

Rare sectio

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Lib



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TRAVELS
IN THE
MOGUL EMPIRE

A.D 1656-1668

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TRAVELS^o
IN THE *Rare sectio*
MOGUL EMPIRE

A.D. 1656-1668

BY
FRANÇOIS BERNIER

M.D. OF THE FACULTY OF MONTPELLIER

A REVISED AND IMPROVED EDITION BASED
UPON IRVING BROCK'S TRANSLATION

BY
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE

MEM. AS SOC. BENGAL. F.S.A. SCOT.

Westminster
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY
14 PARLIAMENT STREET S.W.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
List of Illustrations	xiii
Preface	xv
Chronicle of some of the principal events in the life and times of François Bernier	xix
Bibliography of the writings of François Bernier	xxv
Translation of Bernier's Dedication to King Louis XIV. of France, from the 1670 Paris edition	xlv
Translation of Bernier's Address to the Reader, from the 1670 Paris edition	xlvii
An extract of a letter to Mr. <i>H. O.</i> , from M. de Monceaux the younger, from the 1671 London edition	xlix
The History of the late Rebellion in the States of the Great Mogol	I
Remarkable occurrences after the War	116
Letter to Monseigneur Colbert concerning Hindoustan	200
Letter to M. de la Mothe le Vayer, containing a description of Dehli and Agra	239
Letter to M. Chapelain describing the Gentiles of Hindoustan	300
Series of nine letters to M. de Merveilles, descriptive of a march made with the Camp of the Emperor Aureng-Zebe to Kachemire	350

	PAGE
Replies to questions put by M. Thévenot regarding:—	
i Jews in Kachemire	429
ii The Moisson or periodical rains in the Indies	431
iii The regularity of the Winds and Currents in the Indies	434
iv The fertility, wealth and beauty of the Kingdom of Bengale	437
v The periodical rising of the Nile	446
A Memorandum, omitted to be inserted in my first Work, to complete the Map of Hindoustan, and make known the Revenues of the Great Mogol	455
Abstract of the King's Licence, from the 1670 Paris edition	461
Appendices:—	
i Regarding Dryden's Tragedy of AURENG-ZEBE	465
ii On the identity of the 'Great Mogul's diamond' with the Koh-i-núr.	469
iii Tavernier's description of the Peacock Throne of the Great Mogul	471
iv Note on the letter to Monseigneur Colbert concerning the absorption of the precious metals in India	473
v Some particulars relating to Mr. H[enry] O[uldin- burgh]	477
INDEX	481

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE EMPEROR SHÁH JAHÁN, *Frontispiece*
Reproduction by Messrs. McLagan and Cumming of
Edinburgk of a cotemporary painting by a Delhi Artist
in the possession of Colonel H. B. Hanna, late B.S.C.

FIG.		PAGE
1.	PRINCE AURANGZEB.	After a cotemporary Indian painting, in the possession of Colonel Hanna 9
2.	THE EMPEROR SHÁH JAHÁN.	After the engraving from an Indian drawing, in Valentyn's <i>Beschryving</i> 44
3.	PRINCE MURÁD BAKHSH.	Do. do. . 69
4.	SULTAN SHUJAH.	Do. do. . 84, e
5.	PRINCE DÁRÁ SHIKOH AND HIS SON SIPHR SHIKOH.	Do. do. . 99
6.	THE EMPEROR ALAMGÍR (AURANG- ZEB).	Do. do. . 117
7.	AMIR JUMLA AMUSING HIMSELF IN HIS ZENANA.	Do. do. . 170
8.	SIVAJÍ.	After the engraving in Valentyn 187
9.	'GUNGA DÍN.'	After a lithograph from a drawing by Captain Oliver J. Jones, R.N. 206
10.	AN ELEPHANT FIGHT AT LUCKNOW DURING THE NAWABÍ.	After a drawing by a Lucknow Artist 276
11.	THE EMPRESS TAJ MAHÁL.	After the engraving from an Indian drawing, in 'Valentyn's <i>Beschryving</i> 296
12.	RAUSHAN ARÁ BEGUM.	Do. do. . 351

Figs 1-12 reproduced by Messrs. Walker and Boutall, London.

MAPS

L'EMPIRE DU GRAND MOGOL.	Reproduced from the original in the 1670 Paris edition <i>facing</i> 238
REGNI KACHEMIRE NOVA ET ACCURATA DESCRIPTIO.	Reproduced from the original in the 1672 Amsterdam edition . 408
IMPERII MAGNI MOGOLIS NOVISSIMA DESCRIPTIO.	Do. do. . 454

Maps reproduced by John Bartholomew and Co., Edinburgh.

P R E F A C E

I WAS led to select *Bernier's Travels* as the opening volume of my ORIENTAL MISCELLANY Series for two reasons. An edition of this book had been promised, but never actually issued, by my Grandfather as one of the works to be included in that MISCELLANY, which may be regarded as the precursor of all the healthy, cheap, and popular literature of the present day; and, further, it was a book which I had ever admired, even before I was able, from actual experience, to fully appreciate its very remarkable accuracy.

Strange to say, although frequently reprinted and translated, there does not exist, so far as I am aware, any satisfactory edition as to general editing, notes, and so forth, and this has, I hope, proved of advantage to me. For all that, I cannot claim to have approached, even partially, an ideally perfect edition; but, to quote Bernier's own words as applied to his map of *The Mogol Empire*, I prefer to hope that I have produced a work 'not absolutely correct, but merely less incorrect than others that I have seen.' For instance, a copy of the Urdú translation made in 1875 by Colonel Henry Moore, and lithographed in two volumes 8vo, at Umritsur and Moradabad in 1886 and 1888 respectively, only reached my hands after the Bibliography had been printed off. Nor have I been able as yet to find any copy of a Lucknow reprint of the Delhi edition, No. 22 of the list.

In my treatment of Indian proper names, and Indian and Persian words generally, in my notes and elsewhere, I have availed myself very liberally of the 'time-honoured spelling' proviso or clause, laid down by authority, in the rules which govern the transliteration of such words.

In the matter of type, ornament, and printing generally, I have endeavoured to retain the old-time flavour of the early French and English editions, but I have never aimed at a facsimile reprint; and I need hardly add that in the text I have preserved the transliterations, admirably phonetic as they all are, to be found in the first French editions, and have avoided attempting any work that might be open to the charge of 'restoration' in the manner too often practised in the art of Architecture at the present day.

In accordance with these general principles I have given a translation of Bernier's Dedication to the French King, and of his Address to the Reader, both of which have been hitherto omitted from every edition except the first. They contain, as was generally the case at the period, a great deal of valuable personal history not to be found elsewhere, and all worthy of preservation.

The letter from M. de Monceaux the younger, to Mr. *H. O.*, given in the first English translation, and omitted in most of the subsequent reprints or new editions, has also been included, and containing as it does very pleasant testimony to the high esteem ('the most knowing Company on Earth') in which our own Royal Society was held by Foreign *savants* thus early in its history, I trust that it will prove of general interest, taken in connection with the identification of Mr. *H. O.* with the first indefatigable secretary of that illustrious body, which it has been my privilege to establish.

As will be seen from Appendix I., it is to the first English edition of Bernier that we are indebted for Dryden's masterpiece of *Aureng-Zebe*, a tragedy (first acted, it is believed, in the Spring of the year 1675, and printed in 1676) of which Dr. Johnson was moved to say that, founded on the actions of a great Prince then reigning, it was fortunate that his dominion was over nations not likely to employ their critics upon the transactions of the English stage; otherwise, 'if he had known and dis-

liked his own character, our trade was not in those times secure from his resentment. His country is at such a distance, that the manners might be safely falsified, and the incidents feigned: for the remoteness of the place is remarked, by Racine, to afford the same conveniencies to a poet as length of time.' However, as may be gathered from Appendix I., the poetic licence allowed to himself by Dryden has enabled him to portray the character of Aurangzeb in a much more favourable light than the stern facts of history would warrant, and strange to say this seems to have been generally overlooked by those writers who have hitherto quoted Dr. Johnson's criticism.

An implicit believer in Professor J. R. Seeley's dictum—to be found in his work, *The Expansion of England*—that 'history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object; that is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future,' I have endeavoured to illustrate several passages,—such as the Emperor Aurangzeb's distrust of a merely *mechanical* classical education, and Bernier's letter to Colbert concerning the absorption of gold in India,—by some comments applicable to them, as they are still 'burning questions' of the present hour; and I have thus, I hope, shown how I trust to be able at all times to justify my adoption of a recent utterance by Professor Max Müller as the *leit motiv* of my ORIENTAL MISCELLANY Series. I venture to draw the attention of all students of the origin of portrait-painting among the Moslem artists of India in the Mogul period, to the composition of the portraits I have reproduced as illustrations to Bernier's text. This is a subject I hope to treat of elsewhere, and thus endeavour to utilise the extensive collections I made in India during a series of years, with this object in view.

To my friend of bygone days in Lucknow,—and of the present too, I rejoice to think,—General Sir Martin Dillon, K.C.B., C.S.I., I am indebted for invaluable encouragement

and help of all kinds. To the President and Council of the Royal Society I offer my sincere thanks for permission to examine the Oldenburg ms. correspondence in their archives. To Colonel Hanna I am grateful for his liberality in communicating to me the valuable original paintings which have added so much to the enrichment of this volume; and to Dr. V. Ball, F.R.S. of Dublin, for his aid with regard to Appendix II. My thanks are also due to Mr. George Scharf, C.B., and his assistant Mr. L. G. Holland, for their kind aid in the matter of the description of the Oldenburg portrait. To my kinsman, Archibald [David] Constable, I can never sufficiently express my obligation and sense of the valuable suggestions his oft-tried literary judgment so freely placed at my disposal at all times.

Following the traditions of my forefathers, I have done my utmost to enlist the skill and knowledge of craftsmen of our own country, as an aid to my project; and I believe that whatever may be the literary defects of this edition, only too well known to myself, its mechanical production does credit to my friends and fellow-workers, Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., Chief Engraver of HER MAJESTY'S seals; Messrs. T. and A. Constable, HER MAJESTY'S Printers for Scotland; Messrs. M^cLagan and Cumming, Lithographic Artists, of Edinburgh; Messrs. Walker and Boutall, Automatic and Photographic Engravers, of London; Messrs. J. Bartholomew and Company, Geographers, of Edinburgh; and, finally, to my binders, Messrs. Matthew Bell, Colley, and Company, of London, who have received all my suggestions, and given effect to them, in a spirit which has largely aided me in elaborating my designs for the standard binding of this Series. Messrs. Bell and Colley have also, I am comforted to think, long since forgiven me for suggesting the punning device on the binder's ticket, which has been prepared for use throughout my Publications.

A. C.

BRONDESURRY, }
11th November 1891. }

CHRONICLE

CHRONICLE
 OF
SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS
 IN THE
LIFE AND TIMES
 OF
FRANÇOIS BERNIER

Louis XIII., King of France.

James Stuart, vi. of Scotland and I. of England, reigns in England.

Shāhangīr, Emperor of Hindostan.

Born at Joué, near Gonnord, in Anjou. His parents, cultivators of the soil, were leaseholders, in the Barony of Etiau, of land belonging to the Canonry of St. Maurice at Angers. 1620
Septem
25th or 1

Baptized.

Septem
26th

Aujourd'hui vingt-sixiesme jour de septembre mil six cent vingt, a esté baptizé par moy curé sousigné François fils de honorable homme Pierre Bernier et de Andrée Grimault; fut parrain vénérable et discret Messire François Bernier curé de Chantzaux, et marraine honneste fille Julliesne Bonnin, laquelle ma déclarer ne sçavoir signer.

F. Bernier.

Guytton.

—(*Register of the Parish of Joué, preserved in the Archives of the Commune of Joué-Etiau.*)

Charles I., King of England, begins to reign, 27th March 1625.

Louis XIV. succeeds to the throne of France, 14th May 1643.

Shāh Jahān, Emperor of Hindostan, 4th February 1628.

Commonwealth proclaimed in England, 30th January 1648-9.

Travels in Northern Germany, Poland, Switzerland and Italy.

1647-1661

xx CHRONICLE OF FRANÇOIS BERNIER

1652. Having passed an examination in physiology, for which he had been prepared by the philosopher Gassendi, in Provence, he matriculates at the University of Montpellier.
- May 5th.
- July 18th. Passes his examination as licentiate in medicine.
- August 26th. Takes his degree as Doctor of Medicine, and subsequently goes to Paris.
1654. Visits Palestine and Syria.
1655. Tends, together with Antoine de la Potherie, amanuensis, the philosopher Gassendi in his last illness, and is present at his death.
- October 24th. Bernier undoubtedly owed his great powers of accurate observation to his training under Gassendi, and he has warmly recorded his sense of gratitude to M. Chapelle (who first introduced him to that philosopher) in the last paragraph of his letter to M. Chapelain, on the Gentiles of Hindostan, see p. 349.
- Admirable testimony to the genius of Gassendi has been borne by Henry Rogers as follows: 'The character of Gassendi's intellect is everywhere indicated by his works;—it was *critical* rather than inventive. . . . Gassendi's powers of acquisition must have been singularly active; nor was his logical acuteness, or the liveliness of his imagination, much inferior to the promptness and retentiveness of his memory. His learning is never mere learning; like that of many of his erudite contemporaries, it ministers to his intellect, but does not oppress it. The vivacity of his mind animates and penetrates the mass; and the acuteness of his reasoning and the exuberance of his illustrations relieve of much of their tedium discussions in themselves often uninviting enough.' *Encyc. Brit.* Eighth edition, 1856.
- .. Aurangzeb proclaims himself Emperor of Hindostan, under the title of Alamgir, 21st July 1658.
- 1656-1658. Goes to Egypt. Has 'the plague' at Rosetta. Lives at Cairo for upwards of a year. Embarks at Suez for Jedda, where he is detained for nearly five weeks. Sails thence for Moka, where he arrives after a passage of fifteen days. Is compelled to abandon his intention of visiting Abyssinia, and sets sail in an Indian vessel for Surat, which he reaches in twenty-two days, most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659.
1659. After the battle fought at Deorá near Ajmere, between the Princes Aurangzeb and Dará, on the 12th-13th March 1659, Bernier, then on his way from Surat to Agra, is compelled by Dará, whom he meets near Ahmedabad, to accompany him as his physician. Dará being obliged to fly towards Sind, Bernier is harassed by robbers; but eventually reaches Ahmedabad, where he falls in with a Mogul Noble who was travelling to Delhi, and places himself under his protection.
- March-April.

**Charles II. of England enters London, 29th May 1660.
Restoration.**

- Is in Delhi, whence he dates his letter to M. de la Mothe le Vayer, see p. 239. 1663.
July 18
- At Delhi, Aurangzeb about to start for Kashmir. 1664.
December:
- At Lahore, Aurangzeb having arrived there. 1665.
February:
- After travelling in Kashmír, he voyages to Bengal with Tavernier, who left Agra on the 25th November. On the 6th December they are at Alum Chand, about eighteen miles west of Allahabad. December
- Tavernier and Bernier part company near Rájmahál. Bernier proceeding to Kásimbázár (Tavernier's *Travels*. Edited by Dr. Ball, London, 1889), afterwards travelling from Bengal to Masulipatam (see my text, p. 113) and Golkonda, where he heard of the death of the Sháh Jahán (p. 198), which event happened on the 22d January 1666. 1666.
January
- In this year he was still in Golkonda (text, p. 195), and it is probable that in the early part of it he embarked at Surat, where he saw Chardin the traveller, see page 312. " "
1667.
- He is at Sheraz in Persia, see p. 300. October 4
- Is at Tadian near Sheraz, whence he addresses a letter to M^r Chapelain at Paris, received there on the 15th February 1669. 1668.
June 4^t
- M. Chapelain addresses a letter on the 26th April from Paris to Bernier at Marseilles. 1669.
April-Ma
- Bernier is still at Marseilles, as would appear from a letter addressed to him there by M. Chapelain. It is probable that shortly after this date he was in Paris arranging for the publication of his *Travels*. Septemb
25th.
- Date of the French King's Licence for the printing and publishing of his book. 1670.
April 25^t
- The transfer of all his rights in the publication, to Claude Barbin, is registered in the book of the Booksellers and Printers of Paris. August 13^t

James II. succeeds to the Crown of England, 6th February 1685.

- Visits England. 1685.
- Dies at Paris. 1688.
September:
- Extrait du Registre des sépultures faites en l'église paroissiale de St. Barthélemy à Paris de septembre 1677 à mars 1692.*

Année 1688.—Le jeudi vingt-troisième septembre a été inhumé dans cette église M^r François Bernier, docteur en médecine de la Faculté de Montpellier, âgé de soixante et treize ans, décédé le vingt-deuxième

du dit mois en la maison place Dauphine, à la Renommée, de cette paroisse. Ont assisté au convoy Philippe Bourigault, aussi docteur en médecine de la dite Faculté, demeurant de présent susdite place Dauphine, et Martin Barthelemy d'Herbelot, escuyer, demeurant rue de Touraine, paroisse St. Sulpice.

B. D'HERBELOT.

P. BOURIGAULT.

His friend D'Herbelot, the Orientalist, and his nephew Philippe Bourigault, who arranged for his burial, would appear to have given his age inexactly as seventy-three, whereas he was then a few days short of sixty-eight years.

Bernier does not appear to have been long ill, and it is said that his death resulted from an apoplectic fit, the effect of excitement caused by some rude bantering he had been subjected to when in the company of M. le Procureur-général de Harlay. He had made his will on the 18th September, bequeathing his property to his nephew Philippe Bourigault, charged with legacies to Antoine de la Potherie, his man of business, formerly secretary to Gassendi, to the Prior of Saint-Marc-lès-Vendôme, his two female servants, and another.

For the facts contained in the foregoing Chronicle I am mainly indebted to the researches of Drs. E. Farge and Pompée Mabilie, and M. L. De Lens; see *Biographies and Miscellanea*, No. 12-16, p. xlii.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A BIBLIOGRAPHY¹ OF THE WRITINGS OF
FRANÇOIS BERNIER.

TRAVELS IN THE MOGOL EMPIRE.

Issues in the Author's Lifetime.

I.—AS A SEPARATE PUBLICATION.

HISTOIRE | DE LA DERNIERE | REVOLUTION | DES ETATS | DU
GRAND MOGOL, | *Dedée AV ROY, | Par le Sieur F. BERNIER | Me-*
decin de la Faculté de | Montpellier. | [Ornament] | A PARIS, | Chez
CLAUDE BARBIN, | au Palais, | sur le Perron de la sainte Chapelle. |
M.DC.LXX. | *Avec Privilège du Roy.* |

“
I
Paris 16
2 vols
12mo.

[Frontispiece, Map of the Empire of the Great Mogul; title-page; Dedication to the King, two leaves; Address to the Reader, one leaf; pages 268. The map (reproduced at p. 238 of this volume) is interesting, and the position of many of the places tolerably accurate, others are very far out. For a translation of the Dedication to the King, and the Address to the Reader, see pp. xlv.-xlvii.]

