CHAPTER - I
CHAPTER-I

A Brief Study of the Foreign Travellers Who Visited Medieval India during 16th and 17th Century.

The richness variety and profusion of the accounts of the foreign travellers who visited India adds new dimensions to the story of life and civilization by filling up the wide lacunae in the missing links of the narration of facts, supplement vital information to cover essential facets of the social and cultural history and lends fullness of life in Medieval India during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had felt the tremendous arrival of foreign travellers on Indian sub-continent. The phenomenon of their arrival was not an uncommon one since ancient times in Indian history. But their arrival was not as regular or continuous as in sixteenth century or in horde as in the seventeenth century.

The reason is obvious to this increase in the influx of foreign travellers in India which is given by many modern historians as well. H.K. Kaul writes, "With Vasco da Gama’s opening of Cape route in 1498, European contacts with India became more regular; numerous travel accounts and scholarly works were produced and, by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the proliferation of guidebooks on India reflects the existence of much travelling from Europe." ¹

After the Vasco da Gama’s landing at Calicut in 1498, the half-century that followed saw the rise of the Portuguese power which was extended throughout the East Indies.² They started occupying almost every place of importance to the Indian trade between Aden and Formosa gradually. Those places were Malacca, Mangalore, Surat, all the Gujarat ports, Muscat, Ormuz, Daman, Calicut, Cochin, most of Ceylon, Negapatam and Thatta on the Indus, Masulipatam, Macao, most of the Coromandel and Bengal ports.³

² Oaten, E.F., European Travellers in India during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Lucknow, 1974, p. 35.
³ Ibid.
A number of travellers who visited the Southern India, especially the Malabar Coast and the Kingdom of Vijayanagara in the period between 1500-1580 A.D. were from Portugal and Italy namely Varthema, Barbosa, Paes, Nuniz and Cesare Federici.

Foreign Travellers of the Sixteenth Century

Ludovico Di Varthema of Bologna was an Italian wanderer whose travel date is 1502-1508. Nothing much is known about his life before his travel. Even his exact birthplace cannot be traced. Some references to his earlier life can be taken from his conversation in his text which too is not clear. His travel places in India include the Indian coasts as far as Pulicat near Madras on the eastern part of it including Ceylon. From Pulicat he went across the Bay of Bengal. He starts for India on 4th March, 1504 and reached Diu, he leaves India for Europe.

Varthema’s account on Calicut is in detail as compared to other town of India. To Varthema, Calicut was the chief town in all India. He visited Calicut two times. In 1505 and 1506, he worked about eighteen months in the capacity of a factor (trade agent). He writes about Navratri Festival at the Hindu New Year in the neighborhood of Calicut. He notices the haughty aloofness of both Brahman and Nairs from the “untouchable” lower classes of society and the food and manner adopted by the different castes in society. He notes the well known matriarchal system of inheritance and the law of inheritance prevalent at Calicut in some detail.

Touching the economic life during his travel Varthema gives a good account of “bankers and money changer” of Calicut. The various kinds of boats by names in various languages other than the local vernacular, Malayalam, are noted at Calicut. Varthema’s account of Vijayanagar winds up with a good description of the currency. Varthema’s account is straightforward and often too brief. Further obvious mistakes, they are wonderfully accurate.

Generally speaking he had given a good brief picture of society, economy and culture of southern India including the Vijayanagara Empire in the early 16th century.

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and historically significant for Medieval Indian History as it preceded the accounts of Barbosa and other Portuguese travellers on their proceedings in India and the East.

*Itinerario de Ludovico dis Varthema Bologanese* was first published in Italian at Rome in 1510. In 1511, it was published in Latin and from Latin into Elizabethan English by Richard Eden in 1577. John Winter Jones translated it into English in 1863 from the original Italian edition of 1510. In the same year it was published for the Hakluyt Society by the great Arabic scholar, G.P. Badger after editing it under the title of *"The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502-1508"*. Varthema acquaints in with the Great War between Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur and King Narsimha Raya.

Duarte Barbosa was born in Lisbon to Diogo Barbosa in the latter part of the fifteenth century and was in the service of the Portuguese Government from 1500-1517. Barbosa came to India in 1500 with his uncle Goncalo Gil Barbosa who was in the fleet of Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In 1503, Barbosa was at Cannor. He died on the 1st of May, 1521.

Barbosa's Indian career includes his visit to the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagara, the Malabar Kingdom, Kingdom of Gujarat, the Bahmani Kingdom, and the East Coast of the Indian Peninsula from Coromandel to Bengal.

The Malabar attracted his interest the most which can be attributed to his long residence and acquaintance with the language of the people of Malabar. He gives a full and accurate description of the inhabitants of Malabar, their customs and elaborate caste-system and the accuracy can be tested with that still existed almost unaltered. He describes the *sati*, *hook-swinging* and other ceremonies from his personal observation. He also notes the principle towns and seaports.

The significance of his account is based on his personal acquaintances, truthfulness and careful observations that make it more accurate and elaborate than the other travellers of the time. The value of Barbosa's work is principally geographical and ethnographical.

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6 Ibid. p. xliv.
Duarte's work was included in Ramusio's Italian work entitled *Navigatione Viaggi*, first published from Venice in 1563. A Portuguese manuscript, found at Lisbon, was published in 1813. The Spanish version of the MSS. exists in Barcelona and Munich.

The first English translation was made by Lord Stanley of Alderley from the Spanish MS. and published by Hakluyt Society in 1865 under the title of, *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*. The second English translation was made from the Portuguese text which had been first published in 1812 by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon in 2 vols. later on edited and annotated by Mansel Longworth Dames under the title of, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* in 2 vols. in 1918.

The account of Barbosa is important not only for his observation on trade and political events during a transitional period but also for throwing up ethnological details of the times.

Domingo Paes (1520-1522) and Fernao Nuniz (1535-37) were important Portuguese travellers who had visited the Vijayanagara Empire during the rule of Tuluva dynasty. The personal lives of both the travellers are obscure. Paes came during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest king of Vijayanagara Empire ever had. At the time the Hindu capital was at its highest grandeur and magnificence. His recordings are of unique values as they provide first hand vivid and graphic account of his personal experiences. He had not only witnessed the wealth of Vijayanagara but also the most gallantly fought battles in the history of Vijayanagara - the Battle of Raichur between the grand army of Krishna Deva Raya consisting of about a million and Adil Shah of Bijapur. He has also given a very interesting account of the two festivals, the Mahanavmi and the New Year's Day. His book is named as, "*Narrative of Domingo Paes*".

Fernao Nuniz was a horse merchant who lived three years in Vijayanagara during the reign of Achuta Deva Raya. He describes its history from its foundation to the end of the rule of Achuta Deva Raya.

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Ibid. p. xxxiii.

Ibid. p. lxxi.
The original Portuguese edition of their accounts was published in 1897 A.D. by Senhor Lopes. Robert Sewell translated their accounts into English entitled, "A Forgotten Empire" in 1900 A.D.

Cesare Federici was a jeweler and traveler from Venice, Italy and he travelled in the east from 1563 to 1581. He spends eighteen years in commercial pursuits and travels in the southern coasts and islands of Asia. He travelled throughout India, visiting mostly coastal forts and towns; on the west and east coast. Most of these were under the Portuguese influence including Goa, Diu, Cambaya, Daman, Basain, Chiaul, Vijayanagara, Onor, Mangalore, Cannanore and Cochin.

From Venice he reached Ormuz by the usual route and then entered through ship in India at Diu, "situated in a little island in the kingdom of Cambaya, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade."

In 1567 Cesare Federici went to Goa and then by inland to Vijayanagara. At that time the Vijayanagara was in the state of ruination after the two year of cruelty passed in the battle of Talikota (1565). He gives a melancholy picture of the ruined greatness of the mighty city: "The city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses standstill, but empty and is dwelling in then nothing, as is reported but Tygres and wild beast." He returned to Goa then journeyed to Cochin. Of the Nairs of this city he gives same interesting details.

Following this he went to Quilon and after touching at Ceylon, seems to have gone on to Negapatam, St. Thome, Orissa, Bengal, Pegu and a number of other places beyond India proper. Federici returned to Ormuz in 1580, and finally reached Venice in 1581.

Federici’s account is valuable and has been appreciated for the very clean description of the trade routes and products of the East. Contemporaneous events in India are also found in Federici’s account is very simple, depicting the places he

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9 Oaten, op. cit., p. 43.
visited with their products and very seldom giving a more personal touch to his description.

Federici’s account of his voyages, “Viaggio nell’India orientale, etaltral’India”, was published in Venice in 1587 by Andrea Muschio in Italian but have never been translated into any modern language except English. An English version appeared in London in 1588 by Thomas Hickock and was printed in Hakluyt’s. *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffics and Discoveries.*

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten became the first important Dutch traveller to visit the coast between Goa and Cochin. His brief life sketch is given below.

John Huyghen van Linschoten was born in 1563\(^1\) to Huych Joosten and Maertgen Hendrics and was the native in the province of Utrecht. Linschoten from the beginning was curious to see the world and grown up in a studious youth, who “took no small delight in the reading of histories and strange adventures.”\(^2\) At the age of sixteen he took leave from his parents and went to Spain to join his two brothers. He died on 8\(^{th}\) February, 1611.

