further references.)



them also in order to make presents to the courtiers, by whose interest they hope to obtain higher appointments and more considerable offices of government.

In one of my journeys I saw by an example, which I had before my eyes, wherein the virtue of these golden rupees lay. SHÁH-JAHÁN,¹ the father of AURANGZEB, who reigns at present, had given to one of the nobles of his court the government of the province of TATTA, of which SINDI is the capital town.² Although from the very first year of his government there were serious complaints against him of the tyranny with which he treated the people, and of his great extortions, the King allowed him to govern the Province for close on four years, after which he recalled him. All the people of TATTA rejoiced, supposing that the King had only recalled him to put him to death. But it happened quite otherwise, for he was well received by the King, who conferred upon him the government of ALLAHABAD,³ much more considerable than that of TATTA which he had just quitted. This good reception which he received from the King arose from this, that before he arrived at AGRA he sent to him secretly as a present 50,000 golden rupees, which amount to 105,000⁴ of our *livres*, and about 20,000 more golden rupees, both for the BEGUM SAHIB, who then governed the whole kingdom, and for other ladies, and for some courtiers who were able to aid him with their support. All these

¹ Cha Gehan in the original.

² Tatta and Sindi (see p. 10 *n.*). The chief town was known as Dewal or Diul Sindi, a name sometimes transferred in later days to Larry Bunder (Lári bandar), etc. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

³ Halabas in the original, elsewhere spelt Hallabas.

⁴ This is wrong, as, at 21 *livres* to the golden rupee, the figure should be 1,050,000.



courtiers are very glad to obtain in that way plenty of gold, not only because it occupies small space, and they are able to conceal it easily, but also because they hold it honourable to leave to their wives and children, at their deaths, large sums, of which the King could not have any knowledge: for, as I shall say further on, when a great noble dies the King inherits his property, and his wife only remains mistress of her jewels.

To return to the golden rupees. It should be stated that they are not current among the merchants; for although one is not worth more than 14 silver rupees, which are equal to 21 *livres* of our money, at 30 *sols* to the rupee,¹ and that these golden rupees are scarcely ever to be met with save in the houses of the nobles, still when it happens that they make any payment with them they always desire to estimate them at a silver rupee, or at least at a quarter more than they are worth, by which the merchant cannot make his profit. SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,² uncle of the King, to whom I sold commodities for 96,000 rupees,³ when it came to the question of payment, asked me in what money I wished that he should make it to me, whether in gold or silver coin. Before I replied, he added that if I would believe him I would take it in golden rupees, and that he did not give this advice but under the belief that it would turn to his own advantage. I told

¹ 30 sols = 2s. 3d. = one rupee, and the *livre* therefore = 1s. 6d. (See Appendix to this volume.)

² Cha Est Kan in the original, Sháístá Khán, for a long time Subadár of Bengal.

³ This was at Ahmadábád, at the end of 1652. (See Book I, chap. xix.) A second sale to Sháístá Khán took place in 1660, at Choupar (Sholápúr) in the Deccan (see p. 31); and a third at Dacca in 1666. (See Book I, chap. viii.)



him that I would follow his advice, and he immediately ordered them to count out golden rupees to the amount which was due to me; but he claimed to give the golden rupee for $14\frac{1}{2}$ of silver,¹ although among the merchants they only pass for fourteen. I was not ignorant of that, but I thought it would answer better to receive my payment as this Prince wished to make it to me, in the hope of recompensing myself otherwise to the extent of what he wished to make me to lose, or at least of a part of it. I allowed two days to pass, after which I went to see him in order to say that I had endeavoured to dispose of these rupees for the price at which I had received them, but that I had done so unavailingly; and that accordingly, upon the payment which he had made me of 96,000 rupees, I should lose $3428\frac{3}{16}$, the golden rupee which he wished me to take at $14\frac{1}{2}$ rupees not being worth more than fourteen; whereupon he flew into a passion, and told me that he would give so many strokes of the slipper to the Dutch Changer or Broker, which he would remember (for in India they never speak of blows with a stick), believing that he was the cause of what I had come to say to him, for not having been willing to take the golden rupees at the price which he had given them to me, and that he would teach these people to understand money, and that these were all old rupees, and that they were worth $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a silver rupee more than those that were made then. As I knew the humour of Asiatic princes, with whom it is useless to excite oneself, I allowed him to say all he wished, and observing that he became quieter and began to smile,

¹ If we take the gold mohur at 31s. 6d., the value of the rupee at 14 would be 2s. 3d., and at $14\frac{1}{2}$ would be 2s. 2d. (See pp. 16 n. and 18 n.)



I asked him to permit me to bring back on the following day the amount which he had caused to be counted out to me, or that he would give me the balance of my payment which was still due, and that I would take the golden rupee at $14\frac{1}{16}$ rupees, as he had told me that it was value for so much.¹ The Prince then regarded me askance for some time without saying a word to me, and then he asked me whether I had with me that pearl which he had not been willing to buy. I replied that I had, and thereupon drew it from my bosom and gave it to him. It was a large pearl of good water, but badly shaped; this had prevented him from taking it before.

After I had given it to him, "Say no more about it," said he. "In a word, how much do you want for this pearl." I asked him 7000 rupees for it, and it is true that rather than carry it back to FRANCE I would have taken 3000. "If I give you," he replied, "5000² rupees for this pearl, you will be well repaid for the loss which you say you have sustained on the golden rupees. Come to-morrow and I shall pay you 5000 rupees. I desire that you should leave contented, and you shall have in addition a *khi'at*³ and a horse." I then made him a bow, and besought him to give me a young horse, fit for work, as I had a long journey to make. I accordingly received, on the following day,

¹ In Book I, chap. xix, alluding to the same transaction, he says he received them at $14\frac{1}{16}$ th rupees. M. Joret, p. 158 n., has, I think, mixed up this transaction with the one which took place at Sholápúr, as mentioned on p. 18 n., in the year 1660. (See also p. 31.)

² In the earliest edition this figure is by an obvious misprint given as 7000. In the 1679 edition it is 5000, which is adopted here.

³ *Calaat* in the original, for *killut*, properly *khi'at*, Hin., a robe of honour.

as he had promised, the robe, mantle, two waistbands, and the turban, which constitute, as I have elsewhere remarked, the complete suit which these princes are accustomed to give to those whom they desire to honour. The mantle and the robe were of gold brocade, the two waistbands striped with gold and silver, the turban of cotton cloth was of fire colour striped with gold, and the horse, without a saddle, was covered by a housing of green velvet, with a small fringe of silver round it. The bridle was very narrow, and it had silver coins attached in some parts. I believe the horse had never been mounted, for as soon as it had arrived at the house of the Dutch, where I lodged on this occasion, a young man having mounted it, it began to jump in so strange a manner and to shake him so that having fallen in jumping over the roof of a hut which was in the court, the Dutchman barely escaped being killed. Having seen that this impetuous steed was not suitable for me, I returned it to SHĀISTĀ KHĀN, and telling him what had happened, I added that I believed that he did not wish me to return to my country, as he had asked me to do, in order to bring him some rarity. During my discourse he only laughed, and having ceased, he ordered them to bring the horse which his father used to ride. It was a large Persian horse, which had formerly cost 5000 *écus*¹ when young, but it was then more than twenty-eight years old.² They brought it, ready saddled

¹ £1125, at 4s. 6d. the *écu*.

² Here there are irreconcilable discrepancies between this account of the transaction and that in Book I, chap. xix, as our author gives the original cost of the horse there at upwards of 3000 *écus*, and states that he sold it for 400 rupees, as he did not require it for his journey, to a Frenchman, whom he at the same time placed in Shāistā Khān's service.



and bridled, and the Prince desired me to mount it in his presence. It still had as good paces as any horse I had ever seen, and when I was mounted, he said, "Well, are you content? He will not give you a fall." I thanked him, and at the same time took my leave of him; and the following day, before my departure, he sent me a large basketful of apples. It was one of six which SHÁH JAHÁN had sent him, and which had come from the kingdom of KASHMIR,¹ and there was also in the basket a large Persian melon. All taken together might be value for 100 rupees, and I presented it to the wife of the Dutch Commander. As for the horse, I took it to GOLCONDA, where I sold it for 500 rupees, old as it was, because it was still able to render good service.

To return to the discourse on coins, I shall add to what I have already said of the gold pieces, that it does not do to carry to India neither Louis d'or, Spanish nor Italian pistoles, nor other gold pieces coined of late years, because there is too much to be lost by them. The Indians, who have no knowledge of them as yet, refine all, and it is upon this refining that they make their profit. For the rest, each strives to pass his gold without the master of the customs knowing it; and when the merchant has skill sufficient to conceal it, it gains for him the value of five or six of our *sols* on every ducat.

I come to the silver coins, which it is necessary to distinguish as coins of the country and foreign coins, and I shall speak first of the latter.

The foreign silver coins which they take to INDIA

¹ Kachemir in the original.



are German *rix dalers*¹ and Spanish *reals*.² The first are brought by the merchants who come from POLAND, from little TARTARY, and from the direction of MOSCOVIE; the others by those who come from CONSTANTINOPLE, SMYRNA, and ALEPPO, and the principal part by the Armenians who have sold their silks in EUROPE. All the merchants strive to pass their silver through PERSIA without being discovered, because, if the customs' officers have wind of it, it would be necessary that the silver should be carried to the masters of the mint to be coined into *abâsis*³ which is the coinage of the King, and these *abâsis* on arrival in INDIA are again coined into rupees, in which there is a loss to the merchant of $10\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, both on account of the coinage and on account of the King's dues, which he must pay in PERSIA.