EVENEMENS | PARTICULIERS, | Oucequis'est passé de plus | con-
siderable après la guerre | pendant cinq ans, ou en- | viron, dans les
Etats du | grand Mogol. | *Avec vne Lettre de l'étendue de | l'Hindou-*
stan, Circulation de l'or | & de l'argent pour venir s'y abl- | mer,
Richesses, Forces, Justice, | & Cause principale de la Deca- | dence des
Etats d'Asie. | TOME II. | [Ornament] | A PARIS, | Chez CLAUDE
BARBIN, au Palais, | sur le Perron de la St^e Chapelle. | M.DC. LXX. |
Avec Privilège du Roy. |

[Title-page. Pages 294. Abridgment of the Letters-Patent of the King, authorising the printing and publication of the book; one leaf. This authority is dated Paris, 5th April 1670, and ends by stating that the Sieur Bernier had made over to Claude Barbin the right of printing, publishing, and selling the said work.]

N.B. In the British Museum Library Catalogue there is an entry—

¹ For much valuable aid in the preparation of this Bibliography I am indebted to Mr. John P. Anderson of the British Museum.

Pressmark 1434. a.—of the issue of Tome II. as a separate work in the same year, viz. 1670. A careful examination and measurement of the volume in question (which was at one time in the possession of Henri Ternaux—afterwards Ternaux-Compans—the well-known historian and bibliographer of books of early travel, each of the outside covers bearing his well-known crest, a ram's head, with his initials H. T. in Gothic letters, all stamped in gold), has convinced the writer that there is an error in the entry. The mistake has arisen from the fact that some owner of the volume has erased the words 'TOME II.' from the title-page. The British Museum cataloguer has thus been led to suppose that he had a copy of a 'reissue' in his hands; this belief being strengthened, perhaps, by the fact of the volume having the leaf with the *Extrait du Privilège du Roy* at the end, following page 294, as in the copy with 'TOME II.' on the title-page described above. The volume in question is half-bound in calf, gilt tooling and ornaments in the Ternaux-Compans style, and is lettered at the back EVENEMENTS | DES ETATS | DU MOGUL | PARIS 1670. |

2
Paris 1671..
2 vols.
12mo. SVITE | DES | MEMOIRES | DV S^R BERNIER, | SVR | L'EMPIRE | DV GRAND MOGOL. | *DEDIEZ AV ROY* | [Ornament] | A PARIS, | Chez CLAVDE BARBIN, au Palais, | sur le Peron de la Sainte | Chapelle. | M.DC. LXXI | AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY. |

[Title-page. Pages 3-178. Letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer, written at Dehli 1st July 1663, descriptive of Dehli and Agra etc. Blank leaf. Pages 1-137, Letter to Monsieur Chapelain, despatched from Chiras in Persia, 4th October 1667, concerning the superstitions etc. of the Indous or Gentiles of Hindoustan. Pages 1-69, Letter to Monsieur Chapelle, despatched from Chiras in Persia, 10th June 1668, regarding his intention of resuming his studies of some points relating to the atomic theory, and the nature of the human understanding.]

SVITE | DES | MEMOIRES | DV S^R BERNIER, | SVR | L'EMPIRE | DV GRAND MOGOL. | *DEDIEZ AV ROY*. | [Ornament] | A PARIS, | Chez CLAVDE BARBIN, au Palais, | sur le Perron de la Sainte | Chapelle. | M.DC. LXXI. | *AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY*. |

[Title-page. General title to the series of letters descriptive of the journey to Kashmír made in 1664 in the suite of the *Great Mogol*, one leaf. Pages 5-285. The series of nine letters to Monsieur de Merveilles, the first being written from Dehli on the 14th December 1664, Aurengzebe being then about to start. Pages 286-293. 'Some particulars omitted to be inserted in my first work, which will serve to improve the map of Hindoustan, and afford details concerning the Revenue of the Great Mogol.' On *verso* of page 293 an abstract of the King's Licence (for a translation, see p. 461 of this volume) given in Tome

WRITINGS OF FRANÇOIS BERNIER xxvii

II. of 1670, to which is appended the certificate of registration of the publication as follows:—

Registré sur le Livre de la Communauté des Libraires & Imprimeurs de Paris, le 13. Aoust 1670. Signé LOUIS SEVESTRE, Syndic.

THE | HISTORY | OF | *The Late Revolution* | OF | THE EMPIRE
of *the GREAT MOGOL*: | TOGETHER WITH | The most considerable
Passages, | for 5 years following in that *Empire*. | *To which is added,*
| A LETTER to the Lord COLBERT, | touching the extent of *Indostan* |
the | Circulation of the Gold and Silver of | the World, to discharge
it self there; | as also the *Riches, Forces, and Justice* | of the same:
And the Principal Cause | of the Decay of the States of *Asia*. | By
Mons^r F. BERNIER, | Physician of the Faculty of *Montpelier*. |
English'd out of French. | LONDON | Printed, and sold by *Moses Pitt* |
at the *White Hart* in *Little Britain*, *Simon Miller* | at the *Star* in *St.*
Paul's Church-Yard, and *John Starkey* at the *Miter* near *Temple-Bar*,
1671. |

3
London 1671.
2 vols.
8vo.

[Title-page. Seven pages, an extract of a letter written to Mr. H[ENRY] O[LDENBURG] from Mons^r de *Monceaux* the younger, giving a character of the book here *Englished*, and its Author. Six pages, *The Heads of the Principal Contents of this History, Added by the English Interpreter*. One page, Errata of Tome I. and Tome II. Pages 1-258, The history of the late Revolution of the Dominions of the Great *Mogol*.]

Particular Events; | OR THE | Most Considerable | PASSAGES | After
the War of Five Years, or | thereabout, in the Empire of the GREAT
MOGOL. | Together with a Letter concern-|ing the Extent of *INDOSTAN*;
the | Circulation of the Gold and Silver at | last swallow'd up there;
the *Riches, Forces, Justice, and the Principal Cause* of the Decay of
the States of *ASIA*. | TOM. II. | London, Printed by S. G. for *Moses*
Pitt at | the *White Hart* in *Little Britain*, 1671.

[Title-page as above. Pages 1-176, Particular events etc. Pages 1-102, Letter to Colbert. Map of THE EMPIRE of the *Great Mogol*. This map has been copied from the one in the First French edition, Paris, 1670, some of the names have been Anglicized, and, although not quite so well engraved, it is printed on better paper. One leaf, Advertisement of the publication by *M. Pitt* of an English translation, price 1s. 6d. in 8vo. of the voyage of *Roland Frejus* of *Marseilles* to *Mauritania* in *Africk*, in 1666, by the *French King's Order*.]

A CONTINUATION | OF THE | MEMOIRES | OF | Monsieur BERNIER,
| Concerning the | *Empire of the Great Mogol*: | *Wherein is contained*
| I. An exact Description of *DEHLI* | and *AGRA*, the Capital Cities of

4
London 1672.
2 vols.
8vo.

the Em- | pire of the Great MOGOL ; together with | some particulars, making known the COURT | and GENIUS of the *Mogols* and *Indians* ; | as also the Doctrine, and Extravagant Super | -stitions and Customs of the Heathen of | *INDOSTAN*. | 2. The Emperour of *Mogol's* Voyage to the | Kingdom of *Kachemire*, in the year 1664. | 3. A LETTER, written by the Author to | *M. Chapelle*, touching his Design of returning, after | all his Peregrinations, to his Studies ; where he ta- | keth occasion to dis- course of | the Doctrine of | ATOMS, and the Nature of the Understand- ing of MAN, | **TOME III.** and **IV.** | English'd out of *French* by H. O. | *LONDON* | Printed, and are to be sold by *Moses Pitt*, at | the *White Hart* in *Little Britain*. 1672. |

[Title-page. Four pages, The Heads of the Chief Contents of the *Third Tome*. Five pages, The Heads of the *Fourth Tome*. Three pages, List of books 'to be sold by Moses Pitt at the White Hart in Little Britain.' One Leaf, Licence for printing and publishing 'this Continuation of the *Memoires of Mons. Bernier*,' dated, *Whitehall*, April 24, 1671, and signed, *JOHN COOKE*. Pages 1-173, Letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer.]

A | CONTINUATION | OF THE | HISTORIE | OF | *Monsieur Bernier* . Concerning the EMPIRE of | the GREAT MOGOL. | PARTICULARLY | A Relation of the Voyage made A. 1664 | by the great Mogol *Aurence Zebe*, mar- | ching with his Army from *Dehly* to *La | hor*, from *Lahor* to *Bember*, and from | *Bember* to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, by | the Mogols called the *Paradise of the | Indies*. | **TOME IV.** | London, Printed by S. G., and sold by *Moses | Pitt* at the Signe of the White Hart in | *Little Britain*.

[Title-page. General title to the series of letters, one leaf. Pages 2-174, The series of nine letters to Monsieur de Merveilles. Pages 175-178, 'Some particulars forgotten to be inserted in my first Book, to perfect the Map of Indostan, and to know the Revenue of the Great Mogol.' Pages 1-39, Letter to Monsieur Chapelle. One page, List of books to be sold by *Moses Pitt*. This is the earliest English translation of the *Editio Princeps*.]

5
Amsterdam
1672.
4 vols. in one.
12mo.

OPROER | int | RYCK VAN MOGOL, | t'Amsterdam, | By *Joannes Janssonius van | Waesberge*. Anno 1672. | [At foot of a copperplate engraving representing a Mogul executioner, sword in right hand, and holding up the head of a man whose body lies at his feet. In background a general scrimmage or uproar.]

VERHAEL | Van der laetsten | OPROER | Inden Staet des | GROOTEN | MOGOLS. | Tegelijck oock vervattende veeler- | ley seldfaeme Voor- vallen. | Beschreven | Door de Heer F. BERNIER, | Medicijn in de Faculteyt van | Montpellier | En nu Vertaeldt door | SIMON DE VRIES. | [Printer's mark, Spreading olive-tree with vine round trunk, aged

man to right, with NON SOLUS to left.] | t'AMSTELDAM, | By JOHANNES JANSSONIUS van | WAESBERGE. 1672. |

[Engraved title-page, as above. Printed title-page, as above. Two pages, the Translator to the Reader, dated Utrecht, 1st May 1672, and signed SIMON de VRIES. Map IMPERII | MAGNI MOGOLIS | *Novissima Descriptio*. | Pages 1-140, History of the late Revolution, etc. Title-page to vol. ii. Pages 3-162, Occurrences after the war and the letter to Colbert. Title-page to vol. iii. Pages 3-94, Letter to Monsieur De la Mothe le Vayer. Pages 95-168, Letter to Monsieur Chappelain (*sic*). Pages 169-200, Letter to Monsieur Chapelle. Title-page to vol. iv. Pages 3-146, The series of nine letters to Monsieur de Merveilles on the journey to Kashmir, etc. Pages 147-151, Some particulars forgotten to be inserted in the first volume, etc. The Translator has taken the trouble to verify the figures, but has himself fallen into an error. His words are 'De reghte reeckeningh is: Over de 230. *Millionen Roupies*, of meer als 345. *Millionen* guldens sijnde 3450. Tonnen Gouds.' Which may be English'd thus: 'The correct amount of this statement is above 230 *millions* of rupees, or more than 345 millions of guilders which would amount to 3450 *tons* of gold.'¹

A very choicely printed edition, and the first with any pictorial illustrations. There are no notes of any kind, but here and there the French equivalent for the Dutch is given. The map of the Mogul Empire, which has been compiled from various sources, is in many ways superior to the one in the first French edition, and is reproduced at page 454 of my edition. Bombay, titled *Bombaja*, is shown, an early mention of the name of that city and territory ceded to Charles II. by the Portuguese in 1661.

The illustrations, all copperplate engravings, some of them rather weak in their mechanical execution, are as follows: Vol. i. facing page 12, to illustrate the incident recorded at page 13 of my edition, Begum Sahib and her Khansaman (Steward), a mere fancy sketch; Begum Sahib with an ostrich plume headdress, but with a very chubby, honest Dutch face, and so forth. Page 58, The battle of Samúgarh.

Vol. ii. page 10, The Tartar Princess shooting arrows into a band of Mogul soldiery, who are falling fast; see pp. 122, 123 of my edition. Page 22, Didar Khan and the wife of the Gentile Scrivener.

Vol. iii. page 33, The Great Mogul riding in state, several of the details correct, according to Bernier's text, as a whole a mere fancy sketch. Page 44, An outriding (*Suwarf*) of the Great Mogul. At page 61 is an interesting map of the Kingdom of Kashmir, a new and accurate delineation (REGNI KACHEMIRE *Nova et Accurata de-*

¹ A *ton* of gold = one hundred thousand guilders (Picard's *Dutch Dictionary*). Tavernier constantly talks of this measure of account. The gulder may be here taken as worth about 1s. 9d. to 1s. 9½d.

xxx. . . . A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE

scriptio). This has been compiled from the text of Bernier's account, and is curiously incorrect. The royal elephants falling from the *Pire Penjale* (see page 408 of my edition, where this map is reproduced), are shown thereon. At the back of the map is inserted an engraving of an elephant fight; see page 276, *et seq.*, also a mere fancy sketch.]

6 [Edition not seen.]

La Haye
1671-72.
? vols.
12mo.

7 [Edition not seen. It is a German translation by Johann Wilhelm Serlin, who was also its publisher, of the first French editions, Nos. 1 and 2.]

Frankfort ^{A/M}.
1672-73.
4 vols.
12mo.

8 Istoria della ultima rivoluzione delli Stati del Gran Mogor dell Sr. Bernier tradotta in Italiano. [Edition not seen.]

Milan 1675.
? vols.
12mo.

9 Vol. i. has the same title-page as in the 1671 edition (No. 3), with the addition of the words THE SECOND EDITION above the imprint.

London 1676.
2 vols.
8vo.

Vol. ii. the same title-page as in the first edition, but printed by William Godbid. Both these volumes are in smaller type than the first edition, but otherwise it has been followed. The third and fourth volumes of the first edition (No. 4) do not appear to have been reprinted for the second edition, but copies of the complete work, made up with vols. i. and ii. second edition, and iii. and iv. of the first, bound up together, are not uncommon. Probably vols. iii. and iv. did not sell as well as vols. i. and ii.

II.—WITH OTHER WORKS.

10 Collections of travels through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies, giving an account of the present state of those countries. . . . Being the travels of Monsieur Tavernier, Bernier, and other great men. . . . The second volume, London, Printed for Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard, M.DC.LXXXIV.

London 1684.
Folio.

[A reprint of the four volumes of Bernier's History of the late Revo-

lution, etc., London, 1671-2, is contained in pages 1-154. We learn from the copy of the letter from Monsieur de Monceaux the younger, as given in this edition, that the Translator's name was Mr. H[enry] Ouldinburgh. This name is also spelt Oldenburg, see Appendix V.]

Essays since the Author's Death.

I.—AS A SEPARATE PUBLICATION.

Voyages de François Bernier, Docteur en Medecine de la Faculté de Montpellier, contenant la Description des Etats du Grand Mogol, de l'Hindoustan, du Royaume de Kachemire, etc., . . . Le tout enrichi de Cartes et de Figures . . . A Amsterdam, Chez Paul Marret, Marchand Libraire dans le Beurs-straet, à la Renommée. M.DC.XCIX.

II
Amsterdam
1699.
2 vols.
12mo.

[Frontispieces to both volumes the same, the Great Mogul riding in state, a mere fancy sketch.

Vol. i., Map of the Mogol Empire, copied from the one in the first French edition, facing p. 5.

Vol. ii. The illustrations are as follows:—Engraving of Inhabitants of Agra, facing page 5, some of the details from authentic Eastern sources, but not applicable to Agra. Folding plate of The Court of the Great Mogul, facing page 40, compiled from the text of Bernier and various other writers, curious, here and there an authentic detail. This plate has been used to illustrate various other accounts of the Mogul Court. The Great Mogul being weighed against coin, folding plate, facing page 55, a mere fancy sketch. Two elephants fighting, folding plate facing page 63, copied in part from the engraving at page 61, vol. iii., of edition No. 5. Folding plate, facing page 97, background, hilly landscape with a representation of a Hindoo idol, of the Satyr type usually met with in books of travel of that period; to the left a Moslem Fakir playing on a *meerdung* (species of drum worn round the neck, and played on with the fingers of both hands); to the right, a female figure, intended, I believe, to represent a woman on the way to consult a devotee of some sort. Both of these figures have been copied from drawings after nature, and are undoubtedly quite authentic. Opposite page 113, folding plate of a Suttee ceremony; to the left two figures in Western dress looking on, a mere fancy sketch. At page 123, a Hindoo Fakir, with his arms above his head, from nature. Folding plate opposite page 236, the Great Mogul riding in state, copied from the engraving at page 33, vol. iii., edition No. 5. Several of the details of arms, musical instrument in hand of mounted figure in the foreground, etc., have been copied from an early ms. copy of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, in which there are drawings of these and other objects to illustrate the

text, and after which the plates in Blochmann's¹ edition have been compiled. Other details, such as the trappings of the elephant, etc., incorrect and of no value. This plate (or modifications of it) has often been used for illustrating early books on India. At page 269, *Carte nouvelle du ROYAUME DE KACHEMIRE*, a French translation of the map at page 61, vol. iii., of edition No. 5, fairly well engraved. Facing page 343, a map of the sources of the river Nile, curious as an illustration to Bernier's text, and typical of the delineation of the sources of the Nile, and 'adjacent country' (!) that lingered on all maps until comparatively modern times.]

- 12
Amsterdam
1710 and 1709.
(sic.)
2 vols.
12mo.
- Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 11. Vol. ii. has M.DCC.IX. as imprint,—a mistake, I take it, for M.DCCXI., or it may be that vol. ii. is from another edition of 1709,—the ornaments on the title-pages of 1710 and 1709 differing.]
- 13
Amsterdam
1711.
2 vols.
12mo.
- Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 11. The plates for the maps and illustrations wearing out, and showing great signs of having been 'touched up.']
- 14
Amsterdam
1723.
2 vols.
12mo.
- Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 11., with the same maps and plates.]
- 15
Amsterdam
1724 and 1723.
(sic.)
2 vols.
12mo.
- Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 11, with a few errors corrected in vol. i., which has on the title-page *Nouvelle Edition revue & corrigée*, but this is the only vol. of the new edition. Vol. ii. is of the 1723 edition, and bears on title-page M.DCCXXIII. The map of the Mogul Empire does not appear to have been issued with vol. i.]
- 16
Amsterdam
1725.
2 vols.
12mo.
- Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [Edition not seen.]
- 17
London 1826.
2 vols.
8vo.
- Travels in the Mogul Empire, by Francis Bernier. Translated from the French by Irving Brock. In two volumes. London: William Pickering, Chancery-Lane. 1826.

¹ Calcutta. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873, vol. i. All published as yet.

[An exceedingly well printed book. Valuable appendices, considering the period when published, and a preface that practically contains all that was then known about Bernier. The translator was handicapped by an evident want of any acquaintance with the East, and has therefore failed to bring out the extreme accuracy of much that Bernier records. Monsieur de Monceaux's letter to Mr. H. O., and the valuable statement regarding the Mogul Revenues (see pages 455-460 of my edition), have been omitted. As stated elsewhere, I have used Mr. Brock's translation to some extent as the basis for my own.]

In a prospectus, dated Edinburgh, 20th June 1825, *The travels of Francis Bernier, and his Account of the Court of the Great Mogul, 2 vols.*, is announced as a work under preparation for *Constable's Miscellany*. This book was never included in that series, and it is possible that the edition described above, No. 17, was originally prepared for it. At present I have not been able to verify this.

Bernier's Travels: comprehending a description of the Mogol Empire including the Kingdom of Kashmir, etc. etc. etc. Translated from the French by John Steuart. Condo et compono quae mox depremore possim. Calcutta: Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 11 Circular Road, 1826. 18
Calcutta 1826.
1 vol.
8vo.