Linschoten became the first important Dutch traveller who visited Goa in South India and stayed there for five years from 21\(^{st}\) September, 1583 to 20\(^{th}\) January, 1589 and paved the way for the first Dutch enterprise which reached East Indies in 1595 under the command of Cornelis de Houtman.

Linschoten reached India by the Cape route that opened the door of commercial possibilities for Holland in India and as a matter of fact Linschoten was not a great traveller which is suggested from the places covered by his travel also the travel extent never went beyond the Portuguese settlements.

His account is, however, full of valuable remarks on almost all the countries comprised in the Portuguese sphere of influence, extending from Cambay on one side to Singapore, China and Japan on the other but these places does not possess the value of first hand evidence. He has given an eye witness account for parts in the

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\(^{2}\) p. xxiv.
Malabar Coast. The route from Europe to Cochin was clearly explained and other routes, such as those to China, Japan and the Archipelago were also more or less carefully detailed.

The *Itinerario* of Linschoten was first published in 1596; divided into two parts, the second part was printed first which contains a collection of the routes to India, the Eastern Sea, and the American Coasts, translated from the manuscripts of Spanish and Portuguese pilots. There is also full of detail on the routes beyond Malacca in the Malay Archipelago and on the Chinese Coasts. Dr. Burnell says, “The style of Linschoten was plain and simple”. The *Itinerario* was originally illustrated by the thirty-six plates and plans, drawn by the author himself and six large maps made by Arnoldus and Henricus Florentii a Langren. The plates mostly refer to Goa and his neighborhood illustrating the inhabitants, manners, customs, natural products and manufactures of country. The plans are of Goa, Mozambique, Ascension, St. Helena and Angra in Tercera; Those of Goa and Angra are interesting and very full. The first map is that of the World and the others represents the West and East Coasts of Africa, the Western and Eastern portions of Southern Asia and part of America.

The book at once created a sensation and was translated into English and German in 1598. Two translations were made in Latin from Frankfort and Amsterdam in 1599. It was translated in French in 1610. The original Dutch and French editions were printed many times. Arthur Coke Burnell edited the first volume and the second volume was edited by Mr. P.A. Tiele for the Hakluyt Society and was first published in 1885 from the old English translation 1598 under the title of, *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*.

After its access everyone learned that the colonial empire of the Portuguese was rotten and can be supplanted by an energetic rival. The significance of the Linschoten’s work is still recognized as it retained all its interest as a picture of Portuguese India at the end of Sixteenth Century.

The frequent visits of foreign travellers were ongoing in Southern India whereas the Northern India was still remained untouched by them. There is no foreign traveller in record during the Babur’s reign. For Humayun’s reign there is an account

left by a Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis who had encountered Humayun's court in 1556 A.D.

Sidi Ali Reis was the son of Huseni Reis, a steward of the Imperial Arsenal at Galgata and his father and grandfather were also on the same post. Thus, Sidi Reis was the descendent of a distinguished family of his time. He excelled with the pen in poetry and composition and wrote under the fictious name of "Kiatibi" or "Kiatibi Rum". He was a mathematician, astronomer, and a geographer also who had taken part in most of the naval engagements as he had inherited an insatiable love for the sea.

He accompanied Sultan Suleiman Kanuni or his eastern compaign in 1552 and was appointed to the post of Admiral of the Egyptian fleet in 1553 to India and Central Asia. Unfortunately he had a shipwreck while fighting against the Portuguese in the western Indian Ocean. He travelled through Gujarat, Hind, Sind, Balkh, Zabulistan, Badkhshan, Khotlam, Turan and Iran. He died in 1572.

His accounts of India are poor as compared with the descriptions of early muslim travellers in India like Alberuni, Ibn Batuta and others. Many reasons can be placed to this short coming.

He does not seem to come in contact with the non-Muslim population and principally had to deal with the ruling class who were the adherents to the Muslim faith. He draws a very sad picture of the government in India and East as civil wars and the mutinies against the rulers were the order of the day. The non-security of the roads was also another issue felt by the Turkish Admiral. The encounter between the Mughal Humayun and the Ottoman Admiral who arrived in Delhi in late October 1555 is the best part of the account. At Delhi he lived for three months and witnessed the death of Humayun and succession of Akbar in early 1556.

"Mirat-ul-memalik ("Mirror of Kingdom") was originally written in Djugatai-Turkish language and has long since being known in the East. A German translation

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15 Ibid.
of it by Heinrich Friedrich Von Diez appeared in his "Memories of Asia" 2, and afterwards the translation was rendered into French by Morris and published in the Journal Asiatique. Arminius Vambery who was a Hungarian edited and translated it into English with the title, 'The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the year 1553-1556' with a preface by a Turkish publisher Nedjib Aasim. The book has not been published in its entirety so far and due to its less availability is not accessible to the public.

Father Thomas Stephens arrived in India in 1579 A.D. from England and lived till death in 1619 A.D. He produced several works including The Christian Purana, in Marathi. He started his career as a rector of a college at Rachol in Salsette and later devoted himself to missionary activities.17 His letter to his father roused considerable enthusiasm in England and led his countrymen to nurse the desire for direct trade in India. His account is not important from the point of view of present study.

During the reign of Akbar the missionaries were the first to have courtly encounter. The Jesuit contact with Akbar began in 1580 A.D. and the three missions were sent to the court. An account of the first mission was written in 1582 A.D. by Father Antony Monserrate whereas Father Du Jarric's account gives details about the three missions to Akbar. Based on the original Jesuit letters, his work throws light on Akbar and his religious activities particularly in the last decade of his reign which has not covered by the Persian annals.

Father Antonio Monserrate was born at Vic de Ozona in Catalonia in 1536.18 The information about the early life of the Father Monserrate is meager. In 1558 he entered into the Society of Jesus and became prefect of Studies at Lisbon in 1569. He embarked for India in 1574 and was elected to accompany Father Acquaviva to Emperor Akbar's Court in 1578.

Father Monserrate reached the Mughal court at Agra on 4th March, 1580 with the first Jesuit Mission. The missionaries were warmly received at the Mughal Court. Shortly afterwards Father Monserrate was appointed tutor to prince Murad. In February, 1581 Akbar marched against Mirza Hakim to suppress his evil design.

17 Kaul op. cit., p. xxxii.
18 Ansari, M. A., European Travellers under the Mughals (1580-1627), Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 1975, p. 1.
Father Monserrate accompanied the Emperor in his suite as far as Peshawar and then proceeded with the Mughal army to Jalalabad. He could not proceed beyond Jalalabad on account of bad health and returned back to Lahore. In 1582 he accompanied the embassy sent by Akbar to Europe as far as Goa. In 1589, Monserrate proceeded to Abyssinia but was taken prisoner by the Arabs near Dhafar and remained in custody at Ainad: and of the Turks at Sanai. He was freed with help of an Indian merchant and returned to Goa in December 1596. He lost his health in these years of trouble and died in 1600 at Salsette. 

The *Mongolicae legationis Commentarius* of Father Monserrate is an account of the first Jesuit mission to the court of Akbar in 1580-82. Father Monserrate says, 'that it has become a rule in the Society of Jesus to keep a record of all events'. He engaged himself in arranging and amplifying his diary in the form of an account in 1582 when he was at Goa. He took the manuscript to Abyssinia in 1588 in the hope of finishing it. During his imprisonment at Dhafar and Sanaa he was provided facilities to complete his book and thus the manuscript was completed in December 1590 on the day of feast of S. Damascus. He brings back the MS. with him to Goa in December 1596.

The text of Monserrate which is in Latin was discovered by Rev. W. K. Firminger in St. Paul's Cathederal Library, Calcutta. Father H. Hosten, S. J. translated and annotated the Latin text of Monserrate on the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar that was published in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. III, pp. 513-704) in 1914. Another translation of Commentary of Father Monserrate has been published by the Oxford Press edited by John S. Hoyland (Translator) and S.N. Banerjee (annotator).

The value of the MS. cannot be denied as it forms an original historical authority for the reign of Akbar who is credited to be greatest Musalman ruler in India by most of the modern historians. His account revolves round the Mughal Court where the access was difficult to foreigner most of the times. Every aspect of the

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Akbar's character is described with a close scrutiny: his humor, his grim severity: his munificence: his penuriousness: his keen and critical insight: his credulity and superstitions. His account gives the splendor and prosperity of Akbar's capital city and the fine buildings at Delhi.

In 1583 A.D. Ralph Fitch, the first English merchant traveller arrived in India followed by John Mildenhall who was also an English trader and visited India in 1599 A.D.

Ralph Fitch was the first English traveller in the real sense to travel across India. He gives a good account of places visited by him. He started from England in a ship named Tiger with two other Englishmen named Newberry and Leedes in 1583 and reached Aleppo then travelled to Ormuz via Basrah. At Ormuz he was arrested by Portuguese and taken to Goa as prisoner. They recovered their liberty with the help of a British Jesuit, Father Stephens.