In order to know in a few words how one loses this $10\frac{1}{4}$ per cent between PERSIA and INDIA, and sometimes more, according to the nature of the *reals* which are generally taken to PERSIA, it is necessary to remember what I have said of the coins and exchange of PERSIA in the preceding volume.⁴ I have remarked that the *real* in PERSIA passes for 13 *shâhis*,⁵ which

¹ *Richedalers* in the original, for *rix daler*, properly reichs thaler; according to Sir Isaac Newton's tables, most of the varieties were worth in sterling 4s. 7d. Tavernier's equivalent of 100 = 216 rupees gives, with the rupee at 2s. 3d., a value of 4s. $10\frac{1}{4}$ d. As in other cases, the sterling value may have been somewhat less than the exchange value; hence the difference.

² *Reale* in the original, for *real*, or "piece of 8 reals" of Seville, varied from about 4s. to 4s. 10d., the rupee being taken at 2s. 3d., and the *écu* at 4s. 6d., to which latter it was on the average equal.

³ *Abassis* in the original, for *'abâsts* = from 1s. 5d. to 1s. 6d.

⁴ *Persian Travels*, Paris edition, 1676, p. 120.

⁵ *Chaez* in the original, for *shâhi*, Pers. = 4d. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. At present about $2\frac{1}{8}$ d. only.



are equal to $3\frac{1}{4}$ *abásis*, and that sometimes, when silver is scarce, they give half a *sháhi* more; that the *abási* is worth 4 *sháhis*, and the *toman*¹ 50 *abásis* or 200 *sháhis*. Thus, the *real* passing for 13 *sháhis*, you receive $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* for 100 *reals*. If you take $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* to INDIA you receive for each *toman* 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and, consequently, for $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tomans* 191 $\frac{3}{4}$ rupees. But if you take to INDIA Sevillian *reals*, of which I shall speak further on, for 100 you receive from 213 to 215 rupees; and for Mexicans for 100 you receive only 212. When, then, for the 100 *reals* you receive only 212 rupees, you gain on these 100 *reals* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *reals*, and on the Sevillians you make a profit up to 11 per cent.

It should then be remarked that there are three or four kinds of Spanish *real*, and that they give for 100, according to their standard, from 208 up to 214 and 215 rupees. The best of all are the Sevillians, and when they are good weight you receive for 100, 213 rupees, and at certain times up to 215, according to whether silver is scarce or plentiful.

The Spanish *real* should weigh 3 *gros*² and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ *Toman*. In Fryer's time (1677) = £3:6:8. P. Della Valle's estimate, sixty years earlier, was about £4:10s.; Sir T. Herbert's valuation, £3:8:4; at present only worth 7s. 6d. (Yule and Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.) Fifty *abásis*, as above, equal £3:10s. to £3:15s. Forty-six *liures* and 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ *denier* (at 1s. 6d.), the equivalent given by Tavernier in Book III, chap. xxix = £3:9s., while 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees at 2s. 3d. = £3:6:6 $\frac{1}{2}$ only, and 15 *écus* at 4s. 6d. = £3:7:6. But Tavernier, in his account of Persian coins, expressly says that the value given in *liures* is the most exact. (See *Persian Travels*, p. 122, Paris edition of 1676.)

² The *gros* = 60.285 grains Troy, and the French *grain* = .837 grs. Troy. ∴ 3 *gros* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ grs. = 187 grains Troy. The weight of the *piastre*, or Seville piece of eight, was 17 dw. 12 grs., and that of two rupees, both, according to Sir Isaac Newton, = 14 dw. 20 grs., the difference being, therefore, 2 dw. 16 grs. or 64 grs.; I therefore conclude that the



grains more than 2 rupees, but the silver of the rupees is much better, for the rupee is of the standard of 11 *deniers* and 14 *grains*, and the Sevillian *real*, like our white *écu*, is of the standard of only 11 *deniers*. The Mexican *real* is of but 10 *deniers* and 21 *grains*. For the Spanish *real* which weighs 73 *vals* you receive $4\frac{1}{2}$ *mahmúdis*, and a *mahmúdi* is worth 20 *paisá*, and thus for the Spanish *real* you receive 90 *paisá*, but they must be good,¹ and, as I have said, weighing 73 *vals*; 81 *vals*² making an ounce, and the *val* being of 7 *deniers* (standard).

As for the German *rix dalers*, as they are heavier than the *reals*, you give for 100 up to 116³ rupees; upon which it should be remarked that, in giving for the 100 *reals* and the 100 *rix dalers* up to 215 and 216 rupees, it appears as if every rupee should consequently be worth less than 30 *sols*. But, on the other hand, if the merchant counts the cost of carriage of the silver

3 *gros* above must either be a misprint for 1, or that the value given to the *gros* is three times too great; however the $62\frac{1}{2}$ *grs.* so deduced as the difference is slightly less than the 64 *grs.* deduced from Sir Isaac Newton. The absolute weight of the *real* is given by Tavernier at 73 *vals*, or say 438 *grs.* Troy; and the weight of two rupees, according to him also, was 18 *deniers* 2 *grs.* = 454 French *grs.* = 380 Troy *grs.*, and the difference = 58 *grs.*, also too little.

¹ *Pecha* in the original, for *paisá*. Taking the *paisá* at .54 of a penny (see Appendix), 90 of them would be equal to 4s. 0½d., i.e. the value of a Spanish *real*; but this is too low, and therefore these *paisás* must have been worth .6 of a penny, or "good!" as Tavernier remarks.

² *Val*. The French "*once*," being equal to 482.312 *grs.* Troy, would give a value of nearly 5.95 *grs.* to the *val*. The *tola* is said, on p. 34, to be = 32 *vals*, and therefore the *val* = 7 French *grs.* = 5.86 *grs.* Troy. Thevenot gives the value at 3 *gongy* (*ghúnchi*), and this with the *ghúnchi* at 1.79 *grs.* = 5.37 *grs.* Troy. See Appendix to this volume.

³ This must be a misprint for 216.



and the duties, he will find that each rupee costs him more. All these *reals* and *rix dalers* are weighed by the 100, and when the weight is short they add small stones as when they weigh gold, as I shall presently relate. But, in order that the merchant obtains value he must take care that all the *reals* of MEXICO and the Sevillians¹ weigh 21 *deniers* and 8 *grains*, i.e. 512 *grains*; and as for our white *écu*,² it ought to weigh 21 *deniers* and 3 *grains*, which are equal to 509 *grains*.³

I pass on to the coins of the country. The Indians have for their silver money the rupee, the half, the quarter, the eighth, and the sixteenth. The weight of the rupee is 9 *deniers* and 1 *grain*, and the standard of the silver 11 *deniers* and 14 *grains*. They have also a silver coin which they call *mahmûdi*,⁴ but it is only current in SURAT and in the province of GUJARAT.⁵

The small coin of INDIA is of copper, and is called *paisâ*, which is worth about two of our *liards*. There

¹ The *piastre*, or Seville piece of eight, weighed, according to Sir Isaac Newton, 17 dw. 12 gr. = 420 grs. Troy, and its sterling value in silver was 54d. = 4s. 6d.

² The old *écu* of France, of 60 *sols Tournois*, weighed also, according to Sir Isaac Newton, 17 dw. 12 gr. = 420 grs. Troy, and its sterling value was also 4s. 6d.

³ The 509 grs. of Tavernier is a misprint for 507; it is repeated in the edition of 1713. The equivalent of 507 French grains is 424.5 Troy grains, or 4.5 grs. more than Sir Isaac Newton's figure in preceding note.

⁴ *Mamoudi* in the original, for *mahmûdi* = 20 *paisâ*, or two-fifths of a rupee. ∴ = 10.8d., the rupee being 2s. 3d. Other relations given by our author in his account of Persian money give a less value for the *mahmûdi*, namely, one-sixteenth of the Venetian *sequin*, and one-eighth of the Spanish dollar, or 7d. and 6½d. The value as deduced from the *abâsi* would seem, however, to be the mean of these, or from 8½d. to 9d. nearly. Several writers give to the Surat *mahmûdi* a value of one shilling. It was subject to constant variation.

⁵ Guzerate in the original.



are some of them of a half *paisá*, of two *paisá*, and of four. According to the province you are in, you receive for the silver rupee more or fewer of these *paisá*. On my last journey the rupee at SURAT was at 49 *paisá*, but there are times when it is worth 50, and others when it falls to 46.¹ At AGRA and at JAHÁNÁBÁD it is worth 55 and 56 *paisá*, and the reason of that is, that the nearer you approach to the copper mines² the more *paisá* you receive for the rupee. As for the *mahmúdí*, it is always at 20 *paisá*. There are still two other kinds of small money in the empire of the GREAT MOGUL: these are small bitter almonds and shells. In the province of GUJARÁT alone they use as small change these bitter almonds, which they bring from PERSIA, as I have remarked in the first part of my history. They grow in dry and arid places between rocks, and the tree which produces them closely resembles our broom. They call these almonds *badám*,³ and they are so bitter that colocynth is not more so, and there is no need for fearing that children will amuse themselves by eating them. They sometimes give 35, sometimes 40, of them for the *paisá*.⁴

The other small money consists of shells called cowries, which have the edges inverted, and they are

¹ Fifty *paisá* at .54d. (see p. 25) = 2s. 3d. Thevenot, although he says that the rupee = 29-30 sols, adds that it equalled 32½ to 33½ *paisá* only. (*Voyages*, Paris, 1684, p. 52.)