[Title-page. One leaf, dedication, dated Calcutta, 1st January 1826, to Captain George Anderson Vetch, of the Bengal Army.¹ Pages i.-iii, Translator's Preface. Page iv., blank. Pages v.-vi., Advertisement, which contains many mistakes relating to Bernier's career and other editions of his works. Pages vii.-viii, Contents. Pages 1-58, Letter to Monsieur Chapelain. The series of nine letters to Monsieur de Merveilles pages 59-143, from which the concluding six paragraphs as well as the answers to the five questions put by M. Thévenot have been omitted. Pages 144-213, Letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer, containing the description of Dehli and Agra, etc. At the end six pages of correspondence, being reprints of a series of letters signed 'Oscar,' 'Censorious,' and 'A Subscriber,' which appeared in the *India Gazette*, ranging in date from 12th January 1826 to 18th February 1826, relating to the forthcoming publication. 'Censorious' appears to have seen the ms., or perhaps proof-sheets, as he condemns the book from every point of view. 'Oscar,' who was perhaps Captain Vetch, replies, appealing for fair play: 'Most critics, Mr. Editor, have the grace to wait at least till the game is fairly started, and then give the *vieu holla*; but this poacher in the fields of criticism takes a pot-shot at his prey in its seat, while with palpitating breast it is about to open on the public view.'

¹ Fifty-fourth Regiment Native Infantry, in charge of the construction of the road from Benares to Allahabad. *Bengal Army List for 1826*.

Judging from the style of the translation, the intimate acquaintance with India apparent all through, and the endings, such as,

‘I remain,

My dear Sir,

Your ever faithful and affectionate,

FRANCIS BERNIER.’

which are, without any warrant, appended to many of the letters, Mr. Steuart was probably an East Indian clerk in some Government office, who had a knowledge of French. ‘A Subscriber,’ in the correspondence quoted above, states that on seeing the letters he was glad to observe that a translation of Bernier’s travels was about to appear, and mentions that he has heard that the translator had already issued an English version of a ‘most useful French work, in which, I understand, are to be found beautiful models of familiar letters.’]

19
Paris 1830.
2 vols.
8vo.

Voyages de François Bernier, Docteur en médecine de la Faculté de Montpellier. . . . Paris. Imprimé aux frais du Gouvernement pour procurer du travail aux ouvriers typographes, Aout, 1830.

[A mere reprint of edition No. 11, without the maps and illustrations. All the old typographical errors are repeated, and several new ones have crept in. In the words of M. L. de Lens (*Les correspondants de François Bernier pendant son voyage dans l’Inde . . . Angers, 1872*): ‘C’est une simple réimpression, à laquelle aucun homme de lettres n’a donné ses soins. L’ouvrage fut publié aux frais du Gouvernement, dans le but indiqué ci-dessus [pour procurer du travail aux ouvriers typographes], sur un crédit de 40,000f. voté par la Chambre de députés.’]

20
Bombay 1830.
1 vol.
8vo.

The history of the late Revolution, etc., Bombay: Re-printed at the Summachar Press, 1830.

[A verbatim, and to some extent facsimile, reprint of vols. i. and ii. of the first English edition, No. 3. The Editor, probably the proprietor of the Summachar Press, dedicates the book, by permission, to Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., Governor of Bombay. Following the text, at the end of the book, is an announcement, which, as it contains much curious information worthy of record, and is an interesting specimen of quaint Indo-English composition, is here reprinted:—

PROSPECTUS.

Literature of India.

The Literati in general and the Lovers of Oriental Literature in particular, are hereby informed that it is intended to reprint

The History of the Revolution in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL

by Monsr: F. BERNIER, Physician of the Faculty of Montpellier (about A.D. 1656)—a work, the very name of which avows its importance, and its known scarcity, its value, and hence so highly and desirable as a record of Indian Affairs, as the most important Historical event that has engaged either Scholar or Historian;—a work so important in itself and written by an Eye-witness of that important transaction which forms the great Era of Hindoostanee reference as the foundation of another Dynasty,—claims the first place in the estimation, and search—and would do if as easily attainable, as it is now scarce—in the Library of every Indian Antiquarian,—a work that is not more known to, than it is prized by, every lover of ORIENTAL LITERATURE,—while at the same time, 'it is now so scarce,—that even a transient and hasty sight of it is a treat hardly obtainable—as a volume that requires (as it did in the present instance) years of patient and persevering search to procure. Forming as it does the basis of every document that relates to the celebrated AURUNGZEBE,—it is by this alone, self-avowed to be of the greatest importance.

Every attempt that is made by scientific research or literary labour to elucidate the history and establish the truth of any record regarding Hindoostan—this mighty aggregate of former kingdoms; must derive its materials from and refer to this work, because—it is the only authentic source of that information which an Eye-witness (and an eye-witness alone) can afford—as well as being the testimony of an European. By birth an European who had every advantage of time and place, under most favourable circumstances. By Education of a liberal profession—by Situation a Physician—and as such occupying the first of all possible opportunities for observation—unsuspected, and peaceably allowed access to every attainable particular—attending the ROYAL FAMILY, who were the contending parties—he would hear, and see, and know, All that was to be, or heard, or seen or known, and more than probably was he also consulted and confidently entrusted with all the PRIVATE reasons and resources which publicly influenced the Great contending BELLIGERENTS—while his situation thus placed for so long a time put him in possession of every information of the native character, under all its various and varying modifications, at such an eventful period—who then could possess greater or so great advantages!—as if Providentially placed there to record by simple historical detail, the passing events he witnessed as they occurred.

It is therefore proposed to reprint the London Edition ('Englished out of French') of 1671. And it is further proposed to do this *unaltered*, that a work so scarce, so valuable and so desirable may be easily procurable (as easy as it has hitherto been difficult) by every person who wishes to possess it, either as a depository in the Library, or a companion for the sitting-room: For the contemplation of the Philosopher, or the instruction of Youth.

It shews at once the Native Spirit of the Country and the manner in which their revolutions are accomplished : while the mighty and sudden effects that are produced—changeable or lasting—shew at once that overruling power which directs and disposes the wills and affections of men ! by results as unexpected as they were undesigned. While at the same time it exhibits the powerful contrast of European and Christian clemency in the present rule of England, throughout—her immense possessions, and almost boundless Empire in the same Land ; on the one hand Fire and Sword, Blood and Carnage, Desolation and Havoc, Robbery and Destruction mark the path of the NATIVE conqueror in every way ; while on the other hand Peace and Plenty—Forbearance and Security unite the Olive Branch with the Laurel to crown the CHRISTIAN Victories and make them the means of dispensing every advantage to soothe, to comfort and reward Native sufferings. The native victories succeed but to destroy—the English conqueror only to preserve and improve—the Native and the Christian therefore are alike interested in every event recorded in this History (of the MOGAL REVOLUTION) both in its cause and effect—and the influence it has produced on the character and Country at large : that character and Country which is being enlightened with all that the Native can receive, or the European bestow in whatever is useful, or attainable in the present state of human intellect.

ELEVEN YEARS of continued solicitude have been employed in searching for the Copy of a work now obtained and at last by accident :—a perseverance only stimulated by the known judgement of that enlightened friend who first named and of another who lately recommended it—the conviction of its importance, the pleasure of making its possession general—and the Hope that it would meet with that encouragement which it deserves ! It is then presumed, that those laudable intentions are not over-rated in fixing the price of the volume at 15 Rupees for Subscribers only : and 20 for non Subscribers, on or after the 15th February next, on which day it is intended that the work shall appear well printed in a large Type, on fine paper and occupying about 300 pages 8vo neatly half bound and Lettered.

Bombay, 15th January 1830.]

21 . . . Travels in the Mogul Empire by Francis Bernier. Translated from the French by Irving Brock. Calcutta, R. C. Lepage and Co., Printers and Publisher.

Calcutta
[1866.] 2 vols.
8vo.

[A reprint of the edition No. 17, with the addition of several typographical errors. It is not edited in any sense, and the title-page is undated.]

22
Delhi 1872.
1 vol.
12mo.

A description of Dehli and Agra. The capital cities of the Empire of the Great Mogol, by Monsieur Bernier, Physician and companion of Danishmand Khan. Written at Dehli, 1st July 1663.

WRITINGS OF FRANÇOIS BERNIER xxxvii

[This is a reprint, in 102 pages, of the letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer, from the third volume of the London edition of 1672. All the old errors are reproduced; at page 77 the amusing one about the 'toothpick,' see page 214 of the present edition. No imprint or date, but a preface of three pages, signed W. H. T., and dated The Camp, Dehli, January 1st, 1872, which however gives no new facts, and is based upon the information contained in Bernier's own narrative. Outside cover, white paper, bearing a crescent and star in red, and half-title; DEHLI AND AGRA in the time of AURANGZIB.

Price one rupee.]

II.—WITH OTHER WORKS.

Relacion de el Estado presente de el Gran Mogol segun la que imprimio el Doctor en Medecina FRANCESCO BERNIER año de 99.

23
Brusselas 1761.
8vo.

[In don Sebastian Fernandez de Medrano's *Relaciones Modernas*. Pages 68-85. A mere abstract, but cleverly done.]

Mr. F. Bernier's Voyage to Surat: containing the History of the late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol; together with the most considerable Passages for five years following in that Empire. To which is added a letter to the Lord Colbert, etc. etc. Forming pages 102-236, vol. ii., of 'A Collection of Voyages and Travels . . . compiled from the curious and valuable library of the Earl of Oxford. . . . London, Thomas Osborne, 1745.'

24
London 1745.
Folio.

[A modernised reprint of the English editions of 1671-72, with various additional errors and misprints.]

Reise des Herrn Bernier in das Königreich Kachemir. Forming chapter xxiv. (pp. 99-128) of vol. xi. of *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande* . . . Leipzig, bey Artstee und Merfuss, 1753.

25
Leipzig 1753.
Quarto.

[A useful compilation. More especially devoted to the Kashmir journey and description of that country. A few notes and references to other travellers, such as Roe. At page 106, a full-page engraving, titled *Rauchenara Begum*, a fancy picture, but founded upon authentic details. The engravings in Valentyn's *Beschryving . . . van de Levens der Grootte Mogols*, 1726, having been utilised for this and other similar pictures, such as 'Begum Saheb,' 'Chah Jehan,' etc., inserted in other parts of the same volume as illustrations to abridgments of other Eastern travellers. The map of India in two sheets, which forms a frontispiece to this volume, compiled from the latest maps by *M. Bellin, Ing. de la Marine* 1752, is valuable.]

26. Voyage de Bernier, au Royaume de Kachemire. Pages 179-210 of
 La Haye 1755. vol. xiii. of Prévost d'Exiles' Histoire Générale des Voyages, ou
 Quarto. Nouvelle Collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par
 terre . . . A La Haye, chez Pierre de Houdt, 1755.

[A French translation of No. 25. Copy of the engraving of
 Rauchenara Begum at page 188. French edition of Bellin's map, and
 in addition a French translation of Valentyn's Map of the Kingdom
 of Bengal. Engraving of Begum Saheb inserted at back of plate of
 Rauchenara, not as in the German edition.]

27. Bernier's voyage to the East Indies; containing the history of the
 London 1811. late revolution of the empire of the Great Mogol, etc. etc. Pages
 Quarto. 57-234 of vol. viii. of John Pinkerton's general collection of the best
 and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world;
 many of which are now first translated into English. Digested on a
 new plan.

[A reprint of No. 24, with a few minor alterations. At page 64,
 a full-page engraving of Fort Gwalior from the North-west, after the
 view by Hodges. At page 150, N.E. view of the Cotsea Bhaug [Kudsia
 Bagh] on the river Jumna at Dehli, after Daniell.]

28. Voyage de Bernier à Cachemire. Chapter x., pages 169-232 of
 Paris 1816. vol. v. of Abrégé de l'Histoire générale des voyages . . . Par J. F.
 Octavo. Laharpe. Paris, Ledoux et Tenré, 1816.

[A tolerably full abridgment of Bernier's Journey to Kashmir.]

29. Bernier. Voyage à Cachemire (1638 *sic*)—1670). Pages 84-108 of
 Paris 1833. vol. xxxi. of 'Histoire universelle des voyages effectués par mer et par
 Octavo. terre dans les cinq parties du Monde, sur les divers points du Globe.
 . . . Revus ou Traduits par M. Albert Montémont. Paris, Armand-
 Aubrée.' [1833.]

[A cleverly written *précis* from a literary point of view. The date
 1638 is evidently a misprint for 1658.]

Other Works by François Bernier.

1. Anatomia ridiculi Muris, hoc est, dissertatiunculæ J. B. Morini
 adversus expositam à P. Gassendi philosophiam, etc. Lutetiae, 1651,
 4°.

2. Favilla ridiculi Muris, hoc est, disse tatiunculæ, ridicule defensæ
 a J. B. Morino, astrologo, adversus expositam à Petro Gassendi, Epicuri
 Philosophiam, etc. Lutetiae, 1653, 4°.

3. Abrégé de la Philosophie de Gassendi en viii. tomes. Lyon, 1678, 8°.

[This is the first complete edition. Separate parts of the work were published, first at Paris in 1674 and 1675, and at Lyon in 1676.]

4. Seconde édition, reveüe et augmentée per l'auteur. 7 tom. Lyon, 1684, 12°.

5. Three Discourses of Happiness, Virtue, and Liberty. Collected from the works of the learn'd Gassendi, by Monsieur Bernier. Translated out of French. London: Printed for Awnsbam and John Churchil [*sic*], at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1699, 8^s.

6. Requête des maîtres ès-arts, professeurs et régens de l'Université de Paris, présentée à la Cour souveraine du Parnasse, ensemble l'Arrest intervenu sur la dite requête contre tous ceux qui prétendent faire enseigner ou croire de nouvelles découvertes qui ne soient pas dans Aristote.

[This is entirely distinct from Boileau's *L'Arret burlesque*. It was circulated in sheets during 1671. Both pieces are mentioned in the Letters of Mme. de Sévigné, 6th and 20th Sept. 1671, and they were published by Gabriel Guéret at La Haye the same year, in a volume entitled, 'La Guerre des Auteurs anciens et modernes,' pages 179-201. The two pieces were also published in 24 pages, 12° at Libreville in 1702, and they also appear in the editions of 'Menagiana' of 1713 and 1715.]

7. Eclaircissement sur le livre de M. de la Ville (le père Le Valois, jésuite) intitulé: Sentimens de M. Descartes touchant l'essence et les propriétés des corps, etc.

[This is included in Bayle's 'Recueil de quelques pièces concernant la philosophie de M. Descartes,' 1684. In his preface he states that a few copies had been printed for private circulation some years before, probably either in 1680 or 1681.]

8. Doutes de M^r Bernier sur quelquesuns des principaux Chapitres de son Abrégé de la Philosophie de Gassendi. Paris, 1682, 12°.

9. Nouvelle division de la terre par les différentes espèces d'hommes qui l'habitent, envoyée par un fameux voyageux à M. l'abbé de la****.

[This appeared in the *Journal des Savants*, April 1684, and in the *Mercure de France* of 1722.]

10. Traité du Libre, et du Volontaire (Doute i.-iii. Extrait d'un livre de la Providence et du Destin par Hierocles.) Amsterdam, 1685, 12°.

11. Lettre sur le Café.

[Addressed to Philippe Sylvestre Dufour and printed at pp. 207-216, in his work entitled 'Traitez Nouveaux e curieux du Café, du Thé, et du Chocolate,' pages 207-216. Lyon, 1685, 12°.

12. Extrait de diverses pièces envoyées pour étreines à Mme. de la Sablière.

[This appeared in the *Journal des Savants*, the 7th and 14th June 1688. It comprises the following articles: *Introduction à la lecture de Confucius*; *Description du canal de jonction des deux mers*; *Combat des vents*; *Maximes touchant le mouvement*; *Des Réfractions*; *Építaphe de Chapelle*; *Observations médicales communiquées par un professeur de Montpellier*. The *Description du canal* du Languedoc appeared originally in the 'Mercuré Galant,' February 1688.]

13. Copie des Etreines envoyées à Madame de la Sablière. [Montpellier, 1688] 4°.

14. Mémoire de M^r Bernier sur le Quiétisme des Indes.

[This appeared in the 'Histoire des ouvrages des Sçavans,' Sept. 1688; pages 47-52.]

Biographies and Miscellanea.

1. Vincentii Panvrgi Epistola de tribus impostoribus, ad Clarissimum virum Ioan. Baptistam Morinvm, etc. Parisiis, 1654, 4°.

[In this violent attack upon Gassendi the author informs us: 'Hanc autem epistolam inscripsi titulo DE TRIBUS IMPOSTORIBUS, scilicet Petro Gassendo Epicureo Philosopho, Francisco Bernerio, Anatomista murium, et Neuraeo Pictone, Archipaedogo: Titulo quidem famoso, sed in his hominibus minime falso.' For an exhaustive account of the many polemical treatises which appeared under the same title about the beginning of the 17th century, see *De Tribus Impostoribus* M.D. IIIC. *texte Latin, collationné sur l'exemplaire du Duc de la Valliere . . . Augmenté de variantes de plusieurs manuscrits, etc., et d'une notice philologique et bibliographique par Philomneste Junior. Paris. Gay 1861.*]

2. Io. Bapt. Morini doctoris medici, et regii mathematicvm professoris Defensio svæ dissertationis de Atomis et Vacuo; aduersus Petri Gassendi Philosophiam Epicuream, contra Francisci Bernerii, Andegavi Anatomiam ridiculi muris, etc. Parisiis, 1657, 4°.

3. François Bernier: In Niceron's 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes Illustrés,' etc., vol. xxiii. pp. 364-370. Paris, 1733, 12°.

[This article, which contains many facts correctly stated, all doubtful dates, etc., being avoided, has formed the basis of many subsequent biographical articles until the appearance of the Angevin literature; see Nos. 12-16 below.]

4. François Bernier: In vol. i. of Eloy's *Dictionnaire historique de la Médecine*. Liège and Francfort, 1755, 2 vols. 8°.

[Short, but correct as far as it extends. In the second edition of Eloy, Mons, 1778, 4 vols. 4to, this notice is much extended, and in it will be found the earliest exact mention of Bernier's birthplace, 'Jouar près de Gonnord en Anjou.' M. Eloy concludes by a kindly reference to Bernier's observations on the medical science of the 'Brachmanes,' which he styles the earliest account of any philosophical value.]

5. François Bernier: In the 'Biographie Universelle,' vol. iv. pp. 304-306. Paris, 1811, 8°.

[Signed W[alckenae]r. A valuable article, based upon N^o. 3.]

6. In *The Edinburgh Review* for October 1815, in an article on certain accounts of parts of Western Asia, Elphinstone's *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, then just published, is criticised. The Reviewer characterises that work as being more of a treatise on the country visited, than a narrative of travels, and, quoting Elphinstone's eulogium on M. Volney's book on Syria and Egypt says (p. 417): 'But though the systematic fulness and method with which information is conveyed be an indisputable advantage of that mode of writing chosen by M. Volney and imposed upon Mr. Elphinstone by his situation, yet the reader must regret the absence of the picturesque and dramatic qualities of narrative, which, combined with the greatest accuracy and extent of knowledge, render Bernier the first of travellers, and which, without these substantial merits, bestow a powerful interest on the romantic adventures and relations of Bruce.'