In 1585, they left Goa and made their way to Bijapour. From there to Golconda and then passing through various towns, including Burhanpur they reached the territory of Mughal Emperor. Reaching Agra which Fitch describes as a "very great citie and populas, built with stone, having fair streets with a fair river running by it", they did not stay there long but pushed onto Fatehpur Sikri. At Fatehpur the three Englishmen departed with each other, Leedes entered the service of the Emperor, Newberry decided to go to the west. Ralph Fitch travelled to the Eastern provinces. He travelled Allahabad, Banaras, Patna, Hugli also travelled in the Kuch Bihar area and proceeded to Satgaon where he picked friendship with Portuguese settlers and then to Pegu, Macao, Malacca and Ceylon and returned to Cochin in March, 1590. He returned to Europe by Goa, Chaul, Ormuz, Basrah, Aleppo and Tripoli, reaching London in April, 1591. He died in October, 1611.

Fitch's account of his experiences was printed by Richard Hakluyt in the second edition of his Principall Navigations in 1598-1600. In 1625 Samuel Purchas reprinted the account in his famous Purchas His Pilgrimes and a similar compliment has been paid to it in several other collections of travels, both English and Foreign. In

25 Ibid. p. 6.
26 Ibid. p. 7.
1899, Mr. J. Horton Ryley, devoted to the subject entitled, *Ralph Fitch: England's pioneer to India*, containing the travellers narrative and letters, together with a number of related documents. Ryley’s work sheds some light regarding the historical setting of Fitch’s journey but lacking on the geographical side.

John Mildenhall was a trader and one of the early English travellers to the Mughal Court in 1599 craving privileges of trade on behalf of himself and his fellow countrymen. The Letters Received, vols. ii. iii. v and Kerridge’s letter book in the British Museum (Additional MSS., no. 9366) throws some light on the Mildenhall’s later career. He died in June 1614 is buried at Agra.

Mildenhall had narrated his experience in the form of two documents; the first is a summary of his journey from London to Kandahar, while second is a letter giving an account of his transactions in India and of his return journey as far as Kazwin in Persia addressed to the Richard Staper. The two documents are published in Purchas His Pilgrimes, part i, book iii, chap. i and 3. Purchas found it among the papers of Richard Hakluyt who may have obtained them from Staper.

**Foreign Travellers of the Early Seventeenth Century**

The seventeenth century in India saw the maturity of a very great empire in the East, the Mughal Empire. The period of a century which saw the reign of three most important Mughal rulers besides Akbar was very significant in the making of the Indian Medieval History.

The Portuguese were the only nation to take hold of territorial possessions in India comprising of Goa and a few other ports on the western coast until the close of the sixteenth century. The English were also exploring the possibilities to establish their right to trade with India through the northern passage. They adopted various means to achieve their goal. They tried to impress the emperors and nobility by giving costly presents. Captain Nicholas Downton prepared a list of presents to be given to

\[ ^{27} \text{Ibid. p. 48.} \]
\[ ^{28} \text{Ibid. p. 51.} \]
\[ ^{29} \text{Ibid.} \]
Jahangir. Thomas Roe had presented a very attractive sword to Jahangir. The idea of present giving was very common as referred by almost all the travellers. Another way to gain their goal was to bribe the corrupt Mughal officials. Thus, the legal foundation of the East India Company was laid by a Royal Charter of December 31, 1600 A.D.

A horde of foreign travellers visited the Mughal Empire from the early seventeenth century. The early seventeenth century coincides with the period of Jahangir (1605-1627). Mostly the travellers were Englishmen. Nevertheless, there were some important non-English travellers also in record in every reign that had put forward an interesting and detailed account for the period dealing with the socio-economic and cultural life of the period. Pyard De Laval made an opening of the lists of foreign visitors during the early seventeenth century. Two things that are worth mentioning here are firstly, he was a Frenchman and secondly, he visited South India.

Francois Pyard was born in Laval in France and the other details of his early life are unknown but it is assumed from his remark that in 1601 when he went to voyage he was between twenty and thirty years of age.

Pyard sailed from St. Malo in May 1601 in a ship named Corbin and reached the Maldives in 1602 where the Corbin sank. Pyard was made captive and after his release in 1607 visited Chittagong, Calicut and Goa and wrote Discours du Voyage de Francois aux Indes orientales which published in 1611 in Paris. Pyard died in 1621.

The account of the Maldives occupies the greater part of the Pyard’s account. It is the four years of varied adventure and gives a general description of the Maldives islands, details of the religion, manners and custom of the people, the government and the court, trade and commerce.

Pyard proceeded to Calicut by land at the end of June 1607 and stayed in Calicut for eight months. Calicut was ruled by native ruler and was a great commercial town as observed and admired by the travellers for its conditions of

31 Ibid. p. x.
33 Ibid. p. xxviii.
34 Ibid. p. xxx.
prosperity. He went to Cochin as prisoner and remained six weeks and gives the horror of prison as legal cruelty. Thus closes, the first volume with the author’s arrival at Goa.

During his stay at Goa he made two expeditions with the Portuguese armadas, one to the north as far as Diu and Cambaye, the other to Ceylon, Malacca and the Archipelago. He narrates his description of the course of trade between the Eastern islands, China and Japan, Spanish America and the Philippines, the Portuguese Goa and Malacca. The description of Goa includes its greatest commercial prosperity though it was in crisis of its fate. The passages on topography with some picturesque incident are too accurate and minute. The social life and government of the Portuguese described at Goa.

The first edition of the *Discours* of Francois Pyard was published in 1611 from Paris. The second edition was also published from Paris in 1615. The third edition which was the last issued in the life time of the author was published in 1619 and contains the Maldive vocabulary, and is thus the most valuable. The fourth and the last French edition was published in 1679 by Louis Billaine and edited by P. Du Val.

A complete Portuguese version was published at Goa in two volumes by Senor Joaquin Helliodoro da Cunha Rivara. The first volume was published in 1858 and the second in 1862. Once it was translated as a whole it was abridged several times in different languages.

Albert Gray translated it into English from the third French edition of 1619 and edited; with notes for Hakluyt Society in 1887 into 2 vols. under the title, ‘*The Voyage of Francois Pyard of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccus and Brazil*’. H.C.P. Bell assisted Gray. The account is vivid and based on the travellers personal observations that make it accurate.

Beside Pyard De Laval, the other non-English travellers who visited India during the early seventeenth century were Pietro Della Valle, Francois Pelsaert and one non-European traveller Mahmud bin Amir Wali Balkhi.
Pietro Della Valle was a noble Italian from Rome who was born in 1586. He was a Roman Catholic by birth; education and conviction. His early life is obscure.

Pietro’s career as a traveller includes his twelve years stay in the East from September 1615 to 5th of February 1626. Pietro reached Surat in February 1623, on reaching Surat he immediately came in contact with Mughal ruler. He visited three cities of the Mughal Empire those were Surat, Cambay and Ahmedabad.

After visiting these cities he travelled down the coast of Goa. He mentioned the danger from attack by the Malabar Pirates which made it too risky to go by sea. Proceeding Southward by Honavar, Pangi and Garsopa he reached Ikkeri and then to Olala.

From Olala, Pietro returned to Mangalore from which he went by ship to Calicut being threatened on the way by pirates. Calicut was at its decline due to Portuguese hostility but was still important as Pietro appends a full description of Calicut not found as in other sources. He visited the Samorin’s palaces where he saw all, the king himself and two young princes. He left Calicut in 1623 and reached Goa from where he started his journey back home. From Goa he went by sea to Muscat and travelled thence by Basrah, Aleppo and Naples to Rome which he reached in 1626.

Pietro’s account the *De’Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il Pellegrino* is in the form of a series of letters to his friend Dr. Schipano which is very lengthy and bulky. It was published in Italian in 1650-58 and was translated into French in 1662-64; into Dutch in 1664-65; and into German in 1674. The last Italian edition was produced by Gancia in Brighton in 1843. In 1664, the portion of the book dealing with India and the return journey was made available to English reader.

The Hakluyt Society published an annotated edition of the Indian Section of the Viaggi in two volumes in 1892 by Edward Grey is in English language.

The Indian section is full of graphic description and brings a vivid life like representation of men and manners as they existed in early part of the 17th century.

37 Ibid.
Southley refers to Pietro as "that excellent traveller" and Sir Henry Yule found him "the most insatiate in curiosity, the most intelligent in apprehension, the fullest and most accurate in description...of travellers whose steps have led them to India by no inducement of trade or service but who come for their own pleasure or convenience".

Francisco Pelseart was the native of Antwerp who started his voyage to the East in 1618 in the position of an assistant factor, the lowest grade in the Company’s commercial service. He was promoted to the higher rank of junior factor and reached Surat in December 1620, by travelling overland. He was sent to Agra where he remained until the end of 1627 in the capacity of a senior factor. His death approached in September 1630.

Pelseart wrote the "Remonstrantie" in 1626 basically contains material about the commercial activities of Dutch company. It also throws much light upon the Socio-Economic and Cultural life of the period. The original copy contains, "long, rambling sentences, loosely connected by conjunctions, which are not always appropriate, but, in passages where it is striving for effect, the construction becomes so involved that it is sometimes impossible to be certain of the precise meaning."^^

The abbreviated translation of Remonstrantie was published by Thevenot in 1663. Apart from this John de Laet was permitted to use the portion dealing with the standard of life which is summarized in his De Imperio Magni Mogolis, published in 1631. No other reference to the Remonstrantie can be found earlier than this as Mr. Moreland writes in the introduction of the 'Jahangir's India' which was translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland, himself and P. Geyl in 1925. Mr. Moreland had translated it from the photograph of a manuscript preserved in the Rijksarchief which is a contemporary copy and on the evidence of handwriting it is found that it was written by a junior factor who accompanied Pelsaert on Batavia named Salomon Deschamps.