² There is no further indication as to the position of these copper mines; probably they were those now known at Singhána and other localities in Rajputana. Full accounts of the ancient mines there will be found in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 259.

³ Baden in the original, for *badám* (Pers. and Hin.), fruit of *Amygdalus communis*, L., var. *amara*, D.C.

⁴ Thevenot says 68; perhaps he meant a double *paisá*. (*Voyages*, p. 53.)



not found in any other part of the world save only in the MALDIVE ISLANDS.¹ It is the principal source of revenue of the King of these Islands, for they export them to all the States of the GREAT MOGUL, to the kingdoms of BIJAPUR and GOLCONDA, and even to the islands of AMERICA,² to serve as money. Close to the sea they give up to 80 for the *paisá*, and that diminishes as you leave the sea, on account of carriage; so that at AGRA you receive but 50 or 55 for the *paisá*. Finally, according to the manner of counting by the Indians—

100,000 rupees make a *lekke*,³

100,000 *lekkes* „ *kraur*,⁴

100,000 *kraurs* „ *padan*,⁵

100,000 *padans* „ *nil*.

In INDIA a village must be very small if it has not a money-changer, whom they call *Shroff*,⁶ who acts as banker to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange. As, in general, these Changers have an understanding with the Governors of Provinces, they enhance the rupee at their will for *paisá* and the *paisá*

¹ This is incorrect, as money cowries (*Cypræa moneta*) have a much wider distribution, though the Maldives have furnished a large proportion of the supply for currency. The name is *cori* in the original.

² A trade in these cowries to the West Coast of Africa and the West Indies still exists, I believe.

³ *Lack* or *Lakh*, Hin.

⁴ A *crore*, or more properly *karor* (Hin.), is 100 *lakhs*, or 10,000,000 (ten millions). Tavernier is wrong in stating it to be one thousand times more. However, Thevenot makes a similar statement (*Voyage*, p. 52); and it may be remarked that there are to be found similar contradictory statements, by different authorities, as to the values of our billions, trillions, etc. Comp. *Ain-i-Akbâri*, Gladwin, ed. 1800, vol. ii, p. 391.

⁵ The value of the *padam* is variously given as 10 to 1000 billions.

⁶ For *Cheraf* in the original, *Shroff*, from Ar. *Sarrâf*, a money-changer or banker.



for these shells. All the Jews who occupy themselves with money and exchange in the empire of the GRAND SEIGNEUR pass for being very sharp; but in INDIA they would scarcely be apprentices to these Changers.¹

[Here follows, in the original, a table giving the letters used as numbers, which need not be reproduced.]

They have a very inconvenient custom for payments, and I have already remarked upon it in reference to golden rupees when one makes a payment in that coin. They say that the longer time that a rupee of silver has been coined the less is it worth than those coined at the time, or which have been coined a short time, because the old ones having often passed by hand, it wears them, and they are in consequence lighter. Thus, when you make a sale, it is necessary to say that you require to be paid in SHÁH-JAHÁNI² rupees, *i.e.* in new silver, otherwise they will pay you in rupees coined fifteen or twenty years or more, in which there may be up to 4 per cent of loss. For, for those which have not been coined within two years they already demand $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, or at least $\frac{1}{8}$ th; and the poor people who do not know how to read the year when they coined these rupees or *paísá* are subject to be cheated, because they always deduct something from them, one *paísá* or half a *paísá* on a rupee, and on the *paísá* three or four cowries.

As for false silver, but little is met with. If by chance there should be a false rupee in a bag given by a private merchant, it pays better to cut it and to lose it than to say anything about it, because if they hear

¹ This remarkable testimony to the sharpness of the natives is applicable also at the present day.

² Cha Jenni in the original, *i.e.* coined in the reign of Sháh Jahán.



of it one has to run some risk, the order of the King being that you must return the bag to him who has given it, and it goes thence from one to another until they are able to discover the false coiner, and when one is detected, for sole punishment they merely lop off a finger. If it happens that they are unable to find the false coiner, and that they pronounce him who has given the silver to be not guilty, he is freed on payment of some fine. It is this which yields such large profits to the Changers, for when one receives or when one makes any payment he shows them the silver, and they receive for their commission $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a rupee per cent.

As for the silver which goes out from the *sarquet*¹ or treasury of the King, there is never anything base in it, for all that goes into it is carefully examined by the Changers of the King, and the great nobles also have their own. Before the silver goes into the treasury they throw it into a large charcoal fire, and when the rupees are red they extinguish the fire by means of water, after which they withdraw them. If any one is found which is not perfectly white, and has the slightest trace of alloy, it is immediately cut. Whenever these rupees enter the treasury they strike them with a punch, which makes a small hole without piercing; and there are some of them which have seven or eight holes of this kind, *i.e.* which have entered the treasury seven or eight times. They are all placed by the thousand in sacks with the seal of the grand treasurer, to which is added the number of years since they have been coined. It is in this that the profit consists which the treasurers

¹ *Sarquet*, possibly for *zakhira*, Hin., *i.e.* treasure or treasury, but it more probably represents *sarkār*, an abbreviation for *māl-i-sarkār*, or *khazāna-i-sarkār*, *i.e.* the Government Treasury.



make, both those of the King and those of the nobles of the kingdom. When one makes a sale it is in new rupees, coined in the same year; but when one comes to receive payment the treasurers desire to make it in old rupees, by which one stands to lose up to 6 per cent; and if one wishes to have new silver, he must resolve to compound with them. On my fifth journey I went to see SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,¹ as I had promised him to do so on the preceding occasion, having pledged myself that he would be the first who should see what I had brought. Immediately on my arrival at SURAT I let him know, and I received a command to go to meet him at CHOU²PART, a town of the DECCAN² to which he had laid siege. Having reached him in a short time, I sold him with but few words the greater part of what I had brought from EUROPE, and he told me that he awaited from day to day the money which they should send him from SURAT to pay the army and to pay me at the same time for that which he had bought from me. I was unable to believe, however, that this Prince was with so large an army without having much money with him, and I rather thought that he desired to make me lose something on the gold or silver pieces which I should receive for my payment, as he had done on my previous journey. The thing happened as I had foreseen; but for my sustenance and that of my people and cattle, he ordered that they should bring me food

¹ Sháístá Khán. See p. 18 n.

² In Book II, chap. xi, this place is spelt Choupar. It was probably Sholápur, in the Deccan. The sale was made in 1660, during Tavernier's fifth visit to India. In his *Persian Travels*, he states (Book IV, p. 467) that on his sixth journey, when at Ispahan, in 1664, he told the King that he had sold the jewels, which he had shown to him on the previous occasion, to Sháístá Khán for 120,000 rupees.



in abundance, both evening and morning, and on most days he sent to invite me to eat with him. Ten or twelve days passed, during which I heard no mention of the money for which he waited, and being resolved to take leave of him, I went to his tent. He appeared somewhat surprised, and, regarding me with a sullen countenance, "Wherefore," said he to me, "do you wish to leave without being paid? and who would pay you afterwards if you went away without receiving your money?" At these words, assuming a look as proud as his: "My King," I replied, "will cause me to be paid; for he is so generous that he will pay all his subjects when they have not had satisfaction for what they have sold in foreign countries." "And in what manner would thy King recoup himself?" replied he, as in a rage. "With two or three good vessels of war," I replied, "which he will send to the port of SURAT or towards its coasts, to await those coming from MOCHA." He appeared stung by this reply, and, not daring to carry his ill-humour further, he at once commanded his treasurer to give me a letter of exchange on AURANGÁBÁD. At which I was very glad, because it was a place through which I had to pass in order to go to GOLCONDA,¹ and which, moreover, spared me carriage and the risk to my money. The following day I received my letter of exchange, and took my leave of the Prince, who was no longer angry, and he requested me if I returned to INDIA not to omit to go

¹ There appears to be no other indication of Tavernier's destination at this time; he probably spent, according to M. Joret, the latter part of this year (1660) in this journey to Golconda and the return to Surat, embarking for Bandar Abbas at the end of the same year or the beginning of 1661.

and see him ; which I did on my sixth and last journey.¹ When I arrived at SURAT he was in BENGAL, where I went to seek him, and he bought from me the residue of my goods which I had not been able to sell either to the King of PERSIA or to the GREAT MOGUL.

To return to my payment, having arrived at AURANGABAD, I went to seek the Grand Treasurer, who had never previously seen me, but he told me that he knew wherefore I had come to see him, that three days previously he had received notice, and that he had already drawn from the treasury the money which he was to pay me.² When all the bags required for my payment had been brought, I caused one of them to be opened by my Changer, who saw that it contained rupees on which 2 per cent would be lost. Upon which I thanked the Treasurer, and told him that I did not understand that sort of thing, that I would send one of my people to complain to SHAISTA KHAN and ask him to order that I should be paid in new silver, or I would go to reclaim my goods : this I straightway did. But having sent a man to him, and getting no reply by the time that I might have received one, I went to tell the Treasurer that since I had no news from the Prince I was going myself to take back what I had sold. I believe that he had already received instructions as to what he should do, for seeing that I was resolved to start he said he would be grieved by the trouble I was taking, and it would be better that

¹ In 1666. (See Book I, chap. viii.)