7. Review of the 'Voyages of François Bernier,' in *The Retrospective Review*, vol. i., sec. ser., London 1827, pp. 245-268. [The Amsterdam editions of 1699 and 1710 are those reviewed. Extracts are given from Brock's translation, which is characterised as 'very good . . . Although we could have wished that more copious notes had brought the work to a level with the Oriental knowledge of the present day.']

8. In *The Quarterly Review* for January 1828, in an article on Bishop Heber's *Indian Journals*, etc., mention is made in a footnote, pp. 126-7, of Mr. Brock's translation of Bernier's *Travels in the Mogol Empire*, which is styled 'good.' The writer of the article further states that, 'If any of our readers are unacquainted with this excellent old traveller, we beg leave to tell them that his account of India is the most picturesque of all that have preceded Heber's; nor can we imagine anything more interesting than to compare his descriptions of the barbaric splendour of the court of Aurengzebe with the Bishop's account of his visit to his descendant, the present pageant-king of Dehli. We are sorry our limits prevent us from quoting the parallel passages. The mutability of human fortunes was never more strikingly portrayed.'

9. François Bernier : In 'Vies de plusieurs personnages célèbres, etc., by C. A. Walckenaer, vol. ii., pp. 74-77. Laon, 1830, 8°.

[A reprint of No. 5, with corrections and additions.]

10. François Bernier : In vol. i. of *The lives of celebrated travellers. By James Augustus St. John*, forming vol. ii. of Colburn and Bentley's National Library, London, 1831. [An abstract of Bernier's travels, with an account of his life founded upon the preceding article (No. 9) by Walckenaer, covering pages 192-220; well done, all the salient features being adequately brought forward.]

11. François Bernier : In 'Biographie Universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne . . nouvelle édition . . Paris, 1854 [et seq.] Vol. iv. pp. 78, 79. [Signed W[alckenaer], a mere reprint of No. 5.]

12. Eloge de François Bernier. Rapport de la Commission. Par Dr. E. Farge.

[In the 'Annales de la Société Linnéenne du Département de Maine et Loire, 3^e Année, 1858, pp. 338-353.]

13. François Bernier, philosophe, médecin, et voyageur, par Dr. Pompée Mabillet. Cosnier et Lachèse : Angers, 1864, 8°.

14. Les Correspondants de François Bernier, pendant son voyage dans l'Inde, par L. De Lens.

[In the 'Mémoires de la Société Nationale d'Agriculture, Sciences, et Arts d'Angers,' 1872, vol. xv., pp. 129-176. Angers, 1872. Reprinted in book form at Angers the same year.]

15. Documents inédits ou peu connus sur François Bernier, par L. De Lens.

[In the 'Revue Historique, Littéraire, et Archéologique de l'Anjou,' for 1872-73, vol. i. (Nouvelle série, illustrée), pp. 161-177, 332-348; vol. ii. pp. 75, 92.]

16. François Bernier, by L. De Lens. [In Célestine Port's 'Dictionnaire Historique,' vol. i., pp. 325-328. Paris, 1874, 8°.]

[It would be impossible to overstate the value of all that is contained in Nos. 12-16. The original and authentic material there made known for the first time must for ever form the basis of all succeeding Bernier Literature.]

DEDICATION, ETC.



TO THE KING

SIRE,

The Indians maintain that the mind of a man cannot always be occupied with serious affairs, and that he remains forever a child in this respect: that, to develop what is good in him, almost as much care must be taken to amuse him as to cause him to study. This may be true with regard to the natives of Asia, but judging by all the great things I hear said everywhere regarding FRANCE and her MONARCH, from the Ganges and the Indus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, unto the Seine, I have some difficulty in believing this to be a saying capable of universal application. Nevertheless I will still venture to offer HIM this History, because it seems to me capable of affording some hours of amusement to a KING, who might wish to find occasional relaxation from weighty affairs of State; not only because it is a Tragedy which I have just seen acted in one of the largest Theatres in the World, but from the fact of its being varied by several great and extraordinary incidents, affecting one of the most illustrious of the Royal Families of Asia. I cannot, however, doubt that it is

written in a style devoid of elegance, and somewhat badly arranged, but I hope that HIS MAJESTY will chiefly take into His consideration the subject, and that HE will consider it nothing very extraordinary that during my long absence, whether wandering about the World, or attached to a Foreign Court, my language may have become semi-barbarous. Moreover, I am well pleased to return from such a distance, not quite empty-handed before HIS MAJESTY, and lay claim by this means to render HIM some account of so many years of my life, spent in absence from His Kingdom, for I have always remembered, no matter how far away I may have been, that I had a Master to whom I was accountable, being,

HIS MAJESTY'S

*Most humble and most obedient
Subject and Servant,*

F. BERNIER.



TO THE READER.

I will not recount to you in a formal manner the Manners and Customs, the Learning and the Pursuits of the Mogols and the Indians, but will endeavour to make them known to you through Facts and actual Occurrences, by describing in the first place a Civil War and Revolution in which all the leading Statesmen of that nation took a part, adding thereto, that you may the better understand my narrative, a Map of the Country, which however I do not desire to put forth as absolutely correct, but merely as less incorrect than others that I have seen. Secondly, by relating some of the most important events which took place between the end of the War and my leaving the country; and thirdly, by means of Correspondence, which appears to me necessary to accomplish my purpose.

Should I be so fortunate as to succeed, I shall feel encouraged to publish other Letters concerning my Travels, and to translate from the Persian an Abridgment of an Ancient and Important History of the Kings of Kachmire,¹ which was compiled by order of King Jehan-Guyre, the son of that great Ekbar who so skilfully contrived to possess himself of that Kingdom.

¹ See p. 393, footnote ².



An Extract of a LETTER

Written to Mr. *H. O.*¹

FROM

Monsr. *de Monceaux* the Younger,
Giving a Character of the Book
here *Englished*, and its Author.

Vertue sometimes is no less interested than Affection: Both, Sir, are glad to receive from time to time pledges mutually answering for those that have united themselves in a close correspondence. Yours indeed should demand of me such, as might be a security to you for the advance, you have been pleased to make me of your Friendship. But since at present I have nothing worth presenting you with; and yet am unwilling to give you any leisure to be diffident of my realness, or to repent for having so easily given me a share in your esteem, I here send you a Relation of *INDOSTAN*, in which you will find such considerable occurrences, as will make you confess I could not convey to you a more acceptable present, and that Monsieur Bernier who hath written it, is a very Gallant man, and of a mould, I wish all Travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of Unsettledness than Curiosity, with a designe to see Towns and Countries rather than to know their Inhabitants and Productions; and we stay not long enough in a place to inform ourselves well of the Government, Policy, Interests, and Manners of its People.

¹ Mr. Henry Ouldinburgh; see entry No. 10 of the *Bibliography*, p. xxx.

Monsieur Bernier, after he had benefited himself for the space of many years by the converse of the famous Gassendi; seen him expire in his arms, succeeded him in his Knowledge, and inherited his Opinions and Discoveries, embarked for Ægypt, stay'd above a whole year at Cairo, and then took the occasion of some Indian Vessels that trade in the Ports of the Red Sea, to pass to Suratte; and after twelve years abode at the Court of the Great Mogol, is at last come to seek his rest in his native Countrey, there to give an Accompt of his Observations and Discoveries, and to poure out into the bosome of France, what he had amassed in India.

Sir, I shall say nothing to you of his Adventures which you will find in the Relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the greediness of the Curious, who prefer their satisfaction to his quiet, and do already persecute him to have the sequel of this History. Neither shall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the neighbourhood of Mecca; nor of his prudent conduct, which made him merit the esteem of his Generous Fazelkan, who since is become the first Minister of that Great Empire, whom he taught the principle Languages of Europe, after he had translated for him the whole Philosophy of Gassendi in Latin,¹ and whose leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a select number of our best European Books, thereby to supply the loss he should suffer of his Person. This, at least, I can assure you of, that never a Traveller went from home more capable to observe, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; that I knew him at Constantinople, and in some Towns of Greece, of so excellent a conduct, that I propossed him to myself for a Pattern in the designe I then had to carry my curiosity as far as the place where the Sun riseth; that I have often drown'd in the sweetness of his entertainment the bitternesses, which else I must have swallowed all alone in such irksome and unpleasant passages, as are those of Asia.

¹ *Petri Gassendi . . . opera omnia in sex tomos divisa . . . Lugduni sumptibus Laurentii Anisson, & Ioan. Bapt. Devenet M.DC. lviij,* is the edition here referred to.

Written to Mr. H. O.

li

Sir, you will do me a pleasure to let me know the Sentiments of your Illustrious Society¹ hath of this Piece. Their approbation begets much emulation among the Intelligent, who have no other Ambition than to please them. I my self must atobow to you, that if I thought I could merit so much, I should not so stiffly oppose as I do, the publication of the Observations and Notes I have made in the Levant. I should suffer my friends to take them out of my Cabinet, where from the slight value I have for them, they are like to lie imprisoned, except the King my Master, by whose order I undertook those Voyages, should absolutely command me to set them at liberty, and to let them take their course in the world. Mean time, Sir, you will oblige me to assure those Great Men, who this day compose the most knowing Company on Earth, of the Veneration I have for the Oracles that come from their Mouth, and that I prefer their Lyceum before that of Athens; and lastly, that of all their Admirers there is none, that hath a greater Concern for their Glory, than

PARIS, Julij 16,
1670.

De Monceaux.

¹ The Royal Society, of which Henry Ouldinburgh was the first Secretary; see Appendix v.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

Regarding Dryden's Tragedy of AURENG-ZEBE

Aureng-Zebe, A tragedy. Acted at the Royal Theatre. Written by John Dryden, Servant to his Majesty—is entered in the Stationers' Register on November 29th, 1675, and Malone is of opinion that it had probably been acted in the spring of that year. The *dramatis personæ* and plot are as follows, from which, and from what follows, will be seen what poetical licence the Author has taken with the text of the History he used :

THE OLD EMPEROUR [in love with Indamora].
 AURENG-ZEBE, his son [in love with Indamora].
 MORAT, his younger Son [son of Nourmahal].
 ARIMANT, Governour of *Agra* [in love with Indamora].
 DIANET,
 SOLYMAN AGAH,
 MIR BABA,
 ABBAS,
 ASAPH CHAWN,
 FAZEL CHAWN,
 NOURMAHAL,¹ the Empress.
 INDAMORA, a captive Queen [of Cassimere, in love with
 Aureng-Zebe].
 MELESINDA, wife to *Morat*.
 ZAYDA, favourite Slave to the Empress.

SCENE, *Agra*, in the year 1660.

The Emperour, who is 70 years of age, had been so ill that his death was expected.—his four sons had taken up arms to contend for the Empire—Aureng-Zebe, who remains loyal to his Father, defeats

¹ Núr Mahál was the wife of the Emperor *Jahángír*, and died, aged 72, in 1645. Mumtáz Mahál was Sháh Jahán's wife, and she died in 1631, and is buried in the Taj. Many compilers of books of Indian History have confounded the one with the other. Dryden has of course availed himself of a poet's licence.

two of his brothers and enters Agra, but without his forces; the Emperour endeavours to persuade Aureng-Zebe to resign Indamora to him—he refuses—and the Emperour admits Morat and his troops into the City, Aureng-Zebe is placed in confinement—Morat falls in love with Indamora—Nourmahal makes love to Aureng-Zebe—he rejects her advances with horror—she, in revenge, summons her mutes and offers him a cup of poison—Morat enters and takes away the cup. This is a passage which most of the critics who have discussed this Tragedy, but apparently without any knowledge whatever of Bernier's book, have thought unworthy of its Author. I do not think, however, that, after a careful perusal of Bernier's narrative, their verdict will be generally concurred in, especially when it is borne in mind that Bernier's *entire work* formed the *leit motif*, nay a good deal more than that, of Dryden's drama. In support of this opinion, the passage in question, in Act IV., is here given:—

As he is going to drink, enter Morat, attended.

Mor. Make not such haste, you must my leisure stay:
Your Fate's deferr'd, you shall not die to-day.

[Taking the Cup from him.]

Nour. What foolish pity has possess'd your mind,
To alter what your prudence once design'd?¹

Mor. What if I please to lengthen out his date
A day, and take a pride to cozen Fate?

Nour. 'Twill not be safe to let him live an hour.

Mor. I'll do't, to show my Arbitrary pow'r.

Nour. Fortune may take him from your hands again,
And you repent th' occasion lost in vain.

Mor. I smile at what your Female fear foresees;
I'm in Fate's place, and dictate her Decrees.
Let Arimant be called.

Morat and his father quarrel—the Emperour reconciles himself to Aureng-Zebe—the latter defeats the forces of Morat—Nourmahal is going to stab Indamora, but is prevented by Morat—Morat dies of his wounds—Melesinda determines to burn herself on his funeral pile—Nourmahal poisons herself, and dies mad—the Emperour resigns Indamora to Aureng-Zebe.

Dryden has of course taken great liberties with history, the manners and customs of the Indies, and so forth, but it is pleasing to see his keen appreciation of the genius of Bernier, which is well illustrated in a passage which will be found at the end of the Tragedy, Act V.,

¹ Compare Raushan Ará Begum's conduct towards her brother Dára, when his fate was being decided, at p. 100.

where Morat's wife is about to become a *Suttee*. With this may be compared pp. 306-315 of Bernier's narrative :—

A Procession of Priests, Slaves following, and last, Melesinda in white.

Ind. Alas ! what means this pomp ?

Aur. 'Tis the Procession of a Funeral Vow,
Which cruel Laws to *Indian* Wives allow,
When fatally their Virtue they approve ;
Chearful in flames, and Martyrs of their love.

Ind. Oh my foreboding heart ! th' event I fear ;
And see ! sad *Melesinda* does appear.

Mel. You wrong my love ; what grief do I betray ?
This is the Triumph of my Nuptial day.
My better Nuptials ; which, in spight of Fate,
For ever joyn me to my dear *Morat*.
Now I am pleas'd ; my jealousies are o'er :
He's mine ; and I can lose him now no more.

Emp. Let no false show of Fame your reason blind.

Ind. You have no right to die ; he was not kind.

Mel. Had he been kind, I could no love have shown :
Each vulgar Virtue would as much have done.
My love was such, it needed no return ;
But could, though he supplied no fuel, burn.
Rich in it self, like Elemental fire,
Whose pureness does no Aliment require.
In vain you would bereave me of my Lord ;
For I will die : Die is too base a word ;
I'll seek his breast, and, kindling by his side,
Adorn'd with flames, I'll mount a glorious Bride.

[*Exit.*

Davies, in his *Dramatic Miscellanies*, London 1784, pp. 157-158 vol. iii., styles it Dryden's last and most perfect tragedy in ryme :—' In this play the passions are strongly depicted, the characters were discriminated, and the diction more familiar and dramatic than in any of his preceding pieces. . . . The Court greatly encouraged the play of *Aureng-Zebe*. The Author tells us, in his dedication, that Charles II. altered an incident in the plot, and pronounced it to be the best of all Dryden's tragedies.' It was revived in 1708, 1709, and 1721, when it was performed on the 11th December at Drury Lane.

Addison considered *Aureng-Zebe*'s complaint of the vicissitudes and disappointments of life, Act iv. Scene 1, the best lines in the play :—

Aur. When I consider Life, 'tis all a cheat ;
Yet, fool'd with hope, men favour the deceit ;

Trust on and think to-morrow will repay :
 To morrow 's falsar than the former day ;
 Lies worse ; and, while it says, we shall be blest
 With some new joys, cuts off what we possess.
 Strange couzenage ! none would live past years again,
 Yet all hope pleasure in what yet remain ;
 And, from the dregs of life, think to receive
 What the first sprightly running could not give.
 I'm tired with waiting for the Chymick Gold,
 Which fools us young, and beggars us when old.

Davies tells us that he had heard Dr. Johnson highly commend the full and pertinent answer given by Nourmahal :—

Nour. 'Tis not for nothing that we life pursue ;
 It pays our hopes with something still that 's new :
 Each day's a Mistris, unenjoy'd before ;
 Like Travellers, we 're pleas'd with seeing more.
 Did you but know what joys your way attend,
 You would not hurry to your journey's end.

As stated in our Preface, Dryden founded his play on the English translation, 1671-72, of Bernier's Travels, and even a cursory perusal of his Tragedy will show many passages which are mere paraphrases, so to speak, of Bernier's text—a remarkable instance being met with in Act 1. Scene i., where Arimant, Asaph Chawn, Fazel Chawn, and Solyman Agah are discussing the situation of affairs. In the course of their councils, they thus give their opinions as to the character of the Emperor's rebellious sons :—

Asaph. The name of Father hateful to him grows,
 Which, for one Son, produces him three foes.

Fazel. *Darah*, the eldest, bears a generous mind ;
 But to implacable revenge inclined.
 Too openly does Love and hatred show ;
 A bounteous Master, but a deadly foe.

Solyman. From *Sujah*'s valour I should much expect,
 But he's a *Bigot* of the *Persian* Sect,
 And, by a Foreign Int'rest seeks to Reign,
 Hopeless by Love the Sceptre to obtain.

Asaph. *Morat*'s too insolent, too much a Brave,
 His Courage to his Envy is a Slave.
 What he attempts, if his endeavours fail
 T' effect, he is resolved no other shall.

Arim. But *Aureng-Zebe*, by no strong passion sway'd,
 Except his Love, more temp'rate is, and weigh'd :

This *Atlas* must our sinking State uphold ;
 In Council cool, but in performance bold :
 He sums their Virtues in himself alone,
 And adds the greatest, of a Loyal Son :
 His Father's Cause upon his Sword he wears,
 And with his Arms, we hope, his fortune bears.

Solym. Two vast Rewards may well his courage move,
 A parent's blessing, and a Mistris Love.
 If he succeed, his recompense, we hear,
 Must be the Captive Queen of *Cassimere*.

Which may be compared with pp. 6-11, of Bernier's text.

A P P E N D I X II.

On the identity of the 'Great Mogul's diamond' with the Koh-i-núr.

Catrou states that Mirza Mula (otherwise Mergi Mola) served for some time in the army of the Mogul (*i.e.* Sháh Jahán) and rose to high command, but that, disgusted with the contempt of Prince Dára, he entered the service of the King of Golconda, by whom he was appointed 'superintendent over the customs and the traffic of the King.' Profiting by so advantageous a post, and trading on his own account, he soon amassed immense wealth, which at first he used to gain the good graces of his master, procuring for him as presents rarities from Europe, cabinets from China, and elephants from Ceylon. 'His magnificence caused him to be taken notice of at Court, and as soon as he became known, he attained to the first distinctions. What brought him into chief notice was an intrigue of gallantry, which he carried on in private with the mother of the King. She was a princess who still preserved her beauty, at a rather advanced period of life. The King's acquaintance with the irregular conduct of his mother served only to advance the fortunes of Mirza Mula. He was sent to a distance from the Court, that the queen-mother might be prevented from giving occasion to scandal; and the government of the province of the Carnatic was bestowed upon him. The artful Persian knew how to turn his disgrace to his advantage. The diamond mine, which adds so much to the wealth of the kingdom of Golconda, was within the limits of his government. He consequently determined to make the best use of his time. He retained for his own use the largest and the most perfect

of the diamonds. One, which he gave in the sequel to the Mogul Emperor, was unparalleled in its kind. It is still the admiration of all connoisseurs.'