39 Ibid. p. x.
40 Ibid. p. xiv.
41 Ibid. pp. xii-xiii.
42 Ibid. p. xiii.
The text is in the usual commercial script of the period and very legible but occasional blunders and corrections suggest that Salomon was not familiar with the Indian nomenclature.

Mahmud bin Amir Wali Balkhi was born in 1595 in Balkh, though his family hailed originally from Kasan in Ferghana. He was the head librarian of Nazir Muhammad Khan who reigned from 1606-1642 and then from 1647-51 in Central Asia.

Balkhi travelled out of curiosity alone, from Balkh, to Afghanistan, to Peshwar and Lahore, and to Sirhind in the Punjab. Therefore, he visited Delhi and Mathura, before going on to Allahabad and Banaras. Following the Gangetic plain, his travels next took him to Patna, and Rajmahal in Bengal, whence he embarked for Orissa; the southward momentum then carried him down the length of the Indian Peninsula as far as Sri Lanka. From Sri Lanka, Balkhi embarked on a boat for Southeast Asia, but he shipwrecked on the Orissa coast. Here he spent several years in Mughal service, before embarking once more for the Indo-Gangetic heartland. Eventually, after a trip across the Rajasthan desert, he found himself in Sind, and began to consider returning home. After some political misadventures at the Mughal-Safavid frontier, he returned to Balkh in 1631.

Balkhi’s account Bahr al-asrar fi ma ‘rifat al akhyar (“The Ocean of Secrets in Knowledge of the pious) was edited and annotated by Riazul Islam from Karachi in 1980 under the title, ‘The Bahr al-asrar: travelogue of South Asia’. One more edition of it was produced in 1984 by Muhammad Sa’id, Sayyid Mu’inul Haqq and Ansar Zahid Khan from Karachi.

Originally it was in massive seven volumes but only one and a half volumes have survived the text; was compiled in the court of Nazr Muhammad Khan in Central Asia.

Balkhi’s account can be divided into two parts: first, the wanderings that take Mahmud Balkhi down the Gangetic valley then down the Indian Peninsula to his strange visit to Sri Lanka, and back up to Orissa, second from the moment he enters

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43 Alam, Muzaffar, op. cit., p. 132.
44 Ibid, p. 133.
the service of the Mughal official Mirzan Husaini in Orissa and becomes a minor Mughal munshi and revenue administrator. The first half of the text is mystic, and provides vivid ethnographic details of life; the second is written from the perspective of a mughal official, with accounts of “native superstitions” interspersed with often cynical reflections on statecraft and some surprisingly prudish observations on morality.

The portion dealing with India in Mahmud’s itinerary relate to Hindu ritual, beliefs and places of worship. He recorded whatever he found strange. As he entered India he comes into contact with the jogis of Ghor khattri near Peshawar probably in 1625. The author has used Arabic phrases extensively. He has also used Hindi words such as penth, dominis, kanchinis, patras, dandawai, bhog and jog (yoga). His Indian career was of the time span of about years i.e., from 1624-25.

The early seventeenth century that was comprised of the reign of Jahangir saw the arrival of maximum nos. of foreign travellers in Northern India. The majority of the travellers who visited during this period were from England and the significant among them were William Finch, William Hawkins, John Jourdain, Thomas Best, Nicholas Withington, Thomas Coryat, Thomas Roe and Edward Terry. Their brief biographies are as follows-

William Finch was an English traveller. His early life was unknown except that he had been a servant to Master Johnson at Cheapside. He boarded on the ‘Hector” along with Captain William Hawkins and landed at Surat on 28th August 1608. While the captain proceeded to Agra, he remained at Surat for business transactions.

On 18th January, 1610, he left Surat for Agra in compliance of summons from Hawkins via Burhanpur, Mandu and Gwalior which he had occasion to visit. On 4th April, 1610 he reached Agra and stayed there about nine months. During this period he visited Bayana, Fatehpur Sikri and the suburbs on a business tour. This long stay at the capital afforded him ample opportunity to look at the working of the Mughal state,
the life of the Indian peoples and, of course, the wonderful Mughal monuments. Lateron, he died at Baghdad.\textsuperscript{47}

Finch maintained a regular journal which provides us a fairly good account of his experiences in India with an eye-witness observation; they are invaluable for the early years of the seventeenth century. The chief feature of his narrative is the topographical information gleaned by either in his own journeying or by diligent inquiry from others. His descriptions of cities, towns, buildings and roads are excellent. His description of the palace at Lahore before it was altered by Shahjahan is of great interest. He had discussed the episode of Anarkali also.

Purchas has printed Finch’s narrative but the voluminous account of the outward voyage is omitted and which contained no description of India. Sir Edward Maclagan had reproduced the part relating to the Punjab in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society (vol. I, no. 2)\textsuperscript{48}

Captain Hawkins came to India at Surat on 24\textsuperscript{th} August, 1608\textsuperscript{49} in the ship named Hector. He carried a letter from James the First to Jahangir. The Portuguese at Surat thwarted him in every possible way even bribed Muqarrab Khan, the Mughal Governor. Many attempts were made to get rid of Hawkins’s but all failed. On 2\textsuperscript{nd} February 1609, he got success to escape to Agra and reached there on 6\textsuperscript{th} April, 1609.

Hawkins remained in Jahangir’s court as the resident ambassador and was made a captain of 400 horses by the Emperor. He lived in typical Mughal fashion, also married an Armenian Christian girl. On the other hand Muqarrab Khan was waiting for the opportunity to take revenge from the English captain. Therefore, he managed a meeting with Jahangir and promised to bring rubies from Goa if in return the Emperor would prohibit the English from trading. Muqarrab Khan poisoned the ears of Jahangir that if the English got a footing in India they would soon become masters. This was enough to alarm the Emperor about the approaching danger.

Jahangir dismissed the English captain from the court, also asked him to go without any reply given to him to the letters brought from King James. In November, 1611, Hawkins with his wife went for Surat. From there he boarded Middleton’s fleet.

\textsuperscript{47} Ansari, European Travellers in India, op. cit., p. 31.
\textsuperscript{48} Early Travels in India, op. cit., p. 125.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, p. 62.
for England which started on 1\textsuperscript{st} February, 1612 but unfortunately, Hawkins died on the way.\footnote{Ibid. p. 69.}

Hawkins narrative was published in \textit{Purchas His Pilgrimages}. William Foster published the Hawkin’s account in, \textit{“Early travels in India 1583-1619”}, London, 1921.

Hawkin’s account can be categorised under the most valuable of the court of the Emperor Jahangir rivaled only by that of Thomas Roe. It also depicts the picturesque account of his adventure.

John Jourdain was the sixth child of John Jourdain elder who was a merchant of Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire. His date of birth can be approximately taken in the latter half of 1572 or sometime in 1573.\footnote{Jourdain, John, \textit{The Journal of John Jourdain 1608-1617, Describing His Experiences in Arabia, India, And The Malay Archipelago}, ed. William Foster, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, rpt. 1992, p. xiii.} Nothing is known of his early years before he sailed for the East in the Ship named \textit{Ascention} in 1608\footnote{Ibid. p. ix.} and remained on voyage till 1617.

It was the company’s fourth voyage in which Jourdain had taken part. He sailed for St. Augustine Bay. On 2\textsuperscript{nd} September, 1609 they sailed for Surat where the ship was struck on a sand bank and lost in a tide. Jourdain while getting into a boat fell into the sea and escaped death narrowly. However Jourdain and his crew managed to reach the mainland where they were treated kindly by the native and after reached the town of Dodahwari safely where the governor received them graciously. From there they went to Surat. At Surat William Finch was the factor of the city that came to receive him. He died in his second voyage to east in 1619 at Patani,\footnote{Ibid. p. xii.} on the east coast of Malay Peninsula. The interest of the account of Jourdain is mainly personal in nature. Not so much of significance can be associated with his narrative.

The manuscript of John Jourdain is preserved in the \textit{Sloane Collection} at the British Museum in the manuscript form. This manuscript of Sloane Collection is a contemporary copy. Its four folios are written in a different handwriting from the rest. William Foster writes, “It is quite possible that we have here, a transcript which was
made for him while he was in England in 1617, and that he left it behind for record and took the original volume with him on his return to the Indies. Later on it came into the possession of Sir Hans Sloane who passed it into the national collection. William Foster has edited Jourdain's account in the Hakluyt Society Series and it was published under the title, 'The Journal of John Jourdain 1608-1617 Describing his Experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago'.

Thomas Best was the commander of the tenth voyage conducted by the East India Company during the years 1612-1614. The purpose of the mission was the establishment of trade in Western India.

His parentage remains a mystery and the same applies to the date and place of his birth. He was probably the son of Captain George Best, the companion of Frobisher in his Arctic Voyage (1576-78). His residence at Stepney for the greater part of his life suggests that he may have been born there. On his birth date, Sir John Laughten concluded that it took place about the year in 1570. He was married in the year 1587. Best died in August 1639 and was buried at Stepney on the 23rd August. He had risen from a humble position.