² Elsewhere (Book II, chap. xi) he says the payment was made at Dultabat (Daulatābād) by the Treasurer, who, four days previously, had received an advice of his coming. In that passage, so far from alluding to difficulties, he praises the exactitude of the Indians in reference to matters of trade.



we should agree with one another. In short, after several discussions concerning the 2 per cent which they desired I should lose, I obtained 1 per cent of it; and I would have lost the other except for the fortunate meeting with a *Shroff* who had to receive payment of a letter of exchange on GOLCONDA; for this *Shroff*, not having money at hand, was very glad to accommodate himself with mine, causing me to receive the same sum in new silver at GOLCONDA at fifteen days' sight.

Finally, these Changers, in order to test silver, make use of thirteen small pieces, one half of copper and the other of silver, which are the "touches."¹

These thirteen pieces, being all of different standards, are not used by them except when a small quantity of silver or some worked silver is in question; for in the case of a large amount they carry it to the refiner. All this silver is bought by the weight called *tola*, which weighs 9 *deniers* and 8 *grains*, or 32 *vals*, and 81 *vals* make, as I have said, one *once*;² so that 100 *tolas* makes 38 *onces* 21 *deniers* and 8 *grains*.

The following are the different values of the 13 standards of silver.

The first and lowest standard they take at 15 *paisá* the *tola*, which make of our money . . . 9 *sols* 2 *deniers*.³

The 2d at 18 *paisá*, which are equal to 10 " 2 "

3d " 20 " " " 12 " 6 "

4th " 23 " " " 14 " 6 "

¹ The French original contains a figure of the touchstones. A description of them will be also found in the *Ain-i-Akbári*.

² See p. 25.

³ As the *sol* was the sixtieth part of the *écu* of 4s. 6d., its value was .9 of a penny, and the ordinary *paisá* of Tavernier was consequently worth .54 of a penny. See p. 25 n. and Appendix.



The 5th at 26 *paisá*, which are equal to 15 *sols* 10 *deniers*.

6th	„	29	„	„	„	17	„	6	„
7th	„	33	„	„	„	19	„	2	„
8th	„	35	„	„	„	20	„	10	„
9th	„	38	„	„	„	22	„	6	„
10th	„	40	„	„	„	24	„	2	„
11th	„	43	„	„	„	25	„	10	„
12th	„	46	„	„	„	27	„	6	„
13th	„	49	„	„	„	29	„	2	„

I must not forget to remark here on the extreme parsimony both of these *Shroffs*, or Changers, and of all Indians in general; and it will suffice to give an example of it which is very special, and of which Europeans are not as yet aware. It is, that of all the gold which remains on the touchstone when an assay has been made, and of which we here make no account, far from allowing so small a thing to be lost, they collect it all by means of a ball, made half of black pitch, and half of wax, with which they rub the stone which carries the gold, and at the end of some years they burn the ball and find the gold which it has accumulated. This ball is about the size of our tennis-court balls, and the stone is like those which our goldsmiths commonly use.

This is all that I have been able to remark of special importance with regard to the customs and coins of INDIA, and there only remains for me to speak of the exchange.

As all goods produced in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and a portion of those of the Kingdom of GOLCONDA and the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, reach SURAT to be exported by sea to different places of



ASIA and EUROPE, when one leaves SURAT to go for the purchase of these goods in the towns from whence they are obtained, as at LAHOR, AGRA, AMADABAT, SERONGE, BRAMPOUR, DACA, PATNA, BANAROU, GOLCONDA, DECAN, VISAPOUR, and DULTABAD,¹ one takes silver from SURAT and disposes of it at the places where one goes, giving coin for coin at *par*. But when it happens that the merchant finds himself short of money in these same places, and that he has need of it to enable him to pay for the goods which he has bought, it is necessary for him to meet it at SURAT, when the bill is due, which is at two months, and by paying a high rate of exchange.

At LAHORE on SURAT the exchange goes up to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

At AGRA from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to 5.

At AHMADÁBÁD from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$.

At SIRONJ to 3.

At BURHÁNPUR from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3.

At DACCA to 10.

At PATNA from 7 to 8.

At BENARES to 6.

At these three last places they only give letters of exchange on AGRA, and at AGRA they give others on SURAT, the whole only amounting to the sum I have stated.

At GOLCONDA from 4 to 5.

And on GOA the same.

At DECCAN to 3.

At BIJAPUR to 3.

At DAULATÁBÁD from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$.

¹ Lahore, Agra, Ahmadábád, Sironj, Berhámপুর or Burhámপুর, Dacca, Benares, Golconda, Deccan, Bijapur, and Daulatábád. These spellings will be used on subsequent pages.



In some years the exchange rises from 1 to 2 per cent, when there are *Rajas*, or petty tributary Princes, who interfere with trade, each claiming that the goods ought to traverse his territory and pay him custom. There are two in particular between AGRA and AHMADÁBÁD, one of whom is the *Raja* of ANTIVAR,¹ and the other the *Raja* of BERGAM,² who disturb the merchants much in reference to this matter. One may, however, avoid passing the territories of these two Princes by taking another route from AGRA to SURAT by way of SIRONJ and BURHÁNPUR³; but these are fertile lands intersected by several rivers, the greater number of which are without bridges and without boats, and it is impossible to pass until two months after the rainy season. It is for this reason that the merchants who have to be at SURAT in the season for going to sea, generally take their way through the country of these two *Rajas*, because they are able to traverse it at all seasons, even in the time of the rains, which consolidate the sand with which nearly the whole country is covered.

Besides, it is not to be wondered at that the exchange is so high, for those who lend the money run, for their part, the risk that if the goods are stolen the money is lost to them.

When you arrive at SURAT, to embark, you find there also plenty of money. For it is the principal trade of the nobles of INDIA to place their money in vessels in speculations for HORMUZ, BASSORA, and

¹ A misprint, probably, for Dantivar (see Book I, chap. v), *i.e.* Danta, or Dantawár, a State in Gujarát.

² Probably the Bargant of Book I, chap. v. In the edition of 1713 it is given as Bergant. The proper name is possibly Wungáon.

³ For description of Sironj and Burhánpur see chap. iv.



MOCHA, and even for BANTAM, ACHIN, and the PHILIPPINES. For MOCHA and BASSORA the exchange ranges from 22 to 24 per cent, and for HORMUZ from 16 to 20; and for the other places which I have named the exchange varies in proportion to the distance. But if the goods happen to be lost by tempest, or to fall into the hands of the Malabar¹, who are the pirates of the Indian seas, the money is lost to those who have risked lending it.

I have but one word to say, in addition, regarding the weights and measures. Here, in the margin, is the 5th part of the ell of AGRA, and the 4th of the ell of AHMADÁBÁD and SURAT. As for the weights, the ordinary *mand* is 69 *livres*, and the *livre* is of 16 *onces*; but the *mand*, which is used to weigh indigo, is only 53 *livres*. At SURAT you speak of a *seer*, which is $1\frac{3}{4}$ *livres*,² and the *livre* is 16 *onces*.

¹ Malavares in the original.

² This must mean *one* $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a *livre*, as elsewhere in this volume; that is about the relation, roughly speaking, namely, 12 French *onces*. The present authorised British weights are—

80 tolas (or rupee's weight) = 1 seer = $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Troy.

40 seers = 1 *mand* or maund = . 100 „ „



CHAPTER III

*Concerning carriages and the manner of travelling in
INDIA*

BEFORE setting out for AGRA, it is appropriate to speak of the carriages and of the manner of travelling in INDIA, which, in my opinion, is not less convenient than all that they have been able to invent in order that one may be carried in comfort either in FRANCE or in ITALY. Different from (the custom in) PERSIA, one does not employ in INDIA in caravans or journeys either asses, mules, or horses, all being carried there on oxen or by waggon, as the country is sufficiently level.¹ If any merchant takes a horse from PERSIA he only does it for show, and to have him led by hand, or in order to sell him advantageously to some noble.

They give an ox a load weighing 300 or 350 *livres*, and it is an astonishing sight to behold caravans numbering 10,000 or 12,000 oxen together, for the transport of rice, corn, and salt—in the places where they exchange these commodities—carrying rice to where corn only grows, and corn to where rice only grows,

¹ The English translation of this passage by John Phillips, in 1677 and 1684, is, like many others, curiously inaccurate, and, as a sample, it may be given here: "Quite otherwise it is in Persia, where they neither make use of asses, mules, nor horses, but transport all their wares to the Indies upon oxen or in wains, their countries being so near to one another!"



and salt to the places where there is none. They use camels also for caravans, but rarely, and they are specially reserved to carry the baggage of the nobles. When the season presses, and they wish to have the goods quickly at SURAT, in order to ship them, they load them on oxen, and not on carts. As all the territories of the GREAT MOGUL are well cultivated, the fields are enclosed by good ditches, and each has its tank or reservoir for irrigation. This it is which is so inconvenient for travellers, because, when they meet caravans of this description in narrow roads, they are sometimes obliged to wait two or three days till all have passed. Those who drive these oxen follow no other trade all their lives; they never dwell in houses, and they take with them their women and children.¹ Some among them possess 100 oxen, others have more or fewer, and they all have a Chief, who acts as a prince, and who always has a chain of pearls suspended from his neck. When the caravan which carries corn and that which carries rice meet, rather than give way one to the other, they often engage in very sanguinary encounters. The GREAT MOGUL, considering one day that these quarrels were prejudicial to commerce and to the transport of food in his kingdom, arranged that the Chiefs of the two caravans should come to see him. When they had arrived, the King, after he had advised them for their mutual benefit to live for the future in harmony with each other, and not to fight

¹ The well-known Brinjárs perform most of this carrying trade in India at present. In the Central Provinces, South-Western Bengal, and the northern districts of Madras, I have met with large numbers of them; and in Sambalpur I have seen their fixed *dépôts*, where the infirm are left while the others are on their journeys. Railways have driven them from many of the routes which they used to follow.

any more when they met, presented each of them with a *lakh*, or 100,000 rupees,¹ and a chain of pearls.