Tavernier tells us that the Great Mogul's diamond was obtained by the Amir Jumla, from the Coulour (Kollúr) mine (*Travels*, English Trans. by V. Ball, vol. ii., p. 74). Dr. V. Ball, now Director of the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, but formerly of the Geological Survey of India, when in that country traced out by means of the routes given to it by Tavernier, who visited it personally, the position of this mine, which, known by its modern name Kollúr, is situated on the Kistna river in N. latitude $16^{\circ} 42' 30''$, E. longitude $80^{\circ} 5'$, and on an old route from Masulipatam to Golconda (Haidarabad). This identification has since been further proved by the discovery of the remains of the old mining settlement at Kollúr.

The exact date of the discovery of the gem is not known, but about 1656 or 1657 it was presented, while still uncut, to Sháh Jáhan by Mir Jumla. It then weighed 756 English carats. Dr. Ball has shown that the carats used in his descriptions of stones by Tavernier were the Florentine, the lightest of all carats. Vide p. 17, footnote ³.

Tavernier was invited by Aurangzeb to see all his jewels, and among them the great diamond, which he was allowed to examine, make a drawing of, and weigh. He found it to weigh $268\frac{1}{8}$ English carats. The loss in weight is thus explained by Tavernier (vol. i. p. 396):—'If this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down. It was the *Sieur* HORTENSIO BORGIO, a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly rewarded, for when it was cut he was reproached with having spoiled the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight; and instead of paying him for his work, the King fined him ten thousand rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the *Sieur* HORTENSIO had understood his trade well, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the King, and without having had so much trouble grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter.' By this latter phrase, Dr. Ball, in opposition to a view held by Mr. King and others, is of opinion that Tavernier meant, not that Hortensio might have defrauded the Mogul by taking off a large piece, but that he might with advantage have cleaved the stone instead of grinding it; the pieces so cleaved would then have been the property of the Mogul, not the perquisite of Hortensio. This, after a careful examination of the original text, appears to me also to be the correct reading.

In 1739 the diamond was plundered from Aurangzeb's descendant,

Muhammad Sháh, by Nadir Sháh when he sacked Delhi, and carried it away, with an immense amount of other loot, to Persia. On first beholding it he is reported to have conferred upon it the title *Koh-i-núr* ('Mountain of Light,' or Lustre), a most suitable name for the stone described by Tavernier as 'a round "rose," very high at one side, of beautiful water, and a splendid stone.'

Dr. Ball then traces its history through the hands of Ahmed Sháh Durani in 1751, Sháh Zamán in 1793, Sháh Shujá in 1795, Ranjit Singh, in 1813, and, on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, to the custody of the British Government, by whom it was sent — John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, having been for a short time its custodian—to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. It then weighed $186\frac{1}{8}$ carats English, and Dr. Ball ascribes the loss in weight, about 83 carats, to mutilation, to which it was subjected as he proves by the marks of cleavage apparent when it was received in England, and which took place, he believes, when in the possession of either Sháh Rukh, Shah Zamán, or Sháh Shujá, whose necessities may have caused them to have had pieces removed to furnish them with ready money.

In 1851 the *Koh-i-núr* was exhibited in the first great Exhibition, and in 1852 the re-cutting of the stone was intrusted by Her Majesty to the Messrs. Garrards, who employed Voorsanger, a diamond-cutter from M. Coster's *atelier* at Amsterdam. The actual cutting lasted thirty-eight days, and by it the weight was reduced to $106\frac{1}{8}$ carats. The cost of the cutting amounted to £8000.

APPENDIX III.

Tavernier's description of the Peacock Throne of the Great Mogul.

It should be stated that the GREAT MOGUL has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court, is nearly of the form and size of our camp-beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars, which are more

than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large *balass*¹ [*balet* in orig.] ruby, cut *en cabuchon*, with four emeralds round it, which form a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four *balass* rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all being showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the King's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others that are placed at his sides are flat. There is to be seen, moreover, a sword suspended from this throne, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows; and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones is respectively enriched.

I counted the large *balass* rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all *cabuchons*, the least of which weighs 100 carats,² but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats and the least 30 carats. I counted about one hundred and sixteen (116); thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne which is opposite the court there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the King is seated he has this jewel in full view. But that which in my opinion

¹ A corruption of *Balakhshai*, a popular form of *Badakhshai*, because these rubies came from the famous mines on the Upper Oxus, in one of the districts subject to Badakhshān. A. C.

² Rubies of good quality weighing 100 carats would be worth more than diamonds of equal weight, but it is probable that these were not perfect in every respect. V. B.

is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is, that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At 4 feet distance from the throne there are fixed, on either side, two umbrellas, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. The umbrellas are of red velvet, and are embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by TAMERLANE and completed by SHÁH JAHÁN ; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of what this great work has cost, have assured me that it amounts to one hundred and seven thousand lakhs of rupees [*sic*] (*i.e.* 10,700,000,000), which amount to one hundred and sixty millions five hundred thousand *livres* of our money (*i.e.* 160,500,000).¹

Behind this grand and magnificent throne there is placed a smaller one, which has the form of a bathing tub. It is of an oval shape of about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy.—*Travels*, vol. i. pp. 381, 385.

APPENDIX IV.

Note on the letter to Monseigneur Colbert concerning the absorption of the precious metals in India.

Numberless writers have treated on the subject of the buried treasure of India, among others, Tavernier, who in his account of the *Belief of the Idolaters touching the Condition of the Soul of man after Death*, explains the reason for treasure being hoarded as follows:—

‘There are some among them who are foolish enough to bury their treasures during their lifetime, as, for instance, nearly all the rich men of the kingdom of ASSAM, so that if they enter, after death, the body of any poor and miserable mendicant, they can have recourse to the money which they have buried in order to draw from it at necessity. This is the reason why so much gold and silver and so many precious stones are buried in INDIA, and an idolater must be poor indeed if he has not money buried in the earth.’—*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205.

All recent authorities agree in stating that within the last fifty years

¹ As Dr. V. Ball has pointed out, there appears to be a clerical error here. The figure should be 107,000,000, namely one thousand and seventy lakhs, which at $\frac{1}{3}$ of a rupee to the *livre* would be equal to 160,500,000 *livres*, or £12,037,500, the rupee being 2s. 3d. and the *livre* 1s. 6d.

there has been an enormous increase to the amount of capital lying idle in India, in the shape of hoarded treasure and in the ornaments used by the people in all parts of that country, and one of the greatest of all Indian economic problems is the provision of means whereby the owners of this wealth could be induced to utilise part of it in such a way as would materially benefit themselves and others.

Mr. Clarmont J. Daniell, the well-known advocate for remonetising gold in India, estimates¹ that at the beginning of the year 1889 there was 'lying in India a stock of gold bullion wholly useless for commercial purposes, and increasing at the rate of nearly three millions annually, of the value of not less than £270,000,000 at the market, being probably two and a half times as great as all the gold money in circulation in the United Kingdom.'—P. 249, *op. cit.*

In 1886-87 the Indian Government was able to utilise for coining purposes 31,837,783 obsolete silver coins which had been buried in pits and wells in the palace of the Mahārājā Scindia, and were thus credited as part of the sum forming the Gwalior Durbar loan, yielding interest, instead of remaining useless as they had done for a very long period.

Bernier did not fail to observe the large consumption of gold and silver in India for the making of jewellery, and in other articles of personal adornment; see pp. 223, 224. Of late years such a use of the precious metals has largely increased, and reliable and convincing evidence of this, as regards the Punjab, may be found in a recent account of the gold and silver works of the Punjab,² compiled by Mr. E. D. Maclagan, B.C.S., who finds after careful investigation that the forty years' peace that Province has now enjoyed under British rule has brought about a threefold change in the goldsmiths' trade in that part of India, viz.: 'a decrease in the merely ostentatious class of work: an increase but a concentration of the better forms of ornament industry, and a large development of the simplest and coarsest kinds.'—*Para. 12.*

Mr. Maclagan concludes his very valuable and exhaustive Monograph as follows:—

THE FUTURE OF GOLD AND SILVER ORNAMENTS.—'The use of ornaments appears in this country so universal, and to most minds so excessive, that the subject has attracted some-attention from a social point of view. The Punjābī is probably as profuse in ornamentation as the native of any other part of the plains of India; foreigners in this Province at any rate, such as Parsis, Bangālīs, and the like, are far

¹ *The Industrial Competition of Asia. An Inquiry into the Influence of Currency on the Commerce of the Empire in the East.* London. 1890.

² *Monograph on the Gold and Silver Works of the Punjab.* 1888-89. Published by Authority. Lahore. 1890.

more sparing than the native Punjábí in the ornamentation of themselves and their wives. The actual amount of potential wealth that the native locks up in jewellery is something beyond conception. Europeans in dealing with the subject are far more inclined to under- than to over-value the amount of ornaments which a native family, in whatever rank of life, possesses. And yet every day in large civil cases, in suits for dower, in dealing with wards' estates, in cases of elopements, thefts, burglaries, murders, and a thousand other ways, civil officers are constantly being confronted with this enormous mass of wealth lying in the coffers of the people. A competent authority guesses that in Amritsar city alone there are jewels to the value of two million pounds sterling. In Kulu the ornaments are estimated at a lakh-and-a-half; and the gold and silver attached to *deotas* [idols and their shrines] at three lakhs. The Jullundur estimate is four lakhs, which is probably below the mark; that of Montgomery—fifty lakhs—is possibly above it. In Jhelum two-fifths of the wealth of the district is said to be in ornaments. If we estimate the existing ornaments at twelve times the annual out-turn, those of the Gurgáon District must be valued at over ten lakhs. In Dera Ismail Khan, at five rupees to each woman, the ornaments of the district must exceed ten lakhs in value; and we should probably add two lakhs to this estimate for the ornaments in the families of the Nawábs and other Raises [Gentry]. In Kohát, again (probably one of the poorest districts of the Province in this respect), the estimate is taken at Rs. 800 for each Hindú family, and Rs. 10 for each Mussalmán family, and a lakh in aggregate for the Nawáb and other Raises; making a total for the district of seventy-five lakhs. This estimate is doubtless an exaggeration, but even a more exact calculation would probably surprise us in its results. These isolated instances will serve better than any formal estimate to show the extent to which the system is carried in the Province.

‘The main evil which is laid at the door of this system is the loss of wealth. Another is the incentive to crime; in Dera Ismail Khan, for instance, it has been calculated that in one year, out of 968 cases of burglary, house-breaking, and dacoity, 824 were connected with jewellery. Advocates, therefore, of economic and social progress look forward to a diminution of the stock of ornaments in the country, and it is not improbable that under our rule such a diminution will take place. The steps taken to reduce marriage expenses will doubtless do something, though perhaps not very much, in the direction. The spread of English or Anglicised education will probably do more; for it is noticed that the classes so educated are on the whole simple in their habits in this respect. And if anything occurs to give a general impetus to commercial enterprise and mutual confidence, opening opportunities for investment, the use of ornaments may be extensively diminished. But

any such changes can only be most gradual, and there are obstacles in their way. The "female vote" is one. The enormous respect for jewellery among the people as a criterion of respectability is another. And the distinctly agricultural, and the commercially unenterprising character of the class which mainly upholds the system is another. There is no fear, therefore, of the practice of ornamentation dying out; and the position of the *sunárs* [workers of gold or silver jewellery] appears a fairly assured one. European competition has as yet had little influence on the articles prepared for native custom. False jewellery, except in large towns or among the very poorest classes, is not largely sought after. The general character of the popular type of gold and silver work is rough and unfinished; it is more likely to improve than to deteriorate, and for its improvement it is at present being left to itself.'

Manouchi, the Venetian Doctor, from whose Memoirs I have frequently quoted, gives a very graphic picture of the buried treasures of the Emperor Sháh Jahán in the following words:—

'As the Emperor grew old, his passions changed with his years. Avarice took the place of prodigality. It may be said, that this passion equalled, or even surpassed, all his other vices. He rewarded the principal officers of his court and of the armies by permitting them to plunder the people with impunity, and as soon as the Omras [*sic*] had become enriched by their extortions, the Emperor seized on their wealth, and appropriated to himself the spoil. In order to preserve with greater security the immense wealth, which tributes and extortions augmented every year, he caused to be constructed, under his palace of Dely, two deep caves, supported by vast marble pillars. Piles of gold were stored in the one, and of silver in the other; and to render more difficult any attempt to convey away his treasure, he caused, of both metals, pieces to be made of so prodigious a size as to render them useless for the purposes of commerce [*i.e.* currency]. In these caves Cha-Jaham passed a great part of the day, under the pretence of enjoying their refreshing coolness; but, in reality, for the purpose of feasting his eyes on the prodigious wealth he had accumulated.'

At a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held at Calcutta on the 3d January 1883, the Vice-President, the late Hon. Mr. Gibbs, C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., exhibited a drawing and an estampage of a 'two hundred gold mohur piece' struck by the Emperor Sháh Jahán 'in the Palace of Shah Jehanabad' [Delhi, see my text, p. 241.] A.H. 1064 [A.D. 1653]. The drawing and estampage were sent by General Cunningham, who, in a note accompanying them, was of opinion that the coin was a piece used for the purpose of presentation to the Emperor by a Noble as a *nuzzer* (or ceremonial present from an inferior to a superior). Manouchi's account, which I believe has been hitherto over-

looked, is, as will be seen, somewhat different. For a facsimile drawing of the two hundred gold mohur piece, intrinsically worth, probably, £450 sterling, see p. 3, *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, for 1883.

APPENDIX V.

Some particulars relating to Mr. H[enry] O[uldinburgh].

For a long time I was unable to discover the name of the Translator of the first English edition, 1671-1672, of Bernier's Travels, simply stated as H. O. on the title-page thereof. At last, when examining the 1684 edition, No. 10 of the Bibliography, I found out that it was Henry Ouldinburgh.

Other investigations followed, and at length I identified the translator as the first Secretary of the Royal Society. By the gracious permission of the President and Council of that Society I was permitted to examine the Oldenburg (for so he spells his name) MSS. in their possession, where in a letter-book—M. 1., and indexed as 62—I found a transcript, 6 pp. folio, of the portion of the letter from M. de Monceaux, which is printed in the first volume of the History of the late Revolution, etc., London, 1671, as 'giving a character of the book here Englished, and its author,' and which I have reprinted at pp. xlix.-li. of my edition.

This transcript, in a contemporary hand, not that of Henry Oldenburg, however, is headed *Extrait d'une Lettre de | Monsieur De Monceaux | A Monsieur Oldenbourg Secretaire—De la société Royale |* and is dated Paris, 26th July 1670, not 16th as printed in the London edition of 1671, an error which has been copied in all subsequent issues.

I am also permitted by the Council of the Royal Society to reprint the following biographical sketch of their first Secretary, which was compiled in 1860 by Charles Richard Welch, Assistant Secretary and Librarian, in connection with a descriptive catalogue of the portraits in the possession of the Society:—

Henry Oldenburg, F.R.S., Painted by John van Cleef, born at Bremen 1626, died at Charlton, Kent, 1676.

'Oldenburg descended from the Counts of Oldenburg in Westphalia, from whom he derived his name. He came to England as Consul for Bremen, and on losing that appointment undertook the education of Lord O'Brien. In 1656 he entered as student in the University of Oxford, and while there made the acquaintance of those philosophers who originated the Royal Society. On the incorporation of this

Institution Oldenburg was appointed Secretary. He performed the duties of his office with extraordinary zeal, carried on an extensive correspondence with learned foreigners, and published the Philosophical Transactions from 1664 to 1677, contributing largely to them himself. His constant epistolary communication with foreign *savants*, sometimes carried on under the anagrammatic name of Grubendol,¹ led to his being suspected of treasonable practices, and to his imprisonment in the Tower. He was, however, quickly liberated. His correspondence, so far as preserved, has been of the greatest importance in all questions relating to the scientific history of the time.

‘Towards the close of his life he was much distressed by a controversy with Hooke respecting the mechanism of watches, which was terminated by the Council deciding in his favour. His portrait represents him holding a watch in his hand, probably in allusion to this controversy.’

For the following account of the Oldenburg portrait I am indebted to Mr. George Scharf, C.B., the Keeper and Secretary of the National Portrait Gallery, who, through his assistant Mr. L. G. Holland, caused it to be examined for the purpose, and whose description is as follows:—

‘A life-sized figure, seen to the waist, turned to the right [spectator’s], face seen in three-quarters to the left, his dark chestnut eyes look piercingly at the spectator, with a severe expression, thick aquiline nose, thin dark grey eyebrows, tanned complexion, fat cheeks and full neck, double, cloven chin, compressed thin lips and peculiar long scanty dark moustaches, which only cover the middle space between his nostrils and upper lip. His dark auburn hair is parted in the middle and hangs down in masses on each side to his shoulders. His dress is of sombre black, only relieved by a broad lie-down collar and cuffs of blue-grey. His right hand rests on a table holding a gold watch-case, the upper lid of which is open, by a handle; while his left hand, displaying a ring on the little finger, is raised to his left breast. The shadows are very dark, and background plain dark brown.’

¹ When examining the Oldenburg MSS. I chanced to find the following passage in the ‘office copy’ of a letter, dated London, June 30th, 1669, and addressed to Mr. George Cotton in Rome, concerning a philosophical correspondence:—‘And I would desire that the Inscription of your Letters to mee may only run thus:—A Monsieur Monsr. Grubendol, à Londres: No more but soe, and all will come more safely to my hands, than if they were directed to my owne name.’ A. C.