Best reached on the coast of India near Daman on 1st September, 1612 with the two vessels- Dragon and Hosiander. He anchored at Daman while the Hosiander was dispatched to the bar of Surat to watch the intelligence of the state of affairs in that city. He was successful in his mission of the establishment of a factory at Surat. Therefore he feasted the Diwan of Ahmadabad.

His very short Voyage to India was a big success as it enhanced their national spirit and prestige by defeating the Portuguese and providing the establishment of hopeful commerce in India. He received a hearty welcome in London.

Best's narrative was basically of political and commercial usage for the period. Purchas printed his narrative. In 1934, it was also published by Hakluyt Society, London.

51 Ibid. p. x.
53 Ibid. p. xiv.
54 Ibid. p. xlvii.
55 Ibid. p. xxxiv.
56 Ibid.
Nicholas Withington was an English traveler whose early life is not known. He came to India as an attendant to Captain Best and joined the service in the East India Company at Surat. He remained at Surat for a short duration then he was sent to Agra as an assistant to Canning. He died before April 1624.

Withington called his narrative as ‘Tractate’ which came in the possession of Purchas who had printed it in a concise version in his pilgrimes. In 1735 a full account of his ‘Tractate’ was published in London entitled- *A Journey Over Land from the Gulf of Houdouras to the Great South Sea, performed by John Cockburn and five other Englishmen* ..... To which is added a curious piece, written in the reign of King James I and never before printed, entitled- *A Brief Discoverye of Some Things best worth noteinge in the Travells of Nicholas Withington, A Factor in the East Indiese*, published in London. William Foster has published a full account of his travels in India in *Early Travels in India*, Oxford, 1921. He had omitted the outward journey of Withington.

Thomas Coryat was the son of a clergyman from Somersetshire. He got his education from Winchester and Oxford. He contacted with the court circles holding a small post in the household of Prince Henry. He toured France, Northern Italy, Switzerland, and Germany on foot in 1608. He summed up his tour into an account entitled- *Coryats Crudities, hastily gobled up in five moneths travells*, published in 1611, dedicated to Prince Henry. This account was a great success so Coryat had to publish a supplement in the same year, entitled- *Coryats Cramble, or his Colwort twise Sodden*.

Coryat’s Indian journey was also the outcome of that great success. Coryat became the first Englishmen to sail for India with no thought of trade. He can be place in the category of real traveller, the reason is he was curious to see the new strange country and was also motivated to write a book about his experiences.

Coryat remained in Ajmer about fourteen months. He was at Agra when plague was raging in the Capital city on September 12, 1616. He also visited Mandu.

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60 Early Travels in India, op. cit., p. 190.
61 Ibid. p. 196.
62 Ibid. p. 234.
63 Ibid.
and from there he went to Surat where he died on December 1617 and was buried there.

Coryat left his narrative in the form of five letters. The first four letters were printed soon after their arrival in England in a pamphlet entitled *Thomas Coriate: Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting* and the fifth was published after two years entitled *Mr. Thomas Coriat to his friends in England Sadeth Greeting*. Purchas reprinted large portions of the first, third and fifth letter in 1625. Sir William Foster had also included some extracts in *Early Travels in India*.

Sir Thomas Roe was the most important and best known English traveller who visited the court of Jahangir in 1615. He was born at Leyton, in Essex in 1580 as the son of Robert Roe. He entered Magdalen College, Oxford in 1593 and the Middle Temple in 1597. Sometime later, he became an Esquire of the Body of Queen Elizabeth and was subsequently knighted by James I in 1605. He sat as a member from Tomworth in the Addled Parliament of 1614. Roe sailed from the Tilbury Hope on 26 February, 1615, with fifteen followers in the ship, *Lion* and arrived at Swally Road on 18 September, 1615.

He died and was privately buried in the *Church* of Woodford on 6th November 1644.

The journal of Sir Thomas Roe constitutes a very valuable source of information about the life at the Mughals' court, at provincial capitals and in camp, and in the light thrown upon the characters of Jahangir, Asaf Khan, Khurram and Khusrau. He mentions the *Nauroz* celebration, the Emperor's weighing and manner of life and his departure from Ajmer to Mandu. He reflects the opinions current at the court. However, he is unreliable when he deals of matters of which he has no personal knowledge.

An examination of the contents of this journal reveals that it is as much a political history of Jahangir as a record of Roe's personal triumphs and failures, victories and disappointments. His mission brought him into close contact not only

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64 Ibid. p. 239.
66 Ibid. p. ixix.
with the emperor, but also with a number of principal personalities and pressure
groups dominating the general administration of the far-flung empire. If, therefore, he
describes the social customs and usages of the inhabitants, he does it in a casual
manner. His preoccupation is with the political condition of India in the reign of
Jahangir rather than with its social and religious picture.

The editions of Roe’s journal published by the Hakluyt Society in 1899 and
by the Oxford University Press in 1926 have been used, for these are not only
exhaustive but are the only genuine editions of the work based on extant manuscripts
in the various London collections. Besides the editions of his work referred to above,
a few more notable issues were those by John Harries, Robert Kerr, Knox and W.H.D.
Rouse.

Edward Terry was born in 1590 and was fortunate to get his education at
Rochester School and Christ Church, Oxford.67

The opportunity for a voyage to the Indies was accepted by him in 1616 in the
fleet commanded by Captain Benjamin Joseph. Terry was appointed as the Chaplain
of Sir Thomas Roe near Ujjain towards the end of February 1617 and accompanied
him to Mandu. In September 1618 he proceeded to Surat thence from there sailed for
England on February 17, 1619. He had travelled parts of Malwa and Gujarat is an
important fact while going through his account. He died in England in October,
1660.68

Terry’s account was chiefly the outcome of his observations during the two
and a half year stay in India as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe. Terry presented his
account of India in the manuscript to Prince of Wales. Rev. Samuel Purchas published
it three years later in his Pilgrimages in 1625.69 In 1655, Terry has reproduced his
account of experiences in a separate form under the title of ‘A Voyage to East India’,
containing 571 pages.70 In this edition of 1655, Terry did not miss any opportunity of
adding fresh details which expanded the new edition to seven or eight times the length
of its original form as given by Purchas. The new one was the enlarge volume of his

67 Early Travels in India, op. cit., p. 287.
68 Ibid. p. 290.
69 Ibid. p. 289.
70 Ibid.
previous version. The account of Terry has been also published by Mr. Foster in “Early Travels in India”, Oxford University Press, 1921.

The account is more significant politically as he had written fearlessly and highlighted the administration of the Mughal Empire. It deals almost every aspect of socio-economic and cultural life during the Jahangir’s period.

The access to the Mughal Court made it possible for Terry to write the history of Emperor and princes. His account of life in the Mughal Court is very interesting also he had raised some new topics which were not dealt earlier by other travellers or if picked then too are rarely described. One such topic is the love story of Anarkali and Prince Salim. Terry has misinterpreted the relation of Anarkali and Prince Salim and mentions Anarkali as the most beloved wife of Akbar which is not the generally accepted view. Still there is no surety in believing the fact as the issue on the Anarkali’s existence is fully obscure. Among the foreign travellers William Finch who came in India in 1608 mentions the episode on the myth of Anarkali’s existence in the Mughal Court. No Persian chronicler corroborates this fact. Terry’s narrative makes an admirable compliment to Thomas Roe’s journal.

Foreign Travellers of the Shahjahan’s Reign

The reign of Shahjahan saw the arrival of many significant travellers like Tavernier, Bernier, Mandelslo, Manucci, Manrique and Navarrate. Besides, three Englishmen did also visited in the reign of Shahjahan. Henry lord was a preacher appointed by the East India Company around 1630, who devoted himself to the study of the Hindus and the Parsis. His account is not significant from the point of this study. Sir Thomas Herbert was a less significant English traveller. Whereas, the account of Peter Mundy was very important for the reign of Shahjahan as he was associated with East India Company also.

Peter Mundy was born at Penryn in 1596. Before visiting India he had made many travels in Europe and Asia. He visited India thrice between 1628 and 1656. He reached to Surat in September, 1628 as a cabin boy on a merchant-ship of the East
India Company; he joined the Agra factory in 1630. He later on visited Western India besides a number of towns of Malwa and Bihar.

His description of Agra, its markets and its houses is both vivid and picturesque. He compares Fatehpur-Sikri with European cities in point of conformity of buildings. His brief remarks about Patna are illuminating and observations about Surat very discussive. Nothing significant indeed, escapes his attention, and his comments are often of great value on account of their accuracy.

The description of severe famine of 1630 and the description of the sufferings of the people is very touching. He never indulges in travellers’ tale when he is not an eyewitness or when he is chronicling what he has gathered from others, he qualifies his statements. His knowledge of the Geography seems inadequate when he excludes the Deccan from India. There are several instances of carelessness in his account.

His account is significant as it refers to some of the peculiar socio-religious customs of the people, their economic condition and has a great deal to say about the Mughal polity and events of the political importance.

Thomas Herbert studied at Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge. He went to Persia in 1627 as secretary to an English embassy which was sent therein that year. He reached India in 1634 and remained here for two years during the course of which he paid a short visit to Surat and the surrounding district.