In order to enable the reader to understand this manner of carrying in INDIA, it should be remarked that among the idolaters of this country there are four tribes, whom they call *Manavis*,² of which each numbers about one hundred thousand souls. These people dwell in tents, as I have said, and have no other trade but to transport provisions from one country to another. The first of these tribes has to do with corn only, the second with rice, the third with pulse, and the fourth with salt, which it obtains from SURAT, and even from as far as CAPE COMORIN. You can also distinguish these tribes in this manner—their priests, of whom I shall elsewhere speak, mark those of the first with a red gum, of the size of a crown, on the middle of the forehead, and make a streak along the nose, attaching to it above some grains of corn, sometimes nine, sometimes twelve, in the form of a rose. Those of the second are marked with a yellow gum, in the same places, but with grains of rice; those of the third with a gray gum, with grains of millet, and also on the shoulders, but without placing grains there. As for those of the fourth, they carry a lump of salt, suspended from the neck in a bag, which weighs sometimes from 8 to 10 *livres* (for the heavier it is the more honour they have in carrying it), with which, by way of penance before praying, they beat their stomachs every morning.

¹ See p. 28 *n*.

² *Manavis*; ?Mundaris or Mundas, with whom, however, the Brinjárs or Lúbhánás cannot be identified. See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 333.



All have in general a string, or tress, round the shoulders, from which hangs a small box of silver in the form of a reliquary, of the size of a good hazel nut, in which they keep a superstitious writing which their priests have enclosed in it. They place them also on their oxen, and on the other animals born in their herds, for which they entertain a special affection, loving them as dearly as they do their children, especially when they have none of the latter.¹

The dress of the women is but a simple cloth, white or coloured, which makes five or six turns like a petticoat from the waist downwards, as if they had three or four one above the other. From the waist upwards they tatoo their skin with flowers, like as when one applies cupping glasses, and they paint these flowers divers colours with the juice of roots,² in such a manner that it seems as though their skin was a flowered fabric.

While the men load their animals in the morning and the women fold up their tents, the priests who follow them elevate, in the most beautiful parts of the plain where they are encamped, an idol in the form of a serpent, entwined about a staff of six or seven feet in height,³ and each one in file goes to make reverence to it, the girls turning round it three times. After all have passed, the priests take care to remove the idol and to load it on an ox allocated for that purpose.

The caravans of waggons do not ordinarily consist of more than one hundred or two hundred at the most.

¹ Tavernier here seems to perpetrate something very like a "bull."

² The English translation of John Phillips has it juice of "grapes;" but the original word is *racines*, not *raisins*.

³ This cannot fail to suggest the brazen serpent which Moses lifted up in the wilderness. Here the allusion is to *nāg*, or snake worship.

Each waggon is drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and accompanied by four soldiers, whom the owner of the merchandise is obliged to pay. Two of them walk on each side of the waggon, over which there are two cords passed, and the four ends are held by the soldiers, so that if the waggon threatens to upset in a bad place, the two soldiers who are on the opposite side hold the cords tight, and prevent it turning over.

All the waggons which come to SURAT from AGRA or from other places in the Empire, and which return by AGRA and JAHÁNÁBÁD,¹ are compelled to carry lime, which comes from BROACH, and which, as soon as it is used, becomes as hard as marble.² It is a great source of profit to the King, who sends this lime where he pleases ; but, on the other hand, he takes no dues from the waggons.

I come to the manner of travelling in INDIA, where oxen take the place of horses, and there are some of them whose paces are as easy as those of our hacks. But you should take care when you buy or hire an ox for riding that he has not horns longer than a foot, because, if they are longer, when the flies sting him, he chafes and tosses back the head, and may plant a horn in your stomach, as has happened several times. These oxen allow themselves to be driven like our horses, and have for sole bridle a cord, which passes through the tendon of the muzzle or the nostrils. In level tracts, where there are no stones, they do not shoe these oxen, but they always do so in rough places, both on account of the pebbles and because of the heat, which may injure the hoof. Whereas in EUROPE

¹ Janabat in the original.

² Coral or shell lime probably, which make the best *chundm*.



we attach our oxen by the horns; those of INDIA have a large hump on the neck,¹ which keeps in position a leather collar about four fingers wide, which they have only to throw over the head when they harness them.

They have also, for travelling, small, very light carriages, which can contain two persons ;² but usually one travels alone, in order to be more comfortable, being then able to have his clothes with him; the canteen of wine and some small requisites for the journey having their place under the carriage, to which they harness a pair of oxen only. These carriages, which are provided, like ours, with curtains and cushions, are not slung; but, on the occasion of my last journey, I had one made after our manner, and the two oxen by which it was drawn cost me very nearly 600 rupees.³ The reader need not be astonished at this price, for there are some of them which are strong, and make journeys lasting 60 days, at 12 or 15 leagues a day, and always at the trot. When they have accomplished half the journey, they give to each two or three balls of the size of our penny rolls, made of wheaten flour, kneaded with butter and black sugar, and in the evening they have a meal of chick-peas,

¹ The hump on the shoulders was unknown to John Phillips, the author of the English translation of 1677 and 1684, so he renders this passage, "the Indians only put a thick truss upon their necks, that keeps," etc. This is a good example of the kind of mistake many translators have fallen into when, in ignorance of local facts, they have strained their author's words in order to make sense, as they conceive it.

² The vehicle known as a *tonga* in India.

³ I believe as much as Rs.500, and perhaps more, is sometimes given now in Bombay and the Central Provinces for a good pair of trotting bullocks. The pace they can keep up has to be experienced in order to be properly realised.



crushed and steeped in water for half an hour. The hire of a carriage amounts to about a rupee a day. The journey from SURAT to AGRA occupies thirty-five or forty days' journey by road, and you pay for the whole journey from 40 to 45 rupees. From SURAT to GOLCONDA it is nearly the same distance and the same price, and it is in the same proportion throughout the whole of INDIA.

Those who can afford to take their ease make use of a *pallankeen*,¹ in which they travel very comfortably. It is a kind of bed, of 6 or 7 feet long and 3 feet wide, with a small rail all round. A sort of cane, called bamboo,² which they bend when young, in order to cause it to take the form of a bow in the middle, sustains the cover of the *pallankeen*, which is of satin or brocade; and when the sun shines on one side, an attendant, who walks near the *pallankeen*, takes care to lower the covering. There is another, who carries at the end of a stick a kind of basket-work shield, covered with some kind of beautiful stuff, in order to promptly shelter the occupant of the *pallankeen* from the heat of the sun when it turns and strikes him on the face.³ The two ends of the bamboo are attached on both sides to the body of the *pallankeen* between two poles, joined together in a *saltier*, or St. Andrew's Cross, and each of these poles is 5 or 6 feet

¹ Pallanquin in the original. Palki and Pallankeen are the terms now used in India.

² Bambouc in the original. Bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*, etc.) It is not necessary to grow bamboos to a particular shape, as by means of fire they can be made to bend into the required forms. Still, they are so trained sometimes during growth, I believe.

³ The English translation of 1684 says, "when he turns and lies on his face."



long. Some of these bamboos cost as much as 200 *écus*, and I have paid 125 for one. Three men, at most, place themselves at each of these two ends, to carry the *pallankeen* on the shoulder, the one on the right and the other on the left, and they travel in this way faster than our chairmen in PARIS, and with an easier pace, being trained to the trade from an early age. When you wish to make haste, and travel up to 13 or 14 leagues a day, you take 12 men to carry the *pallankeen*, so that they may relieve one another from time to time. You pay each, for everything, only 4 rupees a month, but you pay up to 5 rupees when the journey is long, and when it is required to travel for more than sixty days.

Whether by carriage or *pallankeen* he who desires to travel with honour in INDIA ought to take with him 20 or 30 armed men, some with bows and arrows and others with muskets, and you pay them as much per month as to those who carry the *pallankeen*. Sometimes, for greater show, you carry a flag. This is always done by the English and Dutch, for the honour of their Companies. These attendants not only conduce to your honour, but they watch also for your protection, and act as sentinels in the night, relieving one another, and striving to give you no cause of complaint against them. For it should be mentioned that in the towns where you hire them they have a head man who answers for their honesty, and when you employ them, each one gives him a rupee.¹

In the large villages there is generally a Muhammadan Governor, and there you find sheep, fowl, and pigeons for sale; but in the places where there

¹ A custom still common in India.



are only *Banians*, you only find flour, rice, vegetables, and milk.

The great heats of INDIA compel travellers who are not accustomed to it to travel by night, in order to rest by day. When they enter towns which are closed they must leave by sunset, if they wish to take the road. For night being come, and the gates closed, the Governor of the place, who has to answer for thefts which occur within his jurisdiction, does not allow any one to go out, and says that it is the King's order, which he must obey. When I entered such places I took provisions, and left early, in order to camp outside under some tree in the shade, waiting till it was the hour to march.

They measure the distances of places in INDIA by *gos* and by *coss*. A *gos*¹ is about four of our common leagues, and a *coss*² about one league.

It is time now to leave SURAT for AGRA and JAHÁNÁBÁD, in order to see what is remarkable on that route.

¹ The *gos*, or *gau*, is equal to about 8 miles in Southern India, but in Ceylon, according to Sir Emerson Tennent, it is only from $3\frac{1}{3}$ to 4 miles.