INDEX

INDEX

- Abbs* (*Abâh*), presented to Abyssinian Embassy, 139 and *n.*
- Abdullah Kutb-Shâh, Sultan of Golkonda, 18 *n.*, 19; betrayed by Mir Jumla, 19, 20.
- Achar* (*Achara*), Hindoo name of 'God,' 325 and *n.*
- (The Immovable), 347.
- Achem* (Acheen), in Sumatra, 203 *n.*
- Achivel* (*Achibal*), Royal Gardens, etc., of, 413 and *n.*
- Adalet-Kanay*, Justice Chamber, 263.
- Adrican (*Dirê Van Adrichem*), director of Dutch factory at Surat, 127 *n.*; received by Aurangzeb, 127, 128.
- Agra, account of city of, 284; differences between Dehli and, 284, 285; houses of Gentile merchants in, 285; Jesuit Church in, 286; Dutch factory at, 292, 293; Tomb of Akbar at, 293; Tomb of Taj Mahâl at, 293 *seq.*
- Chah-hest-kan, appointed Governor of, 66,
- Christian Church at, destroyed by Shâh Jahân, 177, 287.
- forts of, seized by Sultan Mahmud, 61, 62.
- Province, revenue of, 456.
- Aguacy-diê* (*Akâsdiâh*), 'sky-lamp,' 369 and *n.*
- Akbar (Ekbar) the Great, departments of State organised by, 216 *n.*
- believes in truth of Christianity, 287 *n.*
- captures Chittor, 257 *n.*; fond of sport, 262 *n.*
- encourages shawl industry in Kashmîr, 403 *n.*
- tomb of, near Agra, 293 and *n.*
- Alachas or striped silken stuffs, 139.
- silk stuffs interwoven with gold and silver, 120 *n.*
- Albêrûni, Moslem historian, quoted, 431 *n.*
- Alexander the Great, 383.
- Alî Nâkî a *Sayed*, put to death by Murâd Bakhsh, 108 and *n.*
- Allah-Couly, bribed by Aurangzeb, 68.
- Allah-verdi-kan (*Aliwardi Khân*), governor of Patna, 77 *n.*
- Aly Merdankan (*Ali Mardân Khân*), governor of Kandahar, 184 and *n.*, 185.
- Ambas* (Skt. *amra*), North Indian name for mangoe, 249 *n.*
- Ambrose, Capuchin missionary, house of, at Surat, spared by Sivaji, 188.
- Amed-Abad (*Ahmadâbâd*), city of, 73, 74, *n.*
- Am-Kas* (*Am-Khas*), place of audience, 259, 261, 263, 266, 268; dancing girls salute the Mogol in the, 274.
- tent of justice, 360, 362, 365, 370.
- Ananas* fruit (pine apples) preserved in Bengal, 438.
- Anaporam, brother of King of Aracan, 178 *n.*
- Anatomy, Hindoos ignorant of, 339.
- Anil* (Arab. *al-nîl*), indigo, 283 and *n.*
- Antelopes hunted with leopards, 376, 377.
- Arac*, spirit distilled from unrefined sugar, 253, 441.
- used in Bengal, 441 and *n.*
- Aracan (Rakan), punitive expedition by Shaista Khân against King of, 174, 179, 182 and *n.*
- Armenians, compete with Dutch in trade, 292.
- Artillery of Aurangzeb, 352, 363.
- of the Mogol's army, 217, 218.
- Arts in India, condition of, 228, 254, 255, 256.
- Ashwamedâ* (Horse sacrifice), shield with story of the, 255 *n.*

- Assam, war with Rájá of, 171-173.
 Astrologers of Dehli, jugglery of, 243, 245.
 Astrology in India, implicit belief in, 161-163.
 Astronomy, ideas of Hindoo on, 339.
 Augans (Afghans), mountaineers on Persian frontier, 205, 206, 219.
 Aureng-abad, revenue of, 457.
 Aureng-zebe (*Aurangzeb*), son of Great Mogol, 5 *n.*, 7, 10; appointed governor of the Deccan, 15; invades kingdom of Golkonda, 20, 21; aspires to throne of Sháh Jahán, 26.
 — gains over Sulaimán Shikoh's troops to his cause, 58; arrives at Agra, 60; appoints Etbarkan governor of Agra fortress, 64; defends his conduct in a letter to Sháh Jahán, 64.
 — persuades Murád Bakhsh to join him, 27; wins over Mír Jumla, 29, 30; advances on Agra, 33; crosses river near Burhánpur, 36; gains battle near Narbadá river, 38, 39.
 — treachery of, to Murád Bakhsh, 66-68; bribes officers and army against do., 69.
 — receives troops of Murád Bakhsh into his service, 70; bribes Rájá Jesseingue, 72, 73; gains battle of Khajúa, 75-78.
 — imprisons his son Muhammad in Gwalior, 83; warns his second son Sultan Mu'azzam, 84; imprisons Murád Bakhsh in Gwalior, 85; advances against Dará at Ajmere, 86.
 — consents to Dará's death, 101; sends Dará's head to Sháh Jahán, 103 *n.*
 — embassy from Usbec Tartars to, 116 *seq.*; presents ambassadors with rich *serapahs*, etc., 118, 120; seized with illness, 123; wives of, 126 *n.*; receives embassy from the Dutch, 127 *seq.*
 — incessant occupations of, 129, 130; receives embassies from different countries, 133; gives presents to Ethiopian embassy, 139; aids rebuilding of mosque in Abyssinia, 140.
 — selects preceptor for Sultan Akbar, 144; receives embassy from Persia, 146; presents to, from Persia, 147, 148; letters from King of Persia to, 149.
 Aureng-zebe, demeans himself to Persian embassy, 151; orders ambassador to be intercepted at frontier, *ib.*; reception of his teacher Mullah Salé by, 154; discourse on classical (Arabic) education of youth by, 155-161.
 — pardoned by Sháh Jahán, 166; correspondence between, 166 *n.*, 167, 168; on the duties of kings, 168; at war with Assam, 171-173; orders Sultan Mu'azzam to kill a lion, 182, 183; rewards Mahábat Khán, 183.
 — appoints governors of provinces, 186; cashiers Nejabatkan, *ib.*; appoints Sivají a Rájá, 190; forgives Begum Saheb, 198.
 — journey of, to Lahore, 350 *et seq.*; body-guard of, 352; travelling carriages of, 370.
 — entry into Kashmír, 391, 392.
 — embassy to, from Great Tibet, 422.
 — Dryden's Tragedy of, 465-469.
 Ava, attempted capture of, by Chinese, 235 and *n.*
 Azam Khán shoebeaten by Sháh Jahán, 53 *n.*
 Azam, Prince Muhammad's son, steals Murád Bakhsh's weapons, 68 *n.*
 Azo, fortress of, captured by Mír Jumla, 172, 173.
- BAB - EL - MANDEL (Bab - el - Mandeb), Straits of, 2, 3, 448.
 Baganala, revenue of, 458.
 Bagnauer (*Bhagnagar*), City of, 19 *n.*
 Bajazet (Sultan Bajazíd I. of Turkey), 167 and *n.*
 Balasor, Port of, in Orissa, 441 and *n.*
 Balass (*Balakh-hal*) rubies, 472 and *n.*
 Ball (Dr. Valentine), History of Koh-i-núr diamond by, 470, 471.
 Balouches, mountaineers on Persian frontiers, 205, 206, 219.
 Banyane, name applied to foreign traders, 164.
 — Gentile merchants, houses of, in Agra, 285.
 Banyan-trees in India, 309 *n.*
 Baramoulay (*Baramula*), mosque and sacred stone at, 414, 415.

- Barattes (Baráts)*, orders for payment of money, 216 and *n.*
- Barbin (Claude), receives transfer of rights of publication from Bernier, xxi.
- Bassora, embassy from Prince of, to Aurangzeb, 133.
- Bastian Consalve. *See* Sebastian Gonzales Tibao.
- Batavia, governor of, co-operates against pirates of Chittagong, 180, 181.
- governor of, 128 *n.*
- Bauté (Báddha)*, religion of, 336 and *n.*
- Bawan, Sacred Spring at, 410 and *n.*, 412 *n.*
- Bazar-bread of Dehli, 354 and *n.*
- Bazar dealers, 43 and *n.*
- in camp of Great Mogol, 365.
- Bechen (Vishnu)*, the preserver, 342 and *n.*
- Bédmushk*, cases of, presented to Aurangzeb, 147 and *n.*
- Begum-Saheb, daughter of Great Mogol, 5, 11 *et seq.*; amours of, 12, 13; referred to, 21, 25, 57, 61.
- influence of, over Sháh Jahán, 63; confined in fortress of Agra, 64.
- presents Aurangzeb with precious stones, 199.
- builder of a Serai near Delhi, 280, 281.
- Beig (Bey) of the Red Sea, 1 *n.*
- Bember* (Bhimbar), town of, 385 *n.*; description of, 390 and *n.*; Bernier's journey from, 405 *seq.*
- Benares, schools of, 334, 335.
- temple at, 341 *n.*
- Bengal, fertility, wealth, and beauty of kingdom of, 437 *et seq.*; sugar produced in, 437; fruit in, 438; fowls, *ib.*; Jesuits in, 439; cotton and silks of, *ib.*, 440; saltpetre, 440; export of ghee, *ib.*
- wines used in, 441; islands of, 442
- Bernard, French physician at Court of, Jáhángir, 274, 275.
- Bernier (François), birth of, xix; baptism of, *ib.*; European travels of, *ib.*; matriculates at Montpellier, xx; takes his degree, *ib.*; tends Gassendi in his last illness, *ib.*; visits Egypt, and has the plague, *ib.*; sails for Surat, *ib.*; summary of Indian travels, *ib.*, and xxi.
- Bernier, quits Grand Cairo, 1; detained at Gidda, *ib.*; reaches Moka, 2; arrives at Surate (Surat), 3.
- at Marseilles, xxi; receives licence to print, *ib.*; transfers rights in his book to Claude Barbin, *ib.*; visits England, *ib.*; death of, *ib.*, and xxii; legacies bequeathed by, xxii; dedication of his book to King, xlv, xlvi; epistle to reader, xlvii; bibliography, xxv *seq.*
- account of army of Dára, 47, 48; account of battle of Samúgarh by, 49-54; comments on, 55.
- remarks on capture of Agra by Sultan Mahmoud, 62, 63; on conduct of Sultan Mu'azzam, 85.
- accompanies Dára in his flight, 89, 90; detained by 'Koullys,' 91, 92.
- account of reception of Usbec ambassadors by Aurangzeb, 116 *seq.*; on habits of the Usbecs, 119-121; bravery of Usbec women, 122-123; receives ambassador from Abyssinia, 138; promised a zebra skin, 144; comments on the upbringing of princes, 144-146.
- on philosophy of the Hindoos, 160.
- account of kingdom of Kandahar, 183 *seq.*; obtains copy of History of Kashmír in Persian, 186.
- returns to France, 198; Letter to Colbert, 200; account of Mogol army, 209-220; in service of an Omrah, 213.
- on wealth and income of Great Mogol, 221-223; on slavery and subjection of the peasantry of India, 225, 226, 230; on neglect of tillage, etc., 226, 227; on enslaved condition of Egypt, 227, 228.
- on neglect of education and commerce in India, 229, 230; on sale of governments in India and Persia, 230-232; on degraded condition of Turkey, 234; Letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer, 239-299.
- compares Delhi to a military encampment, 246; on meat and bread of Dehli, 250, 251; on living in Dehli, 252; tastes wine at Amen-Abad and Golkonda, 252; on price of wine, 253; on native painters, 255.

- Bernier, on flattery among the Hindoos, 264, 265; account of seraglio, 267; account of throne of great Mogol, 268, 269; describes elephant combat, 276 *et seq.*; account of chief mosque, the Jamá Masjid at Delhi, 278 *seq.*
- account of Agra, 284 *et seq.*; on the Jesuits and their missions, 286, 289 *et seq.*; description of mausoleum of Taj Mahál, 293 *et seq.*; Letter to Monsieur Chapelain, 300-349.
- on two solar eclipses, 300-303; account of festival of Juggernaut, 304, 305, 306; widow burning witnessed by, 306-315; witnesses funeral rites on the Ganges, 316; translates Descartes into Persian, 324.
- on religious books and beliefs of Hindoos, 325 *seq.*
- questions Pundits on nature of Hindoo gods, chronology, etc., 341-345; on doctrines of Hindoos, 346-349; Letter to M. Chapelle, 349 *n.*
- first letter to Monsieur De Merveilles, 350-357; equipment of, 353; second letter to Monsieur De Merveilles, 358-382.
- the league (*liene*) of, 367 *n.*; loses his way in camp, 368, 369.
- third letter to M. de Merveilles, 383, 384; description of Lahore, 384; fourth letter to M. de Merveilles, 385; fifth letter to M. de Merveilles, 386, 387; crosses river Chináb, *ib.* and *n.*; sixth letter to M. de Merveilles, 388; seized with illness, *ib.*
- seventh letter, to M. de Merveilles 389; suffers from intense heat, *ib.*, 390; eighth letter to M. de Merveilles, 390-392; ninth letter to M. de Merveilles, 393 *et seq.*; on beauty of Kashmir women, 404, 405; account of journey from Bhimbar to Kashmir, 405 *et seq.*
- crosses Ratan Mountains, 406 and *n.*; crosses Pir Panjal Pass, 407 *et seq.*; visits sacred spring at Bawan, 410 and *n.*, 411; on origin of, 412 and *n.*, 413; visits gardens of Achibal, 413; visits gardens of Vernag, *ib.* *n.*, 414; visits shrine and mosque at Baramula, 414.
- takes part in lifting sacred stone at mosque of Baramula, 415, 416; visits Wular Lake, 416 and *n.*; account of bubbling spring, 417, 418; visits Lake Gungabal, 418 and *n.*; account of kingdom of Kashgar, 426 *seq.*; on Jews in Kashmir and China, 429 and *n.*, 430.
- Bernier, on periodical rains in India, 431 *et seq.*; on regularity of currents of the sea and winds in Indies, 434 *et seq.*; on fertility, wealth, and beauty of Bengal, 437 *et seq.*; witnesses a lunar rainbow, 444, 445.
- caught in a storm, 445, 446; on periodical rising of the Nile, 446 *et seq.*; illness of, in Egypt, 451; account of revenue of Great Mogol, 455 *et seq.*; abstract of the French king's licence to print his travels, 461.
- letter to Monseigneur Colbert, note on, 473 *seq.*
- Beths* (Vedas) religious books of the Hindoos, 325 and *n.*, 335; on the creation of the world, 328 and *n.*
- Betel (*Piper betel*, Lin.), 13 *n.*
- Bet-ít* (Betel) chewed to sweeten the breath, 283, 364.
- Bhadur-Kan (*Bahádúr Khán*), conducts Dára through streets of Delhi, 98, 99.
- Biapet* (Vyápaka), all pervading, 344 and *n.*, 348.
- Bibliography of Bernier's *Travels* and other works, xxv *seq.*
- Bider (*Bidar*) captured by Aurangzeb, 22 and *n.*, 197 *n.*
- Bishtki*, Pathán water-carrier, 207 *n.*
- Billah* (*Bi-'lláhi*), 'By God,' 153 *n.*
- Bisnager (*Vijayanagar*), kingdom of, 193 *n.*
- Bokhara prunes (Alú Bokhara), 118 *n.*
- Bouleponge* (punch), of Bengal, 441 and *n.*
- Brahma, the eternal creative power, 328 *n.*
- Brama of Pegu, cruelties of, 234 and *n.* 235.
- Brampour (*Burhánpur*), city of, 31 *n.*; river, crossed by Aurangzeb at, 36.
- Buddhists of Tibet, sects of, 423 *n.*
- Burning of widows, account of custom of, 306-315.

- Buzée (Reverend Father), 6, 7 *n* ; attends on Dárá in his last moments 101 *n*, 244, 289.
- CABOUL (Kabul), Mir-Kan appointed governor of, 186.
— revenue of, 457.
- Calil-ullah-Kan commands Dárá's right wing at Samúgarh, 48; treachery of, to Dárá, 52-54; shoebeaten by Dárá, 53; offers his services to Aurangzeb, 56; urges Dárá's being put to death, 100.
- Camp of Great Mogol, number of people in, 380, 381.
- Candahar, revenue of, 456.
- Candays (Khandish), revenue of, 458.
- Capuchin missionaries in India, 289.
- Caste, divisions of Hindoos into, 325, and *n*.
- Catay, name of a country other than China, 155 *n*.
- Caucasus mountain range, 395 *n*.
- Chah Abas (*Khwája Sháhábá*), lays siege to Castle of Surat, 28 and *n*; cautions Murád Baksh against Aurangzeb, 32.
- Chah-Abas* (*Sháh 'Abbas* the Great), King of Persia, 150 *n*.
— trees planted by astrologers of, 162, 163.
- Chah-Hestkan (*Sháista Khán*), uncle of Aurangzeb, 13 *n*.
- Chah-hest-kan (*Sháista Khán*), uncle of Aurangzeb, promotes his views, 56.
— appointed governor of Agra, 66; urges Dárá's being put to death, 100.
— nominated governor of the Decan, etc., 174, 186; undertakes expedition against King of Arakan, 174, 179 *et seq.*; wins over pirates of Chittagong, 181, 182.
- Chah-Jehan (*Sháh-Jahán*), the great Mogol, 3, 4 *n*; has secret correspondence with Aurangzeb, 16; referred to, 21; illness of, 24, 25; referred to, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43.
— proposes assuming command against Aurangzeb, 44; influenced by Begum Sáhíib, 63; delivers up keys of Agra, 63; confined in the fortress, 64; accused of sending money to Dárá, 64, 65.
- Chah-Jehan, refuses Aurangzeb certain jewels, 127.
— arrogance of Persian ambassador to, 151-153.
— outwitted by Neik-nam-Kan, 164; pardons Aurangzeb, 166; letters to, from Aurangzeb, 167, 168.
— punishes Portuguese of Húghlí, 176, 177 and *n*; demolishes churches at Agra and Lahore, 177, 287.
— death of, 198 and *n*.
— city of Jehan Abad built by, 241. See Dehli, account of the city of.
— encourages dancing girls, 273, 274.
— invades Little Tibet, 421; attempts conquest of Great Tibet, 422.
- Chah-limar* (*Shahlamar*), country house of Mogol, 283 and *n*.
— country residence of Aurangzeb, 351.
— (*Shálamár*) Gardens, Kashmir, 399 and *n*, 400.
- Chah-Navaze-Kan (*Sháhnawaz Khán*), father-in-law of Aurangzeb, 73 *ns*; receives Dárá at Ahmadabád, 74; betrays him to Aurangzeb, 87; slain in battle of Deorá, *ib*.
- Chamdara, city of, captured by Mir Jumla, 172.
- Chapelain, letter from Bernier to Monsieur, on customs, etc., of Hindoos, 300-349.
- Chapelle (Claude-Emmanuel Lullier), letter to, from Bernier, 349 *n*.
- Chardin, celebrated French traveller, 312 *n*.
- Chatigon (Chittagong), pirates inhabitants of, 174-176.
- Chatresale (*Rájá Chhattar Sál*), commander in Dárá's army at Samúgarh, 48; killed in the battle, 51.
- Chauth* levied by Marathás, 460.
- Cheetah, hunting leopard, 375 and *n*.
- Cheker* (*Shigar*), town of, 427.
- Chempet (*Chámpat Rái*), chief of the Bundelas, 46 and *n*.
- Cherif (*Shereef*) of Mecca, embassy from, to Aurangzeb, 133 and *n*.
- Cherky* (*Charhí*), fireworks used to separate fighting elephants, 277 *n*.