Herbert’s narrative is based on his brief visit to India shore. His description begins with the reign of Timur and goes down to the accession of Shahjahan. The account pertaining to the region of Akbar and Jahangir engulf the greater part of the narrative and particularly no important political event has been left out.

Jean Baptiste Tavernier was born in the year 1605 in Paris. His father’s name was Gabriel who had fled from Antwerp to Paris in 1575. Gabriel was a geographer who married Suzzane Tonnelier. Tavernier had two brothers Melchoir and Gabriel.
He made six voyages which came to be very famous in the form of his travelogue. He visited India for the first time in 1641.75

Tavernier original account was in French text which was published from Paris in 1675 under the title Nouvelle Relation du Servail du Grand Signior. Then many French editions appeared. His account of the Sixth Voyages was translated into English, German, Dutch and Italian.

In English it was for the first time published in 1677 from London by Robert Littlebury and Moses Pitt entitled, 'A New Relation of the Inner Part of the Grand Seignors Seraglio containing Several Particulars never before expos'd to publick View by J.B. Tavernier Baron of Aubonne'.

Tavernier’s work is an important contribution for the knowledge of Mughal India. Tavernier’s observations are from the point of view of a merchant, his devotion to trade interests enabled him to collect much valuable information on the conditions of commerce, the methods and tricks of the native banker, of the shroff or money-changer. He gives precise accounts of the production and sale of the standard commodities – spices, snakestones, bezoa, musk, indigo, ivory and the like—which are an important contribution to the history of oriental commerce. His description of the diamond mines and the varieties of precious stones and pearls are invaluable.

In 1889, Dr. Valentine Ball republished the Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier Baron of Aubonne from the original French Edition of 1676 with a biographical sketch of the author, notes, appendices etc. in London and its second edition was put forward by William Crooke.

Francois Bernier was born at Joue, near Gonnord, in Angou in September 1620.76 He had matriculated from the University of Montpellier. In July, 1652, he passes his examination as licentiate in medicine and went to Paris in August in the same year taking his degree as Doctor of Medicine.

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75 Ibid. p. xii.
Towards the end of 1658 he reached Surat after abandoning his intention of visiting Abyssinia. In March, 1659, he was on his way from Surat to Agra when he was compelled by Dara to accompany him as his physician to Ahmadabad.77

In July, 1663 he was at Delhi and visited Kashmir. He voyages to Bengal with Tavernier then they part near Rajmahal. Now, Bernier proceeds to Kasimbazar afterward travelling from Bengal to Masulipatam and Golkonda. At Golkonda he heard of the death of Shahjahan on 22nd January, 1666. In 1667 he embarked at Surat and then went to Shiraz (Persia) in October, 1667. He visited England in 1685 and died at Marseilles in Paris in 1688 on 22nd September.78

Bernier’s account, *Historie de la derniere revolution des etats du gran Mogol* was published in 1670.79 Then after, it was frequently reprinted and translated. In 1826, Irving Brock translated, ‘Travels in the Moghul Empire’ from the French version in two vols. as the seventeenth edition from London.80 In 1934, Archibald Constable edited the Irving Brock’s version and its second edition was revised by Vincent A. Smith.

Bernier was interested in political and speculative philosophy which is obvious from his graphic description of war of succession that was waging on his arrival to Mughal Empire. He personally witnessed Dara being paraded in Delhi as well as Sulaiman Shukoh’s arrival at the court. He also mention’s the fall of Hugli, the conquest of little Tibet during the Shahjahan’s reign. He had given a good description of Delhi, Agra and Kashmir.

John Albert De Mandelslo was the only German traveller who visited India during the period under study. His visit to India is very short lived i.e., from the end of April 1638 to 5th January, 1639, when he sailed to England.81

He was not intended to travel much in India but due to the rainy season he had several months to wait before the next English ship left for Europe. The early life of the traveller is hard to find. He returned to his native town of Gottorp in Holstein on

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77 Ibid. p. xx.
78 Ibid. p. xxi.
79 Ibid. p. xxv.
80 Ibid. p. xxxii.
1st May 1640. Thereafter he entered the service of the King of France as a captain of cavalry. He died early due to small pox.

In April 1638, he reached Surat by sea from Bandar Abbas and left in the end of September; passing through Broach, reached Ahmadabad where he was generously entertained by the English factors, whose extraordinary luxurious manner of life is well described in this account. Gilded carriages, hung with rich Persian carpets, drawn by white bullocks, and accompanied by horses decked in silver harness, were the least reprehensible features of the gorgeous display.

In October he journey through the cities of Gujarat to the Mughal headquarters at Agra and Lahore for a very brief period. His travels in India include Ahmedabad, Cambay, Goa, Agra and Lahore.

His account is politically significant as he describes the Mughal polity and administration. He had also given a good description of socio-cultural life of the places he travelled in India. The most valuable part of Mandelslo’s Travels refers to his tour through the cities of Gujarat in October 1638 as it is based on his own personal observation and experiences. His account of the visit to the Viceroy of Goa, of the great religious establishments and churches of the Jesuit and of the royal hospital in this city, is also first hand.

Mandelslo never went further east than India and yet the published version of his voyages give long accounts of Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas, Japan and China, none of which countries was ever visited by him. His itinerary was confined to a somewhat narrow region of the Indian peninsula.

Mandelslo’s account was published in German by Adam Olearius at Schleswig in 1658. J.Davis translated it into English and published it in 1662, from London. The first edition of the French translation of Mandelslo’s Travels was published by Abraham de Wicquefort in 1662.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{63} Ibid. p. xiii.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{64} Ibid. p. xvii.}\]
Niccolao Manucci born in 1639\textsuperscript{85} was a self-educated Venetian adventurer. He showed away on a ship bound for India in 1653, aged fourteen, and was taken into service by the English Royalist, Viscount Bellomont. He reached India in 1656 via Smyrna Isphahan and Gombron.\textsuperscript{86}

In 1656 Manucci enlisted in Dara Shikoh’s army as an artilleryman, later becoming captain of artillery for Raja Jai Singh of Amber. Somewhere along the way he picked up some medical knowledge and set himself up as a physician in Lahore, c. 1670. In 1678 he returned to the Mughal Court, became physician to Shah Alam’s wife, and returned to the Deccan in her employ. Thus he occupied various positions of trust and responsibility in the Mughal court. After resigning his service in the evening of his life he made his way to Bassain, north of Bombay, and stayed for sometime in Goa. He was granted late in life by the Governor and the council of Madras household land in perpetuity together with a house in the city where he died in 1717.\textsuperscript{87}

Manucci’s account, “Storia do Mogor” was originally written partially in French, Italian and Portuguese. The MSS. wandered from India to France, Italy, Holland, England and finally in Germany.\textsuperscript{88} William Irvine translated it into English in 4 volumes in 1907-08 in London. It gives a vivid eye witness’ account of Mughal India during the reign of Shahjahan (1628-1658), of which period the author draws a rather partial picture of the last six years and deals fully with the reign of Aurangzeb (1659-80).

Pedre Maestro Fray Sebastien Manrique was a Portuguese from Oporto who was attached to Bengal Mission in 1629\textsuperscript{89} and remained for next six years in Arakan. Between, 1637 to 1640 he made voyage to the Phillippines and China. During 1640-41 he travelled through Northern India from Dacca to Qandhar on his way to Europe. In India he visited Goa, Bengal, Patna, Lahore, Agra, Sindh and Multan. He reached Rome in 1643 and was murdered by his own Portuguese servant in 1669 in London.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., p. xxviii.
Manrique gives a true picture of the social life of the time. He describes the fertility of the Gangetic plain and of the magnificence of its cotton fabrics. He was struck by the richness of the people, the fertility of the soil and the abundance of victuals in Northern India. He observes the custom of Suttee, the reverence which the people had for the Ganges and the Cow and their self-immolation at Jaggernat and Ganga Sagar. He also mentions the weighing ceremony of the Mughal Emperor, Shahjahan, the Mughal darbar and the nauroz festival.

Manrique's account seems to be without the European prejudice which was the common feature of the contemporary travellers. In spite of being a Roman Catholic missionary he appreciates the good feature in the Eastern civilization. He likes the orderliness in the Mughal camp. His account cannot be completely relied on as he had also copied some part like his account on Mughal governance from De Laet who himself is categorized as a compiler. The matters beyond his personal observation should be handled very carefully.

The Itinerario De Las Missions Orientales was originally in Spanish language, published in two editions, one in 1649 and the other in 1653. The British Museum and the Bodleian library have copies of the 1649 edition, and All Souls College one of that of 1653. It was edited and translated into English by Lt.-Col. C. Eckford Luard assisted by Father H. Hosten with introduction and notes entitled, 'Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique 1629-1643', published for Hakluyt Society in 1927. The chapters relating to the Punjab have been translated by Sir Edward Maclagan in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society. Other chapters are translated in Bengal Past and Present by Father H. Hosten and L. Cardon in Vols. XII and XIII.