² In the original edition this word is spelt *coste* by mistake, as explained in the "*Avís*;" in subsequent editions it is *cosse*. It has been thought better to substitute the ordinary *Anglo-Indian* term *coss* throughout in this translation. While here definitely, and elsewhere inferentially, Tavernier gives the *coss* an equal value with the league, Thevenot says the *coss* was only half a league. The old French "*lieue de poste*" = 2 miles 743 yards, and Akbar's *coss* = 2 miles 1038 yards. But the *coss* was and is a most variable unit, as, indeed, Tavernier himself remarks. In some parts of India it exceeds 3 miles, and the Bengal *coss* of 4000 cubits or 2000 yards = 1 m. 1 f. $3\frac{1}{2}$ y. (See Appendix to this volume.)



CHAPTER IV

Route from SURAT to AGRA by BURHÁNPUR and SIRONJ

ALL the routes by which one can travel to the principal towns of INDIA are not less well known to me than are those of TURKEY and of PERSIA, and, for six journeys which I have made from PARIS to ISPAHAN, I have made double the number from ISPAHAN to AGRA, and to several other places in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL. But it would weary the reader to cause him to pass more than once by the same roads while giving him an account of these different journeys, and of sundry small adventures with which they have been accompanied; therefore it is that, without indicating for him the times at which I have made them, it will suffice to give him an exact description of each route.

There are but two roads from SURAT to AGRA, one by BURHÁNPUR and SIRONJ, and the other by AHMAD-ÁBÁD, and the first will form the subject of this chapter.

From SURAT to BARNOLY (BARDOLI¹), 14 *coss*.

BARDOLI is a large town where you cross a river by a ford, and traverse in this first march a country of mixed character, sometimes meeting woods, and sometimes fields of wheat and rice.

¹ Bardoli, or Panoli of some maps. The distance from Surat as the crow flies is only about 18 miles. In chap. ix. it is said to be 12 *coss* only.

From BARNOLY to BALOR (BALLOR), 10 *cos*s.

BALLOR is also a large village, and is situated on a tank which has about a league in circuit, upon the edge of which you see a good fort, which, however, they neglect to keep in repair. Three-quarters of a league on this side of the village you pass a rivulet by a ford, but with much difficulty, because there are many rocks and stones under the water which are liable to overturn a carriage. You travel this second day nearly altogether in woods.

From BALOR to KERKOA,¹ or, as they now call it, the Begum's *caravansarai*, 5 *cos*s.

This *caravansarai* is large and spacious, and it is BEGUM-SAHIB, the daughter of SHAH JAHAN, who caused it to be built as a work of charity. For formerly the stage from BALLOR to NAWAPURÁ was too long, and this place being on the frontier of the country of those *Rajas* who are generally unwilling to recognise the GREAT MOGUL, whose vassals they are, scarcely a caravan passed there which was not ill-treated; moreover, it is a forest country. Between the *caravansarai* and NAWAPURÁ you pass a river by a ford, and another close to NAWAPURÁ.²

From KERKOA to NAWAPOURA (NAWAPURÁ), 15 *cos*s.³

NAWAPURÁ is a large village full of weavers, but rice constitutes the principal article of commerce in the place. A river passes by it, which makes the soil excel-

¹ The site of Kerkoa, or the Begum's *caravansera* (*sic* in orig.), is probably near Beháná. (See Book I, chap. ix.)

² These rivers are tributaries of the Tapti.

³ From Bardoli (Panoli) to Nawapurá the distance as the crow flies is 42 miles; here it is given as 30 *cos*s, and in chap. ix. as 28 *cos*s. This and the preceding stage indicate a value of something less than 1½ mile for the *cos*s. (See Book I, chap. ix.)



lent, and irrigates the rice, which requires water. All the rice which grows in this country possesses a particular quality, causing it to be much esteemed. Its grain is half as small again as that of common rice, and, when it is cooked, snow is not whiter than it is, besides which, it smells like musk, and all the nobles of INDIA eat no other. When you wish to make an acceptable present to any one in PERSIA, you take him a sack of this rice. It is the river which passes KERKOA, and the others of which I have spoken, which combine to form the SURAT river.¹

From NAVAPOURA to NASARBAR (NANDURBÁR) 9 *coss*.

„ NASARBAR to DOL-MEDAN (?) . 14 „

„ DOL-MEDAN to SENQUERA (SINDKEIR) 7 „

„ SENQUERA to TALLENER (TÁLNEIR) . 10 „

At TÁLNEIR you cross the river which goes to BROACH, where it is very wide, and from thence it flows into the Gulf of CAMBAY.²

From TALLENER to CHOUPRE (CHOPRÁ) . 15 *coss*.

„ CHOUPRE to SENQUELIS (SANKLI) . 13 „

„ SENQUELIS to NABIR (RÁVER?) . 10 „

„ NABIR to BALDEPOURA (BALLEDÁ) 9³ „

It is at BALLEDÁ that loaded carts pay the BURHÁNPUR customs dues, but the carts which only carry passengers pay nothing. Between NAWAPURÁ and BURHÁNPUR it is all a good country for wheat, rice, and indigo.

From BALDEPOURA to BRAMPOUR⁴ (BURHÁNPUR), 5 *coss*.

¹ The Tápti.

² This is a mistake, as the river at Tálneir is the Tápti. It is the Narbadá which goes to Broach.

³ These distances appear to be too great.

⁴ Burhánpur or Berhampur, now a station on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway.

BURHÁNPUR is a large, much-ruined town, of which the houses are for the most part covered with thatch. It has a large castle still standing in the middle of the town, and it is there that the Governor resides. The government of this province is so important that it is conferred only upon a son or an uncle of the King, and AURANGZEB, who now reigns, was for a long time Governor of BURHÁNPUR during the reign of his father. But since they have realised what can be yielded by the province of BENGAL, which formerly bore the title of kingdom, as I shall elsewhere indicate, its government is now the most considerable in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL. There is a large trade in this town, and both at BURHÁNPUR itself and in all the province an enormous quantity of very transparent muslins are made, which are exported to PERSIA, TURKEY, MUSCOVIE, POLAND, ARABIA, GRAND CAIRO, and other places. Some of these are dyed various colours and with flowers, and women make veils and scarfs of them; they also serve for the covers of beds, and for handkerchiefs, such as we see in EUROPE with those who take snuff. There are other fabrics, which they allow to remain white, with a stripe or two of gold or silver the whole length of the piece, and at each of the ends, from the breadth of one inch up to twelve or fifteen—in some more, and in others less—it is a tissue of gold, silver, and of silk with flowers, whereof there is no reverse, one side being as beautiful as the other. If those which they export to POLAND, where they are in great demand, have not at both ends, at the least, three or four inches of gold or silver, or if this gold and silver become black when crossing the ocean between SURAT and



HORMUZ, and from TREBIZONDE to MANGALIA,¹ or other ports of the BLACK SEA, the merchant cannot dispose of them except at great loss. He ought to take great care that the goods are well packed, and that damp cannot enter : this, for so long a voyage, requires much care and trouble. Some of these fabrics are all banded, half cotton and half gold or silver, and such pieces are called *ornis*.² They contain from fifteen to twenty ells, and cost from one hundred to one hundred and fifty rupees, the cheapest being not under ten or twelve. Those which are only about two ells long serve ladies of rank for the purpose of making scarfs and the veils which they wear on their heads, and they are sold in abundance in PERSIA and in TURKEY. They make, besides, at BURHÁNPUR other kinds of fabrics, and there is hardly another province in the whole of INDIA which has a greater abundance of cotton.

In leaving the town of BURHÁNPUR there is another river to be crossed besides the large one³ of which I have above spoken ; as it has no bridge, when the water is low you cross by a ford, and by boat in the rainy season.

The distance from SURAT to BURHÁNPUR is 132 *coss*, and these *coss* are the smallest in India, a cart being able to traverse one in less than an hour.

I remember here a strange commotion which arose at BURHÁNPUR in the year 1641,⁴ when I was returning

¹ Mingrelia ? in Transcaucasia, now Russian territory.

² *Ornis*. This word may perhaps represent *ornī*. Hind., a woman's mantle. In Book II, chaps. xii and xiv, it is spelt *ormis*, and in the 1679 edition *ormus*.

³ The larger river is the Tápti, and the other, one of its tributaries.

⁴ In reference to this casual mention of a date, M. Joret remarks that Tavernier has been lost sight of from the spring of 1639, when he



from AGRA to SURAT. In a few words, the origin of it was as follows. The Governor of the Province, who was the nephew of the King on his mother's side, had among his pages a young man of handsome appearance and fairly good family, who had a brother who lived as a *Dervish*,¹ and for whom all the town entertained much veneration. One day . . . the page, observing that he was about to commit an offence, stabbed him three times in the stomach, and slew him before he could open his lips to cry aloud. This being done, the page left the palace without allowing any sign of emotion to appear on his face, and the guards at the gate thought that the Governor had sent him on some message. The *Dervish* having learnt from his brother how the affair had passed, in order to preserve him from the fury of the people, and to disclose at the same time the infamy of the Governor, caused all the other *Dervishes*, his comrades, to seize the banners of MUHAMMAD which were planted about the mosque, and at the same time they cried out that all the *Dervishes* and *Fakirs* and others, who were good Muhammadans, should follow them. In less than an hour a multitude of rabble assembled, and the *Dervish*, taking the lead with his brother, went straight to the palace, crying out with all their might, "*Let us die for MUHAMMAD, or let them give to us that infamous person in order that dogs may eat*

was at Ispahan, till he turns up thus in India in 1641. Towards the end of the same year he says he went to Goa (Book I, ch. xii). It is probable, M. Joret adds, that he spent the winter of 1640-41 at Agra, and in the same journey paid his first visit to Dacca in Bengal, which he revisited in 1666-67. In Book III, ch. xiv, he says, however, he was in Agra in 1642, which M. Joret thinks may be a misprint for 1641. (*Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, par C. Joret, Paris, 1886, pp. 54-60; see also the Introduction to this volume.)