- Chias (Shiahs), Mogul courtiers of the sect of, 209, 211.
- China, Tartar conquest of, 121 *n*.
- China and Matchine (*Tchine et Matchine*, 156 *n*
- China-wo d (China-root), 425 *n*.
- China, first settlement of Jews in 429 *n*.
- Chittor, captured by Akbar, 257 *n*.
- Christianity, favoured by Akbar and Jahángir, 287 and *n*.
- Christians in India, irreverent behaviour in churches of, 292.
- Chronology among the Hindoos, 343.
- Churches, at Agra and Lahore, destroyed by Sháh Jahán, 177, 287.
- Civet, horn filled with, sent to Aurangzeb, 135, 137, 144.
- Colbert, note on Bernier's letter to, 473 *seq*.
- Comory (*Kumári*, Comorin), Cape, 23 *n*
- Comori* (*Comorin*), Cape, 192 *n*.
- Compass, mariner's, used for purposes of divination in China, 244 *n*.
- Constantinople, beauty of view of, 286.
- Cotoüal* (Grand Provost), guards mounted by, 369.
- Cours* (Kurs) or Standards carried on march, 371 and *n*.
- Cow held in great respect in India, 326.
- Cranes, manner of hunting, 377.
- Currents of the sea in the Indies, regularity of, 434 *seq*.
- DABIR (*Dabir-ul-Mulk*), court official, 20 *n*.
- Dacca, capital of Bengal, 171, 181, and *n*.
- D'Acosta, Joseph, Superior of the Jesuits in Agra, 288 *n*.
- Damascus Cutlasses, presented to Aurangzeb, 148.
- Danechmend-Kan (*DanishmandKhán*), Persian merchant, 4 *n*, 100.
- appointed governor of Delhi, 186.
- studies of, 353.
- endeavours to convert Bernier, 414.
- Daoud-Kan, commander in army of Sulaiman Shikoh, 59 and *n*.
- Dará (*Dará Shikoh*), son of Great Mogol, 5 *n*, 6, 7; suspects Aurangzeb 10; appointed governor of Caboul and Moultan, 15; reigns with his father, 15 *n*, 21, 25.
- Dará, concerned in death of Sádullah-Khán, 23, 24.
- assembles two armies against his brothers, 34; numbers of, 43; dissuaded from attacking Aurangzeb, 44; reasons for attacking, 45; takes the field against Aurangzeb, 46, 47; bravery of, at Samúgarh, 49, 50.
- defeated, 54 and *n*; marriage and family of, 57 *n*, 103 *n*; departs with family for Dehli, 57, 58.
- advances on Lahore, 70; seeks refuge in fortress of Tata-bakar, 71, 73; European gunners in army of, 73; admitted into city of Ahmabad, 74.
- quits Guzarate with army, 85; advances on city of Ajmere, 86; defeated at battle of Deorá, 88; retreats to Ahmabad, 89; retreats again to Tata-bakar, 91; made prisoner by Málik Jíwan, 96, 97; delivered to Aurangzeb, 97.
- conducted in disgrace through streets of Delhi, 98, 99; confined in garden of Heider-Abad, 100; murdered by a slave, 101, 102; head carried to Aurangzeb, 102, 103.
- Mulla Sháh, spiritual guide of, 154 *n*.
- Upanishads translated into Persian by authority of, 323 *n*, 324.
- Heresy of, 345 *n*.
- referred to, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 64, 65.
- Daulet-Abad (*Daulatábád*), Fort of, 19 *n*; Aurangzeb to reside at, 24.
- Days* (*Dhye*), curdled milk, 354 and *n*.
- Decankou*, war-cry of Mír Jumla, 76.
- Deccan, proverbial saying anent the, 197 and *n*.
- Dedication to King of France, xiv, xlv.
- Deh Hazary*, lord of ten thousand horse, 212.
- Delhi (Dehli), Danechmend-Kan, appointed governor of, 186.
- account of city of, 241 *et seq*.
- Fortifications of, 242; citadel of,

- 242, 257-258; garden and square of, 243; Bazar held in square, *ib.*; arcades and merchants' houses in, 245; thatched cottages in, 246; fires frequent in, *ib.*
- Delhi, dwellings of Omrahs in, 246, 247; construction of houses in, 247, 248; shops of, 248, 249; fruit market of, 249; confectioners' shops in, 250; bakers in, *ib.*; flesh meat sold in, *ib.*, 251; fowls and fish in, 251, 252.
- price of wine in, 253; Seraglio and royal apartment in, 256 and *n.*; statues of Kajas Jaimal and Pattá of Chittor in 256, 257 and *n.*; streets in, 245, 246, 257, 258; canal in, 257, 258.
- place of audience in, 259, 261, 263.
- sacked by Nadir Sháh, 269 *n.*; Throne of Great Mogol at, 268, 269; Mosque, the Jamá Masjid, 278 *seq.*; Serai of, 280, 281; population of, 281, 282.
- country around, extremely fertile 283; compared with Agra, 284, 285.
- bazar bread of, 354 and *n.*, 387; water of, 355; distance from Lahore, 358.
- province of, revenue of, 456.
- Delale (Dálál)*, Gentile Broker, 188, 189 *n.*
- Delil-kan (*Diler Khán*), 35 *n.*; plunders Sulaimán Shikoh's baggage, 60.
- Deora, Battle between Aurangzeb and Dára at, 87, 88.
- Deúta (Deotah)*, an incarnate deity, causes eclipses, 303.
- Deútas*, sun, moon and stars called, 339, 340; nature of the, 344, 348.
- Dgen* (Arab. *jinn*), evil spirit, 217.
- Dgugues (Yugas)* of Hindoos, 343 and *n.*
- Diamond, Great, of Great Mogol identical with the Koh-i-núr, 469 471.
- Dianet-Kan appointed governor of Kashmir, 186.
- Didar-Kan, principal eunuch of the Seraglio, amours of, 131; murdered, 131.
- Doctors of Goa, 338 *n.*
- Douazdeh Hazary, lord of twelve thousand horse, 212.
- Dou Hazary*, lord of two thousand horse, 212.
- Dryden's *Tragedy of Aureng-Zebe*, 465-469.
- Dúbb grass (Cynodon Dactylon)*, 382 and *n.*
- Dutch, teach Murád Bakhsh military mining, 31.
- lay embargo on Golkonda merchant vessels, 195, 196.
- factories of, in Agra and Lucknow, 292 and *n.*; trade of, 293.
- Silk factory of, in Bengal, 440.
- EARTHQUAKES in Kashmir, 395 *n.*
- Ebeche* or Ethiopia, embassy from King of, to Aurangzeb, 133; personnel of embassy, 134; plundered, 137; received by Aurangzeb, 138, 139.
- Eclipses witnessed by Bernier, 300; caused by an incarnate deity, 303.
- Egypt an enslaved country, 227, 228.
- Eiedeha (Azhdaha)*, dragon insignia, 266.
- Elabas (*Ilahbas*), Allahabad, victory of Sulaimán Shikoh near, 36 and *n.*
- Mir-baba appointed governor of, 186.
- revenue of, 457.
- El Bahrein, Persian Gulf, pearl fishery at, 204, *n.*
- Elephants, combats between, 276, 277, 278 and *n.*
- Emasculation of eunuchs, 131, 132.
- Embargo laid on Golkonda merchant vessels by Dutch, 195, 196.
- Embary (*Amári*), Murád Bakhsh confined in an, 69; Sultan Muhammad confined in an, 83.
- Emir-Jemla (*Mír Jumla, Mír Muhammad Said Ardastant*), 16, *et seq.*, 16 *n.*; betrays King of Golkonda to Aurangzeb, 19, 20.
- presents the *Koh-i-Núr* diamond to Sháh-Jahán, 22 and *n.*; pretended imprisonment of, 29, 30.
- joins Aurangzeb at battle of Khajúa, 75; war cry of, 76; sent against Sultan Sujah, 79; goes into winter quarters at Rajmahál, 81.
- defeats Sultan Sujah, 169; created principal Amír, 171; confirmed in Government of Bengal, *ib.*; offered

- management of war against Assam, 171; death of, 173,
Eskerdo (*hardú*), capital of Little Tibet, 427 and *n.*
 Etbarkan appointed governor of fortress of Agra, 64; cruelty of, to Sháh Jahán, 125.
 Ethiopia (Abyssinia), no coined money in, 139.
 — Polygamy in, 142, 143; numerous children of king of, 143.
 — Account of source of Nile by Ambassadors of, 447 *seq.*
 Eugenés (*Ujjain, Ujein*) (the Nerbudda), crossed by Aurangzeb, 36 *n.*
- FACTORY, Dutch, in Agra, 292, 293.
 Fairs held in the royal seraglio, 272 and *n.* 273; opposed by orthodox Moslems 273 *n.*
 Fakir of Pír Panjál Pass, 432, 410, 414.
Fakires (fakirs), religious devotees, 317, 318, 321, 322.
Fakmán (concession), obtained from Aurangzeb by Dutch, 127, 129.
 Fazelkan appointed Grand Chamberlain, 186.
 Feday-Kan (*Fidal Khán*), foster-brother to Aurangzeb, 124 *n.*
 Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, travels of in Pegu, 234 *n.*
 Feringhees of Chittagong, 182 *n.*
Feringhi mahal, Frank's quarter at Lucknow, 292 *n.*
 Flud (or Fludd), Robert, Physician and Rosicrucian, 346 *n.*
 Fra-Joan, an Augustine monk, rules in Sundeep, 179.
 Franguis (*Firinghtes*), 3 *n.*
Franguistan, name for Europe, 155.
 Franks allowed free access to palace in time of Jáhángír, 274 *n.*
 French, superstition of, concerning eclipses, 300, 301.
 Fruit imported into India, 203, 204.
 Fruit sold in Dehli, variety of, 249, 250.
- GALEASSES, half-decked boats, 109 *n.*
 Galleasses of pirates of Chittagong, 175, 179, 181.
Ganon (*Jummoo*), Raja of, 395 *n.*
 Ganges water for use of Mogul, 221 *n.*
 Ganges water, carried on march, 356, 364.
 — funeral rites on the, 315.
 — account of river, 453 *n.*
 — discharge contrasted with that of the Nile, 453.
 Gassendi (Pierre), teacher of Bernier, xx, 1.
Gavani (*Bavani*), wife of Siva, 342.
Genich (*Ganesh*), son of Siva, 342.
 Gentils (Gentiles, Gentoos), 3 *n.*
 Gentiles burn their dead, 315.
 — believe in transmigration of souls, 326; respect for animal life, *ib.*; daily prayers and ablutions of, 327; Trinity of, 328, 329 *n.*, 330; doctrines of, 330-334.
 Geography, knowledge of, among Hindoos, 340.
 Ghee, method of preparing, 438 *n.*; export of, 440 *n.*
 Gilles, Personne de Roberval, French mathematician, 301 *n.*
 Gion-kan (*Málik Jhwan Ayyúlb*), territory of, 95 *n.*; receives Dára, 96; makes him and his son prisoners, 96 *n.*, 29; receives title of Bakhtiyár Khán, 99 *n.*; assassinated, 104.
 Girolamo Cardan, mathematician, 319 *n.*
 Gladstone (Right Hon. W. E.), quoted on education in Greek, 158 *n.*
 Goa, doctors of, 338 *n.*
 Gold in India, quantity and use of, 223, 224.
 Gold absorption in India, note on, 473 *seq.*
 Golkonda, coinage of, to bear the arms of Sháh-Jahán, 21.
 — kingdom of, preserves its independence, 193, 194, 208; pays tribute, 194; practically ruled by Aurangzeb, 195; debased coinage of, 196.
 — Queen of, accused of immorality, 197.
 Gondar (*Guendar*), capital of Abyssinia, 2 *n.*
Gosri-Kané (*Ghusl Khánah*) bath room, 265 and *n.*; private audiences held in *ib.*, 266 and *n.*
Goul-tchen-ras (*Gulshan Ras*), 346 *n.*, 348.
Gouricha (*Gurez*), town of, 426.
Gouras-Berdars (*Guurz-burdar*), mace-

- bearers, 263, 267; attend on Mogol, 280.
- Gourze-Berdars*, couriers with maces, 371; assist in hunting, 378.
- Goute*, dew in Egypt called, 450, 451; disease caused by, *ib.*
- Governments sold openly in India, Persia, and Turkey, 230-232.
- Grand Bakchis (*Mir Bakhshi*), title of, conferred on Mahmet-Emir-Khan, 171 and *n.*
- 'Grand Prevost de la campagne,' 188 *n.*
- Great Mogol, a Mahometan of the sect of the Sounnys, 208; a descendant of Tamerlane, 209; armies of, 209; cavalry of, 211.
- horsemen in army of, 216, 217; foot soldiers of, 217, 219; artillery of, 217, 218; provincial army of, 218, 219; camp followers of army of, 219, 220.
- horses and elephants of, 221: seraglio of, 222; income of, *ib.*; officers of state of, 230; court of audience of, 261; receptions held by, 261, 266; procession of animals and cavalry before, 262, 263; adulation before, 263, 264.
- standard of the, 266 *n.*
- ceremony of weighing the, 270; large presents to, from Omrahs, 271; repairs to Jamá Masjid to pray, 280.
- journey of, to Lahore, 350 *seq.*
- artillery of, 352; tents of, 359, 360, 363, 364; furnishings of tents of, 362; mode of travelling by, 370; field sports of, 374 *seq.*; varies direction of entering camp, 382.
- revenues of Provinces of, 456 *et seq.*; gross revenue of, at various periods, 459.
- the Koh-i-núr identical with the great diamond of the, 469-471; account of peacock throne of, 471-473.
- Great seal of Aurangzeb, 125.
- Great Tibet, attempted conquest of, by Sháh Jahán, 422; embassy from King of, to Aurangzeb, 422 *seq.*
- Guerguon, capital of Assam, captured by Mir Jumla, 172.
- Guinea-worm caused by impure water, 355 *n.*
- Gungabal Lake, festival held at, 418 *n.*
- 'Gunga Din,' *Bihsthi* (water-carrier), 206; ballad of, 207.
- Gusarate* (Gujerat), revenue of, 456.
- Gwalior, Dára and his sons confined in, 57 *n.*; Sultan Muhammad confined in, 83; Murád Bakhsh confined in, 85; state prison of, 106 *n.*
- HABECH (Habesh), Arabic name of Abyssinia, 2 *n.*
- Halal-khors*, sweepers or scavengers, 313 *n.*
- Haidar Malik, abridgment of Kashmir history by, 393 *n.*
- Hakim Daoud, medical attendant on Sháh Súfi I., 100 *n.*
- Haoud (Oudh), revenue of, 457.
- Harvey, discoverer of circulation of the blood, 324 *n.*
- Haryperbet* (*Hart Parbat*), verdant mountain, 398.
- Hasmer* (Ajmere), revenue of, 456.
- Hathipul*, or Elephant's Gateway, 106 *n.*
- Hauze*, travelling chair of Great Mogol, 370.
- Hawks kept by Great Mogol, 377 *n.*
- Hazary*, lord of a thousand horse, 212.
- Heat intense on the march, 385, 389.
- Hecht Hazary*, lord of seven thousand horse, 212.
- Heir, the King sole, of those who die in his service, 163, 164, 165, 167.
- Hens with black skin, 251 and *n.*
- Hindoustan*, extent and fertility of, 202; absorption of gold and silver in, 203, supplied with copper and spices by Dutch, 203; obtains lead from England, *ib.*; broadcloths from France, *ib.*; horses from Ubec, etc., *ib.*
- fruits imported into, 203, 204; imports shells for money from Maldives, 204; ambergris from Maldives and Mozambique, *ib.*; slaves and ivory from Ethiopia, *ib.*; musk and porcelain from China, *ib.*; pearls from El-Bahrein, *ib.*; destitute of mines, 205; hardships of peasantry of, *ib.*; petty sovereignties of, on Persian frontiers, *ib.*
- quantity and use of gold in, 223, 224; state of arts in, 228; universal ignorance in, 229; neglect of com-

- merce, *ib.*; sale of governorships in, 230, 231.
- Hindoustan*, travelling in, 233; tyranny of governors in, 236; administration of justice in, 236-238, heat in, 240, 241; diseases in, 254; fine workmanship in, 254, 255; workmen tyrannised by Omrahs, 256.
- Hindoos, superstitious practices of, during an eclipse, 301-303; believed to be caused by an incarnate deity, 303, festival of Juggernaut, 304-306.
- widow burning among the, 306-314.
- philosophy of, 337, 338; ignorant of anatomy, 339; knowledge of astronomy, *ib.*; ignorant of geography, 340.
- Horses of Tartary, 118 *n.*
- of Great Mogol, 363.
- branding of, 243.
- Howdah (Arabic *haudah*), note on word, 53 *n.*; used by Murád Baksh, 56 *n.*
- Hunting by the Great Mogul, manner of, 374 *seq.*
- Hyeman (*Yemen*), embassy from King of, to Aurangzeb, 133.
- INDIA**, Muhammadanism never thoroughly established in, 40 *n.*
- Southern united under Ramras, 192.
- periodical rains in, 431 *et seq.*
- regularity of currents of sea and winds of, 434 *seq.* (*See Hindoustan.*)
- Isaac Comnenus, King of Cyprus, 105 *n.*
- JACHEN** (*Yashm*), Jade, 298, 422 *n.*, 426.
- Jafer-kan* (*Jáfar Khán*), Prime Minister to Aurangzeb, 271 *n.*
- appointed Governor of Scinde, 186 and *n.*
- Jagannat* (*Juggernaut*), the festival of, 304, 305, 306.
- revenue of, 457.
- Jah-ghirs*, lands assigned to Omrahs for salary, 213; meaning of, 224.
- Jamdar (*Yama-dhára*), or dagger, 67 *n.*
- Jauguis* (*Jogí, Yoga*), religious sect, 316 and *n.*, 319.
- Jehan-Abad*, near Dehli, built by Sháh Jahán, 241. *See* Dehli, account of the city of.
- revenue of, 456.
- Jehan-Guyre (*Jáhángir*), 'Conqueror of the World,' 3, 5.
- allows Portuguese to settle at Húghli, 176.
- allows Europeans free access to palace, 274.
- favours Christianity, 287, 288.
- animals hunted by, 379 *n.*
- death of, 401 *n.*
- Jelapour* (*Jaldápur-Nahir*), town of, 292 *n.*
- Jemel* (*Raja Jaimal*) of Chittor, statue of, in Dehli, 256, 257.
- Jesseingue (*Rájá Jai Singh I.*), Counsellor to Sulaimán Shikoh, 34 and *n.*, 35; referred to 71; bribed by Aurangzeb, 72, 73; gains over Jessomseingue to Aurangzeb's side, 86.
- intrigues with Rájá Kathe against Dara, 91.
- takes command of army in Deccan, 190; dies at Burhanpur, 191.
- Jessomseingue (*Rájá Jaswant Singh*). *See* Maharájá Jaswant Singh; defeat of, at Narbadá, 39; disowned by his wife in consequence, 40, 41; referred to, 71.
- plunders baggage of Aurangzeb's rear guard, 76; raises strong army, 85; gained over to Aurangzeb, 86.
- recalled from Deccan, 188.
- Jesuits in Agra, 286; invited there and maintained by Akbar, 286, 287; oppressed by Sháh Jahán, 287 and *n.* favoured by Jahángir, 287, 289; missions of, 289, 290 *seq.*
- in Bengal, 439.
- Jews in China, first settlement of, 429 *n.*; in Kashmir, 430; in Cochin, 431 *n.*
- Jhelum* river, Kashmir, 396, 397 *n.*
- Jholas*, rope-suspension bridges of Tibet, 425 *n.*
- Jourkend* (*Yarkand*), town of, 427.
- Joué, Bernier's birthplace registered in archives of parish of, xix.
- KACHEB** (Persian for *Kasyapa*), son of Marichi, 393 *n.*
- Kacheguer*, account of kingdom of, 426 *seq.*
- Kachemire (Kashmír), Dianet-Kan appointed governor of, 186; native histories of, *ib.*