Friar Domingo Navarette was a Spanish missionary traveller, born on 1618 at Castrogeriz in Spain. He was the son of Francisco de Castro and Maris Navarette. He entered the Dominican priory of Penefiel in 1634 and became a friar on 8th December, 1635. He studied from the Dominican priory of San Pablo in Valladolid. After ordination to the priesthood and election to a fellowship in the college of San Gregorio, was made lecturer in Arts and appointed a college councillor. In July, 1645, after meeting Friar Juan Bautista Morales, he volunteered for the Philippine mission.

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91 Ibid. p. xxix.
Navarette had toured many countries round the world. He describes his visit to China, the Phillipines, Indonesia, Macassar, Madagascar, St. Helena, Portugal and Italy. On 14th December, 1670 he arrived at Goa. From there he landed at Swally, the seaport of Surat, on 8th January, 1671.

Navarette’s account touches almost all aspect of social life along the Coast of Coromandel. He concentrates more on the religious questions. He praises the art and trade of professional women dancers, who were only a source of entertainment. He gives comment on the personal life of the King of Golconda, Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626-1672) who indulged in worldly pleasures and was not active in governance.

Navarette’s account is politically significant as his account gives the description of usurpation of the throne by Aurangzeb, imprisonment of Shahjahan in Agra fort where he died in 1666 A.D. He brings forth the richness of Bengal in respect of production of all sorts. His account is invaluable for all aspect of human life in Deccan during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Foreign Travellers of the Aurangzeb’s Reign

In the reign of Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) came many travellers in which some were non-English travellers like John de Thevenot, Abbe Carre, Martin and Careri. But unlike the reign of Shahjahan, his reign saw the outburst of English travellers in India. Some of them like John Marshall, Streynsham Master snd William Hedges were associated with East India Company. Norris came as an ambassador with a mission at the Court of Aurangzeb. The remaining were mere travellers like John Fryer, Ovington, Bowrey and Hamilton who had left precious accounts of their experiences in India.

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93 Ibid, pp. 319-20.
John Fryer was the eldest son born to William Fryer of London in 1650.\textsuperscript{94} In 1672 he took his first Cambridge degree and in 1673 was appointed to the post of surgeon in the service of the East India Company.\textsuperscript{95} He died on 30\textsuperscript{th} March, 1733.\textsuperscript{96}

Fryer started his eastward journey in the ship *Unity* from Gravesend in December 1672 and arrived at Bombay on 9\textsuperscript{th} December, exactly a year after his departure from England.\textsuperscript{97} He sailed to Madras with a fleet of ten ships which had been armed for the conveyance of treasure during the war between the English and Dutch in 1673.\textsuperscript{98} The sphere of his travel included Coromandel and Malabar coasts and trips to a little way inland at various places between Cambay and Goa.\textsuperscript{99}

Fryer travelled little in the neighborhood of Bombay and his map of the harbor is incomplete and inaccurate. He did visit the island of Kanheri, where he examined the Buddhist caves and inspected Bassein which was in the hands of the Portuguese. On 19\textsuperscript{th} January, 1681-82, he embarked for England in the annual home fleet.\textsuperscript{100}

Upon his return, after reading several published accounts, he was prompted to improve and publish as a narrative various letters he had sent home from India in order to bolster the general impression of India by earlier travellers. His eight years in the East furnished the materials for his *New Account of East – India and Persia, in Eight Letters*, which he published in 1698.

In these letters, he gives an excellent account of the Factory and its administration at Surat which throws welcome light on the duties and condition of the Company’s officers at that period. He also displayed much industry in collecting information regarding the customs and rites of the native population and the animal and vegetable productions of Surat and its neighborhood. He gives curious information including tables of weights, measures, currency, notes on precious stones and other valuable productions of the East, which he doubtless obtained from the Factory officials on the Western Coast.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid. p. xiii.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid. p. xxviii.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid. p. xvii.
\textsuperscript{98} Wheeler, op. cit. p. 46.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid. p. xxvi.
His references to events outside his immediate experience must be treated with caution.

John Marshall was a factor in the East India Company who was the third son of Ralph Marshall of Theddletherpe, Lincolnshire. John was baptized at East Theddlethorpe Church on 1st March, 1642. He spent his school days at Louth under Mr. Skelton and passed B.A. in 1664 from Christ Church College, Cambridge. He was appointed by the East India Company on 8th January, 1668 and had his first glimpse of India on 3rd September, 1668. During his stay in India, he visited Bengal, Hugli, Madras, Balasore, Malda, Patna, Mursidabad and Aurangabad. He went back to England in 1672 and died there in 1677. He had good knowledge of Arabic and Persian.

His travel account consists of notes of information on all sorts of subjects based on hearsay as well as his personal observations. He gives his opinion on the trade and economy of the period especially the trade value of Malda, Hugli, Patna and Balasore. Frequently references to socio-religious customs and Mughal polity are found scattered in his account.

John Ovington was born in 1653 at a place called Melsonby, near Darlington in Yorkshire. He was from a respectable family of yeoman farmers. He was educated from Grammar School of Kirby Ravensworth and Trinity College, Dublin. There is no record of Ovington’s life from 1679 to 1689. On 11th April, 1689, he sailed from Gravesend on the East India Company’s vessel the Benjamin as the chaplain of the ship.

Ovington reached Bombay on 29th May, 1689. He had to remain at Bombay for three and a half months due to the burst of South-west monsoon. Ovington gives a gloomy picture of Bombay. Ovington remarks, ‘I cannot without horror mention, to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place....Luxury, immodesty and a prostitute dissolution, of manners found still new matter to work on.’

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107 Ibid, p. xii.
Bombay he went to Surat and Ovington remained there till 1693 as the chaplain of the English East India Company.

At Surat, Bartholomew Harris was the president. At Surat, Ovington had given a very good description of the everyday life in the Factory which is a valuable complement to the earliest narrative of Fryer.

The two and a half years' residence at the Surat factory was fruitful for Ovington. He collected a no. of facts about the narrative inhabitants, Hindu, Mohammedan, and Parsi. His picture of contemporary Indian life, custom and religious observances are accurate and entertaining. His remarks on the Parsis are particularly valuable, who he describes as 'in their calling very industrious and diligent, and careful to train up their children to 'arts and labour'.

In February, 1693, he started for Gravesend on the same vessel Benjamin and reach there on 5th December 1693.

He started to write, 'A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689', which was completed in 1696. He dedicated it to the Earl of Dorset. Jacob Tonson published it in 1696. It was also translated into French by an anonymous in early eighteenth century. In 1929, H.G. Rawlinson, edited, A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689 (Oxford University Press, London).

Ovington brought out a pamphlet also in 1699. entitled, 'An Essay upon the Nature and Qualities of Tea'.

William Norris was born in 1657 at Speke Hall. His father Thomas Norris was a pronounced Royalist. Norris came to India as the representative, both of King William III and also of the New or English East India Company.\(^{104}\)

His mission covered three years between 1699 to 1702 a period which saw the decline of the Mughal Empire and the union of the two rival companies that ultimately led to the establishment of British suzerainty in India. The professed object of this mission was to obtain commercial privileges and to promote friendship and

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amity between the subjects of Mughal Emperors and those of the King of England and to join the two rival companies.

His account possesses great historical value and gives a full account of daily events and the matters concerning the embassy and also adds much to our knowledge regarding the life of the Mughal court. The main object of Norris in recording this account was to report the progress of his mission and to record particularly the customs, manners, policies and interests of the Great Mughal and other princes for the king’s information. His account portrays an overall picture of Mughal policy, socio-religious customs, as well as trade and economy of the period.

His embassy was a failure but as a source of information, his journal is very rich in depicting almost all aspects of the society of that period. In fact his qualities as narrator are adjudged unequalled by most of the preceding travellers. Of course, he does go wrong at times. He wrongly records that the mother of Prince Mohammed Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, was a Rajput lady. He also confuses Bijapur with Bhagnagar or Hyderabad. Moreover, he was not without prejudice. But his impressions as far as the people themselves were concerned were unbiased at least by racial feeling or religious bigotry.

Thomas Bowrey was a sailor by occupation from Wellclose Square, Stepney. He was a well-educated man of his time, an accurate observer and deeply interested in the natives of the country visited. He was on his eastward voyage from 1669-1679.

In India he visited the following places – The Choromandel Coast, Golconda, the Coast of Gingili, Orissa and Bengal. He started his career at fort St. George, Madras. He was very well acquainted with the writings of Bernier and with the mogul history down to his own time. He died on 11th March, 1713.

His account disseminates multifarious information. His representation of ships and boats are invaluable as well as uncommon, also accurate. His description and

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105 Ibid. pp. 119, 214, 244.
107 Ibid. p. xviii.
108 Ibid.
careful drawings of native boats are among the best of the kind for his period; he offers the earliest quoted instances of ‘bunko’ and ‘cheroot’.

He had also given eye witness accounts of the social evil practices like sati prevalent during the closing of the seventeenth century. His informations for the subject of East Coast of India are full. He shows clearly that a ‘gentoo’ was a low-caste Hindu, accurately defines the Rajput and raja. The description of Gingerlee Coast and Janselone Island are also very invaluable contribution of the author.

Streynsham Master was born in 1640 and became the chief representative of the East India Company’s factories on the Coromandel Coast and in the Bay of Bengal. Master sailed for India in 1656 with his uncle George Oxenden and for the next four years he remained under the care of Christopher Oxenden, second in council at Surat, before he actually entered the Company’s service in that factory in 1660. There he stayed for eleven years and returned to England in 1672.