¹ *Deruich* in original, for *Dervish*.



him after his death, as he is not worthy to be interred amongst Mussulmans." The guard of the palace was not in a condition to resist such a multitude, and would have yielded to them, if the *Darogha*¹ of the town with five or six nobles had not found an opportunity of making themselves heard, and of appeasing them, by representing to them that they should have some respect for a nephew of the King, and by obliging them to withdraw. The same night the body of the Governor was carried to AGRA, together with his harem, and SHAH JAHAN, who reigned then, having heard the news, was not in the least distressed, because he inherited the property of all his subjects, and he even bestowed on the page a small appointment in BENGAL.

From BRAMPOUR to PIOMBI-SERA (?), 5 *coss*.

Before proceeding further, it should be remarked that throughout, wherever the word *sera* occurs, it means that it is a great enclosure of walls or hedges, within which are arranged all round 50 or 60 huts covered with thatch. There are some men and women there who sell flour, rice, butter, and vegetables, and who take care to prepare bread and cook rice. If by chance any Muhammadan should come there, he goes to the village to seek for a piece of mutton or a fowl, and those who supply the food to the traveller clean out for him the house that he wishes to take, and place in it a small bed of girths,² upon which he spreads the mattress that he carries on the road.

From PIOMBI-SERA to PANDER (MANDWA) . 3 *coss*.

¹ *Daroga* in original.

² A charpoy (*charpâl*, Hind.), with plaited tape (*newâr*) stretched across the frame. Such beds are still to be found in the Government Rest Houses or Dawk Bungalows.

From PANDER to BALKI-SERA (BALWÁRÁ ?)	6	<i>cos.</i>
„ BALKI-SERI to NEVELKI-SERA (?)	5	„
„ NEVELKI-SERA to COUSEMBA (?)	5	„
„ COUSEMBA to CHENIPOUR (CHAINPUR)	3	„
„ CHENIPOUR to CHAROÛA (CHARWÁ)	8	„
„ CHAROÛA to BICH-OLA (BICHOLÁ)	8	„
„ BICH-OLA to ANDY (HINDIÁ)	4	„

At HINDIÁ¹ you cross a river which discharges itself into the GANGES between BENARES and PATNA.

From ANDY to ONQUENAS (?)	4	<i>cos.</i>
„ ONQUENAS to TIQUERY (?)	5	„
„ TIQUERY to TOOLMEDEN (?)	4	„
„ TOOLMEDEN to NOVA-SERA (?)	4	„
„ NOVA-SERA to ICHAVOUR (ICHÁWAR).	4	„
„ ICHAVOUR to SIGNOR (SEHORE)	5	„
„ SIGNOR to CHEKAIPOUR ² (SHEIKHPURÁ)	3	„
„ CHEKAIPOUR to DOUR-AY (DURÁHÁ).	3	„
„ DOUR-AY to ATER-KAIRA (HATIÁKHERÁ)	3	„
„ ATER-KAIRA to TELOR (DILOD)	4	„

¹ Andy. Owing to the position of this place being given as on a river which joined the Ganges, I endeavoured to see if it could possibly be identified with Chándiá on the Sone, but its position is quite off the route, and the distance is too great, while the distance to Hindiá, or Handiá, on the Narbadá, in the Hoshangábád District, is right; and as I find Rennell has suggested the same conclusion, we must accept the consequence that Tavernier was thinking of the course of the Sone when he was writing of the Narbadá, as the latter was often crossed by him, and he must have known its course well. Under the rule of Akbar, Hindiá, as a fortified position on the route from Agra to Surat and Golconda, was of considerable importance; to some extent this is testified by the ruins. In confirmation of the above, I have just observed on a map dated 1752, in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, that both Chandiá on the Sone and Hindiá on the Narbadá are called Andi, which, therefore, explains the confusion and mistake of Tavernier.

² Chekaipour can scarcely have been Shikárpur, as it lies to the south of Sihore and to the east of Icháwar. It appears to have been an unimportant village called Sheikhpurá, which is on the line of route.



From TELOR to SAN-KAIRA (SINGATORIA?) 3 *cos.*

„ SAN-KAIRA to SERONGE (SIRONJ)¹ . 12 „

SIRONJ is a large town, of which the majority of the inhabitants are *Banian* merchants and artisans, who have dwelt there from father to son, which is the reason why it contains some houses of stone and brick. There is a large trade there in all kinds of coloured calicoes, which they call *chites*, with which all the common people of PERSIA and TURKEY are clad, and which are used in several other countries for bedcovers and tablecloths. They make similar calicoes in other places besides SIRONJ, but the colours are not so lively, and they disappear when washed several times. It is different with those of SIRONJ; the more they are washed the more beautiful they become. A river² passes here, of which the water possesses the property of giving this vivacity to the colours; and during the rainy season, which lasts four months, the workers print their calicoes according as the foreign merchants have given them patterns, because, as soon as the rains have ceased, the water of the river is more disturbed, and the sooner the calicoes are washed the better the colours hold, and become more lively.³

There is also made at SIRONJ a description of muslin which is so fine that when it is on the person you see all the skin as though it were uncovered. The merchants are not allowed to export it, and the Governor

¹ Sironj is a town in the State of Tonk, Rajputana. It is now much diminished from its former importance, which was largely due to the muslins and *chites* or chintzes which were produced there. Whether San-Kaira be rightly identified with Singatoria or not, the distance from Dilod to Sironj is understated at $3 + 12 = 15$ *cos.*, as it amounts to upwards of 51 miles.

² A tributary of the Betwah river.

³ See Book II, chap. xiii.

sends all of it for the GREAT MOGUL's seraglio, and for the principal courtiers. This it is of which the sultanas and the wives of the great nobles make themselves shifts and garments for the hot weather, and the King and the nobles enjoy seeing them wearing these fine shifts, and cause them to dance in them.

From BURHÁNPUR to SIRONJ there are 101 *ross*, which are greater than those between SURAT and BURHÁNPUR, for a cart takes an hour, and sometimes up to five quarters of an hour, to travel one of these *ross*. In these 100 leagues¹ of country you march for whole days among fertile fields of wheat and rice, which strongly resemble our fields at BEAUSSE,² for one rarely meets with woods, and between SIRONJ and AGRA the country is of much the same character. As the villages are very close to one another you travel in comfort, and make the day's journey as you please.

From SERONGE to MAGALKI-SERA (MOGUL-

SARÁI) ³	6 <i>ross</i> .
„ MAGALKI-SERA to PAULKI-SERA (?)	2 „
„ PAULKI - SERA to KASARIKI - SERA (KACHNER)	3 „
„ KASARIKI-SERA to CHADOLKI-SERA (SHÁDORÁ)	6 „
„ CHADOLKI-SERA to CALLABAS (KÁLÁ- BÁGH)	6 „

¹ Here, as elsewhere, the league is used as the equivalent of the *ross*, and the fact pointed out on p. 52 and in the Appendix that the *ross* near Surat is a short one is referred to.

² La Beauce or Beausse, an ancient division of France in Orleanais. Its capital town was Chartres; it formed an extensive and very fertile plain; it is now comprised in the Department of Eure et Loire.

³ Mogulsarái, or Moghal Sarái, in Tonk State, about 14 miles from Sironj, is not to be mistaken for a place of the same name on the E.I. Railway, near Benares.



KALABÁGH is a large town, where formerly a great *Raja* resided who paid tribute to the GREAT MOGUL. Generally, when caravans passed it, the merchants were robbed, and he exacted from them excessive dues. But since AURANGZEB came to the throne he cut off his head, and those of a large number of his subjects. They have set up towers near the town on the high-road, and these towers are pierced all round by several windows, where they have placed in each one the head of a man at every two feet. On my last journey, in 1665, it was not long since this execution had taken place when I passed by KALABÁGH; for all the heads were still entire, and gave out an unpleasant odour.

From CALLABAS to AKMATE (AKAI?) . 2 *cos.*

„ AKMATE to COLLASAR (KOLÁRAS¹) . 9 „

KOLÁRAS is a small town, of which all the inhabitants are idolaters. As I was entering it, on this final journey, there arrived there also eight large pieces of artillery, some forty-eight pounders, the others thirty-six pounders, each gun being drawn by twenty-four pairs of oxen. A strong and powerful elephant was following this artillery, and whenever there was a bad spot from which the oxen had difficulty in drawing it, they made the elephant advance, and push the gun with his trunk.

Outside the town, for the whole length of the high-road, there are a number of large trees which they call *mengues*,² and in several places near these trees you see small pagodas, each of which has its idol at the

¹ Koláras, or Kailáras, a well-known town in Gwalior, though not mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The total distance from Mogulserai to Koláras, measured on the map, is about 62 miles.