- Kachemire, entry of Aurangzeb into, 391; account of, 393 *et seq.*; earthquakes in, 395 *n.*; mountains of 396; animals of, *ib.*; rivers of, *ib.*; capital of, 397; fruits of, *ib.*; poets of, 401.
- shawl and art industries of, 402, 403; form and complexion of people of, 404, 405; trees and plants of, 406; tribute of districts of, 419, 420; caravan routes from, to Katay, 425, 426; Jews in, 430, 431 *n.*
- revenue of, 457.
- Kadis* or Judges, 225, 237, 263.
- Kadjoué (*Khajúa*), battle between Aurangzeb and Sultan Sujah at, 75-78.
- Kakan* (*Khakan*), Chinese Mongol title, 430 *n.*
- Kaliane (*Káliáni*), besieged by Mir Jumla, 24, 28.
- Kalil-ullah-Kan slaughters governor and garrison of Tata-bakar, 104.
- appointed governor of Lahore, 186.
- Kalis* (*Khal*) inlet of sea or river, 454 *n.*
- Kaluet-kané*, place of privy council, 361.
- Kamarane* (Kameron), island of, 454, and *n.*
- Kanates* (*Khanats*) folding screens, 360 and *n.*, 361, 366.
- Kandahar, captures and sieges of, 184, 185.
- Kane-saman* (*Khansaman*) 'Grand Chamberlain,' 186.
- Karguais* (*Khargáhs*), folding tents, 359 and *n.*, 362.
- Kar-kanays* (*Kharkhanahs*) artisan's workshops, 258 *n.*, 259.
- Karnates (Karnatic), Le Royaume de, 17 *n.*
- Karwansara* of Dehli, account of, 280, 281.
- Karavan-Serrahs* in India, 233.
- Kasem-Kan (*Nawab Kasim Khán Jawáni*), 37 *n.*; flies from field at battle near the Narbadá, 39.
- Kas-kanays*, rooms formed of odoriferous roots, 247 and *n.*
- Katay, caravan routes from Kashmir to, 425, 426; the use of the name, 427 *n.*
- Kawwe* (Arab. *Kahwa*), coffee, 364 *n.*
- Kaziné* (*Khaadna*), treasury, 455.
- Kenchems*, dancing girls, 273, 274.
- Kettle-drums (*nakarahs*), presented to Abyssinia embassy, 139 and *n.*
- Kháfi Khán, historian, quoted, 19 *n.*, 28 *n.*, 36 *n.*, 37 *n.*, 39 *n.*, 48 *n.*, 52 *n.*, 54 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 91 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 103 *n.*; on mock trial of Murád Bakhsh, 108 *n.*
- on correspondence between Aurangzeb and Sháh Jahán, 166 *n.*
- Khas Mahal*, tower in Seraglio of Dehli, 268 and *n.*
- Kichery* (*Kedgeree*), native dish, 152 *n.*
- how prepared, 381.
- Kichmiches (*Kishmish*), stoneless raisins, 119 and *n.*
- Kobat-kan*, muster-master of cavalry, 243.
- Koh-i-núr diamond presented to Sháh Jahán, 22 and *n.*
- identical with the 'Great Mogul' diamond, 469-471.
- Koia Kdtub-eddine* (*Koh-i-Kutub-uddin*), temple of, 283 and *n.*
- Korrah*, whip used by Omrahs, 228, 252, 256.
- Kosá-minars*, between Dehli and Agra, 284 *n.*
- Koullys (Tamil *kúli*), robber peasantry, 88, 89 *nr.*; assail Dará, 91.
- Kourour* (Hind *Karor*), a hundred Lacks, 456.
- Kours*, insignia of royalty, 266 and *n.*
- LADÁK, polyandry in, 421 *n.*
- Lahore, church at, destroyed by Sháh Jahán, 177, 287.
- Kalilullah-Kan, appointed governor of, 186.
- Lahor (Lahore), Aurangzeb's journey to, 350 *seq.*; distance from Dehli, 358.
- situation and description of, 383, 384.
- revenue of, 456.
- Lanka Island, stone with Persian inscription found on, 416 *n.*; mosque on, 417 *n.*
- Lapis-lazuli, 118 *n.*
- Lasker-Kan, appointed governor of Patna, 186.

- Leçque* (Hind. *Lakh*), a hundred thousand rupees, 456.
- 'Lemonade' used in Dehli, 253 and *n.*
- Lengue-herire*, doctrine of, 344 and *n.*
- Licence to Bernier to print and sell his *Travels*, 461.
- Lion hunting, by Great Mogul, 378, 379.
- Little Tibet invaded by Sháh Jahán, 421.
- Lord, Henry, Anglican chaplain at Surat, 333 *n.*
- Louhaya* (*Loheia*), town in Arabia, 454 and *n.*
- Louvre, Paris, completion of, 286 *n.*
- Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, quoted, 314, 315 *n.*
- Lunar-Rainbow witnessed by Bernier, 444, 445.
- Lynx employed in the chase, 375 *n.*
- MACHATE, Mascate (Muscat), chief town of Omán, 73 *n.*
- Maclagan (E. D.), on use of precious metals in India, 474 *seq.*
- Máhdábrata*, shield with story of the, 255 *n.*
- Maharájá Jaswant Singh, of Jodhpur, 7 *n.*, 37 *n.*
- Mahmet Emir-kan, Mír Jumla's son, retained at Agra by Aurangzeb, 80.
- created Grand Master of Horse 171; befriended by Aurangzeb, 173.
- Malouä* (Malwa), revenue of, 457.
- Mangues* (Mangoes), esteemed in India, 249; origin of name, *ib. n.*
- Mamiron* (*Mamiran-i-Chini*), drug, 426 *n.*
- Mansebdars (Mansabdárs), commanders, 59 *n.*
- paid horsemen in service of Mogol, 211, 215; pay of, 215.
- evening salutation of King by, 266; attend on Mogol to the Mosque, 280; in square of Delhi, 282.
- tents of, 367; accompany Mogol on march, 371.
- Mauperté* (*Mahá-traiaya*), total dissolution, 347 and *n.* See *Prælea*.
- Marshal Turenne, 55 and *n.*
- Mascarenhas (Dom Philippe de), Viceroy of Goa, 17, 18 *n.*
- Massipatam (*Masulipatam*), 'Fishtown,' 112 *n.*
- Maturas (Mathura, Muttra), city of, 66 and *n.*
- ancient temple at, 284.
- Mausoleums of Akbar and Taj Mahál at Agra, 293, 294.
- Mecca, Ka'bah of, 133 *n.*
- Mehadeu* (*Mahá-Deva*), Siva, 342.
- Mehale* or Seraglio, fairs held in the, 272 and *n.*, 273.
- Melons highly esteemed in India, 249.
- Merveilles, Bernier's first letter to Monsieur de, 350-357; second letter to, 358-382.
- third letter to, 383, 384; fourth letter, 385; fifth letter, 386, 387; sixth letter, 388; seventh letter, 389; eighth letter, 390, 391; ninth letter, 393.
- Mikdember* (Meghdambhar), travelling litter of Great Mogol, 370; used by Raushan Ará Begum, 372.
- Mir-baba, watches Dára, 71; besieges fortress of Tata-bakar, 93.
- appointed governor of Elabas, 186.
- Mir-Kan appointed governor of Caboul, 186.
- Mir-manzil* (Grand Quartermaster), duties of, 365.
- Mir Shikár*, 'Grand Master of the Hunt,' 182 *n.*
- Mir-ul-Omrah, title of, conferred on Mír Jumla, 171; conferred on Shaista Khán, 174.
- Mirobolans* (*Myrobalans*), dried fruits, 438 and *n.*
- Mirza Rájá*. See *Jesseingue*, 34.
- Mirza-Zulkarmin* embraces Christianity, 287.
- Moguiere (Monghyr), town of, 80 *n.*
- Mohabet-Kan, governor of Caboul, 70, 95.
- appointed governor of Gujerat, 183.
- Mohur gold piece, note on a two hundred, 476. 477.
- Mohurs called *Gold Roupies*, 60 *n.*
- Moisson du vent*, 109 *n.*
- Moka, slave-market of, 136.
- Monceaux the younger (M. de), letter from to H[enry] O[uldiinburgh] concerning Bernier's book, xlix-li.
- Mondas Parek, Gentile broker at Surat, 189 *n.*

- Monsoon-wind of India, 436.
- Morad-Bakche (*Murád Baksh*), son of Great Mogol, 5 n, 10, 11; appointed governor of Gujerat, 15; unites with Aurangzeb, 27, 28; instructed in mining by Dutch, 31.
- wounded at battle of Samúgarh, 51; kills Rájá Rám Singh Rautela, 52; arrives at Agra, 60.
- advised to stay at Agra, 66; plot against by Aurangzeb, 66-67; made a prisoner, 68; confined in an embarv (*amarí*), 69; imprisoned in Salimgarh, 69.
- imprisoned n Gwalior, 85; fetters of, 105 n; mock trial and execution of, 108.
- Mosque, the Jamá Masjid, account of, 278 *seq.*
- Mothe le Vayer, letter from Bernier to, 239-299.
- Moultan, revenue of, 457.
- Muhammadanism, principal sects of, 8.
- never thoroughly established in India, 40 n.
- a pernicious belief, 291.
- Muhammadans firmly believe in their doctrines, 290, 291; respect of, for Christ, 289.
- Muhratib-i-mahi*, insignia of the fish, 266 n.
- Mullah Salé, teacher of Aurangzeb, reception of, by Aurangzeb, 154;
- Mullah Sháh, spiritual guide of Dára, 154 n.
- Mumtáz Mahál, daughter of Asaf Khán, 5 n.
- wife of Sháh Jahán, 465 n.
- Murat (Chodja Moraad), a Christian merchant, 134, 135, 139, 140.
- NÁDIRA, daughter of Sultán Parwez married to Dára Shikoh, 57 n.
- 103 n.
- Nagar-Kanay* (*Nakárah khanah*), drum room, 260 n.
- Nagar-kané* (*Nakárah khanah*), tent for trumpets, 363 and n.
- Naique* (*Naik*, Skt. *náyaka*), a leader, 193 n.
- Nazer, a slave, murders Dára, 101, 102, 187.
- Nazerkan, Persian steward of Begum Saheb, poisoned by Sháh-Jahán, 13, 14.
- Neik-nam-Kan evades the King becoming his heir, 163, 164.
- Nejabatkan cashiered by Aurangzeb, 186, 187.
- Nejam-Chah* (*Nizam Shah*) conquered by Mogol, 193 and n.
- Nerbudda (*Narbadd*) River, 37 n; battle fought at, 38, 39; river ranks second to Ganges in religious sanctity, 42 n.
- Nile, source of the, 141, 142.
- account of periodical rising of the, 446 *seq.*; low water discharge of contrasted with that of the Ganges, 453 n.
- Nil-ghaux* (Nilgau) blue cow, 364 and n; manner of hunting, 377, 378.
- Nour-Jehan-Begum (*Núr Jahán Begum*), wife of Jáhángír, 5.
- Nour-Mehalle (*Núr Mahál*), wife of Jáhángír, 5.
- 465 n.
- Nur-i-chasm* waterfall in Kashmir, 407 and n.
- OGOULI (*Hághlí*), Portuguese settlement at, 176 and n.
- Oldenburg (Ouldinburgh), Henry, first English translator of Bernier, notice of, 477, 478.
- Omrah (*Umará*), plural of Arabic *Amir*, 4 n.
- Omrachs, names assumed by, 6.
- unite with Aurangzeb, 65; incomes of, *ib.*
- in service of Mogol, 210, 211-215; military grades of, 212; pay of, 213; splendour of, 214; ornaments of, 224.
- attend on King twice daily, 265, 266.
- ceremony of weighing the, 270; large presents from, to Mogol, 271; attend Mogol to Mosque, 280.
- tents of the, 366; manner of travelling of, 371; present purse to Mogol on entering camp, 382.
- Ormuz (Ormus), captured by Persians and English, 180 n.
- O[uldi]bu[gh], I[Henry]. Letter to, from M. de Monceaux, the Younger, concerning Bernier's book, xlix-li.

- Oxindon (Sir George), chief of English Factory at, 182 *n*.
- PADRE, name applied to Roman priests, 323 *n*.
- Pagys*, lackeys or footmen, 373 and *n*.
- Pain de Gonesse*, 250 and *n*.
- Painting in India, ideas regarding, 255 and *n*.
- Paleky (*Pálkí*), a palanquin, 14 *n*.
- Paleky* of King, 214.
- used by ladies of Seraglio, 372.
- used by Omrahs, 283.
- Paranda (Purandhar), sanitarium for European troops, 192 and *n*; fort surrendered to Mogul, 197 and *n*.
- Patana (Lódí Pathán) dynasty of Delhi, 24 *n*, 94.
- Patans of India, Race of, 206, 207 and *n*, 210, 211, 223.
- Pateques* (Arab. *al-battikh*), water-melons, 250 and *n*.
- Patna, Lasker-Kan appointed governor of, 186.
- revenue of, 457.
- Peacock throne of the Great Mogol, account of, 471-473.
- Peasantry of India, slavery of, 225, 226.
- Pecquet, famous French anatomist, 324 *n*.
- Pegu, cruelties of Brama of, 234 and *n*, 235.
- Peiche-kans* (*Paish-khanah*), double set of tents, 359 and *n*, 360, 366, 368.
- Peking, Jews in, 429, 430.
- Pelau (Pers. *Palao*), a Muhammadan dish, 121 *n*.
- Pendets* (*Pundits*), 337, 338, 341, 342.
- Penge Hasary*, lord of five thousand horse, 212, 213.
- Persia, embassy from, to Aurangzeb, 146, 147; presents of, to Aurangzeb, 147, 148.
- contemptuous speeches of Ambassador of, to Sháh Jahán, 151-153.
- governments sold openly in, 232.
- Philosophy of the Hindoos, 160.
- 337, 338.
- Philosophy, schools of, in India, 336 and *n*.
- Physic, Hindoo books on, 338.
- Piquedant* (Hind. *plk-dán*), a spittoon, 214 and *n*. See *Piquedans*.
- Pipli* (Pippli), Port on Orissa coast, 443.
- Piquedans* (Hindi *plk-dan*), spittoons, use of, 283.
- Pire-penjale* (*Pir Panjál*), mountain pass, accident at, 407, 408; Fakir on, 409, 410; meaning of name *Pir Panjál*, 409 *n*.
- Pistole*, value of a, 271 *n*.
- Plie* (*Plica Polonica*), disease called, 316.
- Polka* (*Raja Pattá*), statue of, in Dehli, 256, 257.
- Polyandry in Ladák, 421 *n*.
- Polygamy in Ethiopia, 142, 143.
- Portuguese Missionaries favoured by Sultan Sujah, 82.
- Portuguese purchase slaves from pirates of Chittagong, 176.
- Poust*, poison administered to princes in state prisons, 106, 107 *n*.
- Pragna* (*Pargana*), a tract of country, 455.
- Pralea* (*Pralaya*), 347 and *n*. See *Maperlé*.
- Prestor John, and the river Nile, 449 *n*.
- Prince Condé (Louis de Bourbon), 55 and *n*.
- Purandhar, sanitarium for European troops, 192; fort surrendered to Mogul, 197 *n*.
- Purane* (*Puránas*), religious books, 335 *n*, 336.
- RACH (*Rakshasas*), giants, 339 *n*.
- Rage-Mehalle (*Rájmahál*), town occupied by Sultan Sujah, 81; abandoned, 82; Mír Jumla in winter quarters at, 82.
- Ragipous (Rájpúts), devotion of to Jaswant Singh, 39; meaning of the name, *ib.*; accustomed to the use of opium, 39; bravery of, in battle, 40; custom of anointing their faces and hands with turmeric, 52 *n*.
- military occupation of hereditary, 208; in Mogol army, 209, 210.
- Rains in India, account of periodical, 431 *seq.*
- Rajas, power and riches of the, 208.
- Rakan. See *Araçan*.
- Ramayana*, shield bearing the story of, 254 *n*.
- Ram-guyre (*Rámgirl*) fortress of, 22 *n*.
- Ram-ras, King of Southern India, 192.

- Ramseingue Routlé (*Rájá Rám Singh Rautela*), commander in army of Dára at Samúgarh, 48; killed by Murád Bakhsh, 51, 52.
- Rana Sanga, 'Emperor of the Rajas,' 208.
- Rantipore (Ranthambhor), state prison of, 107 *n*.
- Ratan Mountains and Pass, 406 *n*.
- Rau (Rohú), river fish resembling carp, 252 and *n*.
- Rauchenara-Begum (Raushan-Ará-Begum), daughter of Great Mogol, 5, 14; informs Aurangzeb of plots against him, 65; urges Dára's being put to death, 100.
- illicit amours of, 132, 133.
- ambition of, 351.
- mode of travelling of, 372, 373.
- Rays* (Arab. *râis*), captain of a boat, 451; an overflow of Nile, 452.
- Revenues of Provinces of Great Mogul, 456 *seq*.
- Rivers, commonly without bridges, 380.
- Roa (Father Heinrich Roth), Jesuit missionary, 329 *n*, 330.
- Roger, Abraham, first Dutch chaplain at Pulicat, 334 *n*.
- Rosewater, cases of, presented to Aurangzeb, 147.
- Rotas (*Rohtásgarh*), state prison of, 107 *n*.
- Roupie* (Rupee), value of a, 200 *n*, 223 *n*, 269 *n*, 455.
- Rouzindars, paid cavalry in service of Mogul, 211, 215, 216; different duties of, 216.
- Rustám-Kan Dakny (Dakhani), commands Dára's left wing at Samúgarh, 48; killed in the battle, 51.
- Sadullah-Kan (*Sádullah Khán*), Vizier, death of, 23.
- Sahet*, also *Saiét* (Arabic *sa'id*), ceremony of, 161 and *n*, 163, 244.
- Saltpetre used for cooling water, 356, 357, 364.
- export from Bengal, 440 and *n*; in the soil, said to cause intense cold in Tartary, 450 *n*.
- Samarcande (*Samarkand*), city and colleges of, 119 *n*.
- Samonguer (*Samúgarh*), battle between Dára and Aurangzeb at, 49-54.
- Sanskrit studied by Jesuit missionaries, 329 *n*, 330; books written in, 335, 341.
- San Thomé* (St. Thomas' Mount) Portuguese settlement at, 196.
- Santon*, Moslem religious sect, 316 *n*.
- Sardésmukhi*, tax levied by Marathás, 460.
- Sarmet, Fakir named, decapitated by Aurangzeb, 317.
- Sarr-i-Asrár*, Persian translation of Upanishads, 323 *n*.
- Sayúrghál, lands given for benevolent purposes, 374 *n*.
- Scales, insignia of the, 267 *n*.
- Schall (Father Johann Adam), German Jesuit in Peking, 429 *n*.
- Scindy (Scinde), Jáfár Khán appointed governor of, 186 and *n*.
- Sea in the Indies, regularity of currents of, 434 *seq*.
- Sebastian Gonzales Tibao, chief of Chittagong pirates, 178 and *n*.
- Sekander Filifous* (Alexander the Great), 383.
- Selim-guer (*Sallm-ghar*), Murád Bakhsh confined in, 69.
- Send-brary* (*Sandi ahan*), sacred spring of, 411, 412, 414.
- Sengsafed* (*Sang-i-safaid*), 'Whitestone,' 418 *n*, 419.
- Sepe-Chekouh (*Sipihr Shikoh*), son of Dára, 96 *n*, 97; conducted with Dára through streets of Delhi in disgrace, 98, 99; poisoned, 107.
- Seraglio at Delhi, account of the, 267.
- fairs held in the, 272 and *n*, 273.
- modes of travelling by ladies of the, 371, 272; penalty for approaching too near, 373, 374.
- Seraphas (*Sar-o-pá*), robes of honour, 80 *n*, 118, 120.
- presented to Abyssinian embassy, 138, 139; presented to Persian embassy, 147, 149.
- Serenaguer (*Srinagar*), mountains of, 59 and *n*; 60, 92.
- Serkar* (*Sirkar*), exchequer of King's income, 455.
- Serrafs* (Arab. *sarráf*), money-changers, 302.
- Seva-Gi (*Sivaji*), founder of the Marátha power, 136 *n*.
- attempts to seize Shaista Khán, 187; plunders Surat, 188; beaten off by English and Dutch, 189; tortures a