Master was exceedingly energetic as a traveller who on the other hand was also close to his business and his policy that was strictly in the interest of his Company as his private papers prove that he was not to be bribed. His supervision had a lasting beneficial effect on the company’s affairs but no less valuable is the account which he left.

The diaries and private papers of Streynsham Master relate not only to his work as a servant of the company in the years 1675-1677 and 1679-1680 but also throws considerable light on Anglo-Indian life in the seventeenth century. He had vividly explained the native and Anglo-Indian terms and recorded about the management of the factories, the system of trade and economic conditions of the period. His account is more valuable for the commercial history of the period than other aspect of the society.

Sir William Hedges was born on 21st October, 1632 at Coole, Co. Cork, he was the son of Robert Lacy, alias Hedges of Youghal, in Ireland but also styled of kings-down. His mother was Catharine, daughter of Edward Wakeman of Mythe in Gloucestershine. His first selection was made on the 3rd September, 1681. On the 14th

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September, 1681 an order of the court permitted him to take with him family to
India.\[111\]

As a Governor, he failed in effecting reforms in Bengal but left a good account
of his stay in India in the form of his diary. His diary is strictly business oriented and
as a source of information it is valuable chiefly for exhibiting the attitude of the local
governor towards the foreign traders.

Captain Alexander Hamilton was a shrewd Scotchman, who carried on a free
trade in the Eastern seas between 1688 and 1723. He travelled in the Eastern parts of
India and maintained a long account of his experiences.\[112\]

In his travelogue, the focus of his description is mainly on socio-economic
conditions of the period. Hamilton seems to have been acquainted with all parts of
India which bordered on the Eastern coast. His account makes interesting reading, but
it is mostly a repetition of what earlier travellers had recorded. His wide experiences,
however at times, gives his statements a peculiar value. In spite of the monopoly of
the old East India Company his experiences of Sind and Gujarat and the stories he
tells of Mughals and Hindus may accepted as trustworthy.

Jean de Thevenot was born at Paris on 6\textsuperscript{th} June 1633\[113\] in a reputed family.
He was an ardent student of geography and natural sciences and had studied the
accounts of early travellers. He had finished his education from the University of
Paris.\[114\]

Mclechisedech de Thevenot was his uncle, a scholar who undertook to
compile the exhaustive account of famous travels. Thevenot was influenced by his
uncle. He had a great desire to visit different countries and this made him to visit
many countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.\[115\] He visited England, Holland, Germany
and Italy in 1652.

\[114\] Wheeler, op. cit. p. 41.
\[115\] Thevenot, op. cit. p. xvii.
On 24th January, 1664 he embarked at Marseilles. He was at Alexandria on
24th February then went to east to visit Damascus, Aleppo and Mosul to sail down the
Tigris to Baghdad. On 6th November, 1655 he boarded at Basra English ship the
Hopewell owned by an Armenian and commanded by an Italian captain Bernardo for
India. On 10th January, 1666, he landed at Surat.

In India he remained for a year only but travelled overland to Ahmadabad and
Cambay. Towards the Deccan Peninsula he journeyed to Masulipatnam on the eastern
coast passing through Burhanpur, Aurangabad and Golconda. He also spent two hours
at Ellora. On February, 1667 he started for his return voyage from Surat and
unfortunately died on the way near the small town of Miama in Persia.116

Thevenot’s account consists of many interesting description’s relating to flora
and fauna also. Beside the account of the inhabitants he also took interests in the
animals and writes indiscriminately of apes, baboons and monkeys. His account on
the administration of Gujarat is invaluable. He was acquainted with the tract between
Surat and Cambay and the road from Surat to Masulipatnam. The most valuable and
reliable part of Thevenot’s account, is that where he records his personal experiences.
However, his account is not free from occasional errors.

The Voyages of Jean de Thevenot were issued in successive parts from 1664
to 1684. In 1689 all the three were collected under one title, Voyages de M. de
Thevenot tent en Europe qu'en Asie et en Afrique-Paris, 1689, 5 vols. The entire five
successive editions in five volumes appeared at Amsterdam in 1705, 1723, 1725,
1727 and 1729.

Thevenot’s Voyages was first made available in English by A. Lovell by
printing at London in 1682 by H. Clark for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes and
T. Newborough, Booksellers in St. Paul’s Churchyard. It also consist three parts (i)
Turkey (ii) Persia and (iii) The East Indies.

\[116 \text{i} b i d.\]
Abbe Carre, the son of French nobleman, was born in 1639-40. He was evidently well-educated and acquainted with both Greek and Latin classic literature.

He was sent to India by Colbert, the able minister of Louis XIV in the capacity of a spy to watch over the conduct and motions of English and the Dutch and also to observe his own countrymen. He arrived in India via the Syrian Desert, Mesopotamia (Iraq) and the Persian Gulf in October, 1672.

In India he travelled to many places including South India. His journey to Surat to Madras was an adventurous one. In the course of journey at Bijapur, Carre nearly died from malaria. At Madras he was appointed as an agent of de la Haye for the surreptition supply of provision from there and for any desired negotiation with the English governor.

He gives a full account of the French Squadron from its departure in March, 1670 to its capture at St. Thome (near Madras) and the disastrous attempt to throw out the Dutch from Trincomalee in Ceylon. It also contains valuable remarks on the weaknesses of the French administrative methods, compared with those of the Dutch and English, on the failure of the arms for which de la Haye, squadron was sent to India and on the continuance of Portuguese pride and luxury in spite to their fall from power.

Carre’s journal *Voyage des Indes Orientales, male de plusieurs Histories Curieuses* was first published in French in two volumes at Paris in 1699 was based upon his dispatches between 16th March 1672, and 26th October, 1674. The journal of Abbe Carre gives a detailed account of his travels in 1672-74. The journal of Abbe Carre gives a detailed account of his travels in 1672-74 from France to India.

His account is politically significant in many ways as his arrival to India was itself a political activity as he was sent to watch over the activities of the English and Dutch, also to observe his own countrymen. He travelled to Southern India also which was rare as most of the seventeenth century travellers limited themselves to Western

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India only. His account throws some light on the movements of Shivaji during 1671-72. He gives accounts on the trade relations of the Dutch trade with the Mughal India. His account also contains socio-religious matters occasionally.

Giovanni Francesco Gamelli Careri was born in 1651 in a noble family of Radicena at Naples. He was a student of jurisprudence and had earned the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. Like Thevenot he also visited Shiraz and the ruins of Persepolis and then went via Lar to Bandar Congo where he took a boat for Daman on the 26th November, 1694.

He went to Bassein from Daman where he visited the famous Buddhist caves at Kanheri and gives its minutest details. He then proceeded to Goa. He also refers to the decline of Portuguese power in India.

Careri was keen to have an audience with the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb who was then encamped at Galgala and waging a war against the powers of the south that was ultimately to prove the ruin of his empire. Careri was succeeded in obtaining admission to the court of the emperor of whom he has left a fairly good pen portrait. He returned to Goa by a partly different route and embarked for China. He died at Naples in 1725.

His account is full of information about the administrative set up, social habits of the people, the agricultural and industrial products as well as the plants and animals. His remarks on the Mughal administration, the land revenue system, the extent of Aurangzeb’s wealth, territory and the organization of his army are useful. His information on the Aurangzeb’s Deccan campaign is indispensable.

Careri’s account Giro del Mondo was published in 1699-1700 at Naples in 6 Vols. Each volume was dedicated to a separate personage of a particular country. The volume on Hindustan was dedicated to D’on Carlos Sanseverino, Prince of Birignano and Duke of Sao Marco. His original account was in Italian which

121 Wheeler, op. cit. p. 96.
124 Ibid. p. xxiv.
underwent eight editions within thirty years. The last edition which came out to be in
1728 is considered best.

His work was translated into English, French, German, Spanish and
Portuguese. Its English version appeared in Awnsham and John Churchill’s. A
collection of Voyages and Travels (1704) and reappeared in the subsequent edition of
that collection in 1732, 1744, 1745 and 1752.\textsuperscript{125} The first French version was
published at Paris in six volumes in 1719 under the title of Voyage autour du Monde.
It went through two more editions in 1727 and 1776-1777.\textsuperscript{126}

From the brief biographies of the above travellers it is evident that they came
in different professions and recorded the contemporary events, circumstances and
conditions – political, social, economic, cultural and administrative, topographical
details, ideas and concepts, trade, flora and fauna, behaviour and etiquette and many
other aspects of life which are valuable for understanding the socio-cultural as well as
economic life of the time. They have written about all phases of Indian life, the Court,
its grandeur, the army and its strength rivalries among the countries, administration,
it strength and weakness. Conditions of the masses, their poverty, about privileged
class, main trade routes and by routes, important cities and towns, manufacture,
commodities and prices, land product and taxation.

Thus, the accounts of the foreign travellers are helpful in reconstructing the
history of medieval India and form an inseparable element of historical material
supporting the edifice of Indian society and culture. Without travelogues various
facets of Indian history would have remained shady and obscure, it is with this
important class of source material that we measure the multiplex nature of Indian
culture and society, economic pattern and way of life.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid. xxv.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.