² Mangoes, the fruit of *Mangifera Indica*.



entrance. This elephant, passing in front of one of these pagodas, near to which I was encamped, and where there were at the door three idols of about five feet in height, when he was close by took one with his trunk and broke it in two; he then took the next, and threw it so high and so far that it was broken in four pieces; while as for the third, he knocked off the head with a blow of his trunk. Some thought that the driver of the elephant had ordered him to do so, and had given him the signal; this I did not observe. Nevertheless, the *Banians* regarded it with an evil eye, without daring to say aught, for there were more than 2000 men to conduct the guns, all of them in the king's service, and Muhammadans, with the exception of the chief gunners, who were *Franks*,—French, English, and Dutch. The King was sending this artillery to the province of DECCAN, where his army was opposed to the *Raja* SIVA-JI, who had pillaged SURAT the previous year, as I shall have occasion for describing elsewhere.

From COLLASAR to SANSELE (SIPRI) . . .	6 <i>cos.</i>
„ SANSELE to DONGRY (DONGRI) ¹ . . .	4 „
„ DONGRY to GATE	3 „

GATE² is a pass in the mountains, which is half a quarter of a league long, and which you descend when going from SURAT to AGRA. You can still see at the entrance the ruins of two or three castles, and the road is so narrow that chariots can only pass one another with the greatest difficulty.

¹ Dongri of Atlas Sheet, 8 miles from Sipri, which is 15 miles from Koláras; Dungri-Ghát is represented on some maps near Narwár.

² Gate stands perhaps for some separate *ghát* or pass, probably near Gopalpur on the Sind river, about 6½ miles from Dongri.



Those who come from the south, *en route* to AGRA, as from SURAT, GOA, BIJAPUR, GOLCONDA, and MASULIPATAM, and other places, cannot avoid traversing this pass, not having any other road except by taking that through AHMADÁBÁD. There were formerly gates at each end of the pass, and at that which was on the AGRA side there are five or six shops of *Banians*, who sell flour, butter, rice, herbs, and vegetables. On my last journey I halted at one of these shops while awaiting the coaches and carts, all having descended from them for this transit. Close by them was a large store full of sacks of rice and corn, and behind these sacks there was concealed a snake of thirteen or fourteen feet in length, and of proportionate girth. A woman while taking some grain from the sacks was bitten on the arm by this snake, and, feeling herself wounded, left the shop, crying "*Ram, Ram!*" that is to say, "Oh God! Oh God!" Immediately several *Banians*, both men and women, ran to her aid, and they tied the arm above the wound, thinking that that would prevent the poison from ascending higher. But it was unavailing, for immediately her face swelled, and then became blue, and she died in less than an hour. The *Rájputs*,¹ who are considered to be the best soldiers in INDIA, constitute the heathen soldiery, and make no scruple of killing when it is a question of attacking or defending. As this woman was on the point of death, four of these cavaliers arrived, and, having learnt what had happened, entered the store each with a sword and a short pike in his hand, and slew the serpent. The people of the place then took it and threw it outside the village, and immediately a great number of birds of prey pitched on

¹ Ragipous in the original, *Rájputs*, the warrior caste.

the carcase, which was devoured in less than an hour. The relatives of the woman took her body and carried it to the river to wash it, after which they burnt it. I was compelled to remain two days in this place, because there is a river¹ to cross, which, instead of lowering itself, increased from hour to hour on account of the rains which had fallen during three or four days, so that I had to cross it half a league lower down. One always strives to cross this river by ford, because in order to reach the boats it is necessary to unload the carts and coaches, and even to take them to pieces, so that they may be carried by hand for the whole of this half-league of road, which is the worst that it is possible to conceive. It is all covered with great rocks, and confined between the mountain and the river, so that when the waters are in flood they cover the whole road, there being none but the people of the country who are able to traverse it. They obtain their livelihood from the passengers, from whom they take the most that they can; but for that it were easy to facilitate the passage by making a bridge, since there is no lack of either wood or stone.

FROM GATE TO NADER (NARWÁR²), 4 *coss*.

NARWÁR is a large town on the slope of a mountain,

¹ The Sind river, a tributary of the Jumna.

² Narwár or Ladara, in Gwalior, on right bank of Sind river, Lat. $25^{\circ} 39' 2''$ N., Long. $77^{\circ} 56' 57''$ E., 44 miles S. of Gwalior. According to Ferishta, Narwár was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century. (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India* for history, etc.) It is called Nurwur on the Atlas Sheet.

The distance is given as 17 *coss* from Koláras to Narwár, and the true distance is 35 miles, and the stages given between Mogulserái and Koláras amount to 28 *coss*, while the true distance is about 63 miles. Taken together, 45 *coss* = 98 miles, would give nearly the usual average of 2 miles = 1 *coss*.



above which there is a kind of fortress, and the whole mountain is surrounded by walls. The majority of the houses, as is the case in the other towns of INDIA, are covered with thatch, and have only one storey; and those of the wealthy have but two, and are terraced. You see around the town several large tanks, which were formerly lined with cut stone, and which they have neglected to maintain; but at about one league off there are still some beautiful tombs. The same river which one has crossed the day before, and which one re-crosses four or five *cos*s beyond NARWÁR, surrounds the three sides of the town and of the mountain, of which it makes a sort of peninsula, and after a long and tortuous course it discharges itself in the GANGES. They make at NARWÁR a quantity of quilted-coverlets, some white, others embroidered with flowers in gold, silver, and silk.

From NADER to BARQUI-SERA (BÁRKI SARÁI) : 9 *cos*s.

„ BARQUI-SERA to TRIE (ANTRI) . . . 3 „

„ TRIE to GOÜALEOR (GWALIOR¹) . . . 6 „

GWALIOR is a large town, ill-built like others, after the manner of INDIA, and it is passed by a small river. It is built along the side of a mountain which lies to the west, and towards the top it is surrounded by walls with towers. There are in this enclosure several ponds formed by the rains, and what they cultivate there is

¹ Gwalior. The chief town of the State of the same name, and the residence of Maharaja Sindhia, situated in Lat. $26^{\circ} 13' N.$, and Long. $78^{\circ} 12' E.$, 65 miles south of Agra. The fort stands on an isolated hill of sandstone 342 feet high, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long, and 300 yards wide. On its eastern side there are several colossal figures, sculptured in bold relief, as is mentioned by our author. The Jain and Hindu antiquities have been described by Mr. Fergusson. (See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.) The distance from Narwár to Gwalior is nearly 50 miles, here it is given as 18 *cos*s, hence the *cos*s would exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

sufficient to support the garrison ; this it is which causes this place to be esteemed one of the best in INDIA. On the slope of the mountain which faces the north-west, SHÁH JÁHÁN caused a pleasure-house to be built, from whence one sees all the town, and it is fit to serve as a fortress. Below this house there are to be seen several images in bas-relief, sculptured in the rock, all of which have the forms of demons, and there is one, among others, of an extraordinary height.

Since the Muhammadan kings have taken possession of these countries, the fortress of GWALIOR has become the place where they send princes and great nobles when they wish to be sure of their persons. SHÁH JÁHÁN having ascended the throne by treachery, as I shall relate¹ in the course of my narrative, caused to be arrested, one after the other, all the princes and nobles whom he believed to be able to injure him, and sent them to GWALIOR, but he allowed them all to live and to enjoy the revenues of their property. AURANG-ZEB, his son, does just the contrary ; for when he sends any great noble there, at the end of nine or ten days he causes him to be poisoned, and he makes this use of it so that the people may not say that he is a sanguinary monarch. As soon as he had in his power Prince MURÁD BAKSH,² his younger brother—who was the one whom he encouraged to take arms against his father, SHÁH JÁHÁN, and who, being Governor of the Province of GUJARÁT, had caused himself to be called King—he had him placed in this fortress, where he died. They have made him in the town an appropriately magnificent tomb, in a mosque which they built for the purpose, with a great court in front, all sur-

¹ See Book II, chap. ii.

² Morat Bakche in original.



rounded by vaults under which there are several shops. It is the custom in INDIA, when they build a public edifice, to make around it a large place for holding markets, with an endowment for the poor, to whom they give alms daily, and who pray to God for him who has caused the work to be done.

At 5 *cośś* from GWALIOR you cross, by ford, a river which is called LANIKÉ.¹

From GOÜALEOR to PATERKI-SERA (?) . . . 3 *cośś*.

„ PATERKI-SERA to QUARIQUI-SERA
(KÚÁRÍ-SARÁI) 10 „

There is a bridge at PATERKI-SERA,² with six large arches. The river which flows under it is called QUARINADI.³

From QUARIQUI-SERA to DOLPOURA (DHOLPUR⁴), 6 *cośś*.

At DHOLPUR there is a great river called CHAMMEL-NADI⁵—you cross it in a boat, and it discharges itself in the JUMNA,⁶ between AGRA and ALLAHABAD.

From DOLPOURA to MINASQUI-SERA (MANIA), 6 *cośś*.

At (?) Beyond) MANIA (-KI-SARÁI) there is a river

¹ This probably stands for Sanike, *i.e.* Sank river, a tributary of the Kúárí river.

² This is an obvious misprint for Quariqui-sera, where the bridge really was, namely, over the Kúárí river.

³ Kúárí river, it joins the Sind river near its junction with the Jumna.

⁴ Dholpur, the chief town of the State of the same name. It is 34 miles south of Agra, and 37 miles north-west of Gwalior. The value of the *cośś* as deduced from this would be very nearly two miles, 37 *cośś* = 71 miles. The Chambal river lies three miles to the south of this town, which was built by Rajah Dholan Deo, in the eleventh century, and surrendered to the Emperor Bábar in 1526.

⁵ Chambal river.

⁶ Gemena in the original.